

THOMAS HOBBS

Leviathan

with selected variants
from the Latin edition of 1668

Edited,
with Introduction and Notes by
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any serious attempt to base politics on religion futile. We are too deeply divided in our religious beliefs, and too insecure in our grounding for those beliefs, for any such strategy to provide a generally acceptable rationale for political obedience. In Hobbes' day there were a great many people who had not grasped that consequence of the Reformation; their children, though fewer, proportionally, in any modern Western society, are still with us, and still need to learn the negative lessons of Part III of *Leviathan*, as well as the more positive lesson of Part II: though we may be as deeply divided in our values as we are in our religious beliefs, we need civil society if we are to survive and to have even a tolerably comfortable existence. Hobbes would have agreed with the spirit of Rodney King's remarks during the Los Angeles riots. We are all "stuck here together for a while." We need to try to find some way to "get along." Hobbes was convinced that civil society, as he understood it, was our best hope of doing that.

A brief appendix on the Appendix. Few people have misconceptions about what Hobbes is saying in the Appendix to the Latin *Leviathan*. Few seem to be aware of its existence; of those, few have cared enough to pay attention to it.⁶² For most people the most interesting part may be the third chapter, in which Hobbes responds to objections made against the English *Leviathan*. But this chapter is brief, and exclusively concerned with accusations of atheism and heresy. So unless people are prepared to take an interest in those issues, they will not find much meat there (or anywhere else in the Appendix). For people interested in those issues, the following observations seem worth making.

It's striking that, having gotten in trouble for advancing an unorthodox theory of the trinity in the English *Leviathan*, and having carefully excised that theory from the Latin version, Hobbes should devote so much attention to this treacherous topic, not only in the chapter on the Nicene Creed, but throughout the Appendix. I think his central purpose here is to raise doubts about that article of faith, implicitly criticizing every Christian denomination which accepted it—i.e., every significant denomination of his day—for having permitted Greek philosophy to corrupt the simplicity of the Biblical message. Of course he denies that the Creed contains any elements of Greek philosophy (cf. App. i, 90, and xlvi (OL), 10). But he can't believe *that*. His whole chapter on the creed is a demonstration that you

62. In English the only extended study I'm aware of is the translation and commentary by George Wright, cited in App., i, n1. This is in many ways an excellent work, though I find it surprising that a belief in Hobbes' orthodoxy can survive close study of the Appendix.

must understand some Greek philosophy to have any idea what the creed is saying.

As we might expect, Hobbes takes the opportunity of the Appendix to develop more fully some favorite and familiar themes: his denial of natural immortality and eternal torment, his opposition to religious persecution and his hostility to the Presbyterians, etc. What we might not have expected is that he would admit that his materialism extends to God and criticize as atheistic a brand of negative theology reminiscent of his own in L xxxi (cf. App., iii, 6). This is curious, and worth more reflection than we can give it here.

One final caution: Hobbes makes it difficult to ascribe any idea expressed in the Appendix to him personally by writing a dialogue between two characters identified only in the most colorless way, as "A" and "B." Prima facie, we are barred from identifying either of these people with Hobbes by the fact that they refer to Hobbes in the third person. Since A is usually asking the questions and B is usually giving the answers, it's natural to think that B must nevertheless be Hobbes. But A is permitted to make good points and raise provocative questions. One aim in using the dialogue form seems to be to prevent us from being certain which character represents Hobbes, if any does (cf. xlvi, 42). It makes a nice puzzle.

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

- I. *Chronology of the life of Hobbes*
- II. *Verse Autobiography (VA)*⁶³
- III. *Excerpts from Hobbes' Prose Autobiography (PA)*⁶⁴
- IV. *Excerpts from Aubrey's Life of Hobbes*⁶⁵

63. Hobbes' verse autobiography first appeared in Latin in 1679 and is reproduced in Molesworth, *Opera latina* I, lxxxv-xcix. The English version presented here was first published in the following year. We do not know who is responsible for this version, but there is reason to think that in some respects it is closer to Hobbes' intention than the Latin original. (See note to final couplet.)

64. OL xiii-xxi. Though Hobbes himself is the author, he writes about himself in the third person.

65. *Brief Lives, Chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, ed. from the author's mss., by Andrew Clark, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898, 2 vols.

I.

