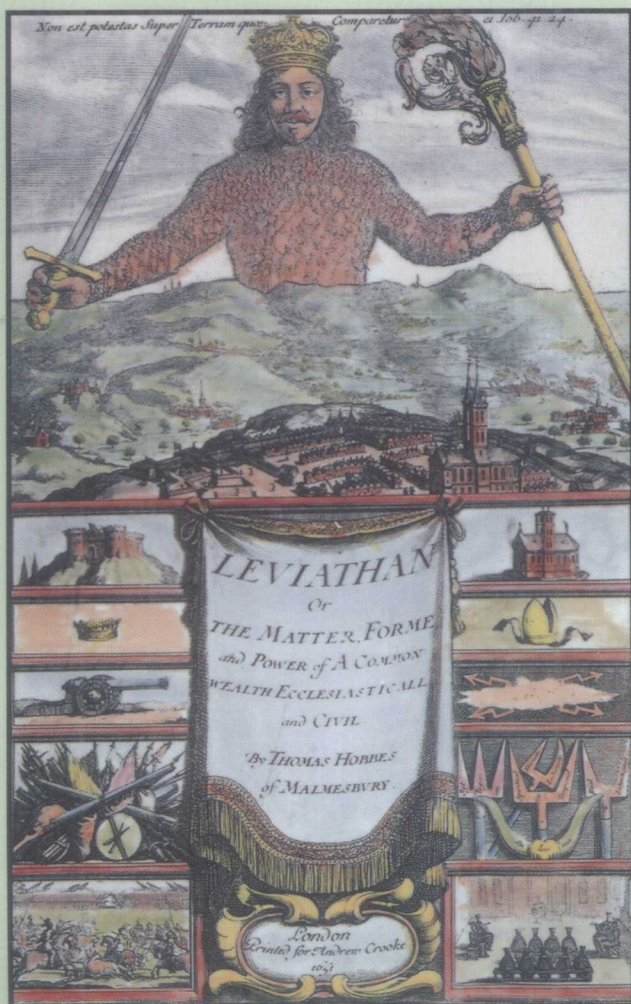


LEVIATHAN

THOMAS HOBBES



EDITED BY
RICHARD E. FLATHMAN AND DAVID JOHNSTON

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

Thomas Hobbes
LEVIATHAN



AUTHORITATIVE TEXT
BACKGROUNDS
INTERPRETATIONS

Edited by

RICHARD E.
FLATHMAN

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

DAVID
JOHNSTON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

W • W • NORTON & COMPANY • *New York • London*

Copyright © 1997 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

First Edition.

The text of this book is composed in Electra
with the display set in Bernhard Modern.

Composition by PennSet, Inc.

Manufacturing by Courier.

Book design by Antonina Krass.

Cover illustration: Frontispiece to the 1651 edition of *Leviathan*.

The illustrations on p. 3 and p. 49 are from the 1651 edition of *Leviathan* in the
Seligman collection of the Rare Books Library at Columbia University.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hobbes, Thomas, 1588–1679.

Leviathan : an authoritative text : backgrounds interpretations /

Thomas Hobbes ; edited by Richard E. Flathman, David Johnston.

p. cm. — (A Norton critical edition)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Political science—Early works to 1800. 2. State, The.

I. Flathman, Richard E. II. Johnston, David, 1951–. III. Title.

IV. Series.

JC153.H65 1996b

320.1—dc20 95-42021

Rev.

ISBN 0-393-96798-0 (pbk.)

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street,

London W1T 3QT

Preface

Hobbes wrote the bulk of *Leviathan* during the closing phase of a civil war and completed the work soon after the war had come to a decisive end. In many respects the book bears the marks of its origins in the particular circumstances of that war and the long string of events that preceded it. But *Leviathan* is also, and was intended to be, a book for the ages. It deals with themes and topics that have been with us since the beginning of recorded history and are likely to remain significant for as long a time as we can foresee. Moreover, few thinkers in the history of political thought have been Hobbes's equal as a shrewd observer of political events, and none has ever exceeded him in boldness of argument. For these reasons *Leviathan* is widely regarded as the greatest work of political theory ever composed in the English language and one of the greatest in any language.

