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Estampes et Photographie, Rés. Dc-a180b (74)-Fol.

# Crisis and Renewal in the History of Political Thought

5th Conference of the European Society for the History of Political Thought

11-13 October 2018

Heidelberg University

Programme

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# Greetings

# Dear Colleagues, dear friends of the History of Political Thought

We would like to welcome you all at the Ruprecht-Karls-University Heidelberg to the 5th Conference of the European Society for the History of Political Thought (ESHPT). It is a great pleasure to welcome you here to exchange research perspectives, discuss theoretical approaches and investigate different methodological approaches for the history of political thought together with you over the next few days on the topic of "Crisis and Renewal in the History of Political Thought".

One can consider Heidelberg University as quite appropriate to that topic. Reinhardt Koselleck was a student in Heidelberg where he wrote his famous dissertation Kritik und Krise in 1954. Additionally, in 2009 with the inauguration of a Chair for Global Intellectual History, Heidelberg stands for a direction of history of ideas which is primarily concerned with the transfer of ideas in a global scale. This combined approach of a combination of crisis and a global perspective is visualized in our conference image that you can see on the programme's front page.

The lithograph by Honoré Daumier entitled "The European Balance on the Point of the Bayonet", was published in the French satirical magazine "Le Charivari" on December 1, 1866. It describes a divers understanding of crisis. While the whole world's balance is on the razor's edge between the hegemonic striving of individual European nations there was the threat of a chaotic destruction of the world's stability leading to chaotic circumstances. Stability was regarded as a legally fixed order in Europe, painstakingly achieved by consensus based on a balance of powers. Crisis, here explicitly the political crisis, stands as counterpart to ideas or conceptions of balance and stability, but also of order. With this being true for the late 19th century the crisis in Daumier's eyes could lead to a catastrophic war being followed by the renewal of a rebalanced European system of powers. Thus, crisis is the moment when things are decided for the future implicating the chance to establish or re-establish something new. That is something that might also touch the balance and order in a global scale.

This understanding of crisis as a global matter is also important for intellectual history facing considerable challenges on how to conceptualize the multifarious modes

of interaction including migration, transculturation, adaption, imitation, and translation of ideas. Knowledge production and intellectual debate do not stop at borders. Intellectual history needs to take a critical stance and reflect, test, and refine recent advances in methodology and theory that deal with the complexities of a transcultural world. Globally oriented intellectual histories equally need to account for dissonances, ruptures, breakdowns (or deliberate and occlusions) in connection, as much issues of intellectual transfer and entanglement. Taking a look into this year conference program and the conferences of the ESHPT before, we are optimistic that these methodological considerations are hold during the whole conference. With international expertise of all scholars participating in this conference, not at least with the integration of young academics, it is proved that also the research of history of ideas is a global matter. This meeting is an exhibition of our and your work and an inventory of current research trends in the history of political thought.

Over the last one and a half years, the preparations here in Heidelberg have constituted a team that has worked with pleasure, enthusiasm, team spirit, and a great deal of personal commitment and strives to create a functioning environment for

all of you in order to make possible thinking constructive joint discussion. We would like to thank our secretary Erika Lokotsch, our colleague Michael Roth, and the student assistants Nicolas Schmidt, Hanna Strehlau, Marian Elsenheimer, Yannika Kuhlmann, Felicia Volkert, Arne Schönfeld, Oliver Plate, and Sebastian Schütte for their support! We would also like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the University of Heidelberg with the Center of Transcultural Studies for the financial support and the provision of the rooms. Finally, we would like to thank László Kontler, Cesare Cuttica, Peter Schröder, and Xavier Gil Pujol on behalf of the European Society for the History of Political Thought for the cooperation in the organization and for their trust to hold the conference here in Heidelberg.

We wish you an enriching and fruitful conference!

Susan Richter, Gregor Stiebert, and the organization team

# About the Conference Topic

'Crisis' shapes historico-philosophical reflection and contemporary discourse just as academic parlance. This wide range of uses though does not mean clarity of meaning(s) nor accuracy. Hence our conference aims to explore the notion of 'crisis and renewal' in new and more precise ways. The papers selected focus on how political thought reacted/s to critical moments in history; on whether it produced/s crisis; and on whether moments of crisis were/are also moments of creativity for political theory. Drawing a fully cross-disciplinary approach, participants – amongst other things – ask whether existing concepts at a given time were/are suited to face crises or whether, instead, established principles were/are employed in different manners to respond and make sense of them. These questions are addressed by looking to European political thought from antiquity to the present.