- 1588 Born in Westport, near Malmesbury, in Wilshire. See VA, II. 1-30, and Aubrey [1].
- 1592 To school in Westport, where he learns reading and arithmetic. See Aubrey [2].
- 1596 To school in Malmesbury, first under the minister of the town, then under Robert Latimer. See VA 31-34 and Aubrey [3].
- 1603 Death of Elizabeth. James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England. Hobbes enters Magdalen Hall, Oxford. His father having disappeared (Aubrey [4]), his Uncle Francis provides for his education (Aubrey [5]). See VA 35-66.
- 1605 Gunpowder Plot discovered (Catholic conspiracy to blow up Westminster Palace when the King, Lords and Commons were assembled there for the opening of Parliament).
- 1606 Parliament intensifies anti-Catholic legislation, requires an oath of allegiance, rejecting the pope's claim to be able to depose heretical kings. Paul V forbids Catholics to take this oath.
- 1608 Hobbes graduates from Oxford and enters the service of the Cavendish family, as tutor to William, eldest son of Baron Hardwick. He will be in the employ of this family for most of his life. See VA 67-83a, Aubrey [6].
- 1610 Accompanies his pupil on a three year tour of France, Italy and Germany. See VA 89-96. Henry IV, converted to Catholicism in 1593 to secure his claim to the French throne, assassinated in Paris by a student who fears he is planning a war against the Pope.
- 1612 Two Arians burned for doubting the proofs of Jesus' divinity. The last to die for heresy in England.
- 1616 Cardinal Bellarmine admonishes Galileo not to defend the Copernican theory.
- 1618 Baron Hardwick becomes first Earl of Devonshire; Thirty Years' War begins.
- 1620s At some time before Bacon's death in 1626 Hobbes serves as one of his amanuenses. See Aubrey [7].
- 1622 Hobbes becomes a member of the Virginia Company and subsequently the Somer Islands Company, which are involved in the settlement of Virginia and the Bermudas.

- 1623 Galileo publishes *The Assayer*, arguing that qualities like color, taste, and heat are not true properties of the bodies they are attributed to, but depend for their existence on the perceiver.
- 1624 The deist, Herbert of Cherbury, publishes *On truth*, which tries to identify a common core of all religions, which people can know by natural reason. (In 1680 Kortholt will link Hobbes with Cherbury and Spinoza as *The Three Impostors*.) Gassendi publishes *Paradoxical Dissertations against the Aristotelians*, criticizing the dogmatism and methodological confusion of Aristotle's followers. Mersenne publishes *The Impiety of the Deists*, defending providence and attacking deists and libertines (e.g., Giordano Bruno).
- 1625 Prompted by the barbarism of the 30 Years' War, Grotius publishes *On the law of war and peace*, an attempt to identify universally accepted moral principles determining when a war is just and how a just war must be conducted. Mersenne publishes *The truth of the sciences*, defending the possibility of knowledge against pyrrhonian skepticism and arguing for the importance of mathematics. Accession of Charles I. Conflicts begin immediately with Parliament over the financing of wars Charles intends to wage, among other matters.
- 1626 Death of the first Earl of Devonshire. Hobbes' former pupil, whom he now serves as secretary, becomes the second Earl.
- 1628 Parliament requires Charles to consent to the Petition of Right before it will appropriate money. Charles agrees not to impose taxes without parliamentary consent, not to exact forced loans, not to imprison men without showing cause. The second Earl dies.
- 1629 Hobbes publishes his translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. See VA 83b-88. Hobbes becomes tutor to Gervaise Clifton and accompanies him on a visit to France and Geneva. Discovers geometry. See VA 97-8, PA [1], Aubrey [8]. Charles dissolves Parliament and begins an 11 year period of ruling alone.
- 1630 Traditional date for what may be Hobbes' first philosophical treatise, *A Short Tract on First Principles*, an attempt to deduce an account of sense perception from first principles. Some scholars question the date and the attribution to Hobbes. Cf. PA [2].
- 1631 Hobbes returns to service with the Cavendish family, now as tutor to the third Earl. See VA 99-114.

- 1632 Galileo publishes his *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, in which one character argues for the Copernican system. The Inquisition confiscates existing copies and forbids further sales.
- 1633 Galileo recants and is placed under house arrest. Descartes abandons plans to publish his Copernican treatise, *The World*.
- 1634 The Earl of Newcastle (a cousin of the second Earl of Devonshire and a friend) asks Hobbes to get a copy of Galileo's book in London. Hobbes replies: "It is not possible to get it for money. There were but few brought over at first, and they that buy such books are not such men as to part with them again. I hear say it is called in, in Italy, as a book that will do more hurt to their religion than all the books have done of Luther and Calvin, such opposition they think in between their religion and natural reason." (Letter, 26 January 1634) Hobbes begins his third tour of the Continent with the third Earl. Works on a mechanistic theory of vision. Visits Galileo in Florence and Mersenne in Paris. See VA 115-136, PA [2].
- 1637 Back in England, Hobbes receives from Sir Kenelm Digby, a copy of Descartes' just published *Discourse on method*. A treatise on optics, published with it, is of great interest to Hobbes. In the next three years he is apparently at work on a systematic exposition of his philosophy, beginning with a materialistic metaphysic (to be published in 1655 as *De corpore (On body)*), an application of his materialism to man (to be published in 1658 as *De homine (On man)*), and a derivation from these foundations of the rights and duties of man as citizen (to be published in 1642 as *De cive (On the citizen)*). See VA 137-48. Hampden tried for refusing to pay Ship Money. Though the court sustains the King's right to impose this tax, public opposition leads to Hampden's release. Archbishop Laud attempts to impose Anglican liturgy on the Presbyterians in Scotland.
- 1638 Rebellion in Scotland. See The Latin Appendix iii, 1.
- 1639 Newcastle raises troops at his own expense to fight the rebels.
- 1640 In April Charles summons the Short Parliament, which refuses to vote him taxes. In May Charles dissolves Parliament. Hobbes completes his first work of political philosophy, *The Elements of Law*, dedicates it to Newcastle, and circulates it in manuscript form. In August the Scots defeat the King's army and take possession of

