

**MACHIAVELLI AND THE GLOBAL COMPASS:
ENDS AND MEANS IN ETHICS AND LEADERSHIP.**

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Abstract

This paper discusses the posthumous denigration, dissemination and perpetual debate on the Florentine, Niccolo Machiavelli's ethical values and leadership ideas and the consequent creation of the mythical reputation and negative epithet "Machiavellian". It outlines a summary of Machiavelli's career, philosophical thought and written works. A list of key dates in his life and a calendar of the development of Machiavellian thought and associated mythology including his use, abuse, application and appreciation by the management and marketing disciplines which has been appended. The article proposes recommendations on how Machiavelli's thought and his work can best be best applied to bring genuine clarity and value to organisations in these interesting and turbulent times providing a hopefully viable compass for a changing landscape..

Keywords

Ethics, Leadership, Machiavellian, Management, Politics, Power, Strategy

MACHIAVELLI AND THE GLOBAL COMPASS: ENDS AND MEANS IN ETHICS AND LEADERSHIP¹.

*'But one thing consoles me: when something involves a number of people,
no one person in particular can be blamed.'*

Niccolo Machiavelli, La Mandragola

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MACHIAVELLIAN MYTH

Not many people read Machiavelli's wider works and concentrate their understanding of him through their reading and appreciation of *The Prince*. This is a pity as his other works give a more measured view of his philosophical and political thinking and intellectual abilities. *The Prince* was never published during its author's lifetime, and although circulating quite widely in velum manuscript form, it seems to have caused little if any controversy during Machiavelli's life. In 1532, five years after Machiavelli's death it was published in Rome. Subsequently Cardinal Reginald Pole in his *Apologia ad Carolum V. Caesarem* (1536) vigorously attacked the Prince as a product of the devil, and warns against its use by unscrupulous rulers to undermine the *Republica Christiana* (Christendom and its well being). Pole may have had Henry VIII in mind, as he had fled England to avoid the reformation and imprisonment. With this the Machiavellian mythology is born. In 1559 all of Machiavelli's works are condemned and placed on the Papal Index. Since that date his books have never been out of print.

His words are direct, striking and never boring (Gilbert, 1958; Jensen, 1960; Bull, 1961; Skinner, 1981; Wooton, 1994) and are still very readable today. He is one of the first of the modern writers to use the powerful stylistic device of the either or choice. In "The Art of War" (Machiavelli, 1995, Bondanella & Musa eds) for instance in discussing how to organise the troops so they cannot do harm he writes that they "can do harm in two ways; either among themselves or against a city". De Grazia (1989) argues "Each of these two he then divides in two subcategories, from each of which he selects the more pertinent and divides that one further in two."

Machiavelli in *The Prince* (1513) abandons the moral teachings of the classical and biblical traditions for a new conception of virtue as the willingness and ability to do whatever it takes to acquire and maintain what one has acquired. It is this continuing reputation and influence of *The Prince* to obtain power at all costs which has resulted in the use of the Machiavellian theme by modern management commentators such as Jay (1967), Calhoun (1969), Shea (1988), Curry (1995) and McAlpine (1992 and 1997). In addition his epigrammatic prose lends itself to the production of high quality aphorisms, which transcend time and place and have been frequently borrowed by management writers or politicians alike. Well known examples are:- "All armed prophets conquered, all the unarmed perished"; "Men should be either treated generously or destroyed because they take revenge for slight injuries - for heavy ones

¹ Appendix 1 shows a chronology of the key dates and events in Niccolo Machiavelli's life
Appendix 2 shows the principal dates in the evolution of Machiavellian thought and mythology

they cannot “; “Everyone sees what you appear to be; few experience what you really are”; and ”He who seeks to be honest among many bad men procures his own destruction”, all from *The Prince*, 1513. “Success or failure lies in conforming to the times” (*Discourse on Livy*, 1518) and “Wars begin when you will, but they do not end when you please” (*History of Florence*, 1521-5).

