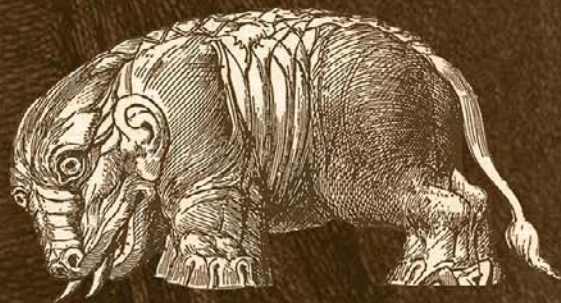


A large, detailed engraving of Thomas Hobbes' face and upper torso, showing his characteristic features like his mustache and a high-collared garment. The background of the entire cover has a faint, repeating pattern of the Behemoth creature.

Hobbes's Behemoth

Religion and Democracy



Edited by Tomaz Mastnak

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HOBBS'S BEHEMOTH
Religion and Democracy

Edited by Toma Mastnak

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Preface

The present volume originates in the 2003 international issue of *Filozofski vestnik*, the journal of the Institute of Philosophy in the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana. Contributions have been revised for the present edition and a substantive introduction has been added. I want to thank Matjaž Vesel, Managing Editor of *Filozofski Vestnik*, and Peter Klepec, Editor-in-Chief of *Filozofski Vestnik*, for giving me permission to reprint material from the *Behemoth* issue of *Filozofski vestnik*. I also want to thank Rado Riha, Head of the Institute of Philosophy, for his understanding and support of this project.

I thank John Dunn, Stephen Holmes, István Hont, Noel Malcolm, and Richard Tuck for their encouragement and advice at the beginning of this project. I prepared the *Behemoth* issue of *Filozofski vestnik* while a Visiting Research Fellow at the Remarque Institute of New York University. I am thankful to its Director, Tony Judt, and Jair Kessler, the Assistant Director, for their hospitality.

I prepared the present volume at the University of California, Irvine, where I am a visiting researcher. My special thanks are due to Bill Maurer, Chair of the Department of Anthropology, and David Goldberg, Director of the University of California Humanities Research Institute, who provided me with an institutional home and workspace in California.

I am grateful to my wife, Julia Elyachar, for her support through the various incarnations of this project, to my son Elijan for the behemoths and leviathans he drew for the book, and to my son Martin for his hummingbirds.

Ruth Turner has read, commented on, and edited portions of the manuscript. I am deeply grateful for her work. I would like to acknowledge the crucial role Gabriella Slomp played in the process of turning the original journal issue into a book. I would also like to thank Paolo Cristofolini and Rina Nicastro for kindly sending me

a copy of Onofrio Nicastro's *Note sul Behemoth di Thomas Hobbes*, and Paul Seaward for allowing me to read the manuscript of his critical edition of *Behemoth* for the Clarendon edition of Hobbes.

Note on Citation

Throughout this volume, the following abbreviations are used:

EW

The English Works of Thomas Hobbes, ed. Sir William Molesworth, 11 vols (London: John Bohn, 1839-45).

OL

Opera Philosophica quae latine scripsit omnia, ed. Sir William Molesworth, 5 vols (London: John Bohn, 1839-45).

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Tomaž Mastnak - Introduction: The Ways of 'Behemoth'

In the Old Testament *Book of Job*, God spoke to Job of *behemoth* and said: 'He *is* the chief of the ways of God'.¹ Biblical exegetes and translators have reached no agreement about the meaning of this obscure verse. Hobbes's *Behemoth* is relatively obscure as well. Even Hobbes scholars have neglected *Behemoth*. When read, it has been understood (and misunderstood) in many different ways.

The present volume stems from the belief that *Behemoth* is a major work of Hobbes's. It puts *Behemoth* where it belongs: firmly within the scope of serious debates of Hobbes's thought. In this introduction, I trace the ways in which *Behemoth* has come down to us: when it was written, how it was published, and how it has been understood since it began to circulate in public - first as an unlicensed manuscript. Such an overview of past treatments will make clear, I hope, how the present volume contributes to the discussion about *Behemoth* and opens up future lines of research.

I. Fanatical pamphlet

When it was first discussed in public, Hobbes's *Behemoth* was called a 'fanatical pamphlet'. John Whitehall, a 'Barrester at Law' of the Inner Temple, published in London in 1680 his *Behemoth Arraign'd: or a Vindication of Property Against a Fanatical Pamphlet Stiled Behemoth: or, the History of the Civill Wars of England, from 1640 to 1660. Subscribed by Tho. Hobbes of Malmsbury*. The author accused Hobbes of siding with Oliver Cromwell in 1651. His *Leviathan* taught the people of England 'that their *subjection to their natural Sovereign ... was at an end*, he being then incapable

[1] Job 40: 19. I cite *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, With an Introduction and Notes by R. Carroll and S. Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

to protect them; and that they were absolved, and might submit to any one else that could protect them'.² In 1679, Whitehall continued, Hobbes's *Behemoth* appeared in various editions.³ '[T] here is a strange Creature risen up called *BEHEMOTH*', he wrote. Whereas 'it was the part of the *Leviathan*', because it absolved the people from subjection, 'perpetually to separate the Subjects from their King', *Behemoth* tried to 'separate the King in his affection from his Subjects'. *Behemoth* did that because it told the king, 'with a *flattering slyness*, the *absoluteness* of his Power, the injuriousness of *Parliaments*, and that all the *Property* of the People of *England* is at his *Arbitrary* dispose, being Master of the Militia'.⁴

Whitehall also accused Hobbes of bringing up again the painful experience of the civil war. The ill that had been done, and which was 'sufficiently manifest to the world', was 'by the *goodness* and *mercy* of the King, buried in *Oblivion*. And now to rake into *old Wounds* concerning the King and his People, is certainly a thing very *unchristian*, and the hearing of it pleasant to neither'.⁵ Whitehall

[2] John Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd: or a Vindication of Property Against a Fanatical Pamphlet Stiled Behemoth: or, the History of the Civill Wars of England, from 1640 to 1660. Subscribed by Tho. Hobbes of Malmsbury* (London, 1680), 2-3.

[3] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, Advertisement. Whitehall used 'that in 12o, which is of a very small Character, and printed 1679'. This seems to correspond to no. 88 in Hugh Macdonald and Mary Hargreaves, *Thomas Hobbes: A Bibliography* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1952).

[4] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 3-4.

[5] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 5. Hobbes, in fact, conformed to the articles of the Indemnity and Oblivion Act of 1660, which did not allow giving the names of those involved in the civil war who were still alive, and even made a point of it: 'It is not necessary to name any man, seeing I have undertaken only a short narration of the follies and other faults of men during this trouble; but not (by naming the persons) to give you, or any man else, occasion to esteem them the less, now that the faults on all sides have been

objected to Hobbes's 'declaiming against the Proceedings of the Parliament in 1641' only in so far as it 'reflect[ed] upon *Parliaments in general*'.⁶ But the main criticism Whitehall leveled at Hobbes was that his *Behemoth* threatened property. A threat to property was a threat to liberty:

No man shall be *disseized*, or put out of his *Free-hold*, or *Free-customs*, or *Liberties*, except by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land. Here's the Subject secured in his *real Estate*, of which onely can be disseizing, and also *personal Estate*: for 'tis the greatest *Franchise* or Liberty (next his *Person* secured before) a man can enjoy, not to have his Money taken from him arbitrarily, whereby he may follow his Traffick.⁷

Some of those liberties were 'due by Custom', which preceded statutes. Not surprisingly, Hobbes attacked the customary law: 'But after *Behemoth* hath made a *mortal blow*, as he might well think, at *Property*, he comes like his Brother *Leviathan*, to knock down the *Common-Law*'.⁸

Insinuating that the king 'may take all our Properties', *Behemoth* would turn English people into slaves and the king into an Oriental prince: 'For that to be a *most absolute Sovereign*, and to have all Power possible, is to be like the *Mogul* or *Great Turk*, to take and destroy all put under him at his own will and pleasure'. That was a '*sedition*' doctrine, and 'dangerous to the Government'.⁹ English government was precisely that 'mixt Monarchy', with which Hobbes quarrelled

forgiven'. See Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth or the Long Parliament*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies, with an Introduction by Stephen Holmes (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 117. (If not otherwise indicated, I cite this edition.)

[6] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 4.

[7] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 37.

[8] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 44.

[9] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 78-80.

in *Behemoth* because he thought it necessarily undermined the supreme power, led into anarchy, and put an end to peace.¹⁰ For its 'dangerous position', *Behemoth* gave 'no reason' and was thus 'no Statesman'.¹¹

Because of its perceived lack of statemanship, *Behemoth* was for Whitehall an 'Object of Pity'. As such, he declared, 'I pass him by'.¹² At the end of his pamphlet he felt he needed to justify his having been so 'severe' with Hobbes. He was told he had been 'too severe' already in his critique of *Leviathan*, published a year earlier than his critique of *Behemoth*.¹³ He responded to such misgivings as follows:

let it be considered that I am *an English man*, and how severe the *Leviathan* hath been to *Religion* and the *King*: And if I seem to have been too severe in *this* against *Behemoth*, let it likewise be considered that I am *an English man*, and that *Behemoth* hath been as severe with my *Property*; which is as dear to me as my *Life*.¹⁴

[10] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 80-2.