- northern England. In November Charles summons the Long Parliament. Hobbes flees to Paris. See VA 149-158, Aubrey [9].
- 1641 Earl of Strafford, Charles' closest advisor, impeached and executed. Mersenne invites Hobbes to write objections to Descartes' *Meditations*, to be published with the *Meditations* and Descartes' reply. See Aubrey [10].
- 1642 Civil War breaks out in England. Hobbes publishes *De cive* in Paris. See VA 159-168. Hobbes writes a critique of Thomas White's *De mundo*, the work of a Catholic theologian who attempted to refute Galileo. Hobbes' work will not be published until 1972.
- 1643 Hobbes works on *De corpore*. See VA 169-200.
- 1645 Archbishop Laud tried for treason and executed. Around this time Hobbes engages in a dispute about free will in Paris with the Arminian Bishop Bramhall. Newcastle asks each man to put his opinion in writing. Hobbes agrees on condition that his letter on the subject not be published.
- 1646 The Civil War ends in a royalist defeat. The King is at first a prisoner of the Scots Army, then of Parliament. The Prince of Wales (later, Charles II) arrives in Paris, where Hobbes tutors him in mathematics. Around this time Hobbes sets *De corpore* aside to begin work on *Leviathan*, perhaps writing at first in Latin. See VA 201-214.
- 1647 Negotiations between the King and Parliament, which is divided between Presbyterians (who favor Presbyterian church government, strict church discipline, and a negotiated compromise with the King) and Independents (who favor congregational autonomy, toleration, the reduction or abolition of royal authority, and extension of the franchise). The King escapes from captivity, negotiates Scottish support to subdue England. Hobbes publishes a second, enlarged edition of *De cive* in Paris; he also comes near dying. See PA [3] and Aubrey [11], [12].
- 1648 The Scots Army invades England. Royalist uprisings against Parliament. Cromwell defeats the Scots Army in August. Col. Pride purges Parliament of Presbyterians.
- 1649 Charles tried and executed; the monarchy and the House of Lords abolished; the Commonwealth instituted, with executive power vested in a 40 member Council of State, mostly made up of mem-

- bers of Parliament. The government imposes an oath of loyalty to the republic (the "Engagement") on all office holders, clergy, and officers in the armed forces. See VA 215-30.
- 1650 Hobbes' *Elements of Law* published in an unauthorized edition in London, in two parts (*Human Nature* and *De corpore politico*).
- 1651 An English translation of *De cive* (possibly authorized by Hobbes) is published in London by March under the title *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society*, followed in late April or early May by *Leviathan*. In August a Scots Army invades England. In September Cromwell defeats Charles II and the Scots at the battle of Worcester. In October Hobbes presents Charles II with a handwritten copy of *Leviathan*, bound in vellum, but finds himself subsequently barred from the court. Hobbes returns to England. See VA 231-62, PA [4], [5].
- 1653 Cromwell dissolves Parliament and selects a new Parliament; he declines the crown offered by Parliament, which then votes its own dissolution. The leaders of the Army establish the Protectorate, with Cromwell as Lord Protector.
- 1654 *Of Liberty and Necessity*, unauthorized edition of Hobbes' critique of Bramhall published in London. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury and Professor at Oxford, publishes a defense of the universities against the criticisms of *Leviathan*, accuses Hobbes of plagiarizing from Descartes in his optical writings.
- 1655 Bramhall publishes a reply to *Of Liberty and Necessity*. Hobbes publishes *De corpore*. See VA 263-282. John Wallis, Professor at Oxford, publishes a refutation of Hobbes' attempt in *De corpore* to square the circle.
- 1656 Hobbes replies to Bramhall in *The Questions Concerning Liberty, Necessity and Chance*, publishes an English translation of *De corpore*, to which are added *Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics*, replying to the criticisms of Ward and Wallis. See VA 284-308 and Aubrey [8].
- 1658 Hobbes publishes *De homine*. Cromwell dies and is succeeded by his son, Richard. Bramhall publishes *The Catching of the Leviathan*.
- 1659 Conflicts between the Army and Parliament lead to the dissolution of Parliament and the resignation of Richard Cromwell.
- 1660 General Monck, commander of the Parliamentary army in Scot-