Machiavelli’s official letters and reports still exist and provide a useful source of insight into his political views (Gilbert, 1958; Jenson, 1960; Skinner, 1981; Wooton, 1994; et al.) and very good source of reason as well as a further source of stylistic aphorisms.

To arrive at our application and evaluation of the importance of Machiavelli’s work for leadership and ethics in the 21st century, it is opportune to examine how Machiavelli himself developed his ‘moral compass’ during his life. This will be carried out in the next section.

THE EVOLUTION OF MACHIAVELLI’S MORAL COMPASS: 1469-1527

His Life

Niccolo Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469 of a well known Tuscan family who originated from Montespertoli, between Val da Elsa and the Val di Pesa, approximately 20 miles South West of Florence. The Machiavellis also owned properties in the quarter of Santo Spirito, near Santa Felicita and the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, where they had been established since the 13th Century, and were notable members of the population having provided a number of leading civic figures in their district (Villari, 1892). It has been suggested that Machiavelli’s father was illegitimate (Jensen, 1960) which precluded Niccolo from being a candidate in electoral politics but did not exclude him from serving the city as a public servant. As a result, Machiavelli’s career was spent observing and serving the most powerful figures of the time in probably the most opulent, turbulent and vibrant city of the renaissance.

The young Machiavelli was given a rigorous humanist education, was taught Latin by leading scholars and had access to much of the best of classical history and ideas, but did not learn Greek and it is suggested this is why his views are so direct and not balanced by Aristolean logic. At the very young age of twenty-nine in 1498, he was recognised by the *Signoria* (Executive Council) of Florence for his administrative talents, and was elected to the highly responsible post of Chancellor of the Second Chancery. He was also given duties in the Council of the Ten of Liberty and Peace (formerly Ten of War), which dealt with Florentine foreign affairs (Villari, 1892; Jensen, 1960 and Skinner, 1981).

During the next fourteen years, Machiavelli served the republic exceptionally well, not only carrying out his secretarial and administrative duties, but also serving as a special diplomat and as personal advisor to Pietro Soderini, *Gonfalonier* (Head of State) of Florence, who was head of the civil administration from 1502 to its fall in 1512. Thus he was closely involved in the turbulence of Renaissance Italy, one of the most powerful cities in the world and the development of the city state. He was a contemporary of Cellini, Da Vinci, Galileo, Michelangelo and Raphael, administered state funding of projects to them and managed government policy and regulation. He was often given the most complex and difficult tasks to fulfil by the republic.

During his time in office, his journeys included missions to Louis XII and to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian in Austria; he was with the reviled and expansionist Borgia Pope's illegitimate son, Cesare Borgia in the Romagna; and after watching the Papal election of 1503, he accompanied the newly elected Pope, Julius II on his first campaign of conquest against Perugia and Bologna. In 1507, as a Chancellor of the recently appointed *Nove di Milizia*, he organised a militia infantry force which fought at the capture of Pisa in 1509. Three years later this force was defeated by the Holy League at Prato and the Medici returned to power in Florence. Machiavelli was almost immediately excluded from public life as a previous holder of high office under the former republican regime as he had built up a number of powerful enemies who were determined he should not retain his position.

After being falsely implicated in a plot against the Medici he was imprisoned in the Bargello in Florence and hideously tortured repeatedly on the hoist and drop device the *strappado* which fractured his collarbones. One day he was a leading international diplomat and the next he was a broken and appallingly injured man. He maintained his innocence, was eventually granted an amnesty on the election of the new Medici pope, Leo X, and retired to his farm six miles away from Florence just outside San Casciano, where he lived with his wife and several children and concentrated on study and writing. For much of the rest of his life his movements were restricted by one regime or another because of his past. He desperately wants to return to government service to serve Florence and his countrymen, but never regains public office. At forty-three, Machiavelli's public career had ended, but his work as a writer, for which he is best remembered, was just beginning.

After a brief re-emergence into Florentine society, he died in 1527. Even though the Machiavellian mythology has suggested that he gave a death bed confession to being the wickedest man that ever lived, he in fact gave a short private confessional to a priest and passed away with his family beside him.

