Part One

I. Introductory remarks
   A. Philosophy as critique: establishing limits to reason in knowledge and politics
   B. Critique is not a "trial" of "reason"
      1) There is no guilt or innocence here
      2) Reason is not the unitary contrary of unreason
      3) Frankfurt School has already investigated Enlightenment reason
   C. F's suggestions: look to the "problem of individualization"
      1) Investigate multiple domains / fundamental experiences: madness, sickness …
      2) Specify the type of rationalization involved
      3) Go back beyond the Enlightenment

II. Pastoral power in ancient Middle Eastern societies vs ancient Greek thought
   A. Egyptian
   B. Hebrew: God alone is the shepherd of the people
      1) Pastoral power exercised on the flock, not on the territory
      2) Pastor gathers, guides and conducts the flock
      3) Pastor assures health: constant, individualizing and finalized benevolence
      4) Pastoral power is a duty: vigilance on all and each
   III. Objections: doesn't the shepherd image appear in Greek literature and philosophy?
      A. Homeric epics use theme of king as shepherd
      B. In Greek thought, Pythagorean texts often use pastoral image
      C. But in political thought, only Plato interrogates this image, as in the Statesman
         1) Is the Platonic interrogation evidence of a commonplace, or is it the interrogation of Pythagorean themes? Probably the latter.
         2) How does Plato define the role of the shepherd?
            a) At head of the flock
            b) Oversees the nourishment of flock
            c) Cares for their illnesses
            d) Plays music to gather and guide them
            e) Organizes their breeding
         3) But the king has only one of these functions, being at head of the city
         4) The great myth of revolutions
            a) Golden Age in which gods were shepherds of men
            b) Fallen Age
               (1) Men take care of themselves: politics = assembling people
               (2) Politicians are not gods, they cannot be shepherds of people
                  (a) They form and assure the unity of the city
                  (b) They do not guide the life of a group of individuals
   IV. Major distinction: between juridical power and pastoral power
      A. Juridical power concerns civil subjects
B. Pastoral power concerns living individuals
C. "Welfare State" is latest in series of modifications to interplay of these powers
V. Some aspects of Christian pastoral power as a technology of power
   A. Early Church fathers
      1) Responsibility: Pastor responsible for all actions of members of flock
      2) Obedience as a virtue: Greeks obey laws; Christian flock obeys the pastor
      3) Individualizing knowledge by pastor:
         a) Objects of this knowledge: material needs, public sins, soul
         b) Techniques: the examination and the direction of conscience
      4) Mortification in this world leading to salvation in the other world
   B. Preliminary summary and conclusions:
      1) Christian pastoral power inaugurates a "strange play" of life, death, truth, obedience, individuals, identity
      2) Modern state is "demonic" in articulating this Christian play with that of (Greek) civic obligation: the city lives through sacrifice of citizens
      3) F's thought moves among experiences, knowledge, and power

Part Two

I. Medieval pastoral power
   A. Middle Ages were not simple scene of triumph for pastoral power
      1) Rural dispersed economy not conducive to urban pastoral guidance
      2) Low level of culture (literacy) hindered pastoral power
      3) Feudalism establishes different set of personal / legal obligations
   B. However, we do see some examples
      1) Monastic rules were laboratory for pastoral power
      2) Millennial sects searched for new settings for pastoral power
   II. Forecast: rationality of the modern states: "reason of State" and the "police"
      A. Reason of state is specific: not God's rule, nor father's, nor religious superior's
      B. "Police" defines realm of exercise of reason of State: objects, goals, techniques
   III. Reason of State
      A. Common traits
         1) Technique conforming to certain rules: rational knowledge, not arbitrary
         2) Focused on State; no analogies w/ human or divine law; hence "atheism"
         3) Opposed to Machiavellian tradition:
            a) Not retention of possessions by Prince
            b) But reinforcement of State itself (given competition w/ other States)
         4) Dependent on development of statistics or "political arithmetic"
   IV. Evolution of police as technique of government proper to the State
      A. Turquet's utopian text (French, 1611)
         1) Police is concurrent director of state, along with justice, army, and treasury
         2) Police is global: relations of men and things: active, living, productive man
         3) Police goals:
            a) Assure the vigor of the State via concern with form and splendor of city
            b) Develop relations of work – commerce / mutual assistance among men
      B. De Lamare's administrative text (French, 1705)
1) Police as novelty, alongside feudal powers of justice, army, treasury
2) Police see to the happiness of man; to society, to the living [biopower]

C. Justi's scientific text (German, 1756)
1) Object of police: see to "the life in society of living individuals"
2) Four differences with De Lamare, showing evolution of police
   a) Maintain happiness of men in order to reinforce power of State
   b) Politics is negative (battle enemies of State); police is positive
   c) Focus on population as "group of living individuals" [biology]
   d) Scientificity: use of statistics to govern a population

V. Conclusion
A. Historical investigation as more discomfiting than an abstract critique of reason
B. Basic postulates
   1) Power is not substantial, but relational:
      a) Conduct of conduct of others
      b) Always possibility of refusal, revolt, resistance
   2) Government [power] has its own rationality [and not instrumental violence]
   3) Resistance must focus on form of rationality
      a) It cannot simply denounce violence or critique one specific institution
      b) Otherwise, other institutions will use the same form, to same effect
   4) The modern State is both individualizing and totalizing
      a) We can't simply champion the individual or the community vs the State
      b) We have to get to roots of political reason: pastoral power, reason of State