

the cambridge companion to HOBBES'S *LEVIATHAN*

The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's 'Leviathan' makes a new departure in Hobbes scholarship, addressing a philosopher whose major works, including Leviathan, were published in Latin on the Continent and whose impact was as great on Continental European theories of state and legal systems as it was at home. This volume is a systematic attempt to incorporate work from both the Anglophone and Continental traditions, bringing together newly commissioned work by scholars from ten different countries in a topicby-topic sequence of essays that follows the structure of Leviathan, reexamining the relationship among Hobbes's physics, metaphysics, politics, psychology, and religion. Collectively they showcase important revisionist scholarship that recontextualizes Leviathan and its reception, demonstrating the degree to which Hobbes was indebted to the long tradition of European humanist thought. This Cambridge Companion shows that Hobbes's legacy was never lost and that he belongs to a tradition of reflection on political theory and governance that is still alive, both in Europe and in the diaspora.

Patricia Springborg, formerly a professor in political theory at the University of Sydney, is now professor in the School of Economics of the Free University of Bolzano, Italy. A member of the Australian Academy of the Social Sciences, she has been a visiting Fellow at research institutes in Berlin, Oxford, and Uppsala, and was the recipient of a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Award, taken up at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. She is the author of *The Problem of Human Needs and the Critique of Civilization, Royal Persons, Western Republicanism and the Oriental Prince, Mary Astell: Theorist of Freedom from Domination,* and three editions of Mary Astell's writings. She has also published a number of articles on Hobbes and has coedited a critical edition of Hobbes's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.





OTHER VOLUMES IN THE SERIES OF CAMBRIDGE COMPANIONS

ABELARD *Edited by* Jeffrey E. Brower *and* KEVIN GUILFOY

ADORNO Edited by Thomas Huhn

AQUINAS Edited by Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump

HANNAH ARENDT Edited by DANA VILLA

ARISTOTLE Edited by Jonathan Barnes

AUGUSTINE Edited by Eleonore stump and NORMAN KRETZMANN

BACON Edited by Markku Peltonen

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR Edited by Claudia Card

DARWIN Edited by Jonathan Hodge and Gregory Radick

DESCARTES Edited by JOHN COTTINGHAM

DUNS SCOTUS Edited by Thomas WILLIAMS

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY Edited by A. A. LONG

FEMINISM IN PHILOSOPHY Edited by MIRANDA

FRICKER and JENNIFER HORNSBY

FOUCAULT Edited by GARY GUTTING

FREUD Edited by JEROME NEU

GADAMER Edited by ROBERT J. DOSTAL

GALILEO Edited by PETER MACHAMER

GERMAN IDEALISM Edited by Karl Ameriks

GREEK AND ROMAN PHILOSOPHY Edited by DAVID SEDLEY

HABERMAS Edited by STEPHEN K. WHITE

HEGEL Edited by Frederick Beiser

HEIDEGGER Edited by Charles Guignon

HOBBES Edited by tom sorell

HUME Edited by DAVID FATE NORTON

HUSSERL Edited by Barry SMITH and DAVID

WOODRUFF SMITH

WILLIAM JAMES Edited by RUTH ANNA PUTNAM

KANT Edited by PAUL GUYER

KIERKEGAARD Edited by Alastair Hannay and Gordon Marino

Continued after the Index





The Cambridge Companion to HOBBES'S LEVIATHAN

Edited by Patricia Springborg University of Sydney Free University of Bolzano, Italy





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521836678

© Cambridge University Press 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2007

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Springborg, Patricia.

The Cambridge companion to Hobbes's Leviathan / Patricia Springborg.

p. cm. - (Cambridge companions to philosophy)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-521-83667-8 (hardback)

ISBN-13: 978-0-521-54521-1 (pbk.)

Hobbes, Thomas, 1588–1679. Leviathan.
 Political science – Early works to 1800.
 Political science – Philosophy.
 Springborg, Patricia.

II. Title. III. Series.

JC153.H659867 2007

320'.1 - dc22 2006029157

ISBN 978-0-521-83667-8 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-54521-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

	Illustrations	page x
	Contributors	xi
	Method of Citation	xvii
	General Introduction PATRICIA SPRINGBORG	I
	Part I: Of Man	
Ι	Thomas Hobbes's Visual Strategies HORST BREDEKAMP	29
2	Leviathan, the Beast of Myth: Medusa, Dionysos, and the Riddle of Hobbes's Sovereign Monster JOHAN TRALAU	61
3	Sense and Nonsense about Sense: Hobbes and the Aristotelians on Sense Perception and Imagination CEES LEIJENHORST	82
4	Hobbes on the Natural Condition of Mankind KINCH HOEKSTRA	109
5	Hobbes's Moral Philosophy TOM SORELL	128