His Writings:

He wrote *il Principe* (The Prince) in just a few months in 1513. In this work he attacks writers whose inconsistent ethics allow them to admire great deeds but not the cruel acts necessary to accomplish them, challenging those who held opaque moral compasses rather than those that led from the front and understood the realities of power. This small book came to be seen as the most shocking piece of literature of the Italian Renaissance, and gave birth to the well known negative epithet now commonly used in many languages, "Machiavellian", which in ethical and leadership terms carries the meaning duplicitous and manipulative and appears to have clear overtones of wanting to obtain power and influence at any cost – whereby the ends justify the means.

Before starting to write the Prince, Machiavelli began a lengthy political commentary on Roman history - the Discourses on Livy. This work was never fully completed, but gives the most complete insight into the development and evolution of Machiavelli's political, ethical and leadership thinking. It argues that he was basically a republican, who saw the state as a secular and autonomous structure relying for its survival upon human skills and mass popular support. Mansfield and Tarcov (1996) argue that in comparison with The Prince, the Discourses is "a long, forbidding, apparently nostalgic, obviously difficult, but decent and useful book that advises citizens, leaders,

reformers, and founders of republics on how to order them to preserve liberty and avoid corruption.“

Machiavelli also wrote *The Art of War* (1995, Bondanella & Musa, eds), whose mix of leadership, statecraft and warfare appealed to later military thinkers such as Frederick the Great, Napoleon, von Clausewitz (Allan Gilbert, 1958) and - alongside the First World War and the implications of industrial total war- became one of the great works used to reassess the meaning of what was a just war.

Additional works included a number of plays, the best known of which is the comedy, *La Mandragola* (Bondanella and Musa 1979), a satire on seduction and rich old men marrying young women. Numerous other minor works of both prose and poetry were written by him including *The Marriage of the Arch-Devil Belphegor* and many short discourses and extensive poetry and correspondence. In 1520, Cardinal Giulio de Medici obtained for him a commission to write a history of Florence, which he finished in 1525.

MACHIAVELLI, LIBERTY AND LEADERSHIP

Many political philosophers have based their theories on the assumption that the individual is more important than the state and indeed most people living in democracies would agree with them. Machiavelli on the other hand felt that such an idea was too simplistic and impractical and did not reflect the realities of citizens and the population living in the renaissance world.

Machiavelli argued that liberty is dependent upon the state being free from external domination and internal instability. If one reflects on the impact of the 2008/9 world banking crisis one can see that internal instability exerted enormous pressure on the ethics and leadership values of business figures and politicians internationally. Machiavelli argues that the first priority of the state is to secure its own liberty, so as to secure freedom for its own citizens. To this end the state may use whatever means necessary: for when the safety of one's country wholly depends on the decision to be taken, no attention should be paid to either justice or injustice, to kindness or cruelty, or to its being praiseworthy or ignominious. We may not, quite understandably, be entirely comfortable with Machiavelli's methods, but we cannot condemn the end: after all, the end is nothing more than self determination and this idea is accepted today as a fundamental principle of international law and good governance.

Machiavelli argues that “Success awaits the man whose actions are in accordance with the times and failure the man whose actions are out of harmony with them”, and this advocacy of acting in harmony with the times, combined with his view of the role of the state, result in the prescriptions for different types of government at different times as set out in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. Essentially, Machiavelli believes in the need for two types of government: rule by the individual or a prince (a principality), which is necessary during a time of civic corruption; and rule by the people during a time of stability (a republic).

Machiavelli, however, believes that men are never content with what they have; their ambition will cause corruption to spread, and the state will return to the beginning of the cycle again. Thus the state constantly undergoes changes as corruption and virtue dominate in turn.

This leads us to conclude that Machiavelli's theories are very broad. The choice of government is reduced to a principality or republic, and even then he never fully explains what course the government should take in terms of a legislative programme except that he favours bold action and leadership to seize the moment and move the state forward. There is much talk of good laws and institutions but he does not elaborate further making it difficult to conceive of a typical Machiavellian system.