This is so because we believe that in order to tackle major topics such as crisis and renewal rigour must be combined with imagination. This means that we study political thought, the multiple contexts in which it was expounded and its impact on concrete social, economic, cultural and, obviously, political situations, without neglecting its wide ramifications in multifarious domains of knowledge. We analyse fundamental critical moments in history (revolution, the advent of modernity, the development of democratic ideals) as well studying the metaphorical aspects of crisis and renewal (birth, death, sickness, regeneration), whilst taking into account the materiality of crisis (institutional effects, petitioning, changes in sovereignty, deprivation) and less studied cultural phenomena linked to it (friendship, perceptions of time, tolerance). In so doing, we intend to avoid some of the generalisations and the cold approach often to be found in the methods advanced by social scientists in favour of a more (historically) situated and warmer outlook on the vast horizon of problems and issues that are still affecting our societies.

## BRILL Over three centuries of scholarly publishing

# Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought

Herausgeber: Laszlo Kontler and Mark Somos

The notions of happiness and trust as cements of the social fabric and political legitimacy have a long history in Western political thought. However, despite the great contemporary relevance of both subjects, and burgeoning literatures in the social sciences around them, historians and historians of thought have, with some exceptions, unduly neglected them. In *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought*, editors László Kontler and Mark Somos bring together twenty scholars from different generations and academic traditions to redress this lacuna by contextualising historically the discussion of these two notions from ancient Greece to Soviet Russia. Confronting this legacy and deep reservoir of thought will serve as a tool of optimising the terms of current debates.

Contributors are: Erica Benner, Hans W. Blom, Niall Bond, Alberto Clerici, Cesare Cuttica, John Dunn, Ralf-Peter Fuchs, Gábor Gángó, Steven Johnstone, László Kontler, Sara Lagi, Adriana Luna-Fabritius, Adrian O'Connor, Eva Odzuck, Kálmán Pócza, Vladimir Ryzhkov, Peter Schröder, Petra Schulte, Mark Somos, Alexey Tikhomirov, Bee Yun, and Hannes Ziegler.

### Leserschaft

Scholars, upper-undergraduate and post-graduate students of (intellectual) history, political science and political philosophy with an interest in political legitimacy, social cohesion, and related topics.

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**Print-**

**Publikationsdatum: 25** 

Sep 2017

### **Verfügbare Formate:**

eBook

Festeinband

ISBN: 9789004353664

**Extent:** xv, 481 pp.

Language: Englisch

Verleger: BRILL

### Serie:

Studies in the History of Political Thought, Band: 11

Fachgebiete: Intellectual History, History, Social & Political Philosophy, Philosophy, Economics & Political Science, Social Sciences



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# Programme Overview

	Thursday, 11 October 2018	Friday, 12 October 2018	Saturday, 13 October 2018
09:00			
09:30		Section III	
10:00		Section III	Section VII
10:30		Coffee Break	Section vii
11:00			
11:30		Section IV	Coffee Break
12:00			ESHPT-Award
12:30			Keynote
13:00	Registration	Lunch Break	Closing Words & ESHPT General
13:30	- Itogistiation		Assembly
14:00	Opening		
14:30	Keynote	Section V	
15:00			
15:30	Section I	Coffee Break	
16:00			
16:30	Coffee Break	Section VI	
17:00	Confee break		
17:30	Section II		
18:00		Keynote	
18:30			
19:00			
19:30			
20:00		Conference Dinner	

# Opening

Thursday, 11 October 2018

### Registration

13:00 – 14:00 Foyer 2nd floor, Neue Universität, Universitätsplatz 1

### Introduction, Neue Universität, HS 14

14:00 – 15:00 Susan Richter, Heidelberg University László Kontler, Central European University Budapest Cesare Cuttica, University Paris 8

### **K**eynote

Katja Patzel-Mattern, Heidelberg University Chair: Susan Richter, Heidelberg University

# Section I

Thursday, 11 October 2018; 15:15 – 16:45

### Panel Ia, Neue Universität, HS 14

Reformulations of Friendship and the Household in Response to Crises (I) Chair: Peter Schröder, University College London

"Who can love one whom he fears, or by whom he knows that he is feared?" (Cic., De Amicitia, 15)

Christopher Smith, University of St. Andrews

Weathering Storms through Friendship: Friendship as a Stabilising Factor in Political Thought

Anna Becker, University of Zurich

Building and Maintaining the Commonwealth: the Political Economy of Bodin's Six livres

Ioannis Evrigenis, Tufts University Merdford (MA)