[11] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 78, 82.

[12] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 82.

[13] John Whitehall, *The Leviathan found out, or, The answer to Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan in that which my Lord of Clarendon hath past over* (London, 1679). In his *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 51, Whitehall cited Clarendon's critique of *Leviathan* as, also, a proper 'answer to *Behemoth*'. The most extensive discussion of Whitehall's 'indictment of Hobbes' is John Bowle, *Hobbes and His Critics: A Study in Seventeenth Century Constitutionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), ch. 9. Bowle focused his discussion on *The Leviathan found out* and dismissed *Behemoth Arraign'd* as containing 'little that is fresh to Whitehall's argument'. *Ibid.*, 175 n. 1. Recently, Whitehall's critique of *Behemoth* has been discussed in Jon Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan: The Reception of the Political and Religious Ideas of Thomas Hobbes in England, 1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 340-2.

[14] Whitehall, *Behemoth Arraign'd*, 92.

II. Date of composition, printed editions, translations

Hobbes did not live to read Whitehall's critique, but he lived long enough to learn that his *Behemoth* appeared in an unauthorized printing. To all appearance, he did not welcome the news. 'I have been told that my booke of the Civill Warr is come abroad', he wrote to his friend John Aubrey, 'and I am sorry for it, especially because I could not get his majesty to license it, not because it is ill printed or has a foolish title set to it, for I believe that any ingenious man may understand the wickednesse of that time, notwithstanding the errors of the presse'.¹⁵ Hobbes explained more about his failed attempt to get the license in a letter to his publisher William Crooke:

I would fain have published my Dialogue of the Civil Wars of *England*, long ago; and to that end I presented it to his Majesty: and some days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought him to let me print it; but his Majesty (though he heard me gratusly, yet he) flatly refused to have it published. Therefore I brought away the Book, and gave you leave to take a Copy of it; which when you had done, I gave the Original to an honourable and learned Friend, who about a year after died. The King knows better, and is more concerned in publishing of Books than I am: Therefore I dare not venture to appear in the business, lest it should offend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in the business. Rather than to be thought any way to further or countenance the printing, I would be content to lose twenty times the value of what you can expect to gain by it, &c - I pray do not take it ill.¹⁶

[15] Hobbes to John Aubrey, 18 [128] August 1679, in *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. N. Malcolm (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 2. 772.

[16] Hobbes to William Crooke, 19 [129] June 1679, *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, 2. 771.

These late letters of Hobbes indicate, first, that the book we know under the title of *Behemoth* was written 'long ago'. Hobbes most probably began working on the manuscript in 1666, when he mentioned an 'epitome' of English 'troubles' (a term often used to describe the civil war) to François du Verdus, his French correspondent and translator.¹⁷ There is evidence that he was still working on it in 1668 and, if we rely on his autobiographical statement that he wrote it when he was about eighty years old,¹⁸ he probably finished it in 1669.¹⁹ We also learn from these letters that Hobbes was declined permission to publish the work and that the work then circulated in manuscript.²⁰ In the last year of Hobbes's life, four pirated editions were published, and another was to follow

[17] The letter from 20 July 1666 is lost, but Verdus, in his response to Hobbes, wrote of 'votre Epitome de vos Troubles'. Verdus to Hobbes, [3/] 13 April 1668. *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, 2. 697. See also Karl Schuhmann, *Hobbes: Une chronique* (Paris: Vrin, 1998), 198.

[18] *T. Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vita*, OL 1. xx; cf. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), 1. 401.

[19] A detailed discussion is forthcoming in Paul Seaward's 'General Introduction' to the Clarendon edition of *Behemoth*.

[20] See John Aubrey [to John Locke], 11 February 1673, no. 268, in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976-89), 1. 376. William Croke wrote in 1682 that Hobbes gave him the manuscript 'above twelve years since'. 'The Bookseller to the Reader', prefixed to the publication of *Behemoth* in *Tracts of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury, Containing I. Behemoth, the History of the Causes of the Civil Wars of England, from 1640. to 1660.* printed from the Author's own Copy: Never printed (but with a thousand faults) before. II. An answer to Arch-Bishop Bramhall's Book, called the Catching of the Leviathan: Never printed before. III. An Historical Narration of Heresie, and the Punishment thereof: Corrected by the true Copy. IV. Philosophical Problems, dedicated to the King in 1662, but never printed before (London, Printed for W. Croke, 1682).

in 1680.²¹ Hobbes almost certainly did not play a role in those initiatives²² and we may accept as genuine his regrets that the book was printed. In what is probably his last letter, Hobbes thanked William Croke for taking his 'advice in not stirring about the printing of my Book concerning the Civil Wars of *England*, &c.'²³

The first 'legitimate' edition of *Behemoth* appeared posthumously, printed by Croke in 1682 in *Tracts of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury*. In a note to the reader, Croke wrote the following:

I am compell'd by the force of Truth to declare, how much both the World, and the Name of Mr. *Hobbs* have been abus'd by the several spurious Editions of the History of the Civil Wars; wherein, by various and unskilful Transcriptions, are committed above a thousand faults, and in above a hundred places whole Lines left out, as I can make appear.

Croke went on to 'confess' that

Mr. *Hobbs*, upon some considerations, was averse to the publishing thereof; but since it is impossible to suppress it; no Book being more commonly sold by all Booksellers, I hope I need not fear the Offence of any Man, by doing Right to the World and this Work. Which I now Publish from the Original Manuscript, done by his

[21] See Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Thomas Hobbes: A Bibliography*, nos. 86-9; Onofrio Nicastro, 'Nota al testo', in Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth*, ed. and trans. O. Nicastro (Bari: Laterza, 1979), XLVIII-XLIX. A detailed description of these editions is forthcoming in Paul Seaward's 'Textual Introduction' to Clarendon edition of *Behemoth*.

[22] Or at least wanted it to appear that he did not, as stated by Onofrio Nicastro. Nicastro, 'Introduzione', in his edition of *Behemoth*, IX.

[23] Hobbes to William Croke, 18 [28] August 1679, *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, 2. 774.

own Amanuensis, and given me by himself above twelve years since.²⁴

Three years later, Crooke certainly did not tone down the language of advertising. His edition of Hobbes's *Behemoth* was

printed now from his own perfect Copy, in which is many pages more than was in the former *Counterfeit Edition*; none of which Editions before this, had less than *a thousand faults* in them, whole Lines left out in *a hundred places*, which did extremely pervert the sence of the Author *Tho. Hobbs*.²⁵

Two hundred years later, the claim that Crooke was in possession of the 'Original Manuscript' began to be questioned, but his edition was reprinted a number of times. Crooke himself also sold it 'single', as 'the perfect edition'.²⁶ It was printed in *The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury* in 1750,²⁷ which was the only eighteenth-century edition, and then in Francis Maseres's

[24] 'The Bookseller to the Reader', in *Tracts of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury*.

[25] Item 23 in 'A Catalogue of BOOKS printed and sold by William Crooke Bookseller, at the Sign of the *Green Dragon* without *Temple-bar*, nigh the Passage into the *Temple* by *Devereux-Court*, 1685', appended to Basil Ringrose, *Bucaniers of America the second volume: containing the dangerous voyage and bold attempts of Captain Bartholomew Sharp, and others, performed upon the coasts of the South Sea, for the space of two years, &c.* (London, 1685).

[26] Item 24 in 'A Catalogue of BOOKS printed and sold by William Crooke Bookseller', cited in the previous note.

[27] *The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Never before collected together. To which is prefixed, the Author's Life* (London, 1750), 487 ff.

collection of writings on the English civil war,²⁸ in Molesworth's edition of Hobbes's collected works,²⁹ in reprints of Molesworth's collected works,³⁰ and as a separate edition.³¹

In 1889, a new edition of *Behemoth*, prepared by Ferdinand Tönnies, was printed in London. One of the founders of sociology in Germany, Tönnies had also made an important contribution to the initiation of Hobbes studies. His edition of *Behemoth* is a story worth the *péripéties* on the way to the first appearances of this work of Hobbes's in print. Tönnies learned of *Behemoth* from Friedrich Paulsen, with whom Tönnies made friends after having attended, as a student, his course in philosophy at the University of Berlin. Paulsen, himself interested in the relation of Hobbes, the political theorist, to the political events of his time, encouraged Tönnies's studies of the English philosopher.³² Those studies led Tönnies

[28] *Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England, in the reign of King Charles the First; by writers who lived in the time of those wars, and were witnesses of the events which they describe* (London: R. Wilks, 1815). Ferdinand Tönnies noticed in this reprint 'a few alterations from conjecture'. 'Preface' to *Behemoth or the Long Parliament. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Edited for the first time from the original ms. by Ferdinand Tönnies, PhD* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1889), ix n.1.

[29] EW 6. 161-418.

[30] The first reprint was by Scientia Verlag, Aalen, 1962; a second printing followed in 1966. Currently, volumes from this edition are printed on demand and available in electronic edition (Charlottesville, V.A.: InteLex Corporation, 1995).

[31] Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth: the history of the causes of the civil wars of England, and of the counsels and artifices by which they were carried on from the year 1640 to the year 1660. Edited by William Molesworth*, Burt Franklin research and source works series no. 38 (New York: B. Franklin, [1962]); 2nd printing in 1963.