- land, invades England, recalls the Long Parliament (including Presbyterian members excluded in Pride's purge), which votes for new parliamentary elections. The new Parliament restores Charles II to the throne. See Aubrey [13]. Boyle publishes his *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical*, arguing experimental evidence for a vacuum. Hobbes publishes his *Examinatio et emendatio mathematicae hodiernae*, defending himself against Wallis' criticisms of his mathematical work.
- 1661 Hobbes publishes his *Dialogus physicus de natura aerae*, challenging Boyle's conclusions and his methodology.
- 1662 Boyle publishes "An examen of Mr. T. Hobbes his *Dialogus physicus*." Hobbes replies in *Problemata physica*. See VA 309-334. He replies to Wallis' non-mathematical criticisms in *Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners and Religion of Thomas Hobbes*.
- 1666 Threats in Parliament of an inquiry into Hobbes' religious views. See Aubrey [14]. Hobbes writes *A Dialogue Between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England* (not published until 1681). Hobbes publishes *De principiis et ratiocinatione geometrarum*. See VA 335-350.
- 1668 Hobbes publishes a reply to Bramhall's *The Catching of the Leviathan*. He completes *Behemoth*, his history of the Civil War. The King refuses him permission to publish it. It appears first in unauthorized editions in the late 70s, then in an authorized edition in 1682. Though forbidden also to reprint the English *Leviathan*, Hobbes publishes the Latin version in Amsterdam. (Subsequent editions appear in Amsterdam in 1670 and in London in 1676 and 1678.)
- 1669 Hobbes publishes his *Quadratura circuli*. See VA 351-360.
- 1670 Spinoza publishes his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. See Aubrey [15].
- 1671 Hobbes publishes his *Rosetum geometricum*. See VA 361-70.
- 1673 Hobbes publishes a verse translation of part of Homer's *Odyssey*; within three years he will publish translations of the complete *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.
- 1679 He dies on 4 December. See Aubrey [17].
- 1683 Oxford condemns and burns *De cive* and *Leviathan*.

II.

In Fifteen Hundred Eighty Eight, Old Style,
 When that armada did invade our isle,
 Called the invincible, whose freight was then,
 Nothing but murd'ring steel, and murd'ring men,
 5 Most of which navy was disperst, or lost,
 And had the fate to perish on our coast,
 April the fifth (though now with age outworn)
 I'th'early spring, I, a poor worm, was born.
 In Malmesbury baptiz'd, and named there
 10 By my own father, then a minister.
 Many things worth relating had this town;
 And first, a monastery of renown,
 And castle, or two rather it may seem,
 On a hill seated, with a double stream
 15 Almost environ'd, from whence still are sent
 Two burgesses to sit in Parliament.
 Here lie the Bones of Noble Athelstane,
 Whose stone effigies do there remain;
 Who for reward gave them the neighboring plains,
 20 Which he had moist'ned with the blood of Danes.
 Here was the Roman muse by Adelm brought,
 Here also the first Latin school was taught.
 My native place I'm not ashamed to own;
 Th'ill times, and ills born with me, I bemoan.
 25 For fame had rumour'd that a fleet at sea,
 Would cause our nation's catastrophe.
 And hereupon it was my mother dear
 Did bring forth twins at once, both me and fear.
 For this, my countries foes I e'r did hate,
 30 With calm peace and my muse associate.
 Did learn to speak four languages, to write
 And read them too, which was my sole delight.
 Six years i'th'Greek and Latin tongue I spent,
 And at fourteen I was to Oxford sent;
 35 And there of Magd'len-Hall admitted, I
 Myself to logic first did then apply,
 And sedulously I my tutor heard,
 Who gravely read, althou'he had no beard.
 Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, Baralypton,
 40 These modes hath the first figure; then goes on

Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco, Darapti,
 This hath of modes the same variety.
 Felapton, Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Ferison,
 These just so many modes are look'd upon.
 45 Which I, tho' slowly Learn, and then dispense
 With them, and prove things after my own sense.
 Then physics read, and my tutor display'd,
 How all things were of form and matter made.
 The acry particles which makes forms we see,
 50 Both visible and audible, to be
 Th'effects of sympathy, antipathy.
 And many things above my reach taught me.
 Therefore, more pleasant studies I then sought,
 Which I was formerly, tho' not well, taught.
 55 My fancy and my mind divert I do,
 With maps celestial and terrestrial too.
 Rejoice t'accompany Sol cloath'd with rays,
 Know by what art he measures all our days;
 How Drake and Cavendish a girdle made
 60 Quite round the world, what climates they survey'd;
 And strive to find the smaller cells of men.
 And painted monsters in their unknown den.
 Nay, there's a fullness in geography;
 For Nature e'r abhor'd vacuity.
 65 Thus in due time took I my first degree
 Of Bachelor i'th'University.
 Then Oxford left, serv'd Ca'ndish, known to be
 A noble and conspicuous family.
 Our college rector did me recommend,
 70 Where I most pleasantly my days did spend.
 Thus youth tutor'd a youth, for he was still
 Under command, and at his father's will:
 Serv'd him full twenty years, who prov'd to be,
 Not a lord only, but a friend to me.
 75 That my life's sweetest comfort was, and made
 My slumbers pleasant in night's darkest shade.
 Thus I at ease did live, of books, whilst he
 Did with all sorts supply my library.
 Then I our own historians did peruse,
 80 Greek, Latin, and convers'd too with my muse.
 Homer and Virgil, Horace, Sophocles,
 Plautus, Euripides, Aristophanes,

I understood, nay more; but of all these,
 There's none that pleas'd me like Thucydides.
 85 He says Democracy's a foolish thing,
 Than a republic wiser is one king,⁶⁶
 This author I taught English, that even he
 A guide to rhetoricians might be.
 To foreign countries at that time did I
 90 Travel, saw France, Italy, Germany.
 This debonair lord, th'Earl of Devonshire,
 I serv'd complete the space of twenty year.
 His life by sickness conquer'd, fled away,
 T'exchange it for a better the last day.
 95 But yet provided ere he di'd for me,
 Who liv'd with little most contentedly.
 I left my pleasant mansion, went away
 To Paris, and there eighteen months did stay,
 Thence to be tutor I'm cal'd back again,
 100 To my Lord's son, the Earl of Devon then.
 This noble lord I did instruct when young,
 Both how to speak and write the Roman tongue;
 And by what arts the rhetor deceives those
 That are illiterate; taught him verse and prose;
 105 The mathematic precepts too, with all
 The windings in the globe terrestrial;
 The whole design of law, and how he must
 Judge between that which equal is and just.
 Seven years to him these arts I did explain:
 110 He quickly learnt, and firmly did retain.
 We spent not all this time in books alone,
 Unless you'd take the world for to be one;
 Travel'd through't Italy and France, did view
 The sweet retirements of Savoy too.
 115 Whether on horse, in coach or ship, still I
 Was most intent on my philosophy.
 One only thing i'th'world seem'd true to me,
 Tho'several ways that falsified be.
 One only true thing, the basis of all
 120 Those things whereby we any thing do call.
 How sleep does fly away, and what things still

66. The Latin version would be translated: "He shows me how foolish democracy is, and how much one man is wiser than an assembly."

By optics I can multiply at will.
 Fancy's internal, th'issue of our brain,
 Th'internal parts only motion contain:
 125 And he that studies physics first must know
 What motion is, and what motion can do.
 To matter, motion, I myself apply,
 And thus I spend my time in Italy.
 I scribbled nothing o'er, nor then e'r wrought;
 130 I ever had a mistress that me taught.
 Then leaving Italy, return we do
 To Paris, and its stately fabrics view.
 Here with Mersennus I acquainted grew,
 Shew'd him of motion what I ever knew.
 135 He both prais'd and approv'd it, and so, Sir,
 I was reputed a philosopher.
 Eight months elaps'd, I return'd, and thought good
 For to connect what e'r I understood.
 That principles at second hand more clear,
 140 By their concatenation might appear.
 To various matter various motion brings
 Me, and the different Species of Things.
 Man's Inward Motions and his Thoughts to know,
 The good of Government, and Justice too,
 145 These were my Studies then, and in these three
 Consists the whole Course of Philosophy.
 Man, Body, Citizen, for these I do
 Heap Matter up, designing three Books too.
 P'th'interim breaks forth a horrid War,
 150 Injurious to my Study, and a Bar.
 In the year sixteen hundred forty, then
 Brack out a Sickness, whereof many Men
 Of Learning, languishing, gave up their breath
 At last, and yielded to impartial death.
 155 Wherewith, when seized, he reputed was
 The Man that knew Divine and Humane Laws,
 The War's now hot, I dread to see it so,
 Therefore to Paris well-belov'd, I go.
 Two years elaps'd, I published in Print
 160 My Book De Cive; the new Matter in't
 Gratified Learned Men, which was the Cause,
 It was Translated, and with great Applause
 By Several Nations, and great Scholars read,