### Panel Ib, Neue Universität, HS 12a

### From Ancient Notions of Crisis to Aristotelian Reception

Chair: Paschalis Kitromilides, University of Athens

What does *krísis* entail? The Problem of «Decision and/or Judgement» in Plato's Political Works

Andrea Catanzaro, University of Genova

The Crisis of the Athenian Democracy and the Aristotelian Renewal of the Democratic Theory

Dimitrios Mourtzilas, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

The Aristotelian Notion of *stasis* in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Contexts, in Connection with a Reinterpretation of Political Prudence Ferenc Hörcher, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Budapest

# Section II

Thursday, 11 October 2018; 17:15 – 18:15

### Panel IIa, Neue Universität, HS 14

# Reformulations of Friendship and the Household in Response to Crises II (succession)

Chair: Peter Schröder, University College London

### **Houses Without Cities**

Mark Somos, University of Heidelberg

Between Self-sufficiency and Interdependence: The Conflict Between Domestic and International Imperatives of Capital Circulation in the Early United States

George Gallwey, Harvard University Cambridge (MA)

### Panel IIb, Neue Universität, HS 12a

### **Answers to Crisis in Modern Times**

Chair: Jani Marjanen, University of Helsinki

# Crisis and Redemption – German Peculiarity and Conceptions of Modernity after 1945

Clara Maier, Hamburg Institute of Social Research

### A Return to Historicity as a Remedy to Crisis?

Joshua Smeltzer, University of Cambridge

# Section III

Friday, 12 October 2018; 9:30 – 10:30

### Panel IIIa, Neue Universität, HS 14

### **Crisis in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought**

Chair: Mark Somos, Heidelberg University

'The arbiter of Europe': The Political Thought of José de Carvajal y Lancaster

Eduardo Jones-Corredera, University of Cambridge

Crisis in Eighteenth-century Neapolitan Political Thought: The Birth of a New Political Actor

Adriana Luna-Fabritius, University of Helsinki

### Panel IIIa, Neue Universität, HS 12a

### **Crisis in Times of Revolutions**

Chair: László Kontler, Central European University Budapest

What Goes Around Comes Around: Salutary Crises, Political Possibilities, and Regenerative Dilemmas in Revolutionary France

Adrian O'Connor, University of South Florida Tampa (FL)

The Worse, the Better: Crisis as Moral and Intellectual Catalyst in Late Imperial Russia