[32] Paulsen to Tönnies, 30 December 1877, in Ferdinand Tönnies and Friedrich Paulsen, *Briefwechsel, 1876-1908*, ed. O. Klose, E. G. Jacoby, and I. Fischer (Kiel: Ferdinand Hirt, 1961), 9. A good two

to London and Hardwick, where he discovered the manuscripts of *The Elements of Law* and of the *Short Tract*,³³ and to Oxford, where he found the manuscript of *Behemoth*, preserved at St. John's College, which he believed was the original manuscript.³⁴ G. Croom Robertson, whom Tönnies met during his second visit to England in 1884,³⁵ announced the edition of *The Elements* and *Behemoth* in October that year in the influential journal *Mind*, whose editor he was. Tönnies's edition of *Behemoth* was announced as 'the pure text of *Behemoth*.'³⁶

Three years later, Robertson published another note in the same journal, explaining that Tönnies's editions of the *Elements* and *Behemoth*, which had been 'announced to appear in the winter of 1884', were,

in point of fact, almost completely printed off early in 1885. After an unexplained delay of eighteenth months on the part of the publisher, the remaining few pages ... were got into print last autumn, and nothing appeared

weeks later, Tönnies was already reading *Behemoth* in *The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes*. Tönnies to Paulsen, 17 January 1878, *ibid.*, 12.

[33] Tönnies to Paulsen, 21 August 1878, *Briefwechsel*, 39.

[34] See E. G. Jacoby, *Die moderne Gesellschaft in sozialwissenschaftlichen Denken von Ferdinand Tönnies: Eine biographische Einführung* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1971), 122. A detailed description and analysis of *Behemoth* manuscripts is forthcoming in Paul Seaward's 'Textual Introduction' to Clarendon edition of *Behemoth*.

[35] Tönnies to Paulsen, 11 May 1884, *Briefwechsel*, 199. The meeting could not take place during his first visit because of Robertson's poor health. See Tönnies, '[Lebenserinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1935 an Kindheit, Schulzeit, Studium und erste Dozententätigkeit (1855-94)]', in vol. 23, pt.2 of *Ferdinand Tönnies Gesamtausgabe* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998-), 542-3.

[36] Editor's note in *Mind* 9 (1884), no. 36, 618.

to stand in the way of definitive publication in October. Since then it has been found impossible, by any and every means yet employed, to obtain from Mr. Thornton the least hint of his intentions regarding the volumes, or any kind of accommodation by which the results of the foreign scholar's laborious research may be allowed to see the light.³⁷

'Mr. Thornton', the prospective publisher, was the Oxford publisher James Thornton, who had recently published a reprint of Andrew Crooke's first edition of *Leviathan*.³⁸

By the end of 1885, Tönnies contemplated a new journey to London and Oxford, because Thornton had not replied to his letters. He feared that the publisher was going to defraud him.³⁹ In 1886, Robertson published his book on Hobbes. Tönnies complained to a friend that Robertson did not acknowledge in his book what he had taken from Tönnies. But, Tönnies added with some sarcasm, Robertson was nevertheless so kind as to offer his help with Thornton, and wrote to him - apparently with 'no success'.⁴⁰ In the summer of 1888, Tönnies traveled to England to

[37] *Mind* 12 (1887), no. 47, 481 n. 1. In his memoirs, Tönnies spoke of his 1884 journey to London to see his two editions of Hobbes through print, but that the project became, due to a 'total failure of the publisher [das gänzliche Versagen des Verlegers]', a cause for many worries. Tönnies, '[Lebenserinnerungen]', 549.

[38] *Leviathan, or the matter, forme, and power of a common-wealth ecclesiasticall and civill*. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (Oxford: James Thornton, 1881). That was a small edition of 250 copies on Dutch hand-made paper.

[39] Tönnies to Paulsen, 23 November 1885, *Briefwechsel*, 220.

[40] Tönnies to Paulsen, 14 July 1886, *Briefwechsel*, 225. Tönnies wrote a lengthy review of Robertson's book, in which he kept silent about Robertson's silence about his debt to Tönnies. See *Philosophische Monatshefte* 23 (1887), 287-306. But see Tönnies,

deal with the still unresolved problem.⁴¹ Thornton went bankrupt and Tönnies decided to buy off the printed copies from the Unwin Brothers printing house himself, he paid for the binding, and commissioned the London firm Simpkin, Marshall & Co. to sell the books. In 1889, *Behemoth* and *The Elements of Law* were finally on the market.⁴² Robertson welcomed the new editions and praised the 'service here rendered by a foreign scholar to the reputation of a great English thinker'.⁴³

But Tönnies's trials were not yet over. In December 1895, most of the printed copies perished in a fire in Chilworth, Surrey, where they were stored. Only about 20 copies each of *Behemoth* and the *Elements* survived which was about as many as Tönnies had in his possession.⁴⁴ At that point, he did not keep his feelings secret. 'The misfortune, linked with these books, has been big', he wrote to a friend.

That I spent a very big amount of time and effort on this, that the printing cost me 2,000 M[arks], from which hardly as many hundreds have returned, all this does not count that much; that I, however - if I leave aside your mindfulness and a few isolated notices - have not received a whiff of thankfulness from the learned world makes it hard for me to resist bitterness in my heart. If Hobbes

'Hobbes-Analekten', *Archiv für Philosophie* XVII (1904), 316-17, where he did say something on the subject.

[41] Tönnies to Harald Höffding, 14 October 1888, in Ferdinand Tönnies and Harald Höffding, *Briefwechsel*, ed. C. Bickel and R. Fechner (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), 34.

[42] See Jacoby, *Die moderne Gesellschaft*, 20.

[43] Review of *The Elements of Law Natural and Politic*. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, and *Behemoth or the Long Parliament*. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, *Mind* 14 (1889), no. 55, 429, 433.

[44] Tönnies to Höffding, 15 December 1895, *Briefwechsel*, 47; Ferdinand Tönnies, *Hobbes Leben und Lehre* (Stuttgart: Friedrich Fromman, 1896), X.

were an Alexandrian commentator on Aristotle, I would, with the reconstruction of those works, doubtlessly have had to become a member of the Berlin Academy.⁴⁵

One of those 'notices' was the announcement in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* that

DR. FERDINAND TÖNNIES, the editor of the famous works of Hobbes, *The Behemoth* and *The Elements of Law*, has made the Academy the authorized agent for the sale of these books in America, permitting them to be sold to members of the Academy at cost price. This is a rare opportunity to obtain two books which should be in the library of any person interested in political science.⁴⁶

What was left after the fire, Tönnies offered for sale himself.⁴⁷ In the mid-1920s, he still felt that the recognition for his work on Hobbes had not been forthcoming - especially not from England and America.⁴⁸ This was rectified, though much later, with the reprinting of his edition of *Behemoth*: in 1969 in London with

[45] Tönnies to Höffding, 15 December 1895, *Briefwechsel*, 47.

[46] 'Notes', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 1 (1891), 512.

[47] Tönnies, *Hobbes Leben und Lehre*, X. In the second edition of his Hobbes book, Tönnies announced that there were only a very few copies available, which could be obtained directly from him 'as long as the stock lasts'. Ferdinand Tönnies, *Thomas Hobbes der Mann und der Denker* (Osterwieck and Leipzig: A. W. Wickfeldt, 1912), XIV.

[48] Tönnies to Höffding, 2 September 1925, *Briefwechsel*, 171.

M. M. Goldsmith's introduction,⁴⁹ and in 1990 in Chicago with Stephen Holmes's introduction.⁵⁰

The first known translation of *Behemoth* was into Latin. It was made in 1708 by Adam Ebert, Professor at Frankfurt an der Oder University, and deposited by him in the King of Prussia's library.⁵¹ German translation was appended to a study of Hobbes's relation to the 'political parties of the great English revolution' by Julius Lips. The translation was done by Lips and reviewed by Tönnies, who also wrote a preface as a gesture of support for the 'young scholar'.⁵² Italian translation was prepared by Onofrio Nicastro and appeared at the third centenary of the first, unauthorized, English printing of *Behemoth*.⁵³ A French translation by Luc Borot appeared as a volume in the outstanding French edition of Hobbes's collected works.⁵⁴ Both translations are based on scrupulous original research and collation of printed editions and manuscripts. Both also have substantial introductions. Spanish and Slovenian translations,

[49] *Behemoth or the Long Parliament, by Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Edited by Ferdinand Tönnies, Second edition, With a new Introduction by M.M. Goldsmith* (London: Frank Cass, 1969); also printed in the US (New York: Barnes and Noble, [1969]).

[50] Hobbes, *Behemoth* (see n. 5).

[51] See Noel Malcolm's contribution in this volume.

[52] Julius Lips, *Die Stellung des Thomas Hobbes zu den politischen Parteien der großen englischen Revolution. Mit erstmaliger Übersetzung des Behemoth oder Das Lange Parlament. Mit einem Einführung von Ferdinand Tönnies* (Leipzig: E. Wiegandt, 1927; reprint Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970). A revised Lips's translation was published by Herfried Münkler: *Thomas Hobbes, Behemoth oder Das Lange Parlament*, trans. J. Lips, revised by H. Münkler (Frankfurt/M: Fischer, 1991). Münkler added ten pages of explanatory notes and a postscriptum, 'Thomas Hobbes' Analytik des Bürgerkrieges'.