THE ETHICS OF MACHIAVELLI

Machiavelli's methods are more often than not described as amoral. This is at best very simplistic, and at worst incorrect. It is over-simplistic in the sense that Machiavelli advocated behaviour which we might consider amoral only in limited circumstances, i.e. when the liberty of the state was threatened. In effect he was supporting the granting of what we would now call emergency powers or anti-terrorist laws adopted by government, except that the sort of actions permitted in those times were more appropriate to volatile and violent sixteenth century Italy than to comparatively stable twenty first century liberal democracies.

Machiavelli never suggested that brutal and indeed devious actions should be adopted as the norm. As argued previously, he believed that men should always act in a way appropriate to the times, and this rule applied equally to morality. It is simply not practical to take the moral pervading view always, for anyone who sets out to play the part of the virtuous man on all occasions is bound to come to grief among so many who are not virtuous¹. But as a general rule, the prince should seem to be merciful, true to his word, humane, honest, and religious, and he really should have those qualities. So when possible the prince should act morally. If one were to label Machiavelli in modern political terms he would be seen as a form of liberal as he believed in popular relatively democratic national rule, earned rights and benefits for individual and was very international in his outlook.

It must be accepted, therefore, that to label Machiavelli amoral would be a generalisation and a distortion. By far the larger proportion of his work encourages actions, which are by modern standards ethical and show moral leadership. We could explore this argument a stage further and argue that Machiavelli simply cannot be classified on the basis of our conception of morality, as modern moral absolutism is over-simplistic. A useful perspective is that of Wolin (1960), whose interpretation is that, for Machiavelli, there were two levels of morality or ethics: public and private. The moral worth of one was not inherently superior to the other, but if a conflict arose between the two then the one, which would produce the most practical result, should take precedence. In practice this meant, if necessary, taking action which was publicly moral and designed to secure the liberty of the state, but, in the short term at the expense of private morality.

This produced a situation not where the end justified the means, but where the end dictated means of a type which rendered both the wholly good man and the wholly evil man superfluous. Circumstances periodically require that the government –and the same would apply to business leaders- acts in ways which, to Machiavelli, will be publicly moral, but privately immoral. A good example is the non-funding of bowel cancer drugs such as Roche's Avastin by the UK National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (NICE) on the grounds of cost. The argument goes that NICE is saving public money for wiser, more cost effective, allocation as against an

individual's private needs for survival. So how, under our conception of morality, do we classify such actions? Yet interestingly most member states in the EU make the drug Avastin available to their public health services. To say they are amoral is merely a deft way of avoiding the issue! Clearly, then, morality is a redundant concept in the characterization of Machiavelli.

Jay (1967), in his book, *Management and Machiavelli*, strongly asserted that the adroit and successful business leader had to be deft at politics and be an active political manager to be successful. He argues that you can judge a leader by the size of the problem he tackles and that whilst other people, can cope with the waves, it is the leaders job to hold things steady and maintain a watching brief on the tide. Building on Machiavelli's criticism of neutrality as a political option, Jay, argues that by referring a matter to a committee can be a device for diluting authority, diffusing responsibility and delaying decision making which all too often leads to failure. Jay's work since 1967 has rarely been out of print and is still used as a good guide to the use and abuse of management power in organisations and is still often used as a primer for senior management development.

In addition to the strong political leadership theme and how to be a successful manager in the research literature there are a number of works which have come to concentrate on what have become known as the mach scales. These are scales which are supposed to analysis the power craving and thrust for organizational control at all costs held by senior managers. Richard Christie developed the 20-item Mach IV in 1970 to measure political personality orientation of leaders in organizations. Political personality, as defined by Christie and Geis (1970), is a disposition in which formal and informal power is used to control and/or manipulate others. These scales have been applied to such settings as accountancy systems, banking, ecology, gender management, health care, science industries and adapted to a number of organizational areas such as job performance Gable and Topel (2005) and marketing in Hunt and Chenko, (1984). There is a need to update Machiavelli's application to management research, leadership and ethical values (Maguire and Hutchings, 2006) as clearly the differences between reality and myth surrounding his thought and its application have significant gaps.

