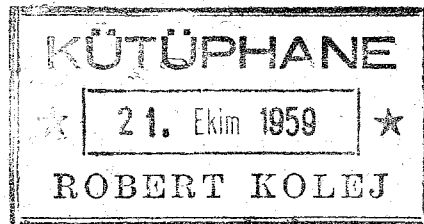


HOBBES and MACHIAVELLI

(A Comparison in Their Methods and Philosophy)



Mark Glazer

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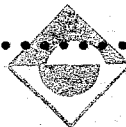


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PREFACE

Hobbes and Machiavelli, more than one century apart, are two philosophers whose likeness, when and if they are alike, comes out of completely different methods and motivations.

Their likeness consists of their belief for absolute sovereignty with all the rights in the hands of the sovereign. The perfect sovereign for Hobbes is a monarch while Machiavelli prefers an assembly of men in a republic.

The motivation and systems of thought are very different in both cases. As a consequence of this they differ greatly in their philosophy although they have points in common as well.

I shall try to show how different motivation and methods can effect two philosophers, but that they still have some points in common in spite of this. I shall also try to show that they are alike in one of the main points: that absolute sovereignty is best.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Sipfle for helping me greatly with his suggestions, to Dr. Ercüment Atabay for his help as well to Miss Jones who has given us free access to the library.

POLITICS AND TWO PHILOSOPHERS

The Frustrated Politician

Niccolo Machiavelli was born in 1469 in the Republic of Florence (as far as I can find out after the normal lapse of time). His father was a lawyer and a member of the impoverished nobility of the Republic. About Niccolo's early life nothing is known except that he must have had a firm grounding in the classics and Latin.

It is at the age of twenty-nine that Machiavelli steps into the world as an ambitious secretary to the second Chancery, an event which took place after the execution of Savonarola. He held this office for fourteen years in which he was a braintruster to the Chancery and a bureaucrat.

Florence as any other state required diplomats so that Machiavelli, in his fourteen years of office, was given many diplomatic missions. "He visited as an unofficial emissary every important city-state in Italy and several of the courts outside Italy ... he met the movers and shakers of the world, and the narrow horizon of the Florentine expanded into the vistas of the European state system."¹

All of this experience was to make him the first great analyst of political thought and science of the modern world.

¹ Machiavelli, N., The Prince and Discourses, Intro. Max Lerner, (New-York) 1950, p. XXVI.

In 1512 when Florence and France lost the war against the Spaniards and the Pope the Medici family was once again imported to rule the Florantines. Machiavelli a well known Republican now lost his post in spite of all his attempts to make his peace with the Medicis. The Medicis also discovered a list of people who could be trusted in a republican revolt, among them was the name of Niccolo Machiavelli who had nothing to do with it, but this was enough to put him to torture.

He was exiled and went to San Cassione with his wife and five children where he spent fourteen more years. Living in a farm was probably not too agreeable to him as he continuously wrote letters pleading with the Pope and the Medicis to give him a post. All he got was a comission to write a history of Florence, a mission for the Papal President of Romagna and a post on the fortifications of Florence just when the city was about to fall once more to the republicans.

"Ironically it was in this period of his disgrace that represents the high point of his creative power. The enforced liesure compelled him to fall back on himself."² Never had a man fallen in a situation in which his reputation would be so changed in the course of history "... for it caused a relatively unimportant local official condemned to an early oblivion by loss of office to leap into a world fame which envelopes his name with undiminished splendor to the

² Ibid, p. XXVIII

present day."³ It was in this dark period of his life that Machiavelli had written The Prince, the Discourses and The Mandrake Root one of the best Renaissance plays written in Italy.

Finally the republicans were able to defeat the forces of the Pope and take Florence again. Machiavelli delighted with this news set out to Florence at once to get once more his post as a secretary, but he fell ill and died on the way before learning that he did not get the post after all (1527).

The Frustrated Geometrician

In the year when the Spanish Armada (1588) was ready to attack and invade England the wife of the vicar of Malmesbury was so frightened that she prematurely bore twins; as Thomas Hobbes himself accepts, Hobbes hisself and fear.

He received his early education in his home town than went to Oxford when he was fifteen where he studied scholastic logic and physics. He left the university still a youth and became a tutor to the Cavendish family with whom he remained in friendly relation for his whole life. His occupation with the Cavendish family gave him ample time in his studies of literature in their well stacked family library. He was always interested in literature for he had translated Euripides' Medea into Latin iambics at fourteen, while he was

³ Shevill, Ferdinand, Six Historians, pp. 61-93, (Chicago) 1956, p. 72.

later to translate Thucydides and finally Homer at his very late years. These translations may have no great literary merit, but they may have given him the mastery of style to make his English among the best ever written by philosophers. He was also able to serve as a secretary to Bacon during the latter's last years; a contact which must have had considerable effect on the younger man.