Leviathan is not, however, an easy book to read, both because Hobbes's arguments are challenging and because his language is sometimes archaic and unfamiliar. The task of grasping Hobbes's argument is one that the reader must accomplish on his or her own, but this edition will ease the burden imposed by Hobbes's seventeenth-century prose by explaining the meanings of words that are unusual or archaic and by identifying references that are likely to be unfamiliar to modern readers. For the most part, these explanations appear in footnotes and only at the first occurrence of an unfamiliar term, but we have also provided a brief glossary that includes terms Hobbes uses repeatedly.

A large part of the text of *Leviathan* consists of arguments from Scripture addressed to a seventeenth-century audience that considered the Bible to be the written Word of God and, hence, to be at least as authoritative as any argument based on reason. These arguments were crucial to the aims that led Hobbes to write and publish *Leviathan*, but they are far less accessible to modern readers than they were to Hobbes's contemporaries. In any case, it is not necessary to read through the whole of Hobbes's Scriptural exegesis to understand the central points he was making. Accordingly, we have deleted from this edition several chapters that are most likely to seem esoteric to modern readers, mainly from Part Three. At the same time, we have retained the chapters from Part Three that are essential to an understanding of Hobbes's argument, particularly chapters thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-seven, and forty-three.

Our edition is based on the version published by Oxford University Press in 1909, a version in turn based on a "standard paper" copy of the genuine first edition of *Leviathan*, known among scholars as the

“Head” edition (because of the ornament that appears near the bottom of the title page). Various copies of this first edition are not identical, because some incorporated more of Hobbes’s corrections than others, but the 1909 edition was made up from one of the most fully corrected copies and, for this reason, is superior to most modern editions, including the edition edited by C. B. Macpherson and published in 1968 by Penguin Books. We have also compared the text on which our edition is based with a “large paper” copy of the genuine first edition — from which both Richard Tuck’s 1991 edition (Cambridge University Press) and Edwin Curley’s 1994 edition (Hackett Press) are derived — as well as with the manuscript copy of *Leviathan* in the British Museum (cataloged as British Library MS Egerton 1910). Tuck is undoubtedly right to assert that the large paper edition is even more fully corrected than the standard paper copy upon which our edition is ultimately based. But large paper copies were available to very few readers in the seventeenth century; the standard paper version, in one edition or another, is the one to which most readers have, until very recently, had access. For these reasons we have chosen the standard paper version as the basis for our edition. In any case, few of the variations among these versions are significant. Where potentially significant variations occur, however, we have included them in our text. *Additions* to the standard paper copy are enclosed in brackets, with their source (either the large paper edition or the manuscript version) indicated in a footnote. Where *alternative* passages occur, we have enclosed the relevant passage in brackets, and the alternative passage is given in a footnote, together with its source. The numbers enclosed in brackets in the margins of the text give the page numbers of the Head edition of 1651.

Contents

Preface

ix

The Text of *Leviathan*

Backgrounds

HOBBS'S LIFE	263
Pierre Bayle • <i>From the Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle</i>	263
HOBBS'S SELF-DEFENSE	265
<i>From Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty and Manners of T. Hobbes</i>	265
<i>From Six Lessons for the Savilian Professors in Oxford</i>	268
REACTIONS TO HOBBS	271
Sir Robert Filmer • <i>From Observations Concerning the Originall of Government, Upon Mr Hobs Leviathan</i>	271
James Harrington • <i>From The Prerogative of Popular Government</i>	277
Bishop Bramhall • <i>From The Catching of Leviathan</i>	278
Edward Hyde • <i>From A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State in . . . Leviathan</i>	283
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz • <i>State-Sovereignty</i>	301
Montesquieu • <i>Of the Laws of Nature</i>	303
Henry Sidgwick • <i>Hobbes</i>	304

Interpretations

Michael Oakeshott • <i>Introduction to Leviathan</i>	311
Leo Strauss • <i>From Natural Right and History</i>	320
Johann P. Sommerville • <i>[Hobbes on Political Obligation]</i>	334
Richard Tuck • <i>[Hobbes on Skepticism and Moral Conflict]</i>	338
Jean Hampton • <i>The Failure of Hobbes's Social Contract Argument</i>	348
David Johnston • <i>Theory and Transformation: The Politics of Enlightenment</i>	359
George Kateb • <i>Hobbes and the Irrationality of Politics</i>	366
Richard E. Flathman • <i>Of Making and Unmaking</i>	371

Selected Bibliography	377
Selected Glossary	379
Index of Authorities Cited in <i>Leviathan</i>	381

The Text of
LEVIATHAN



LEVIATHAN,
OR
The Matter, Forme, & Power
OF A
COMMON-WEALTH
ECCLESIASTICALL
AND
CIVILL.