Machiavelli would not have supported a general maxim that the end justifies the means - he believed that one particular end and that obtaining liberty dictated the means. He was not amoral and unscrupulous: he simply believed that our morality was dangerously dogmatic, impractical and irresponsible. For these reasons it must be concluded that the Machiavellian image of Machiavelli is nothing more than a gross distortion of somebody who was a great ethnographer and observed power at first hand and suggested how it really worked. His insight leads one to understand the workings of good governance and allows modern leaders to access the lessons from history, associated tools and philosophies that are necessary to achieve this.

But what ethical and moral advice would Machiavelli give to senior managers and politicians as the key insights for the modern strategic manager or politician on ethics and leadership? Machiavelli's works and thinking translated to the 21st century and the post Great 2008/9 Financial Crash period would seem to suggest that the following core principles should be adopted:

First, the need to appreciate real politics, 'political goings-on', what is possible here and now, the achieving of ends and an awareness of public and private decision

making, whether these be amoral or not. Both in the public and in the private sector, leaders make promises that later on cannot and are not kept. For example promises are often made by politicians and parties on the stump in election campaigns, these often have to be modified, or even denied or re-interpreted once elected as the realities of policy options, treaties and budget constraints modify behaviour and priorities.

Secondly, to recognise the importance of lobbying, influencing and networking, political campaigning and public affairs management, as of vital importance to maintaining competitiveness in the 21st century. Machiavelli would both see as critical the importance of supplying quality information to boards of directors, management or government at all levels to maintain one's environmental advantage through being able to advise decision makers on future options and priorities, and he would advocate an awareness of the strategic importance of access to decision makers and being able to influence management and government to gain such competitive advantage. In difficult times administrators and legislators can become isolated and may develop insular and unfriendly policies not designed to support one's organisations, as they may be only responding to public and media opinion rather than taking a measured view. He would recommend always maintaining dialogue with legislators to track developments and would see as having politicians as members or advisors to the board as essential to success (Keim and Hillman, 2008). He would urge coalition building of interests to support you and your organisation in the policy arenas where agendas are developed and set.

Thirdly he would recommend regular environmental scanning and assessment by any organisation to assess issues that may well impact upon the organisation, so that they can build in pre-emptive thinking and train staff to cope with and respond to change and events.

Fourthly to recognise the importance of being able to manage the political process both in one's firm and organisation and in being able to predict election results and to exert influence in campaigns to achieve just political ends. To this extent he would see as essential a full appreciation of political marketing to be able to influence and predict the economic, political and regulatory landscape, both at micro and macro level.

And last but certainly not least, Machiavelli would argue that it is essential that organisations and leaders are bold and respond positively to change or will be replaced through inertia, "for neutrality is never a winning position in business or on the battlefield" (Beatrice Rangoni Machiavelli).

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Appendix 1

Chronology of the key dates and events in Niccolò Machiavelli's life:

1469

May 3, born in Florence the son of a lawyer, who ensured his son was given the best humanist education available. He is introduced to the writings of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Bracciolini and benefits from the availability of non secular writings and texts.

1494

The Medici are expelled from Florence. Girolamo Savaronola becomes leader of the Republic and Machiavelli is appointed clerk to his old grammarian, Marcello Virgilio Adriani, in the Second Chancery.

1498

February, Adriani, is nominated Secretary of the Republic. May, Savaronola, (Machiavelli's unarmed prophet) and two Dominican supporters are hung and burnt to death in Piazza della Signoria, ironically the same place as his original Bonfire of Vanities. Machiavelli succeeds Adriani as second Chancellor and Secretary.

1500

Sent to France where he meets with Louis XII and the Cardinal of Rouen.

1502

Marries Marietta Corsini. Sent to Romagna as envoy to Cesare Borgia where he witnessed the events leading up to Borgia's capture and murder of his disloyal condottieri (warlord leaders of mercenaries) at Senagalia. Machiavelli's political philosophy as outlined in The Prince is highly influenced by his observation and study of Cesare Borgia.