So that my name was Famous, and far spread.
 165 England in her sad Pangs of War, and those
 Commend it too, whom I do most oppose.
 But what's disadvantageous now, who wou'd,
 Though it be Just, ever esteem it Good?
 Then I four years spent to contrive which way
 170 To Pen my Book de Corpore, Night and Day;
 Compare together each Corporeal Thing,
 Think whence the known changes of forms do spring.
 Inquire how I compel this Proteus may,
 His Cheats and Artifices to Display.
 175 About this time Mersennus was (by Name)
 A Friar Minorite, yet of Great Fame,
 Learned, Wise, Good, whose single Cell might be
 Prefer'd before an University.
 To him all Persons brought what e'r they found
 180 By Learning, if new Principle, or Ground,
 In clear and proper Phrase, without the Dress
 of Gawdy Rhetoric, Pride, Deceitfulness.
 Which he impart to th'Learned, who might there
 Discuss them, or at leisure, anywhere.
 185 Publish'd some Rare Inventions, to the Fame
 Of their own Author, with each Authors Name.
 About Mersenne, like an Axis, here
 Each Star wheel'd round, as in its Orb or Sphere.
 England, Scotland, Ireland was the Stage
 190 Of Civil War, and with its four years Rage,
 Harras'd and wasted was; Perfidious Fate
 Exil'd the Good, and Help'd the Profligate.
 Nay, Charles, the Kingdom's Heir, attended then,
 By a Retinue of Brave, Noble Men,
 195 To Paris came, in hope Times might amend,
 And Popular Fury once be at an end.
 My Book de Corpore then I designed
 To write, all things being ready to my Mind.
 But must desist: such Crimes and Sufferings I
 200 Will not impute unto the Deity.
 First I resolv'd Divine Laws to fulfil;
 This by Degrees, and carefully I will.
 My Prince's studies I then waited on,
 But could not constantly attend my own.

205 Then for six Months was sick; but yet at length,
 Though very weak, I did recover strength,
 And finished it in my own Mother-Tongue,
 To be read for the good of old and young.
 The Book at London printed was, and thence,
 210 Hath visited the Neighboring Nations since,
 Was read by many a great and learned Man,
 Known by its dreadful name, Leviathan,
 This book contended with all kings, and they
 By any title, who bear royal sway.
 215 In the mean time the King's sold by the Scot,
 Murder'd by th'English, an eternal blot.
 King Charles at Paris who did then reside,
 Had right to England's Scepter denied,
 A rebel rout the kingdom kept in awe,
 220 And ruled the giddy rabble without law,
 Who boldly Parliament themselves did call,
 Though but a poor handful of men in all.
 Blood-thirsty leeches, hating all that's good,
 Glutted with innocent and noble blood.
 225 Down go the miters, neither do we see
 That they establish the Presbytery.
 Th'ambition of the stateliest clergymen,
 Did not at all prevail in England then.
 Hence many scholars to the King did go,
 230 Expelled, Sad, indigent, burthensome too.
 As yet my studies undisturbed were,
 And my grand climacteric past one year.
 When that book was perused by knowing men,
 The gates of Janus temple opened them;
 235 And they accused me to the King, that I
 Seemed to approve Cromwell's impiety,
 And countenance the worst of wickedness:
 This was believed, and I appeared no less
 Than a grand enemy, so that I was for't
 240 Banished both the King's presence and his court.
 Then I began on this to ruminare
 On Dorislaus, and on Ascham's fate,
 And stood amazed, like a poor exile,
 Encompassed with terror all the while.
 245 Nor could I blame the young King for his Assent

To those intrusted with his government.
 Then home I came, not sure of safety there,
 Though I could not be safer anywhere.
 The wind, frost, snow sharp, with age grown gray,
 250 A plunging beast, and most unpleasant way.
 At London, lest I should appear a spy,
 Unto the state myself I did apply;
 That done, I quietly retired to
 Follow my study, as I used to do.
 255 A Parliament so called did govern here;
 There was no prelate then, nor presbyter.
 Nothing but arms and soldiers, one alone
 Designed top rule, and Cromwell was that one.
 What royalist can there, or man alive,
 260 Blame my defense o'th'King's prerogative?
 All men did scribble what they would, content
 And yielding to the present government.
 My book de Corpore through this liberty
 I wrote, which proved a constant war to me.
 265 The clergy at Leviathan repines,
 And both of them opposed were by divines.
 For whilst I did inveigh 'gainst papal pride,
 These, though prohibited, were not denied
 T'appear in print: gainst my Leviathan
 270 They rail, which made it read by many a man,
 And did confirm't the more; tis hoped by me,
 That it will last to all eternity.
 Twill be the rule of justice and severe
 Reproof of those men that ambitious are.
 275 The King's defence and guard, the people's good,
 And satisfaction, read, and understood.
 I, two years after, print a book to show
 How every reader may himself well know.
 Where I teach ethics, the phantoms of the sense,
 280 How th'wife with spectres, fearless may dispense.
 Published my book de corpore withal,
 Whose matter's wholly geometrical.
 With great applause the algebrists then read
 Wallis his algebra now published.
 285 A hundred years that geometric pest
 Ago began, which did that age infest.