vii



viii Contents

PART II: OF COMMONWEALTH

6	Hobbes on Persons, Authors and Representatives QUENTIN SKINNER	157
7	Hobbes on Glory and Civil Strife GABRIELLA SLOMP	181
8	Hobbes and the Philosophical Sources of Liberalism LUCIEN JAUME	199
9	Hobbes on the Right to Punish DIETER HÜNING	217
	Part III: Of a Christian Commonwealth	
10	Hobbes's Covenant Theology and Its Political Implications FRANCK LESSAY	243
ΙΙ	Omnipotence, Necessity and Sovereignty: Hobbes and the Absolute and Ordinary Powers of God and King LUC FOISNEAU	271
I 2	Hobbes on Salvation ROBERTO FARNETI	291
13	Hobbes and the Cause of Religious Toleration EDWIN CURLEY	309
	Part IV: Of the Kingdom of Darkness	
14	Hobbes's Critique of the Doctrine of Essences and Its Sources GIANNI PAGANINI	337
15	Leviathan and Its Anglican Context JOHANN SOMMERVILLE	358
16	The Bible and Protestantism in <i>Leviathan</i> A. P. MARTINICH	375



	Contents	ix
17	The 1668 Appendix and Hobbes's Theological Project GEORGE WRIGHT	392
	Part v: Hobbes's Reception	
18	Hobbes and His Contemporaries G. A. J. ROGERS	413
19	The Reception of Hobbes's <i>Leviathan</i> JON PARKIN	441
20	Clarendon against <i>Leviathan</i> PEREZ ZAGORIN	460
21	Silencing Thomas Hobbes: The Presbyterians and <i>Leviathan</i> JEFFREY R. COLLINS	478
	Select Bibliography	501
	Index	523



ILLUSTRATIONS

Ι.	Abraham Bosse, 'Leviathan', frontispiece by Thomas	
	Hobbes, Leviathan, 1651	page 31
2.	Body of Leviathan, detail of Plate 1	39
3.	Abraham Bosse, frontispiece by Thomas Hobbes,	
	'Leviathan', 1651, drawing, British Library, MSS	
	Egerton 1910	41
4.	Composition and configuration of the perspective	
	glass from Jean-Francois Niçeron, La Perspective	
	Curieuse, 1638	43
5.	Perspective glass and perspective picture from	
	Jean-Francois Niçeron, La Perspective Curieuse, 1638	45
6.	Thomas Cecill of Thomas Hobbes, map of ancient	
	Greece, 1629	46
7.	Thomas Cecill, frontispiece of Thucydides, History	
	of the Peloponnesian War, 1629	47
8.	Jean Matheus and Thomas Hobbes (?), frontispiece	
	of <i>De Cive</i> , 1642	51

X



CONTRIBUTORS

HORST BREDEKAMP studied art history, archaeology, philosophy, and sociology in Kiel, Munich, Berlin, and Marburg and worked at the museum of sculpture in Frankfurt/Main before becoming professor of art history at the University of Hamburg and now at the Humboldt-University; he is also a Permanent Fellow of the Wissenschaftskolleg of Berlin. For his book, *Thomas Hobbes, Visuelle Strategien. Der Leviathan: Das Urbild des modernen Staates* he was awarded the Sigmund Freud-Prize of the German Akademy of language and literature (2001). Other honours include the Aby M. Warburg Prize of the City of Hamburg (2005) and the Hans-Georg Gadamer–Lecture of the University of Heidelberg (2005).

JEFFREY R. COLLINS is an Assistant Professor of History at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. He held a Jacob Javits Fellowship at Harvard University (1993–7) and served as a Harper Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Chicago (2001–4). He has published several articles on Thomas Hobbes, and his first book, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes*, appeared in 2005.

EDWIN CURLEY is the James B. and Grace J. Nelson Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. For years his primary research project has been a translation of the works of Spinoza, now nearing completion. In spare moments he writes on Hobbes's critique of religion and on the development of religious toleration.

ROBERTO FARNETI is Research Associate in the Department of Philosophy of the University of Bologna. He has published articles on Hobbes (in Italian and in English) as well as on modern and

хi



xii Contributors

contemporary political philosophy in *Critical Inquiry*, *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, and *History of Political Thought*. His book *Il canone moderno: Filosofia politica e genealogia* received a special nomination at the National Awards for Philosophy in Italy in 2003. He is currently completing a book manuscript in English on the contemporary challenges to the classical understanding of normativity.

LUC FOISNEAU is a Senior Research Fellow at CNRS (the French National Centre for Scientific Research), in Paris and is the author of *Hobbes et la toute-puissance de Dieu* (Paris, 2000) which was awarded the Prix de l'association des professeurs de Sciences Po-Paris in 2001. He coedited (with T. Sorell) *Leviathan After 350 Years* (Oxford, 2004) and (with G. Wright) *New Critical Perspectives on Hobbes's* Leviathan *upon the 350th Anniversary of Its Publication* (Milan, 2004).