1503

January, returns to Florence.

1504

Second mission to France.

1505/6

Accompanies Pope Julius II on his first campaign of conquest

1506

December, submits a plan to reorganise the military to Pierre Soderini, Florence's Gonfalonier, and it is accepted.

1507

As chancellor of the newly appointed Nove di Milizia, he organises an infantry force which fights at the capture of Pisa in 1509

1508

Mission to the court of the Emperor Maximilian at Bolzano, then in Austria.

1511

Third and last mission to France

1512

The Medici return with the support of a Spanish army after the Victory of the Holy Roman League Army at the Battle of Prato. Florence deposes Soderini and welcomes the Medici. Machiavelli after a few days is dismissed from office as a Republican and retires to his patrimony near San Casciano

1513

Imprisoned after being accused of participation in a conspiracy and failed coup. He is tortured on the strappado repeatedly, a hoist like device which the roped-up prisoner with arms tied behind their back is violently dropped, resulting in broken shoulders and is then released when Cardinal Giovanni de Medici's is elected to the papacy. Returns to San Casciano and writes *The Prince*.

1515

Writes *La Mandragola*

1519

Machiavelli is consulted by the Medici on a new constitution for Florence which he offers in his *Discourses*.

1520

Appearance of *The Art of War* and *The Life of Castruccio Castracane*, these along with *La Mandragola* are the only three published works in his lifetime. He is commissioned to write the *History of Florence*, which he finishes in 1525.

1526

Clement VII employs Machiavelli to inspect the fortifications at Florence and then sends him to attend upon the historian Francesco Guicciardini.

1527

Dies on the 22nd June

Appendix 2

Principal dates in the evolution of Machiavellian Thought and Mythology

1532

The Prince is published in Rome five years after Machiavelli's death. Only three of his works were published in his lifetime, the more significant of these being *The Art of War*.

1536

Cardinal Pole condemns *The Prince*. The term "Old Nick" and the devil is from Elizabethan times in England synonymous with Niccolo Machiavelli and his works.

1559

All Machiavelli's writings are placed on the Papal Index of proscribed works.

1576

The French Protestant Huguenot writer, Innocent Gentillet's "Contre- Machiavel ", attacks Machiavelli and the influence of his ideas which he sees being personified in Catherine de' Medici's rule in France.

1595

The Spanish Jesuit assault on Machiavelli and his ideas begins with Pedro de Rivaeneira's "Tratadoro de la religion"

1598

William Shakespeare in the Merry Wives of Windsor refers to him as "Murdrous Machiavel" and one of the characters replies, "Am I politic, Am I subtle, Am I Machiavel" Francis Bacon also comments "We are much beholden to Machiavelli and other writers of that class who openly and unfeignedly declare or describe what men do, and not what they ought to do" (cited in Wooton, 1994).

1637

Claudio Clemente's "El machievelismo degollado" (Machiavellism Decapitated) is published. Both Rivadeneira and Clemente were particularly fearful of Machiavelli because they saw him as a debaser of religion and glorifyer of the development of the secular nation state.

1740

Frederick II of Prussia, launches a notorious literary assault on Machiavelli and The Prince "L'antimachiavel". At the end of a long reign of office he subsequently changes his mind and says Machiavelli was right (Curry, 1995).

1796

Vittorio Alfieri publishes "Del principe e delle lettere" which lauds The Prince as a satire and sees Machiavelli as the only true Italian philosopher. This view is further popularised by Spinoza and Rousseau.

1824

Leopold von Ranke, Hegel, Fichte and Herder see Machiavelli as a nationalist writer whose philosophy is useful in post Napoleonic Europe and begin to dream of German unity (Jensen, 1960).

1827

Lord Macaulay writes his "Essay on Machiavelli" which is published in the Edinburgh Review of March 1827 and argues that Machiavelli's depravity is symptomatic of his time and reflects life and conditions in Renaissance Italy.