Alexandra Medzibrodszky, Central European University Budapest

# Section IV

Friday, 12 October 2018; 11:00 – 12:30

### Panel IVa, Neue Universität, HS 14

### Political Thought and Crisis in Early Modern England

Chair: Erica Benner, Berlin

**Democracy in Crisis in the 1640s in England: The Ochlocratic Moment**Cesare Cuttica, University Paris 8

# Regicides, Oligarchists and Proto-democrats in Seventeenth-century England

Gaby Mahlberg, Berlin

# Anti-monarchism and Republican Exclusivism in the English Revolution: A Reassessment

Markku Peltonen, University of Helsinki

### Panel IVb, Neue Universität, HS 12a

# Crisis, Modern and Postmodern. Thinking Discontinuity and Renewal Without Aim Political

Chair: Ferenc Hörcher, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

# British Interwar Liberal Thought and the Tension Between 'Modern' and 'Postmodern' Conceptions of Crisis

Chika Tonooka, University of Cambridge

# Crisis Without Critique: Conservative Crisis Theory in the History of Political Thought

Bruno Godefroy, University Lyon 3

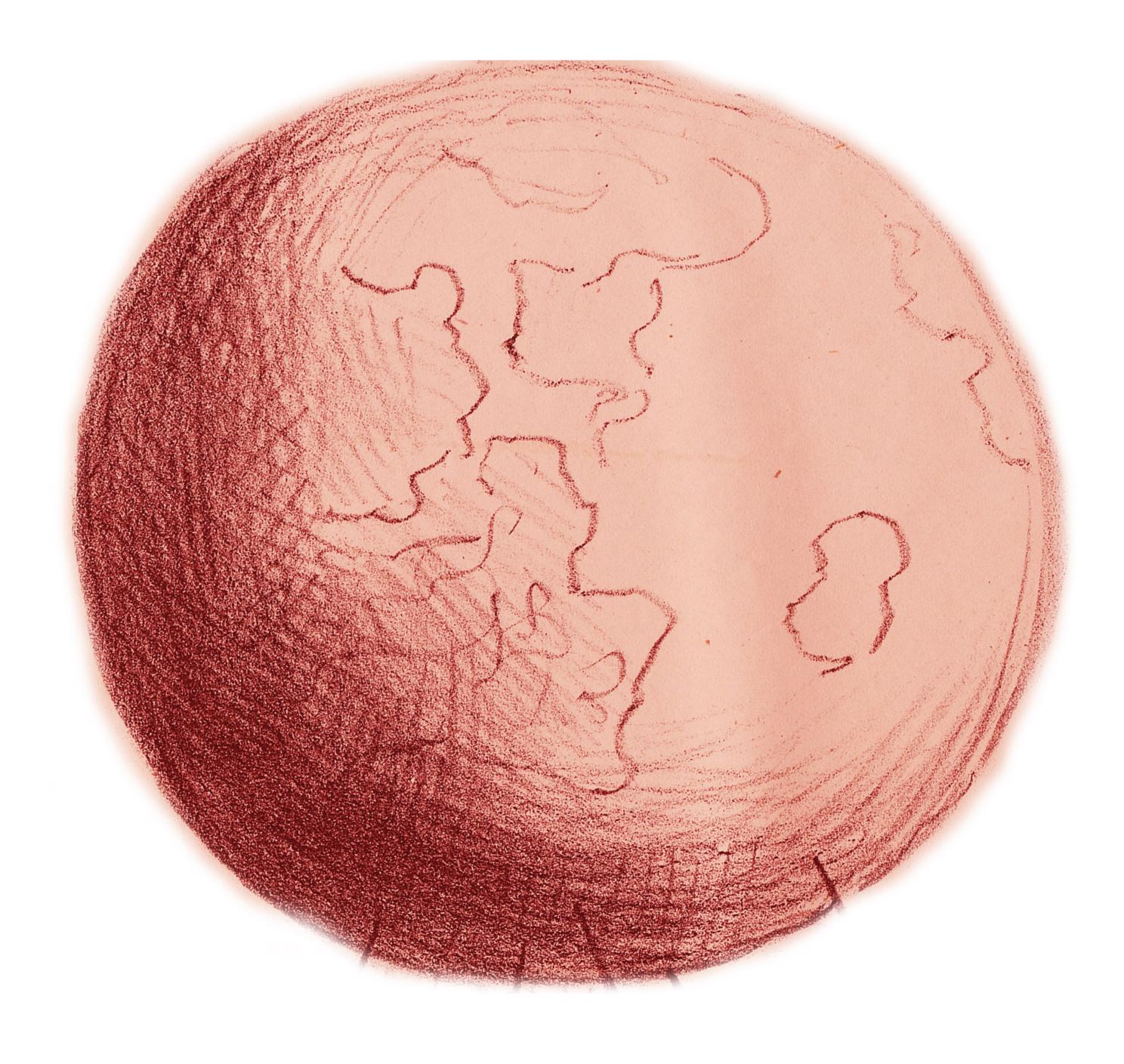
# Crisis and Possibilities of Renewal in Twentieth-century 'Dialectical Theology'

Therese Feiler, University of Oxford

# Lunch Break

Friday, 12 October 2018

12:30 – 14:00 **Lunch**Neue Universität, Foyer



# Section V

Friday, 12 October 2018; 14:00 – 15:30

### Panel Va, Neue Universität, HS 14

### Crisis in Political Thought of the European "Sattelzeit"

Chair: Adriana Luna-Fabritius, University of Helsinki

# Crisis as Disproportion: Jean-Louis Delolme and the Science of Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century England

Ployjai Pintobtang, University of Sussex

A crisis of Public Administration in Russia in the Time of Catherine the Great: "Weak Rule" and Mikhail Shcherbatov's Interpretation of "Despotism"

Vladimir Ryzhkov, Higher School of Economics St. Petersburg

# Tocqueville on Equality: His Contradictory Response to the Crisis of the Aristocracy

Peter Cholakov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

### Panel Vb, Neue Universität, HS 12a

# Impacts and Reactions of Political Thought to "Critical Moments" in History

Chair: Cesare Cuttica, University Paris 8

# Language in the times of Crisis and Renewal. Adminstrative reform in 18th century Austria

Gregor Stiebert, Heidelberg University

# Critique and Crisis in Context — Rereading Reinhart Koselleck's Interpretation of the Enlightenment

Kai Gräf, Heidelberg University

# Argentina in her Labyrinth: Recurring Crises and Political Thought since 1983

Tobias Renghart, Heidelberg University

# Section VI

Friday, 12 October 2018; 16:00 – 17:30

### Panel VIa, Neue Universität, HS 14

### German Liberals and Conservatives Thinking in the Context of Crisis

Chair: Matthias Riedl, Central European University Budapest

Constitution in 'Crisis': Hegel's Holy Roman Empire and its Depiction in the History of Political Thought