KINCH HOEKSTRA is Fellow in Ancient and Modern Philosophy and the Senior Tutor at Balliol College, Oxford. His publications include articles on Hobbes's conceptions of philosophy, prophecy, natural law, tyranny, democracy, mixed government, political obligation, and the rationality of obedience to the law.

DIETER HÜNING teaches at the Universität Siegen and also at the Philipps-Universität Marburg. His Ph.D. dissertation was published as Freiheit und Herrschaft in der Rechtsphilosophie des Thomas Hobbes (Berlin, 1998). He edited a collected volume for Hobbes's 350th jubilee, Der lange Schatten des Leviathan. Hobbes' politische Philosophie nach 350 Jahren, and is now working on a larger study on 'The foundation of criminal law in natural law between Grotius and Kant'.

LUCIEN JAUME is Research Director at CNRS (CEVIPOF) and Associate Professor at Sciences Po (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris) and at the European School for Advanced Studies in Naples. He has published books on Hobbes, Jacobinism, and liberalism: *L'individu effacé ou le paradoxe du libéralisme français* (1997) and *La liberté et la loi. Les origines philosophiques du libéralisme* (2000). He is writing on the political thought of Alexis de Tocqueville.

CEES LEIJENHORST, Ph.D. (1998) in Philosophy, Utrecht University (Netherlands), is Senior Lecturer in the History of Modern



Contributors xiii

Philosophy at Radboud University Nijmegen (The Netherlands). He is the author of *The Mechanisation of Aristotelianism*. The Late Aristotelian Setting of Thomas Hobbes' Natural Philosophy (Leiden, 2002) and numerous articles on Hobbes and early modern natural philosophy and philosophical psychology. He coedited *The Dynamics of Aristotelian Natural Philosophy from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 2002).

Franck Lessay is Professor of English Civilization at the Sorbonne Nouvelle–Paris III University. His research deals mostly with the history of political and religious ideas. Besides articles, his main publications include: Souveraineté et légitimité chez Hobbes (Paris, 1988); Le débat Locke/Filmer (Paris, 1998); Figures de la royauté en Angleterre, de Shakespeare à la Glorieuse Révolution (1999); Esthétiques de la nouveauté à la Renaissance (2001); Innovation et tradition de la Renaissance aux Lumières (2002); Enfers et délices à la Renaissance (2003, the last four works coedited with F. Laroque, Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle); Les fondements philosophiques de la tolérance (2002, coedited with Y. C. Zarka and J. Rogers, Paris, 3 vols.).

A. P. Martinich is Roy Allison Vaughan Centennial Professor in Philosophy and Professor of History, Government and Religious Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His book *Hobbes: A Biography* (Cambridge, 1999) won the Robert Hamilton Book Award in 2000. He's also the author of *The Two Gods of Leviathan* (Cambridge, 1992) and *Hobbes* (London, 2005).

GIANNI PAGANINI is Professor of History of Philosophy at the Università del Piemonte Orientale, Faculty of Humanities (Vercelli). His main publications include *Pierre Bayle* (Florence, 1991), the critical edition of the previously unpublished libertine Latin text *Theophrastus redivivus* (with G. Canziani, Florence, 1981–2, 2 vols.), the history of skepticism (to which he is devoting a book: *Skepsis*, forthcoming), and Hobbes and his relations with the French context (above all Gassendi) and Renaissance sources (see the most recent essay, 'Hobbes, Gassendi und die Hypothese der Weltvernichtung', in *Konstellationsforschung*, ed. by Martin Mulsow und Marcelo Stamm (Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 2005).



xiv Contributors

Jon Parkin is a Lecturer in the Department of Politics, University of York. He is the author of *Science*, *Religion and Politics in Restoration England* (Woodbridge, 1999) and a forthcoming book on the reception of Hobbes titled *Taming the Leviathan: The Reception of the Political and Religious Ideas of Thomas Hobbes* 1640–1700.

G. A. J. (John) Rogers is Professor Emeritus of the History of Philosophy at Keele University. He is founder-editor of the *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*. His publications mostly relate to seventeenth-century British philosophy and include, with Karl Schuhmann, a critical edition of *Leviathan*. His book, *Locke's Enlightenment*, was published in 1998, and he is currently editing *Drafts of Locke's 'Essay'* for the Clarendon Edition.

QUENTIN SKINNER is the Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge. His publications include *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978, 2 vols.); *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996); *Liberty before Liberalism* (1998); and *Visions of Politics* (2002, 3 vols.), all published by Cambridge University Press.