1817-83

De Sanctis witnesses the final unification of Italy and praises Machiavelli as one of its noblest patriots who was devoted to country, reason, intelligence, and to manliness.

1887

Pasquale Villari publishes and writes his "Life and Times of Nicholas Machiavelli" and sees in Machiavelli a nationalist philosopher for modern Italian aspirations. The full English translation is published in 1892.

1891

Burd argues that Machiavelli and his writings can only be applied to a particular time and location and that taken out of the context of Renaissance Italy his thought becomes distorted and meaningless. This argument is subsequently adopted and modified by many (Skinner, 1981).

1918-24

Many studies published on “war guilt”, “reparations”, “international morality” and “self determination” use Machiavelli as a touchstone (Jenson, 1960).

1924

Friedrich Meinecke’s study of the concept of “raison d’état” sees Machiavelli as the founder of the concept of the state and the emergence of “realpolitik”.

1920’s to 1940’s

Mussolini sees *The Prince* as a guide for statesmanship. He never completes his thesis which is a study on Machiavelli. Stalin and other totalitarian leaders are known to admire *The Prince* and see Machiavelli as a master of statecraft. Bernard Shaw, suggests instead the Prince is a “handbook for Gangsters” Curry: 1995 and Jackobi:1996

1945

Leonardo Olschki (1945), argues that more so than those usually associated with the beginnings of modern science, Da Vinci and Galileo, Machiavelli, possessed a detached, impartial, scientific mind and just like Galileo, by his attitudes to method, laid the foundations of modern science. Thus Machiavelli by a similar approach to mankind and their institutions founded the science of politics. Needless to say, Kraft, (1951) pp. 109-101 and 116-21. subsequently criticises this assertion by suggesting that Machiavelli’s objectivity must be questioned as his methods were as prejudiced as those of most of his contemporaries.

1958

Garrett Mattingly argues that *The Prince* was always meant as a satire and joke book and devised to amuse Machiavelli and his cronies, but never delivered to the Medici.

1961

George Bull’s popular Penguin translation of “*The Prince*” appears in the UK

1965

Gilbert’s, “*Machiavelli and Guicciardini*” a seminal study of the two leading writers of the Italian Renaissance is published.

1967

Antony Jay’s, “*Management and Machiavelli*” the American Management Association award-winning best-seller appears and sells over a quarter of a million copies in hardcover. It becomes required reading at Harvard and other business schools.

1970

Christie and Geis, publish their Machiavellian scale, measuring 20 items of characteristics of political personality

1981

Quentin Skinner's elegant and thorough "Machiavelli" is published

1988

Michael Shea publishes "Influence: A Handbook for the Modern Machiavelli"

1992,

Sebastian De Grazia publishes "Machiavelli in Hell" which outlines Machiavelli's philosophy and wins a Pulitzer Prize.

1994

The term Machiavellian Marketing is coined by Harris to describe the strategic influencing of decision and policy making in government (lobbying) for commercial or organisation gain. (Harris and Lock, 1996)

1997

Publication of "The New Machiavelli: Renaissance Realpolitik for Modern Managers", which applies the teachings of Machiavelli to modern company management.

"The secret of success, if there is such a simple and singular secret,
is the determination to succeed and not the determination to avoid failure"

McAlpine:1997. p176

1998

Aspects of Machiavelli are likened to the Labour Government's Minister Without Portfolio, Peter Mandelson (Independent, Thursday 5th March).

1998

Maurizio Virali, "Machiavelli" is published and gives insight into his breadth of intellect and humour.

2000

"Machiavelli, Marketing and Management" edited by Phil Harris, Andrew Lock and Patricia Rees is published - a collection of papers from the 'Machiavelli at 500' Conference held in Manchester in May 1998.

2002

Rinus van Schendelen's "Machiavelli in Brussels" is published as a guidebook to lobbying and public affairs in the EU.

2009

In December a paperback copy of The Prince signed by Lord Peter Mandelson is auctioned for a record amount for charity on eBay.

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