Nathaniel Boyd, Brussels

Treating Revolutionary Sickness: Crisis, *Das Staats-Lexikon*, and the Formative Years of German Liberalism (1834-1856)

Janine Murphy, University of Giessen

Facing the Crisis of Modernity: The Renewal of German Conservatism after the 1848 Revolution

Doron Avraham, Bar Ilan University Ramat Gan

### Panel VIb, Neue Universität, HS 12a

Crisis as Impetus for New Political Thought in Early Twentieth Century?

Chair: Petar Cholakov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Interaction between Political Thought, Material Crises, Reform Discourses and Political Action, 1917–1919

Pasi Ihalainen, University of Jyväskylä

New Epochs and Old Isms: On the Reconceptualization of Ideological Concepts in the Wake of Crises

Jussi Kurunmäki and Jani Marjanen, University of Helsinki

# **Evening Programme**

Friday, 12 October 2018

17:45-18:45 Keynote: Pathologies of Democratic Crisis. Lessons from Athens and Florence

Erica Benner, Berlin Neue Universität, HS 14

Chair: Cesare Cuttica, University Paris 8

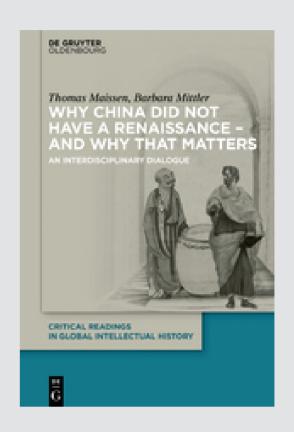
20:00 **Conference Dinner** Kulturbrauerei Heidelberg, Leyergasse 6



Thomas Maissen, Barbara Mittler

# WHY CHINA DID NOT HAVE A RENAISSANCE - AND WHY THAT MATTERS

An interdisciplinary Dialogue



Concepts of historical progress or decline and the idea of a cycle of historical movement have existed in many civilizations. In spite of claims that they be transnational or even universal, periodization schemes invariably reveal specific social and cultural predispositions.

Our dialogue, which brings together a Sinologist and a scholar of early modern History in Europe, considers periodization as a historical phenomenon, studying the case of the "Renaissance." Understood in the tradition of J. Burckhardt, who referred back to ideas voiced by the humanists of the 14th and 15th centuries, and focusing on the particularities of humanist dialogue which informed the making of the "Renaissance" in Italy, our discussion highlights elements that distinguish it from other movements that have proclaimed themselves as "r/Renaissances," studying, in particular, the Chinese Renaissance in the early 20th century.

While disagreeing on several fundamental issues, we suggest that interdisciplinary and interregional dialogue is a format useful to addressing some of the more far-reaching questions in global history, e.g. whether and when a periodization scheme such as "Renaissance" can fruitfully be applied to describe non-European experiences.

### Critical Readings in Global Intellectual History 1

XVII, 238 Seiten

### Gebunden:

UVP \*€ [D] 68.95 / \*US\$ 79.99 / \*GBP 62.50 ISBN 978-3-11-057396-1

### eBook:

UVP \*€ [D] 68.95 / \*US\$ 79.99 / \*GBP 62.50 PDF ISBN 978-3-11-057639-9 EPUB ISBN 978-3-11-057403-6

Erscheinungsdatum: Juni 2018 Sprache der Publikation: Englisch

### Fachgebiete:

Historische Epochen ► Frühe Neuzeit Regionale und nationale Geschichte ► Europa ► Allgemeine europäische Geschichte

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# **Section VII**

Saturday, 13 October 2018; 9:30 - 11:30

### Panel VIIa, Neue Universität, HS 14

### Crisis and Confessional Strife in Early Modern Europe

Chair: Lea Campos Boralevi, University of Florence

### The Hussite Response to Spiritual Crisis

Martin Pjecha, Central European University Budapest

# In publicis malis: Justus Lipsius and the Double Face of Neostoicism in the European Wars of Religion

Alberto Clerici, Nicolaus Cusanus University, Rome

# Cosmic Crisis and Radical Reform: The Revolutionary Thought of Thomas Müntzer

Matthias Riedl, Central European University

# The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century as Existential Crisis: Experience and Representation in Grimmelshausen and Callot