The art of finding out the numbers sought
 Which Diophantus once, and Gheber taught:
 And then Vieta tells you that by this,
 290 Each geometric problem solved is.
 Savil the Oxford reader did supply
 Wallis with principles noble and high,
 That infinite had end, and finite should
 Have parts, but yet those without end allowed.
 295 Both which opinions did enrage and scare
 All those who geometricasters were.
 This was enough to set me writing, who
 Was then in years no less than seventy-two,
 And in six dialogues I do inveigh
 300 Against that new and geometric way,
 But to no purpose, great men it doth please,
 And thus the med'cine yields to the disease.
 I printed then two treatises that stung
 The Bishop Bramhall in our mother-tongue.
 305 The question at that time was, and is still,
 Whether at God's, or our own choice, we will.
 And this was the result proceeding thence,
 He the schools followed, I made use of sense.⁶⁷
 Six problems, not long after, published I,
 310 A tract but small, yet pure philosophy.
 Wherein I teach how nature does cast down
 All weighty bodies, and huge massy stone:
 How vapors are exhaled by the Sun;
 How winds engender cold, when that is done;
 315 The reason of their Levity, and how
 The barren Clouds do hang on Heaven's brow;
 How move, and then that they are pregnant grown
 With moisture, do in violent showers pour down.
 By what cement hard matter is conjoined,
 320 And how hard things grow soft, the cause do find:
 Whence lightning, snow and ice do proceed, and Thunder,
 Breaking through wat'ry clouds, even to wonder:
 How loadstones Iron attract: how and which way
 They th'Arctic and Antarctic poles obey.
 325 Why from the sea unequal waves do glide,

67. Latin: "My guide is reason."

I'th' year, or month, each day a double tide;
 And why a ship doth sail against the wind,
 In that small treatise all these things you find,
 Which may in time tread with applause the stage,
 330 As yet unblamed in such a carping age.
 The nature of the air I do descry
 In a small volume, and most pithily,
 Composed on purpose for to obviate
 An inanitic machine formed of late.
 335 Then leaving Physics, I return again
 To my beloved mathematic strain:
 For now the barb'rous bloody enemy
 Had left the place, where my estate did lie.
 The truth I could not teach; for none but fools
 340 May hope t'instruct in their declaiming schools.
 Another book of principles I print,
 Nothing could be more clear than what was in't.
 Whereby the nature of proportion is
 Explained so fully, none can say amiss.
 345 Upon this subject most agreed that I
 Of every one had gained the victory;
 Others seem in it to find error's store,
 But they are crazy grown, and I the more
 Press upon them; then do ascend the high
 350 And lofty summit of Geometry.
 The circle's quadrature I publish then;
 The Pythian God's Porisma teach all men.
 By a new method I thought to o'ercome,
 Though not by the same reasons, neither, some
 355 O'th'former demonstrations, but in vain.
 Mathematicians half-witted complain,
 Who blush for to subscribe, but I'll not lose
 My labor any longer, thinking those
 Indocile brutes will ever master sense,
 360 Or with good literature ever dispense.
 Then my Rosetum was put forth, which I
 Stored with rare flowers of geometry.
 Wallis opposes, and I lost the day,
 As both divines and Algebrists do say.
 365 The army then discamped, and gone, thereby
 Wallis of nothing thinks, but victory;

Who having chosen an unpleasant field,
 Which thick and troublesome deep roots did yield,
 Liking the combat, I turn, scatter quite
 370 All in a moment, numbers infinite.
 These were my wars; what more have I to say?
 How rich I am, that is, how wise, I pray?
 No matter for my money or my land;
 If any ask that, let him understand,
 375 A small parcel of ground I had to show,
 My own inheritance, and let him know,
 That this I on my brother did bestow:
 Of small extent, but a most fertile ground,
 Which did with store of bladed wheat abound
 380 Fit for a prince; and had not every thing
 Run cross, I had been counted a great king.
 When I the civil War approaching find,
 And people led by every breath of wind,
 I sought than this a more commodious place
 385 To live and study in, and that Paris was.
 Stocked with five hundred pounds of coin before
 I did desert, or leave my native shore;
 To these two hundred added, but withal
 A weighty lasting grief did me befall.
 390 (Thou'rt dead, Godolphin, who lov'dst reason, true
 Justice and peace, soldier belov'd, adieu)
 Twice forty pounds, a yearly pension, then
 I from my own country received; and when
 King Charles restored was, a hundred more
 395 Was allowed me out of his private store.
 A noble gift: I slight reproaches, when
 I know I'm good, from other black-mouth'd men.
 Content with this, desire no more pelf,
 Who but a madman lives beneath himself?
 400 Let my estate by yours computed be,
 And greater seem; if not, it's enough for me.
 My sums are small, and yet live happy so,
 Richer than Croesus far, and Crassus too.
 Verdusius, thou know'st my temper well,
 405 And those who read my works, and with thee dwell,
 My life and writings speak one congruous sense;
 Justice I teach, and justice reverence.