By THOMAS HOBBS *of Malmesbury.*



LONDON,
Printed for ANDREW CROOKE, at the Green Dragon
in *St. Pauls* Church-yard, 1651.

To My Most Honor'd Friend
Mr Francis Godolphin of *Godolphin*.

Honor'd Sir,

Your most worthy Brother Mr *Sidney Godolphin*,¹ when he lived, was pleas'd to think my studies something, and otherwise to oblige me, as you know, with reall testimonies of his good opinion, great in themselves, and the greater for the worthinesse of his person. For there is not any vertue that disposeth a man, either to the service of God, or to the service of his Country, to Civill Society, or private Friendship, that did not manifestly appear in his conversation,² not as acquired by necessity, or affected upon occasion, but inhærent, and shining in a generous constitution of his nature. Therefore in honour and gratitude to him, and with devotion to your selfe, I humbly Dedicate unto you this my discourse of Common-wealth. I know not how the world will receive it, nor how it may reflect on those that shall seem to favour it. For in a way beset with those that contend, on one side for too great Liberty, and on the other side for too much Authority, 'tis hard to passe between the points of both unwounded. But yet, me thinks, the endeavour to advance the Civill Power, should not be by the Civill Power condemned; nor private men, by reprehending it, declare they think that Power too great. Besides, I speak not of the men, but (in the Abstract) of the Seat of Power, (like to those simple and unpartiall creatures in the Roman Capitol, that with their noyse defended those within it, not because they were they, but there,) offending none, I think, but those without, or such within (if there be any such) as favour them. That which perhaps may most offend, are certain Texts of Holy Scripture, alledged by me to other purpose than ordinarily they use to be by others. But I have done it with due submission, and also (in order to my Subject) necessarily; for they are the Outworks of the Enemy, from whence they impugne the Civill Power. If notwithstanding this, you find my labour generally decryed, you may be pleased to excuse your selfe, and say I am a man that love my own opinions, and think all true I say, that I honoured your Brother, and honour you, and have presum'd on that, to assume the Title (without your knowledge) of being, as I am,

SIR

Your most humble, and most
obedient servant,

Paris, *April* 15. 1651.

THO. HOBBS.

1. Sidney Godolphin (1610–1643) died in battle fighting for the king. He left Hobbes £200 in his will. His brother Francis (1605–1667) was governor of the Scilly Islands until 1646.

2. Behavior; dealings with others.

The Contents of the Chapters*

The first Part,

Of Man.

CHAP.	PAGE
<i>Introduction.</i>	9
1. <i>Of Sense.</i>	11
2. <i>Of Imagination.</i>	12
3. <i>Of the Consequence or Train of Imaginations.</i>	16
4. <i>Of Speech.</i>	19
5. <i>Of Reason and Science.</i>	25
6. <i>Of the interiour Beginnings of Voluntary Motions, commonly called the Passions; And the Speeches by which they are expressed.</i>	30
7. <i>Of the Ends or Resolutions of Discourse.</i>	38
8. <i>Of the Vertues, commonly called Intellectuall, and their contrary Defects.</i>	40
9. <i>Of the severall Subjects of Knowledge.</i>	47
10. <i>Of Power, Worth, Dignity, Honour, and Worthinesse.</i>	48
11. <i>Of the Difference of Manners.</i>	55
12. <i>Of Religion.</i>	60
13. <i>Of the Naturall Condition of Mankind as concerning their Felicity and Misery.</i>	68
14. <i>Of the first and second Naturall Lawes and of Contract.</i>	72
15. <i>Of other Lawes of Nature.</i>	79
16. <i>Of Persons. Authors, and things Personated.</i>	88

The second Part,

Of Common-wealth.

17. <i>Of the Causes, Generation, and Definition of a Commonwealth.</i>	93
18. <i>Of the Rights of Soveraignes by Institution.</i>	96
19. <i>Of severall Kinds of Common-wealth by Institution; and of Succession to the Soveraign Power.</i>	102
20. <i>Of Dominion Paternall, and Despoticall.</i>	109

* Brackets enclose the titles of chapters omitted from this Norton Critical Edition.