Thomas Peak, Central European University Budapest

### Panel VIIb, Neue Universität, HS 12a

### Crisis and Confessional Strife in Early Modern Europe

Chair: Adrian O'Connor, University of South Florida

# Nineteenth-century Philosophies of History as a Response to Crises Niall Bond, University Lyon 2

# The Crisis of the 1930s and the Prospect of Political Renewal: Huizinga on Politics as Play

Rutger Kaput, University of Amsterdam

# Political Action in Dark Times: Arendt and the Role of the Conscious Pariah

Annalisa Furia, University of Bologna

# Intellectuals in an Age of Crisis: Civilisations from Toynbee to Huntington Patricia Chiantera-Stutte, University of Bari

# Conclusion

Saturday, 13 October 2018

12:00-13:00 Presentation of the ESHPT Lifetime Achievement Award

Neue Universität, HS 14

Chair: László Kontler, Central European University Budapest

Keynote: Crisis as a motivation for political reflection

Paschalis Kitromilides, University of Athens

13:00 – 14:00 Closing Words and ESHPT General Assembly Meeting Neue Universität, HS 14

## IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF HERODOTUS

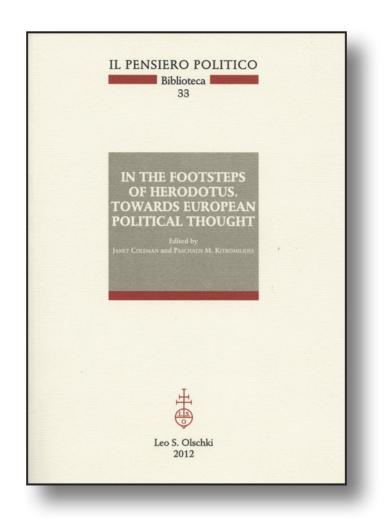
### TOWARDS EUROPEAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Edited by Janet Coleman and Paschalis M. Kitromilides

This volume brings together a selection from the papers presented at the inaugural conference of the European Society for the History of Political Thought, held at the European University Institute in Florence (6-7 July

Questo volume raccoglie una selezione dei contributi presentati al congresso inaugurale della European Society for the History of Political

Thought, tenutosi presso l'Istituto Universitario Europeo di Firenze (6-7 luglio



2009). It forms a small and partial testimony of the Society's beginnings, nevertheless its contents, in their diversity, remind us of how long, rich and creative the heritage of European political ideas has been.

2009). Pur rappresentando una testimonianza parziale della nascita della Società, i contenuti ci ricordano comunque, nella loro diversità,

quanto lunga, ricca e creativa sia l'eredità del pensiero politico europeo.

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«Il pensiero politico». Biblioteca, vol. 33

2012, cm 17 × 24, 206 pp. € 22,00 [ISBN 978 88 222 6147 2]

### Casa Editrice

Casella postale 66 • 50123 Firenze EMAIL: info@olschki.it • pressoffice@olschki.it



Leo S. Olschki

P.O. Box 66 • 50123 Firenze Italy orders@olschki.it • INTERNET: www.olschki.it

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# **General Information**

### **Internet Access**

All attendees of the conference can access the university Wi-Fi (eduroam). See the conference folder for further details.

### **Coffee Breaks**

Coffee, water and fruits are available on the second floor in front of the lecture halls.

### **Conference Dinner, 12 October**

You will find a voucher for your ordered dinner meal in your conference folder. Please take it with you when going to the restaurant (Kulturbrauerei, Leyergasse 6; see site plan).

### Lunch, 12 October

On Friday, all participates can take lunch at a buffet in the foyer of the lecture building.

### **Bus Connection to Heidelberg Main Station**

You can reach Heidelberg Main Station using bus routes 32 and 33 from bus stop "Peterskirche", which is located in proximity to the conference venue.

### **Taxi Companies**

Taxizentrale Heidelberg, phone number: 06221/302030

Taxi HDirekt, phone number: 06221/739090

### **Further Questions**

For any further questions you can turn to the conference helpers at anytime.