[53] See n. 21.

[54] Thomas Hobbes, *Béhémouth ou Le Long Parlement*, ed. and trans. Luc Borot (Paris: Vrin, 1990).

prepared on the basis of Tönnies's edition, also have a sizable introduction and postscript, respectively.⁵⁵

III. Books and articles on *Behemoth*

What I have presented so far is a brief outline of the history of the writing and publication of *Behemoth*. That history is convoluted enough and still awaits a critical edition as its symbolic closure. The history of the reception of *Behemoth* is much more open-ended. *Behemoth* has always been overshadowed by the more famous *Leviathan*, and students of Hobbes have generally neglected it.

There is evidence that allows us to infer that, when it was first printed, *Behemoth* made quite a stir. One piece of that evidence is Crooke's statement that, at the turn of the 1670s and 80s, 'no Book [was] being more commonly sold by all Booksellers' than *Behemoth*.⁵⁶ Once he himself published it, Crooke kept advertising it for years.⁵⁷ One should also bear in mind that *Behemoth* first appeared in a time of great political agitation.⁵⁸ It seems to have been among those books 'which reflect contemporary concerns'.⁵⁹

[55] Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth: Estudio preliminar, traducción y notas de Miguel Ángel Rodilla* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1992); Thomas Hobbes, *Behemot, ali Dolgi parlament*, trans. Z. Erbe9nik, postscript T. Mastnak (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 2005).

[56] See n. 24.

[57] See 'A Catalogue of BOOKS printed and sold by *William Crooke* Bookseller', attached to Ringrose, *Bucaniers of America* (see n. 25); and 'BOOKS Printed for *W. Crooke*, at the *Green-Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*. 1691', appended to John Wright, *A sermon preached at the parish church of Solihull in Warwickshire, December 21. 1690 On occasion of the death of Anne, the wife of the reverend and worshipful Henry Greswold* (London, 1691).

[58] Nicastrò, 'Introduzione', VII ff.; Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 337.

[59] See James L. Salter, 'The Books of an Early Eighteenth-Century Curate', *The Library*, ser. 5, 33 (1978), no. 1, 35. Salter published the probate inventory of a young Warwickshire curate, who died

Its pirated editions may have been put on the market as a warning against a threatening civil war.⁶⁰ For the conservatives 'who felt that they were now reliving the crisis of the 1640s, *Behemoth* could not have been more relevant'.⁶¹ 'At that Time, when Things were fresh in Memory', one can read in the 1750 edition of Hobbes's works, *Behemoth* 'was much read and admired'.⁶² But, on the other hand, the book was rarely mentioned in print⁶³ - I have only found

in 1705. Among the books of the curate, who matriculated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1694/95, there was the 1679 printing of *Behemoth, History of the causes of the civil wars of England*, bought for 1 s. *Ibid.*, 42.

[60] Hans-Dieter Metzger, *Thomas Hobbes und die Englische Revolution, 1640-1660* (Stuttgart: Frommann-holzboog, 1991), 311.

[61] Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 339.

[62] 'The Life of Thomas Hobbes', in *The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes*, xx.

[63] It was mentioned, though, in discussions of the Privy Council on 'illegal provocative literature of all kinds' in September 1679, and in private correspondence. See Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 340.

references in James Tyrrell,⁶⁴ Peter Pett,⁶⁵ and Anthony Wood⁶⁶ - and Whitehall's *Behemoth Arraign'd* was to be the only book, or booklet, published on this work of Hobbes's for almost three hundred years.

It is thus understandable that the observation that *Behemoth* has been much neglected by historians in general and Hobbes scholars in particular is widespread in the relevant literature.⁶⁷ Soon

[64] The reference is to *Hobs's* 'little Dialogue of the civil wars of England'. *Patriarcha non Monarcha. The Patriarch Unmonarch'd: being Observations on A late Treatise and divers other Miscellanies, Published under the Name of Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet, etc.* (London, 1681), 151; see also Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 365.

[65] Peter Pett, *The obligation resulting from the Oath of Supremacy to assist and defend the pre-eminence or prerogative of the dispensative power belonging to the King, his heirs and successors, etc.* (London, 1687), 22; idem, *The happy future state of England: or, a discourse by way of letter to the late Earl of Anglesey, etc.* (London, 1688), The Preface to the Reader D*, 70, 188, 200. On Pett, see Mark Goldie, 'Sir Peter Pett, Sceptical Toryism and the Science of Toleration in the 1680s', in *Persecution and Toleration: Papers read at the twenty-second summer meeting and the twenty-third winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 21 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984). Goldie, *ibid.*, 247, characterized *The happy future state of England* as 'eirenic, Erastian and Hobbesian in outlook'.

[66] Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, etc.* (London, 1692), 2. col. 481. Cf. Anthony Wood, *Athenae oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford. To which are added the Fasti, or Annals of the said University*, ed. Ph. Bliss (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington et al., 1813-20), 3. col. 1213.

[67] Within this consensus, A. P. Martinich, *Thomas Hobbes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 111, is unique in pointing out that the neglect of *Behemoth* was linked to the neglect of the second half

after Tönnies's edition appeared, James Fitzjames Stephen wrote that the work 'ought to be far better known than it is'.⁶⁸ Eighty years later MacGillivray stated that the work had been 'unjustly neglected',⁶⁹ while Richard Ashcraft pointed out that in the 'scores of considerations of Hobbes' political theory extant, virtually no attention has been paid to his *Behemoth*'.⁷⁰ Recently, Jeffrey Collins has called *Behemoth* 'Hobbes's most neglected major work'.⁷¹ From one of Hobbes's 'minor works' in Stephen's article,⁷² *Behemoth* has

of *Leviathan*. He credited John Pocock for having done 'much to change this situation'; so did Richard Tuck, 'The Civil Religion of Thomas Hobbes', in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). See J. G. A. Pocock, 'Time, History, and Eschatology in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes', in *The Diversity of History: Essays in honour of Sir Herbert Butterfield*, eds J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, [1970]). Jean Terrel, *Le vocabulaire de Hobbes* (Paris: Ellipses, 2003), 61, suggests under the heading 'Royaume de ténèbres (*kingdom of darkness, regnum tenebrarum*)', that *Behemoth* is a history of a 'particularly dark' political period.

[68] James Fitzjames Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae: Reprint of Articles Contributed to 'The Saturday Review', Second Series* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 39.

[69] Royce MacGillivray, 'Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War: A Study of *Behemoth*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31 (1970), no. 2, 179.

[70] Richard Ashcraft, 'Ideology and Class in Hobbes' Political Theory', *Political Theory* 6 (1978), no. 1, 28. Cited approvingly by Robert P. Kraynak, *History and Modernity in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 32, n. 1.

[71] Jeffrey R. Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 59.

[72] Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae*, 36.

thus been promoted to a 'major work'.⁷³ If such an assessment will bring about more research, and perhaps even generate controversy,⁷⁴ about *Behemoth* remains to be seen.

It was only in 1977 that Onofrio Nicastro, a former professor at the University of Pisa and a 'major historian of early modern English philosophical culture',⁷⁵ published his *Note sul Behemoth*.⁷⁶ Printed in 105 copies, this publication is a rarity and has never had the

[73] W. H. Greenleaf, 'A Note on Hobbes and the Book of Job', *Anales de la Catedra 'Francisco Suarez'* 14 (1974), 17, called *Behemoth* one of 'two of Hobbes' major political works' whose titles were taken from the *Book of Job*; but he did not say much more about *Behemoth* in this article. Much earlier, V. Beonio-Brocchieri, *Studi sulla filosofia politica di T. Hobbes* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1927), 95, called *Behemoth* Hobbes's 'major historiographical work'. Kraynak, *History and Modernity*, 33, called *Behemoth* a 'work of primary importance'.

[74] Geoffrey M. Vaughan, *'Behemoth' teaches 'Leviathan': Thomas Hobbes on political education* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2002), 107, has observed that not only has scholarly commentary 'been very sparse' but that it has 'not been very controversial' either - 'which is unusual for the study of Hobbes'.

[75] See also M. J. Redmond, 'Italian Studies in Early Modern English History: Two Recent Publications', *Cromohs*, 9 (2004), 4, URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/9_2004/redmond_villani.html; Scott Mandelbrote, in his review of *Religione, politica e commercio di libri nella Rivoluzione inglese: Gli autori di Giles Calvert, 1645-1653* by Mario Caricchio, *The Library* 7 (2006), no. 4, 462, mentioned 'a thriving school of students of English religious and and political radicalism that developed in Italy under the wing of the late Onofrio Nicastro'. See Paolo Cristofolini, 'Ricordo di un amico', *Cromohs*, 8 (2003): 17, URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/8_2003/cristofolini.html.