21. <i>Of the Liberty of Subjects.</i>	115
[22. <i>Of Systemes Subject, Politicall, and Private.</i>]	
[23. <i>Of the Publique Ministers of Soveraign Power.</i>]	
24. <i>Of the Nutrition, and Procreation of a Commonwealth.</i>	122
25. <i>Of Counsell.</i>	127
26. <i>Of Civill Lawes.</i>	132
27. <i>Of Crimes, Excuses, and Extenuations.</i>	146
28. <i>Of Punishments, and Rewards.</i>	156
29. <i>Of those things that Weaken, or tend to the Dissolution of a Common-wealth.</i>	162
30. <i>Of the Office of the Soveraign Representative.</i>	169
31. <i>Of the Kingdome of God by Nature.</i>	180

The third Part.

Of a Christian Common-wealth.

32. <i>Of the Principles of Christian Politiques.</i>	189
33. <i>Of the Number, Antiquity, Scope, Authority, and Interpreters of the Books of Holy Scripture.</i>	192
[34. <i>Of the signification, of Spirit, Angell, and Inspiration in the Books of Holy Scripture.</i>]	
[35. <i>Of the signification in Scripture of the Kingdome of God, of Holy, Sacred, and Sacrament.</i>]	
[36. <i>Of the Word of God, and of Prophets.</i>]	
37. <i>Of Miracles, and their use.</i>	200
[38. <i>Of the signification in Scripture of Eternall life, Hel, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemption.</i>]	
[39. <i>Of the Signification in Scripture of the word Church.</i>]	
[40. <i>Of the rights of the Kingdome of God, in Abraham, Moses, the High Priests, and the Kings of Judah.</i>]	
[41. <i>Of the Office of our Blessed Saviour.</i>]	
[42. <i>Of Power Ecclesiasticall.</i>]	
43. <i>Of what is Necessary for a mans Reception into the Kingdome of Heaven.</i>	205

The fourth Part.

Of The Kingdome Of Darknesse

CHAP.	PAGE.
44. <i>Of Spirituall Darknesse from Misinterpretation of Scripture.</i>	215
[45. <i>Of Dæmonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles.</i>]	
46. <i>Of Darknesse from Vain Philosophy, and Fabulous Traditions.</i>	232
47. <i>Of the Benefit proceeding from such Darknesse; and to whom it accreweth.</i>	245
<i>A Review and Conclusion.</i>	253

The Introduction

[1]

Nature (the Art whereby God hath made and governes the World) is by the *Art* of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an Artificial Animal. For seeing life is but a motion of Limbs, the begining whereof is in some principall part within; why may we not say, that all *Automata* (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificiall life? For what is the *Heart*, but a *Spring*; and the *Nerves*, but so many *Strings*; and the *Joynts*, but so many *Wheeles*, giving motion to the whole Body, such as was intended by the Artificer? *Art* goes yet further, imitating that Rationall and most excellent worke of Nature, *Man*. For by Art is created that great LEVIATHAN called a COMMON-WEALTH, or STATE, (in latine CIVITAS) which is but an Artificiall Man; though of greater stature and strength than the Naturall, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which, the *Soveraignty* is an Artificiall *Soul*, as giving life and motion to the whole body; The *Magistrates*, and other *Officers* of Judicature and Execution, artificiall *Joynts*; *Reward* and *Punishment* (by which fastned to the seate of the Soveraignty, every joynt and member is moved to perform his duty) are the *Nerves*, that do the same in the Body Naturall; The *Wealth* and *Riches* of all the particular members, are the *Strength*; *Salus Populi* (the *peoples safety*) its *Businesse*; *Counsellors*, by whom all things needfull for it to know, are suggested unto it, are the *Memory*; *Equity* and *Lawes*, an artificiall *Reason* and *Will*; *Concord*, *Health*; *Sedition*, *Sickness*; and *Civill war*, *Death*. Lastly, the *Pacts* and *Covenants*, by which the parts of this Body Politique were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that *Fiat*, or the *Let us make man*, pronounced by God in the Creation.

To describe the Nature of this Artificiall man, I will consider

[2]

First, the *Matter* thereof, and the *Artificer*; both which is *Man*.

Secondly, *How*, and by what *Covenants* it is made; what are the *Rights* and just *Power* or *Authority* of a *Soveraigne*; and what it is that *preserveth* and *dissolveth* it.