# List of Restaurants

## close to the Conference Venue

### **Upscale Regional and Italian Cuisine**

Gasthaus Backmulde, Schiffgasse 11

### **Turkish Cuisine**

Alte Gundtei, Zwingerstraße 15a

### **Regional Cuisine**

Bierbrezel, Haupststraße 184

### **Regional Cuisine**

Brauhaus Vetter, Steingasse 9

### **Spanish Cuisine**

Chambao, Dreikönigstraße 1–3

### **Regional Cuisine**

Essighaus, Plöck 97

### **Korean Cuisine**

Gogi Matcha, Haspelgasse 4

### **Regional Cuisine**

Palmbräugasse, Haupstraße 185

### **Upscale Italian Cuisine**

Piccolo Mondo, Klingenteichstraße 6

### **Austrian Cuisine**

Restaurant Goldener Hecht, Steingasse 2

### **Upscale Regional Cuisine**

Restaurant Weißer Bock, Große Mantelgasse 24

### **Upscale Regional Cuisine**

Restaurant Zum Güldenen Schaf, Hauptstraße 115

### **Upscale French Cuisine**

Simplicissimus, Ingrimstraße 16

### **Upscale Italian Cuisine**

Trattoria Toscanam, Marktplatz 1

# Credits

Many persons have given us very constructive support regarding the planning and organisation of the conference. In particular, we would like to thank the student assistants of the Chair for Early Modern History:

Ruby Ellis Nicolas Schmitt

Marian Elsenheimer Arne Schönfeld

Yannika Kuhlmann Sebastian Schütte

Lukas Müller Hanna Strehlau

Oliver Plate Felicia Volkert

Furthermore, we would like to express our gratitude for the financial support given by the following companies and institutions:

German Research Foundation Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural (DFG) Heidelberg University Studies

Heidelberg University Brill Publishers

# Organization

### **Organization**

# **European Society for the History of Political Thought**

Cesare Cuttica Xavier Gil Pujol Lázló Kontler Peter Schröder

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Susan Richter Gregor Stiebert

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### ATHENIAN LEGACIES

### EUROPEAN DEBATES ON CITIZENSHIP

# EDITED BY PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES

What is citizenship? These essays try to answer the question by studying how the idea was tackled in the political thought of the Antiquity, Renaissance and Enlightenment in Europe, and how it has been debated in the Twentieth

Che cos'è la cittadinanza? I saggi qui raccolti cercano di rispondere alla domanda attraverso l'analisi delle diverse risposte fornite dal pensiero politico europeo classico, rinascimentale e illuminista, e dai dibattiti sviluppatisi nel

ATHENIAN LEGACIES EUROPEAN DEBATES ON CITIZENSHIP

Edited by PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDIS

Leo S. Olschki 2014

and Twenty-first centuries. The collection, marked by the dialogue between intellectual generations and a noteworthy expansion of the canon of political thought, reflects the vitality of contemporary European scholarship on the subject.

ventesimo e ventunesimo secolo. La raccolta, contraddistinta dal dialogo tra generazioni di intellettuali e da un notevole allargamento del canone della storia del pensiero politico, dimo-

stra la vitalità degli attuali studi europei del settore.

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### Il pensiero politico. Biblioteca, vol. 34

2014, cm 17 × 24, 460 pp. € 42,00 [ISBN 978 88 222 6358 2]