[76] Onofrio Nicastro, *Note sul Behemoth di Thomas Hobbes* (Pisa: Felici, 1977).

circulation it deserves.⁷⁷ With notes cut down to meet 'publishing exigencies', the essay served for the introduction to Nicastro's translation of *Behemoth*. Simon Dir-Ching Kow submitted a PhD thesis to the University of Toronto's Graduate Department of Political Science on *Leviathan Against Behemoth*, in which he compared Milton and Hobbes's views on the relation between the state and religiously based conflict.⁷⁸ The thesis, to the best of my knowledge, has not been printed. Nicolas Dubos is completing a PhD thesis on profane and sacred history in the work of Thomas Hobbes, which pays considerable attention to *Behemoth*. The work is conducted under the supervision of Jean Terrel at the Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III.⁷⁹ In 2002, Geoffrey Vaughan, at the time Assistant Professor in the University of Maryland's Department of Political Science, published his *Behemoth teaches Leviathan*, in which he explored Hobbes's views on political education.⁸⁰ All these works,

[77] Gian Mario Cazzaniga, 'Prefazione', in Onofrio Nicastro, *Politica e religione nel seicento inglese: Raccolta di scritti* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1995), 10, called Nicastro's publications on Hobbes 'semiclandestine'. I wish to thank Prof. Paolo Cristofolini and Mrs Rina Perona Nicastro for kindly providing me with a copy. In a personal communication, Prof. Cristofolini wrote of 'questo raro lavoro di Onofrio Nicastro, il quale, per troppa modestia, non dava quasi mai diffusione ai suoi scritti (il *Behemot* da Laterza fa eccezione!)'.

[78] Simon Dir-Ching Kow, '*Leviathan Against Behemoth: Hobbes and Milton on Religious Conflict and the State*', Graduate Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 2001.

[79] Nicolas Dubos, *Histoire profane et histoire sacrée dans l'oeuvre de Thomas Hobbes*, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III, to be completed in 2009.

[80] Vaughan, '*Behemoth*' teaches '*Leviathan*'. There are some other books and articles that sport *Behemoth* in their titles even though they are not dedicated to *Behemoth*. See Dietrich Braun, *Der sterbliche Gott oder Leviathan gegen Behemoth: Erwägungen zu Ort, Bedeutung und Funktion der Lehre von der Königsherrschaft Christi*

Vaughan's in particular, give substantial attention to *Behemoth*. But if we accept that *Behemoth* is not their main subject, and if we leave aside articles and book chapters, the issue of *Filozofski vestnik*, from which the present volume originates,⁸¹ has thus been next to Nicastro's *Note sul Behemoth* the only monograph on Hobbes's *Behemoth* since the appearance of Whitehall's pamphlet in 1680.

Nor have there been many articles and book chapters dedicated to *Behemoth*. The first article dealing specifically with *Behemoth* appears to have been published no earlier than 1970, written by Royce MacGillivray, historian at the University of Waterloo, Ontario.⁸² Noting in his opening paragraph that, while there were 'useful short discussions in several books', there was 'no detailed discussion of

in Thomas Hobbes' 'Leviathan' (Zurich: EVZ, 1961); Hermann Klenner, 'Leviathan und Behemoth, oder Vernunft und Aufruhr', postscript to Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, oder Materie, Form und Gewalt eines kirchlichen und staatlichen Gemeinwesens, Teil I und II* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1978); Francesco Viola, *Behemoth o Leviathan? Diritto e obbligo nel pensiero di Hobbes* (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1979); Herbert W. Schneider, 'Thomas Hobbes from *Behemoth* to *Leviathan*', in *Hobbes's Science of Natural Justice*, eds C. Walton and P. J. Johnson (Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1987). To this category belong also Carl Schmitt, 'Behemoth, Leviathan und Greif', *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung* 55 (1943); Angelo Bolaffi, 'Una favola sullo scontro mortale tra Leviathan e Behemoth', ch. 4 in idem, *Il crepuscolo della sovranità: Filosofia e politica nella Germania del Novecento* (Roma: Donzelli, 2002); Filippo Ruschi, 'Leviathan e Behemoth: Modelli egemonici e spazi coloniali in Carl Schmitt', *Quaderni fiorentini* 33-4 (2004/2005). The first was an extract from Schmitt's *Land und Meer* (see n. 180), and the other two were inspired by Schmitt's work.

[81] *Behemoth*, [ed. T. Mastnak,] *Filozofski vestnik* 24 (2003), no. 2.

[82] Beonio-Brocchieri, *Studi sulla filosofia politica di T. Hobbes*, dedicated ch. 3 of his book, 'Il pensatore giudice dei suoi tempi', to Hobbes's views in - mainly - *Behemoth*. But this is a chapter *from*, rather than *on*, *Behemoth*.

the work as a whole', MacGillivray explained that he was going to attempt 'a treatment of the main aspects of the book' as a history of the English civil war.⁸³ With minor changes, MacGillivray included the material from this article in his book on restoration historians and the civil war,⁸⁴ but does not seem to have taken up the subject again.

German political theorist Bernard Willms published two articles on *Behemoth* in the mid 1970s, in which he took issue with the language politics of contemporary student movements and brought to the fore the political relevance of that work of Hobbes's.⁸⁵ Next, chronologically, was an article by Francesco Fagiani on 'construction and dissolution of political bodies'. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes formulated the rules of his 'moral and civil science', necessary for establishing a stable and long-lasting political structure, whereas in *Behemoth* he analyzed the causes and ways of its dissolution.⁸⁶ Robert Kraynak, professor of political science at Colgate University, proposed in his article on *Behemoth* that this much-neglected work provided the key to a clearer understanding of the central problem Hobbes grappled with in his 'political science'.⁸⁷ Since that problem

[83] MacGillivray, 'Thomas Hobbes's History', 179.

[84] Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1974), 61-83.

[85] Bernard Willms, 'Staatsräson und das Problem der politischen Definition: Bemerkungen zum Nominalismus in Hobbes' "Behemoth"', in *Staatsräson: Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Begriffs*, ed. R. Schnur (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1975); idem, 'Systemüberwindung und Bürgerkrieg: Zur politischen Bedeutung von Hobbes' Behemoth', in *Freiheit und Sachzwang: Beiträge zu Ehren Helmut Schelsky*, ed. H. Baier (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1977).

[86] Francesco Fagiani, 'Leviathan contra Behemoth: Costruzione e dissoluzione dei corpi politici', *Materiali per una storia della cultura giuridica* 11 (1981), no. 2, 248.

[87] Kraynak's PhD thesis was in political sciences: 'The Politics and Science of Thomas Hobbes', Harvard University, 1977. The work

lay in destabilizing effects of doctrinal warfare, which was the result of the foundation of Hobbes's contemporary societies on 'authoritative opinion', Kraynak in his article offered a historical and psychological interpretation of Hobbes's analysis of opinion.⁸⁸ In an article published at about the same time, Paulette Carrive, professor at Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), looked into how *Behemoth* complemented *Leviathan*.⁸⁹ Kraynak returned to the subject of his article in an important chapter in his book on history and modernity in Hobbes.⁹⁰ Thematically close was a study on political psychology in *Behemoth* by Stephen Holmes, then professor of political science and law at the University of Chicago, as was his contemporaneous introduction to the Chicago reprint of *Behemoth*.⁹¹ From that time is also a study of dramatic conflict

was not available to me at the time of writing.

[88] Robert P. Kraynak, 'Hobbes's *Behemoth* and the Argument for Absolutism', *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982).

[89] Paulette Carrive, 'Béhemoth et Léviathan', in *Hobbes, Philosophie, Politique, Cahiers de Philosophie Politique et Juridique de l'Université de Caen* 3 (1983).

[90] 'The *Behemoth*: Doctrinal Politics and the English Civil War', ch. 2 in Kraynak, *History and Modernity*.

[91] Stephen Holmes, 'Political Psychology in Hobbes's *Behemoth*', in *Thomas Hobbes and Political Theory*, ed. M. G. Dietz (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1990); idem, 'Introduction' to Chicago reprint of *Behemoth* (see n. 5). Two other contributions to Dietz's volume pay more than usual attention to *Behemoth*: Deborah Baumgold, 'Hobbes's Political Sensibility', and Mary G. Dietz, 'Hobbes's Subject as Citizen'. They point to the 'malignancy of ambition' (Baumgold, 'Hobbes's Political Sensibility', 85) and to 'citizen morality', which cannot be reduced to the 'calculation of interest and the geometry of force' (Dietz, 'Hobbes's Subject', 96), as the themes which were brought to the fore in *Behemoth*. The themes of ambition and glory are further developed in Gabriella Slomp, *Thomas Hobbes and the Political Philosophy of Glory* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

and the function of negative biblical images in *Behemoth* by Noam Flinker of Haifa University.⁹²

In the last twelve years, there appeared a series of articles on *Behemoth* as a historiographical work. Authors include Luc Borot, professor in the Department of Anglophone Studies at the Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, the editor and translator of the French edition of *Behemoth*;⁹³ Michael Szczekalla, currently Associated Lecturer at the Ernst Moritz Arndt Universität Griefswald;⁹⁴ Fritz Levy, professor of history at the University of Washington;⁹⁵ David Wootton, currently professor of history at the University of York;⁹⁶ and Nicolas Dubos, at the time Associate Professor of philosophy at the Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III.⁹⁷

[92] Noam Flinker, 'The View from the "Devil's Mountain": Dramatic Tension in Hobbes's *Behemoth*', *Hobbes Studies* 2 (1989).