Thirdly, what is a *Christian Common-wealth*.

Lastly, what is the *Kingdome of Darkness*.

Concerning the first, there is a saying much usurped of late, That *Wisedome* is acquired, not by reading of *Books*, but of *Men*. Consequently whereunto, those persons, that for the most part can give no other proof of being wise, take great delight to shew what they think they have read in men, by uncharitable censures of one another behind

their backs. But there is another saying not of late understood, by which they might learn truly to read one another, if they would take the pains; and that is, *Nosce teipsum, Read thy self*: which was not meant, as it is now used, to countenance, either the barbarous state of men in power, towards their inferiors; or to encourage men of low degree, to a sawcie behaviour towards their betters; But to teach us, that for the similitude of the thoughts, and Passions of one man, to the thoughts, and Passions of another, whosoever looketh into himself, and considereth what he doth, when he does *think, opine, reason, hope, feare, &c.* and upon what grounds; he shall thereby read and know, what are the thoughts, and Passions of all other men, upon the like occasions. I say the similitude of *Passions*, which are the same in all men, *desire, feare, hope, &c.*; not the similitude of the *objects* of the Passions, which are the things *desired, feared, hoped, &c.* for these the constitution individuall, and particular education do so vary, and they are so easie to be kept from our knowledge, that the characters of mans heart, blotted and confounded as they are, with dissembling, lying, counterfeiting, and erroneous doctrines, are legible onely to him that searcheth hearts. And though by mens actions wee do discover their designe sometimes; yet to do it without comparing them with our own, and distinguishing all circumstances, by which the case may come to be altered, is to decypher without a key, and be for the most part deceived, by too much trust, or by too much diffidence; as he that reads, is himself a good or evil man.

But let one man read another by his actions never so perfectly, it serves him onely with his acquaintance, which are but few. He that is to govern a whole Nation, must read in himself, not this, or that particular man; but Man-kind: which though it be hard to do, harder than to learn any Language, or Science; yet, when I shall have set down my own reading orderly, and perspicuously, the pains left another, will be onely to consider, if he also find not the same in himself. For this kind of Doctrine, admitteth no other Demonstration.

Of Man

[3]

Chap. I.

Of SENSE.

Concerning the Thoughts of man, I will consider them first *Singly*, and afterwards in *Trayne*, or dependance upon one another. *Singly*, they are every one a *Representation* or *Apparence*, of some quality, or other Accident of a body without us; which is commonly called an *Object*. Which Object worketh on the Eyes, Eares, and other parts of mans body; and by diversity of working, produceth diversity of Apparences.

The Originall of them all, is that which we call SENSE; (For there is no conception in a mans mind, which hath not at first, totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of *Sense*.) The rest are derived from that originall.

To know the naturall cause of Sense, is not very necessary to the business now in hand; and I have elsewhere written of the same at large. Nevertheless, to fill each part of my present method, I will briefly deliver the same in this place.

The cause of Sense, is the Externall Body, or Object, which presseth the organ proper to each Sense, either immediatly, as in the Tast and Touch; or mediately, as in Seeing, Hearing, and Smelling: which pressure, by the mediation of Nerves, and other strings, and membranes of the body, continued inwards to the Brain, and Heart, causeth there a resistance, or counter-pressure, or endeavour of the heart, to deliver it self: which endeavour because *Outward*, seemeth to be some matter without. And this *seeming*, or *fancy*, is that which men call *Sense*; and consisteth, as to the Eye, in a *Light*, or *Colour figured*; To the Eare, in a *Sound*; To the Nostrill, in an *Odour*; To the Tongue and Palat, in a *Savour*; And to the rest of the body, in *Heat*, *Cold*, *Hardnesse*, *Softnesse*, and such other qualities, as we discern by *Feeling*. All which qualities called *Sensible*, are in the object that causeth them, but so many several motions of the matter, by which it presseth our organs diversly. Neither in us that are pressed, are they any thing else, but divers motions; (for motion, produceth nothing but motion.) But their apparence to us is Fancy, the same waking, that dreaming. And as pressing, rubbing, or striking the Eye, makes us fancy a light; and pressing the Eare, produceth a dinne; so do the bodies also we see, or hear, produce the same by their strong, though unobserved action. For if those Colours, and Sounds, were in the Bodies, or Objects that cause them, they could