None but the covetous we wicked call,
 For avarice can do no good at all.
 410 I've now completed my eighty-fourth year,
 And death approaching, prompts me not to fear.⁶⁸

III.

[1] On that trip he began to look at Euclid's *Elements*; delighted with its method, not so much because of the theorems as because of the way of reasoning, he read it through most carefully. [OL I, xiv]

[2] In 1631 he was recalled to the family of the Countess of Devon, to instruct her son, the Count of Devon, who was 13, in letters. About three years later he also accompanied him to France and Italy, as the guide of his studies and travels. While he stopped in Paris, he began to investigate the principles of natural science. Since he knew what things are contained in the nature and varieties of motions, he asked first what kind of motion it could be which brings about sensation, understanding, phantasms, and other properties of animals. He communicated his thoughts daily to the Reverend Father Marin Mersenne, of the order of the Minims, an excellent man, very much involved in every kind of philosophy. When he returned to England in 1637 with his patron and stayed with him, he continued to correspond with Mersenne about scientific matters. [OL I, xiv]

[3] He had always approved of the government of the Church through bishops before all other forms, and he made this manifest by two signs. First, [in 1647] when he was confined to bed, gravely ill, in Saint Germain, near Paris, Mersenne came to him, called by some common friend, so that his friend would not suffer death outside the Roman Church. Seated by the bedside, he began with consolations, and then expanded for a while on the Roman Church's power to remit sins. To which [Hobbes] replied: "Father, I have debated all these things with myself some while ago now. To debate the same things now will be tiresome. You have more pleasant things you can tell me. When did you last see Gassendi?" Hearing this,

68. The concluding couplet, as recorded in Molesworth, might be translated: "I have now completed eighty four years, and the long drama of my life is almost done." But Aubrey reports [I, 363] that Dr. Blackburne had altered the last two verses in the printed copy of the Latin life, in order to improve the metre. The English version is an accurate translation of the original lines as Aubrey records them. So the English translation appears not to have been done from the printed edition but from Hobbes' ms. Aubrey reports that Dr. Blackburne made other alterations as well, which made the sense "not so brisk." So the English translation may be a more accurate record of what Hobbes wrote than the Latin.

Mersenne changed the subject. A few days later, Dr. John Cosins, afterward Bishop of Durham, approached him and offered to pray with him to God. Hobbes thanked him and said: "Yes, if you take the lead in prayers according to the rite of our Church." This was a great sign of reverence for episcopal discipline. [OL I, xvi; for the second sign, see below, [5]]

[4] In 1651 some copies of that book recently published in London were sent to France, where certain English theologians accused some doctrines contained in that book both of heresy and of being against the king's interests. And those calumnies prevailed to the extent that he was prohibited from the royal court. As a result, he was deprived of royal protection, and fearing that he would be treated badly by the Roman clergy, whom he had especially offended, he was compelled to flee to England. [OL I, xvi-xvii]

[5] When he returned to England, he indeed found preachers in the churches, but seditious ones; and extemporary prayers, bold, and sometimes blasphemous; but no creed, no decalogue. And so for the first three months he did not find any service in which he could participate. Finally a friend took him to a church more than a mile from his quarters, where the pastor was a good and learned man, who administered the Lord's Supper by the rite of the church; with him he could participate in the service. This was another sign, not only of a man who favored the episcopal side, but also of a sincere Christian. For at that time neither the laws nor fear compelled anyone to go to any church. [OL I, xviii]

IV.

[1] Thomas Hobbes, then, whose life I write, was second son of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, vicar of Westport, near Malmesbury . . . also vicar of Charlton (a mile hence). They are annexed and are both worth 60 or 80 pounds per annum. Thomas, the father, was one of the ignorant 'Sir Johns' of Queen Elizabeth's time, could only read the prayers of the Church and the homilies, and disesteemed learning (his son Edmund told me so), as not knowing the sweetness of it . . . He had an elder brother whose name was Francis, a wealthy man, and had been alderman of the borough. [I, 323-4]

[2] When he was a boy, he was playsome enough, but withal he had even then a contemplative melancholiness. He would get him into a corner, and learn his lesson by heart presently. His hair was black, and his schoolfellows were wont to call him "crow." [I, 329] When young he loved music, and practised on the lute . . . he was unhealthy, and of an ill complexion (yellowish). [I, 347]

[3] Mr. Robert Latimer [was] a young man of about 19 or 20, newly come from the University, who then kept a private school in Westport . . .