[93] Luc Borot, 'History in Hobbes's Thought', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes*, ed. T. Sorell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); idem, 'Hobbes's *Behemoth*', in *Hobbes and History*, eds G. A. J. Rogers and T. Sorell (London: Routledge, 2000). The latter is a translation of a portion of Borot's introduction to Hobbes, *Béhémot ou Le Long Parlement*.

[94] Michael Szczekalla, 'Leviathan und Behemoth - Natur und Geschichte bei Hobbes' *Saeculum* 49 (1998).

[95] Fritz Levy, 'The Background of Hobbes's *Behemoth*', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500-1800*, eds D. M. Kelley and D. H. Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center, 1997).

[96] David Wootton, 'Thomas Hobbes's Machiavellian Moments', in Kelley and Sacks, *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*; reprinted in *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, vol. 142, ed. T. Schoenberg (Detroit: Gale Group, 2008).

[97] Nicolas Dubos, 'Lectures de *Béhémot*', in *Hobbes: nouvelles lectures*, eds J. Berthier and J. Terrel, *Lumière*, no. 10, 2007.

IV. Patterns of interpretation

If we look at these publications and at mentions or short discussions of *Behemoth* in the extensive literature on Hobbes, we can detect some common traits, trends, and general characteristics. In a *longue durée* perspective, one can observe a shift from the appreciation of *Behemoth* as a work of political theory to its description as a history of the civil war. What carried weight for John Whitehall late in the seventeenth century were pernicious principles of Hobbes's political philosophy.⁹⁸ In the eighteenth century, Bishop Warburton said of *Behemoth* that it was 'full of paradoxes, like all his other writings', and '[m]ore philosophical, political - or any thing rather than historical; yet full of shrewd observations'.⁹⁹ Early in the nineteenth century, Francis Maseres indicated some disagreements with Hobbes's historical judgment regarding the merits of particular persons discussed in *Behemoth*. But what mattered most to him were Hobbes's views 'concerning the nature of Civil Government in General, and the Monarchical Government of England in particular'.¹⁰⁰ He cared so much about those 'erroneous Opinions' that he appended his own remarks to the reprint of *Behemoth*.¹⁰¹

In Tönnies, we may sense a climate change. In his 1889 edition, he recommended *Behemoth* as of 'high interest to the historical

[98] For an interesting appraisal, see Nicastro, *Note*, 12, and 'Introduzione', XLVI-XLVII, that while Whitehall's critique was uncouth, it nevertheless addressed the key issue, which was to cost James II his throne.

[99] Cited in William Thomas Lowndes, *The bibliographer's manual of English literature, containing an account of rare, curious, and useful books published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the invention of printing* (London: William Pickering, 1834), 2. 938.

[100] Maseres, 'Preface' to *Select Tracts*, 1. lxxix.

[101] Maseres, 'Remarks on Some Passages in the foregoing Tract of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, entitled *Behemoth* ... Which seem to be grounded on erroneous Opinions concerning Civil Government, and the Constitution of the Monarchy of England', *Select Tracts*, 2. 657-71.

student as well as to the philosopher and politician'.¹⁰² For some of his contemporaries, *Behemoth* was simply a history. Robertson, for example, who in his pioneering work on Hobbes mentioned *Behemoth* only once, praised the 'extremely spirited style', in which Hobbes's account of the 'social and religious conditions that led to the Revolution' was written.¹⁰³ Leslie Stephen, too, praised Hobbes's style but was more reserved about the merits of his historical explanations: 'He too often, like many better historians, finds it enough to explain events by the wickedness of the other side. That agreeable theory is an excuse for not attempting to discover the causes of discontent'.¹⁰⁴ Whereas Hobbes's style has almost unanimously been praised,¹⁰⁵ his history has met with less approval. The point here, however, is not approval but the characterization of *Behemoth* as a historiographical work. This characterization may well be at odds with Hobbes's own understanding of his work,¹⁰⁶ yet it has become so standard in Hobbes studies that I think it is superfluous

[102] Tönnies, 'Preface', x.

[103] George Croom Robertson, *Hobbes* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1910), 198.

[104] Leslie Stephen, *Hobbes* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 29.

[105] An exception is G. P. Gooch, *Hobbes: Annual Lecture on a Master Mind, Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy, 1939* (London: Humphrey Milford, s.a.), 38, who considered *Behemoth* written in a 'scolding vein'. Generally, see also G. A. J. Rogers, 'Introduction' to *Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes*, eds G. A. J. Rogers and A. Ryan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 6: 'There is, however, one aspect of Hobbes on which there has always been agreement. He was a master of English prose'.

[106] We have seen (n. 15) that Hobbes, upon learning about a pirated edition of the book we today know as *Behemoth*, complained about 'a foolish title set to it'. The title of the first three editions was *History of the Civil Wars of England. From the Year 1640, to 1660*. See Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Thomas Hobbes: A Bibliography*, nos. 86-7a. It is plausible that Hobbes complained precisely about naming his book 'History'.

to document it. No less an authority than Quentin Skinner holds *Behemoth* to be a work of Hobbes as a 'historian'.¹⁰⁷

If *Behemoth* is seen as historiography, two questions emerge: What kind of history did Hobbes write, and how reliable a source was his history? We have already met with some scepticism regarding the value of Hobbes's historical account. Yet that account has been used as a historical source. But most often when that happens, one can hardly overlook the paradox that, as a 'history of the English civil war', *Behemoth* is not used as a source for the history of the English civil war. Rather, it is seen as providing material for the study of larger, and occasionally smaller, issues. One such larger issue, which some time ago had commanded considerable attention, was the emergence of 'bourgeois society'. C. B. Macpherson found *Behemoth* an important source for supporting his thesis on the rise of what he famously called 'possessive individualism'. From Hobbes's remarks in *Behemoth* it was clear that he was 'not so blind as to miss the fact that there was a class division in England ... He saw, too, that the growth of the market relation had undermined the old values, and that the new men of mercantile wealth had enough cohesion to foment civil war'. However, because he insisted on the necessity of 'a self-perpetuating sovereign body', his conclusions were 'inapplicable to the possessive market society, and unacceptable to the proponents of market society in seventeenth-century England'.¹⁰⁸

[107] Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 241. For Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 343, a history of the civil war is *Behemoth's* 'ostensible theme'.

[108] C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 94; see also 64-6. Some such insights go back to Marx and Engels, who identified Hobbes and the 'first English revolution' as the moment of the emergence of the theory, which subsumed all social relations to the 'One abstract moneyand haggling relation'. They, however, referred only to *Leviathan*. See especially *Die*

Linked with such attributions of the English civil war to 'the new strength of market morality and of market-made wealth' was the attention given to the role of merchants and large commercial centers, such as London, in the social transformation.¹⁰⁹ Often cited in this connection was Hobbes's comment that 'the city of London and other great towns of trade, having in admiration the great prosperity of the Low Countries after they had revolted from their monarch, the King of Spain, were inclined to think that the like change of government here, would to them produce the like prosperity'.¹¹⁰ Penelope Corfield, for example, corroborated Hobbes's comment.

deutsche Ideologie, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (Berlin: Dietz, 1961-74), 3. 394-7. For a critique of Macpherson's thesis, see Keith Thomas, 'The Social Origins of Hobbes's Political Thought', in *Hobbes Studies*, ed. K. C. Brown (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), who made good use of *Behemoth*. See also William Letwin, 'The Economic Foundations of Hobbes's Politics', in *Hobbes and Rousseau: A Collection of Critical Essays*, eds M. Cranston and R. S. Peters (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972). For a recent endorsement of Macpherson's interpretation, see George Yerby, *People and Parliament: Representative Rights and the English Revolution* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 55 ff., Appendix 1. In Yerby's judgment, *Behemoth* 'is a very perceptive assessment of the dominant socio-economic trends of the age, and the contribution that they made to the struggle for sovereignty between crown and parliament'. *Ibid.*, 265.

[109] Macpherson, *The Political Theory*, 65: Hobbes 'treated the war as an attempt to destroy the old constitution and replace it with one more favourable to the new market interests'.

[110] *Behemoth*, 3-4. Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1990), 48-9, pointed out that Hobbes's comment was accurate. Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 306, reminded his readers of another relevant comment Hobbes made in *Behemoth*: that the Presbyterians 'did never in their

'The Parliamentarians in 1642 were not republicans', she wrote. 'But they shared a growing feeling that the unpredictability of Stuart kings was bad for business confidence and for trade'.¹¹¹ A recent study has argued, without recourse to Hobbes (yet not without implications for our judgment of Hobbes), that London's wealth was the single most important element in Parliament's victory.¹¹²

Another larger issue was constitutionalism or, more specifically, the history of English constitutionalism. George Peabody Gooch, in a lecture to the British Academy the year that World War II began, understood the subject of *Behemoth*, written in Hobbes's 'vigorous old age', to have been 'the constitutional struggle'. As a liberal Member of Parliament earlier in his life, Gooch was not sympathetic to Hobbes's presentation of that struggle. He found it 'superficial and unimaginative'. Hobbes's 'measureless contempt' for 'continual changes of régime' was as alien to him as Hobbes's attitude toward the 'principle of representation on which our liberties have been built'. That principle left the old 'impenitent absolutist', Hobbes, 'cold'.¹¹³ More recently, Deborah Baumgold and Quentin Skinner, among others, have read *Behemoth* as an analysis of the 'constitutional struggle between Parliament and king' and considered it of interest for the study of arguments about

sermons, or but lightly, inveigh against the lucrative vices of men of trade or handicraft'. See *Behemoth*, 25.

