

6. Artificial Man and Abstract State

1. Hobbes' project and method:

- a new science of political power
- principles of political foundation in a world independent of any divine order *'neither supported nor restrained by a divine order Augustus uses his own skills, or policy, to transform chaotic liberty of the republic to the ordered model of the Participate'* [Saxenhouse]
- Tacitus as a cover for Machiavellian themes
- Criticism of Athenian politics: *'All the Athenians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling of news. The true character of politicians without much employment' 'It was in name a state Democratically, but in fact, A government of the principal Man'* [Hobbes marginal notes about Pericles' Athens in his translation of Thucydides]
- Civil law and 'natural law'
- authorisation
- an abstract state, and reified law;
- absolutism: unconditional sovereignty;

2.

Leviathan

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The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices unto one will: which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own, and to acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person, shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills, every one to his will, and their judgements, to his judgment. This is more than consent, or concord; it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such manner, as if every man should say to every man, *I authorise and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner.* This done, the multitude so united in one person, is called a commonwealth, in Latin civitas. This is the generation of that great leviathan, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that *Mortal God*, to which we owe under the *Immortal God*, our peace and defence. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is enabled to conform the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which (to define it) is *one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants with one another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.*

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And he that carrieth this person, is called sovereign, and said to have *sovereign power*, and every one besides, his subject.

3. Citizenship

4. Representation

A Person, is he, *whose words or actions are considered, either as his own, or as representing the words or actions of another man, or of any other thing to whom they are attributed, whether truly or by fiction.* Of persons artificial, some have their words and actions *owned* by those whom they represent. And then the person is the *actor*; and he that owneth the words and actions is the AUTHOR: in which case the actor acteth by authority.

5. Sovereign Power

[There are some who think] that there may be more souls, (that is, more sovereigns) than one, in a commonwealth; and set up a *supremacy* against the *sovereignty*; *canons* against *laws*; and a *ghostly authority* against the *civil*; working on men's minds, with words and distinctions, that of themselves signify nothing, but bewray (by their obscurity) that there walketh (as some think invisibly) another kingdom, as it were a kingdom of fairies, in the dark. [ch 29]

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