As well as being considered the greatest English political philosopher, Hobbes has traditionally been thought of as a purely secular thinker, highly critical of all religion. In this provocative new study, Professor Martinich argues that conventional wisdom has been misled. He shows that religious concerns pervade *Leviathan* and that Hobbes was really intent upon providing a rational defense of the Calvinistic Church of England that flourished under the reign of James I.

Professor Martinich presents a close reading of *Leviathan* in which he shows that, for Hobbes, Christian doctrine is not politically destabilizing and is consistent with modern science. The laws of nature are those commands of God that are deducible by reason, and government requires the laws of nature for its foundation. Moreover, according to Hobbes, a straightforward interpretation of the Bible does not conflict with the science of Galileo: miracles may conform to physical laws; angels need not be immaterial; heaven will be on earth; the damned will suffer for a limited time; and the Kingdom of God will be on earth, sometime in the unspecified future.

This book is sure to become the standard discussion of Hobbes’s religion and will be regarded as a model of how to read early modern texts which have hitherto been interpreted in the light of modern interests and preoccupations.
The Two Gods of *Leviathan*
Illustrated title page to the Head edition of Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (London, 1651). Photograph courtesy of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
The Two Gods of Leviathan

Thomas Hobbes on Religion and Politics

A. P. MARTINICH

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
For John and Pinky Scanlan
and
The Peninsula Neighborhood Group
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A note on references

References to Hobbes’s works are usually to the Molesworth editions (published in 1839) and take the form “EW” for the English Works and “OL” for the Opera Latina, followed by volume and page numbers. Other works by Hobbes or other editions of his works are cited in the familiar author/year-of-publication style, e.g., (Hobbes, 1643, p. 321) refers to Hobbes’s book Thomas White’s De Mundo Examined.

It may be helpful to have the following correlations for the volumes in the English works:

1 De Corpore
2 De Cive
3 Leviathan
4:1–228 The Elements of Law
4:229–278 Of Liberty and Necessity
4:279–384 An Answer to . . . Dr. Bramhall
6:3–160 A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Commons Laws of England
6:161–418 Behemoth

References to other authors follow the author/year-of-publication style. For pre-nineteenth-century works, I have used the year of original publication whenever reasonable, even when I am quoting from a recent edition. The purpose of this method is to give the reader a sense for how that work fits into Hobbes’s own chronology of writings. There are some exceptions. For example, Thomas Aquinas’s Summa Theologiae is referred to by its name, followed by part, ques-
A note on references

tion, article, and the part of the article in which it appears. Thomas Hooker’s Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity is referred to by book, chapter, and section. When it is difficult to date a work, or if an edition is used that contains several works (such as the collected works of an author), I have sometimes used the date of that edition, even when the date does not accurately reflect the date of composition, especially for non-seventeenth-century authors. For example, William of Ockham’s Quodlibetal Questions is cited as “Ockham, 1964.” I have sacrificed consistency in the interests of making the system of references more helpful.
LEVIATHAN . . . that mortal god, to which we owe under the immortal God, our peace and defence.