[111] Penelope Corfield, 'Economic Issues and Ideologies', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. C. Russell (London: Macmillan, 1973), 218. See also Roger Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment in the English Revolution: The Case of Towns, 1642-9', in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649*, ed. J. Morrill (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 67, 77; Stephen Porter, 'Introduction', in *London and the Civil War*, ed. by S. Porter (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1996), 1.

[112] Benn Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[113] Gooch, *Hobbes*, 35-8.

English constitutional history.¹¹⁴ In his most recent work, Skinner underlines, in unexpectedly strong words, the 'ferocity' and 'violence' of Hobbes's polemics in *Behemoth* against the republican idea of liberty and its proponents.¹¹⁵ Thematically belonging to this context is Susan Moller Okin's study of *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England* and of *Behemoth*, in which she argues that, in these late works, Hobbes's attitude toward parliament shifted. Of crucial importance was the clear distinction, in these works, between the monarch as a 'politic' and a 'natural person',¹¹⁶ which implied that, in these different capacities, he was owed different types of obligations.¹¹⁷

As a history by an eyewitness,¹¹⁸ however, *Behemoth* has for some time now been valued not so much as a history of the events seen than as a work relevant for the history of seeing those events and for understanding Hobbes himself. For J. F. Stephen, *Behemoth's* importance lay mainly in providing a window into mentalities of those times: 'it is the only contemporary account which shows us

[114] Deborah Baumgold, *Hobbes's Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 71; Quentin Skinner, 'History and Ideology in the English Revolution', *The Historical Journal* 8 (1965), no. 2, 156, 159, 170; idem, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 431 ff; *Visions of Politics*, vol. 3: *Hobbes and Civil Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13; idem, 'Classical Liberty and the Coming of the English Civil War', in vol. 2 of *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, eds M. van Geldern and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15 ff.; idem, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 139 ff.

[115] Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 179.

[116] See *Behemoth*, 51.

[117] Susan Moller Okin, "'The Sovereign and His Counsellours": Hobbes's Reevaluation of Parliament', *Political Theory* 10 (1982), no. 1, especially 50-64.

[118] This quality was pointed out by Meseres, *Select Tracts*, 1. lxxviii.

what sceptical men of the world thought of the great contest and of its party cries'.¹¹⁹ Tönnies and L. Stephen narrowed the lens even more. For Tönnies, *Behemoth* was very revealing of Hobbes's mentality.¹²⁰ L. Stephen commented that *Behemoth* was of interest because it threw 'some light upon Hobbes's sympathies when the war was actually raging'.¹²¹ This particular line of inquiry has recently been carried out in some detail by Jeffrey Collins, analyzing *Behemoth* as providing 'retrospective evidence' for Hobbes's positive attitude toward the Independents and Cromwell.¹²² Some fifteen years earlier, Hans-Dieter Metzger argued that *Behemoth* was a testimony to Hobbes's political antipathies, especially to the decades

[119] J. F. Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae*, 39.

[120] '*Behemoth*, ce livre qui est tellement significatif de le mentalité du philosophe'. Ferdinand Tönnies, 'Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée de Hobbes', in vol. 22 of *Ferdinand Tönnies Gesamtausgabe*, 451. In the German original: the book, 'das für die Denkungsart des Philosophen so bedeutsam ist'. *Ibid.*, 544. This text, the preface to seven unpublished letters of Hobbes, lay unpublished for thirty years, to be eventually printed in *Archives de philosophie* 12 (1936), just in time for Tönnies to authorize the French translation before his death.

[121] L. Stephen, *Hobbes*, 29.

[122] Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes*, especially 151 ff. Johann Sommerville, 'Hobbes and Independency', in *Nouve prospettive critiche sul Leviatano di Hobbes nel 350o anniversario di pubblicazione/New Critical Perspectives on Hobbes's Leviathan upon the 350th Anniversary of its Publication*, eds L. Foisneau and G. Wright (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2004), 170-1, cited *Behemoth* to prove the opposite. George E. G. Catlin, *Thomas Hobbes as Philosopher, Publicist and Man of Letters* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922), 16-17, maintained that *Behemoth* was written *in order to* 'bind up the "Leviathan" theory of sovereignty ... with the cause of loyalist legitimism', that is, to demonstrate Hobbes's 'perfervid loyalty'.

long animosity between Hobbes and Edward Hyde.¹²³ Richard Tuck and, in greater detail, Philip Milton discussed *Behemoth* in the context of their research of Hobbes's views on heresy (and of his fears that he could be burned as a heretic).¹²⁴ In general, this take on *Behemoth* has best been described by MacGillivray, when he wrote that the book may be seen as telling us 'more about Hobbes than about the Civil War'.¹²⁵

These considerations have not yet answered the question of what kind of history did Hobbes write. Tönnies, who called *Behemoth* 'the most remarkable work' written by the octogenarian philosopher, was among the first to offer an explanation. Hobbes's history, he said, was thickly interspersed with reflections and was perhaps the first rationalistic interpretation of contemporary history of the type, which was to become popular with Voltaire.¹²⁶ MacGillivray pointed

[123] Metzger, *Thomas Hobbes und die Englische Revolution, 1640-1660*, 92.

[124] Richard Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 34-6; idem, *Philosophy and Government*, 341-4; Philip Milton, 'Hobbes, Heresy and Lord Arlington', *History of Political Thought* 14 (1993), no. 4. See also J. A. I. Champion, 'An Historical Narration Concerning Heresie: Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Barlow, and the Restoration debate over "heresy"', in *Heresy, Literature, And Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, eds D. Loewenstein and J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 227-8; Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 240.

[125] MacGillivray, 'Thomas Hobbes's History', 179.

[126] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Thomas Hobbes Leben und Lehre*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1925), 61. For a more descriptive formulation of the same thought see Tönnies, 'Herbert Spencers soziologisches Werk', originally included in his *Soziologische Studien und Kritiken, Erste Sammlung* (1924), now in vol. 15 of *Ferdinand Tönnies Gesamtausgabe*, 137, where Tönnies wrote that the 'cunning lawgivers, founders of religion, and shavelings play already in *Hobbes* (especially in "Leviathan" and "Behemoth") the same role, which *Voltaire* was later to elevate to have European currency in the

to the importance of the dialogue form, in which *Behemoth* was written, which he regarded as 'a very uncommon form for a history at any period'.¹²⁷ But what distinguished this work of Hobbes's even more from contemporaneous histories of the civil war, was 'the sheer quantity of ideas that Hobbes brings to it'.¹²⁸ Such appraisal

educated circles'. A similar view was held by Brokdorff, when he wrote that in his historical work, in *Behemoth*, Hobbes 'appears as the typical man of the Enlightenment'. Baron Cay von Brokdorff, *Hobbes als Philosoph, Pädagoge und Soziologe, Erster Band*, 2nd edn (Kiel: Lipsius and Tischer, 1929), 120.

[127] MacGillivray, 'Thomas Hobbes's History', 180. The recognition of the importance of the dialogue form was expressed already in Leopold von Ranke, *Englische Geschichte*, ed. W. Andreas (Wiesbaden: Emil Vollmer, 1957), 2. 515, who in his excellent brief appreciation of Hobbes called *Behemoth* a 'historical dialogue'. Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 24, called *Behemoth* 'dialogue-history'. Miriam M. Reik, *The Golden Lands of Thomas Hobbes* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), 191-3, reflected on the advantages of *Behemoth*'s dialogue form for reaching - and instructing - a wider audience. For Vaughan, the dialogue form was of central importance, since it was the vehicle for achieving the purpose of the work, which, as Vaughan has argued, was political education. Vaughan, '*Behemoth*' teaches *Leviathan*', especially 114 ff. On civic education, see also Dietz, 'Hobbes's Subject', 100: 'Behemoth's contribution, in addition to its astute analysis of the causes of civil strife, is to bring this case for civic education in public duty to the forefront of English political life'. One of the best discussions of *Behemoth* as 'the masterpiece of Hobbesian dialogue' is Luc Borot, 'Hobbes, Rhetoric, and the Art of the Dialogue', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. D. Heitsch and J.-F. Vallée (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 181-4.

[128] MacGillivray, 'Thomas Hobbes's History', 180. Martine Watson Brownley, 'Sir Richard Baker's "Chronicle" and Later Seventeenth-Century English Historiography', *The Huntington*

is undoubtedly compatible with Levy's recent characterization of *Behemoth* as a Baconian 'ruminated history'.¹²⁹ Bacon used that term to describe 'politique discourse and obseruation' on a 'a scattered History' of actions 'thought worthy of memorie'. As such, this type of history belonged, more than anywhere else, 'amongst Bookes of policies'.¹³⁰ Since Machiavelli was the master of such '*discourse vpon Histories or Examples*',¹³¹ Wootton's designation of *Behemoth* as 'a study in Machiavellian politics' seems convincing.¹³² (As a curiosity I want to note that John Cleveland called 'Old *Machiavel*' 'great *Behemoth's* younger Brother'.¹³³)

Behemoth thus emerges as a political treatise. It has often emerged as such in a very specific sense, when it was understood as the result of the application of Hobbes's political theories on historical material. Both James Fitzjames Stephen and Leslie Stephen were of that view. The latter wrote that 'Hobbes's political theory was fully formed before the outbreak of the war. He watched the events with interest, but of course knew beforehand that they would only conform his

Library Quarterly 52 (1989), no. 4, 490, cites *Behemoth* as an example of the trend in English historiography in the second half of the seventeenth century, in which '[p]ast actions began to function simply as excuses for political discourse'.