Gabriella Slomp (Ph.D. London School of Economics) is a lecturer at the University of St Andrews. She is author of *Thomas Hobbes and the Political Philosophy of Glory* (Macmillan/St Martin's Press, 2000) and *Carl Schmitt and the Politics of Hostility, Violence and Terror* (Palgrave, forthcoming). She is currently editing a book, *Milestones in Hobbesian Scholarship*, in Tom Campbell's *Key Contemporary Thinkers* series.

JOHANN SOMMERVILLE is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. His publications include *Royalists and Patriots. Politics and Ideology in England 1603–1640*, second edition (Harlow, 1999) and *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context* (Houndmills, 1992).

Patricia Springborg, formerly professor in political theory at the University of Sydney, is now a professor in the School of Economics of the Free University of Bolzano, Italy. Her publications include The Problem of Human Needs and the Critique of Civilization (London, 1981), Royal Persons (London, 1990), Western Republicanism and the Oriental Prince (Cambridge, 1992), Mary Astell:



Contributors xv

Theorist of Freedom from Domination (Cambridge, 2005), and three editions of Mary Astell's writings. She has published a number of articles on Hobbes and has coedited a critical edition of Hobbes's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Paris, in press).

Tom Sorell is John Ferguson Professor in the Department of Philosophy, University of Birmingham. He is the author of *Hobbes* (1986) and editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes* (1994), *Hobbes and History* with John Rogers (2000), and *Leviathan After 350 Years* with Luc Foisneau (2004).

JOHAN TRALAU teaches politics at Uppsala universitet. He has been a visiting scholar in Berlin, New York, Rome, and Hanover. He regularly writes for newspapers and magazines. In 1997 he received the Essay Prize for younger scholars from HSFR, the Swedish Council of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Recent publications include Människoskymning (Stockholm & Stehag, 2002); German translation: Menschendämmerung. Karl Marx, Ernst Jünger und der Untergang des Selbst (Freiburg and Munich, 2005); and 'Tragedy as Political Theory. The Self-Destruction of Antigone's Laws', History of Political Thought, vol. 26, no. 4, 2005.

GEORGE WRIGHT is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin in Superior. His *Religion, Politics and Thomas Hobbes* recently appeared in Springer's Archives internationales d'histoire des idées Series. He and Luc Foisneau edited the collection *New Critical Perspectives on Hobbes's* Leviathan *upon the 350th Anniversary of Its Publication* for the *Rivista di storia della filosofia*; it was published separately by Franco Angeli in its Collana di filosofia series. He is currently at work on a book that addresses issues in American constitutional law.

Perez Zagorin is Joseph C. Wilson Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Rochester, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a Fellow of the Shannon Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Virginia. He has written widely on the politics, religion, culture, and intellectual history of early modern Britain and Europe and is the author of a number of essays on Hobbes's political and moral philosophy. His most recent books are How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West and Thucydides. An Introduction for the Common Reader.





METHOD OF CITATION

- Beh., Behemoth, or The Long Parliament [1679], ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (London, 1889, facsimile edn., ed. Stephen Holmes, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1990). All citations to Behemoth (Beh.) are to the Tönnies edition unless otherwise noted.
- DCo = De Corpore (Elementorum philosophiae sectio prima) [1655], introduction, édition critique latine, annotation par Karl Schuhmann, Thomas Hobbes oeuvres complètes (Paris, Vrin, 1999), cited by chapter in roman numerals and paragraph in arabic numerals.
- Dialogue = Dialogue Concerning the Common Laws [1681], 1681 (EW, VI), in Hobbes, Writings on Common Law and Hereditary Right, ed. Alan Cromartie and Quentin Skinner (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2005), unless otherwise indicated.
- DM = Th. Hobbes: ms. Paris BN lat. 6566A, untitled. Th. Hobbes, Critique du De Mundo de Thomas White. Edition critique d'un texte inédit par Jean Jaquot et Harold Whitmore Jones (Paris, Vrin, 1973).
- *DNB* = *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995).
- *EW* = *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. Sir William Molesworth, 11 vols. (London, Bohn, 1839–45).
- Hobbes, Correspondence = Hobbes, The Correspondence, ed. Noel Malcolm, Clarendon Edition of the Works of Hobbes (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994), vols. 6 and 7.
- Hist. Narr. = Historical Narration Concerning Heresy, 1668 (EW, IV).
- Lev., Leviathan, = Leviathan [1651], with selected variants from the Latin edition of 1668 ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis,

xvii



xviii Method of Citation

Hackett Publishing Company, 1994), referencing chapter (small Roman numerals), section (Arabic numerals), followed by pagination of the Head edition/the Curley edition.

OL = Thomae Hobbes . . . Opera Philosophica quae Latine scrisit omnia, Sir William Molesworth, ed., 5 vols. (London, Bohn, 1839–45).



THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO HOBBES'S LEVIATHAN