http://www.olschki.it/libro/9788822263582

### Casa Editrice

Casella postale 66 • 50123 Firenze info@olschki.it • pressoffice@olschki.it



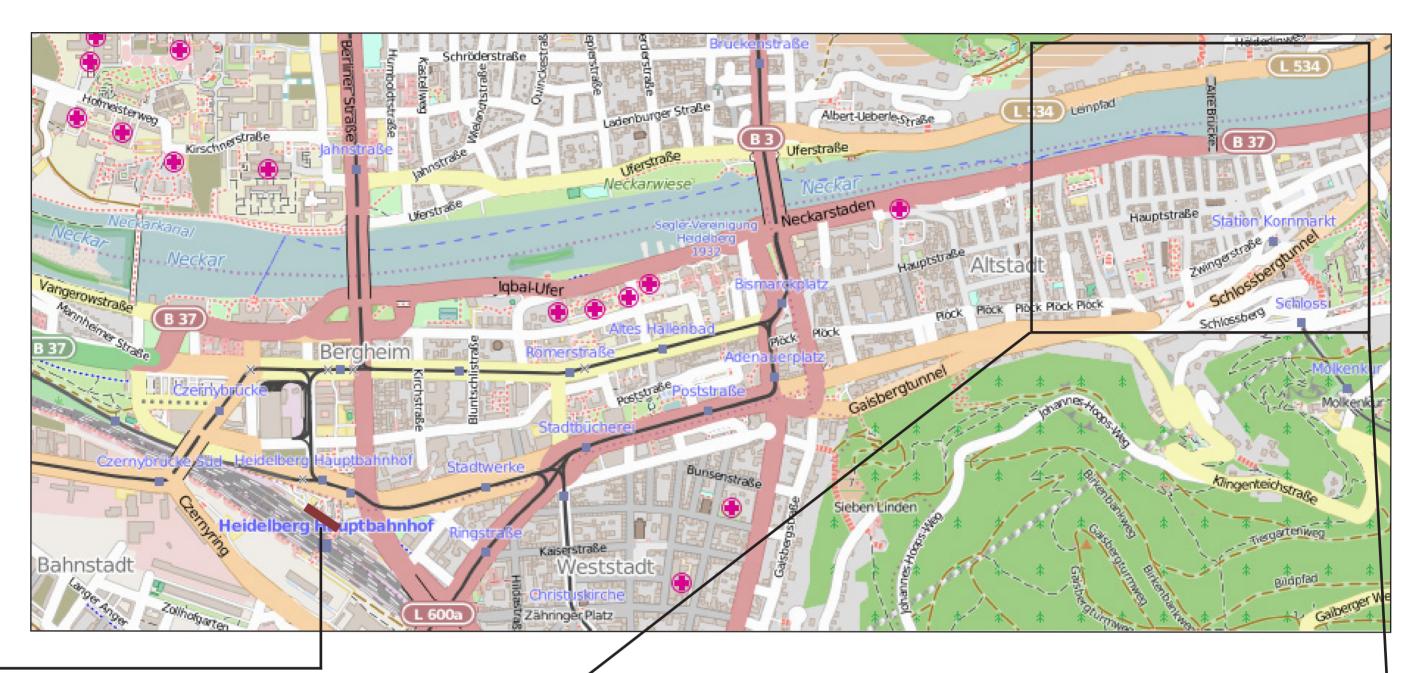
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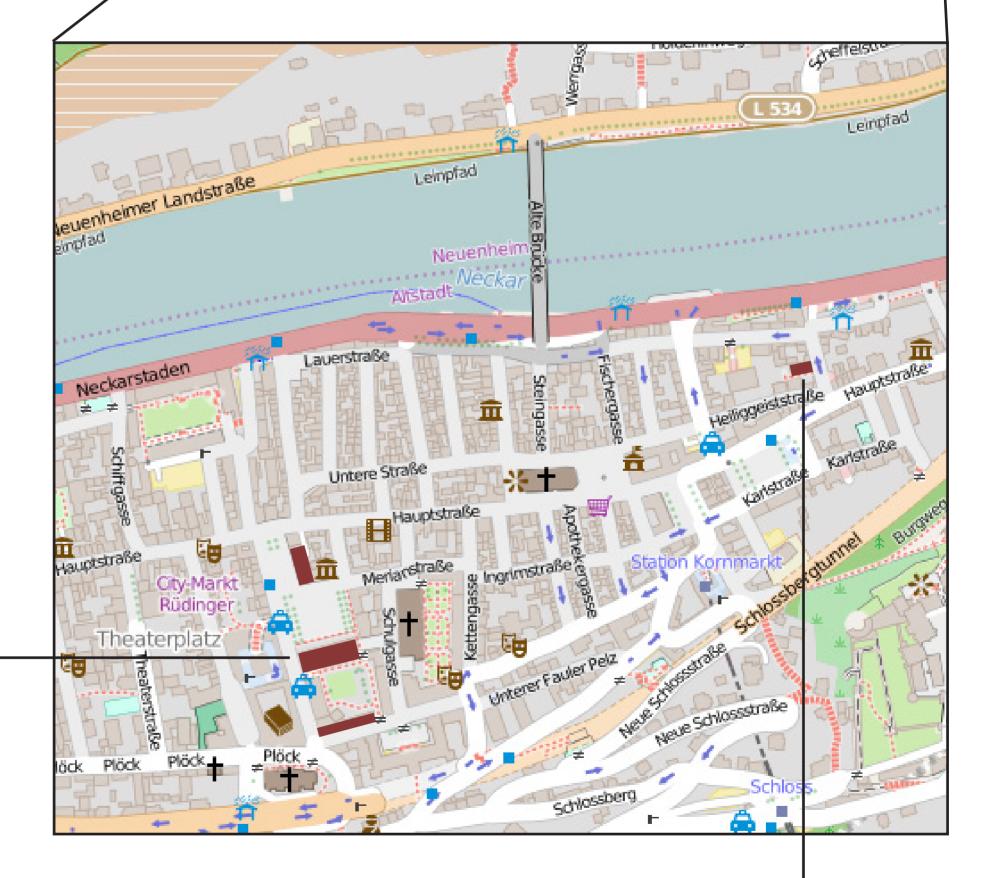
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