[129] Levy, 'The Background of Hobbes's *Behemoth*', 248-50; see also Borot, 'Introduction' to *Béhémoth*, 15; Vaughan, *Behemoth teaches Leviathan*, 94, 114 ff.

[130] See Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. M. Kiernan, vol. 4 of *The Oxford Francis Bacon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 70.

[131] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, 162.

[132] Wootton, 'Thomas Hobbes's Machiavellian Moments', 228. For Machiavellian traits in *Behemoth*, see also Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 352.

[133] 'The Publick Faith', in *The Works of Mr. John Cleveland: containing his poems, orations, epistles, collected into one volume, with the life of the author* (London, 1687), 201.

theory'.¹³⁴ The understanding of the formation of Hobbes's political theory has since changed, but what has not changed as much is the view that *Behemoth* came after the theory had been formed. Richard Peters opined that, under the Restoration, 'Hobbes made few more contributions to knowledge though he never desisted from writing'. *Behemoth* exemplified that as 'a history of the period 1640-60 interpreted in the light of Hobbes's main tenets about society'.¹³⁵ Goldsmith, in his preface to the much-cited reprint of Tönnies's edition of *Behemoth*, was of the same opinion. In *Behemoth*, he wrote, Hobbes explained the rebellion, which 'did not require a new theory; it only required that Hobbes use his old one to explain the phenomena'.¹³⁶

Behemoth has been read not only as an application of Hobbes's political philosophy on history but as a test or an explanation of his political philosophy as well. Ralph Richardson, for example, said that Hobbes was 'first and foremost a philosopher', who 'turned to history largely to find a tool with which to test his own science of politics'.¹³⁷ Pierre Naville, for his part, wrote that, in *Behemoth*,

[134] L. Stephen, *Hobbes*, 29; see J. F. Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae*, 39.

[135] Richard Peters, *Hobbes* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), 42, see also 64.

[136] M. M. Goldsmith, 'Introduction' to Frank Cass reprint of *Behemoth*, xiv. In his *Hobbes's Science of Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 232-41, Goldsmith gives a more nuanced picture. Ultimately, Hobbes explained the phenomena of history by reducing them to the categories of his own theory (*ibid.*, 241), but that was true of all his works dealing with history. *Behemoth* stands out as his 'most elaborate explanation of Civil War'. (*Ibid.*, 235.)

[137] R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution* (London: Methuen, 1977), 21. Martinich, *Thomas Hobbes*, 115, gave some credence to the explanation that *Behemoth* was written 'to provide a case study that confirmed the political theory expressed in *The Elements of Law*, *De Cive* and *Leviathan*'. This comes close to reading *Behemoth* as a 'demonstration of the truth of Hobbism'.

Hobbes looked backward to explain 'the principles which he had so masterfully defined in *Leviathan*'.¹³⁸ Comparisons of *Behemoth* with Hobbes's other writings also have some such explanatory value, in the eyes of Hobbes's interpreters. Tom Sorell, for example, said that there is a 'close match' between what Hobbes wrote on the break-up of states in chapters on the causes of sedition in *The Elements of Law, De Cive*, and *Leviathan*, and at the beginning of *Behemoth*.¹³⁹ The most thorough comparison of how *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* (in particular) explain the causes of the weakening and dissolution of the state was made by Paulette Carrive.¹⁴⁰ From a different perspective, John Watkins compared these two works and their treatment of the civil war. Having pointed out that *Leviathan* was, in Hobbes's own words, 'occasioned by the disorders of the present time', Watkins noted that '*Behemoth* was also concerned with these disorders'. The difference between the two works was that, 'whereas *Leviathan* is prescriptive, *Behemoth* is descriptive'.¹⁴¹

It would be difficult to carry a comparison like this much further. Often, *Behemoth* seems to be at disadvantage when compared to *Leviathan*. 'To approach "Behemoth" with expectations nourished

Michael G. Finlayson, *Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics before and after the Interregnum* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 49.

[138] Pierre Naville, *Thomas Hobbes* (Paris: Plon, 1988), 27.

[139] Tom Sorell, *Hobbes* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 127. But in the opening of this book Sorell wrote that, in *Behemoth*, Hobbes used his theory of the rights of sovereigns, formulated in earlier writings, to 'relate the "causes, pretensions, order, and artifice" of the events of 1640 to 1660', and characterized *Behemoth* as one of Hobbes's writings 'in which the principles of politics provided the main subtext'. *Ibid.*, 1.

[140] Carrive, 'Béhemoth et Léviathan', 14 ff.

[141] J. W. N. Watkins, *Hobbes's System of Ideas: A Study in the Political Significance of Philosophical Theories* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1965), 14-15.

by “Leviathan” will bring disappointment’, wrote Willms.¹⁴² ‘Readers of *Behemoth* who are looking for further evidence to support the claims made in *Leviathan* will be disappointed’, argued Vaughan.¹⁴³ The systematic form of *Leviathan*, even its sheer size and, of course, the frontispiece, have no counterpart in *Behemoth*. ‘*Leviathan* is Hobbes’s philosophy in systematic form; *Behemoth* is his philosophy in pedagogic form’, wrote Vaughan, in whose view the two books have a different purpose and cannot, strictly speaking, be compared.

Both works, however, engaged key political and political-philosophical issues. Watkins, characterizing the ‘descriptive’ *Behemoth*, noted that in *Behemoth* Hobbes gave a causal explanation of the ‘disorders’¹⁴⁴ and showed that the English civil war was a result of divided authority, whereas divided authority was a product of ideological disputes.¹⁴⁵ Hobbes himself of course did not speak of ‘ideological disputes’. He spoke of the power of opinion. ‘[T]he power of the mighty’, he famously wrote in *Behemoth*, ‘hath no foundation but in the opinion and belief of the people’.¹⁴⁶ As such, opinions were central to his analysis of the causes of the English

[142] Bernard Willms, *Die Antwort des Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes’ politische Theorie* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1970), 32.

[143] Vaughan, ‘*Behemoth* teaches *Leviathan*’, 100.

[144] In her discussion of the status of history in Hobbes’s work, Carrive, ‘*Béhemoth et Léviathan*’, 12-13, underlined the importance of the causal explanation: it promoted history to the world of science, to the service of the ‘science of just and unjust’ (for which history as the record or relation of events did not qualify). See also Goldsmith, *Hobbes’s Science of Politics*, 235 ff. But see J. G. A. Pocock, ‘Thomas May and the Narrative of Civil War’, in *Writing and Political Engagement in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds D. Hirst and R. Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 114, that representing ‘the true causes, originall and growth of them’, of the civil war was already Thomas May’s ambition in his *The History of the Parliament of England*.

[145] Watkins, *Hobbes’s System of Ideas*, 16.

[146] *Behemoth*, 16.

civil war. The 'seed' of the war was 'certain opinions in divinity and politics', and what effectively led to the outbreak of war was the seduction of the people by ministers of the church and religious sectarians, and by 'democratical' orators, who succeeded to 'draw the people to their opinions'.¹⁴⁷ That some historians were sceptical of Hobbes's approach¹⁴⁸ is perhaps less surprising than the time it took for political theorists to pick up this issue.

Tönnies in his *Critique of Public Opinion* cited Hobbes more than once and in particular pointed to the importance of Hobbes's dictum that 'the world is governed by opinion', but curiously enough did not refer to *Behemoth*.¹⁴⁹ Helmut Schelsky thus played a pioneering role in developing, or exploiting, this subject. In his dissertation, written 1938-40, in which he attempted an intellectual synthesis of his experiences from university seminars and as a Nazi student activist,¹⁵⁰ he identified Hobbes's view of the foundation of the power of the mighty in the opinion of the people as a crucial statement

[147] *Behemoth*, [v], 23.

[148] E.g., B. H. G. Wormald, *Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion 1640-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 223, writing that whereas Clarendon may have underestimated 'the part played by theoretical ideas in the course of English events, Hobbes must be charged with having exaggerated it. Hobbes had all the doctrinaire's respect for the ideas of other people. He rated highly what he regarded as erroneous notions as a cause of disruptions'. Wormald referred to *Behemoth*, 112, 114.

[149] Tönnies, *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung, 1922*, eds A. Deichsel, R. Fechner and R. Wassner, vol. 14 of *Ferdinand Tönnies Gesamtausgabe*, 128; cf. Tönnies, '[Formen der Öffentlichen Meinung]', in vol. 23, pt. 2 of *Ferdinand Tönnies Gesamtausgabe*, 203. Hobbes's citation is from *The Elements of Law* I. xi. 6. See Thomas Hobbes, *Human Nature and De Corpore Politico*, ed. J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 72.

[150] I am summarizing Schelsky's own retrospective description from 1980. Helmut Schelsky, *Thomas Hobbes: Eine politische Lehre* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1981), 11.