Hobbes' formative period took an unusually long time for such a brilliant man, and two incidents must have played a great role in shaping and awakening his philosophical interests. At forty he accidentally looked in Euclid's Elements and read a proposition which he found impossible until he checked by referring to previous propositions. This had very important consequences because it made him believe that all reasoning is mathematical in character. It also made him love geometry, so he wrote quite often on this subject sometimes showing clear insight but on others jumping to conclusions. He once claimed that he had squared a triangle and became involved in a controversy in which he was badly worsted.

In a second incident he found out that no one quite knew what a sensation meant. This made him think about the problem till he concluded that everything must be referred back to movements. He also thought that philosophy should be concerned with cause and effect. This led him to geometry and physics.

When Charles I was forced to summon the Parliament in 1640, Hobbes wrote a short treatise. In this he claimed that the sovereignty is one and indivisible, and that the sovereign had the right to make war and levy taxes. After writing this treatise Hobbes was afraid of being arrested and thus escaped to Paris.

There he met the noted philosophers of the continent such as Mersenne, Gassendi and Descartes. He was also a tutor to Charles II who was then in exile. It is at that time that Hobbes wrote his great book The Leviathan. In this book he still claimed that an absolute sovereignty is necessary but he justified the nobles who made their peace with the commonwealth, thus opening a way for his own return to England.

As it turned out he, indeed, had to leave France because his religious ideas were not at all liked by the church. He was able to return now without fearing Cromwell and still remaining the King's friend.

At his return to England he once more became tutor to the Cavendish family and he also received a pension from the King, when Charles II was restored. He spent his remaining years in reflection and also continued his numerous translations until he died in 1679 at the age of ninety-one.⁴

⁴ Wright, William Kelley, A History of Modern Philosophy, (New-york) 1955, pp. 52-7.

Machiavelli and Hobbes are two men parted by more than a century, a large geographic mass and the English channel. A life full of political ambitions which were never realized as opposed to ambitions which were more easily realized.

The likeness between the two men can be found in the way their respective times have shaped their lives. They were both exiles, even though Hobbes was one on his own accord. It was at this time that Hobbes wrote his treatise to justify the king and the noblemen. While Machiavelli wrote again while in exile, but for altogether different reasons.

POLITICAL THEORY AND TWO MOTIVATIONS

Machiavelli's Prince is one of the best known sources of inspiration for tyrants and dictators. As a matter of fact "That dictators and tyrants of every era have found much useful advice in the Prince is undeniable. The list of avid readers is impressive: Emperor Charles V and Catherine de Medici admired the work; Oliver Cromwell procured a manuscript copy, and adopted its principles to the commonwealth government in England. Henry III and Henry IV of France were carrying copies when they were murdered; it helped Fredrich the Great to shape Russian policy; Louis XIV used the book as his favorite nightcap; an annotated copy was found in Napoleon Bonaparte's coach at Waterloo; Napoleon III's ideas on government were chiefly derived from it; and Bismarck was a devoted disciple. More recently Adolf Hitler, according to his own word, kept The Prince by his bedside, where it served as a constant source of inspiration; and Benito Mussolini stated: 'I believe Machiavelli's Prince to be the statesmen's supreme guide.' His doctrine is alive today because in the course of four hundred years, no deep changes have occurred in the minds of men or in the actions of nations."⁵ It is also interesting to note that tyrants usually lost their places not because they observed

⁵ Downs, Robert B., Books that Changed the World, (New York) 1956, p. 26.

Machiavelli's advices but either because of misinterpretation or non-observance of them.

From this sprung the belief that Machiavelli wrote to justify kings and tyrants, and is usually believed to be against republics and democracy.

X Hobbes, on the other hand, in spite of the fact that he writes to justify the king at the Puritan Revolt does so on naturalistic terms, but The Leviathan finally justifies the loyalist for finally compounding with the victorious Puritans. This is because of Hobbes' dread of revolution under any sort of government. It is also devoid of what may seem unscrupulous methods of running a state. This is in spite of the fact that it is a support against revolutions towards any sovereign, and in which the sovereign has full power.

"As a matter of fact, Hobbes seems to have been in the position of an extremely original and independent thinker ... His political philosophy ... favored absolute monarchy, but did so on naturalistic grounds ..."⁶ A naturalistic method which gave both man and God equal importance in the formation of states by social contract.⁷

⁶ Write, History of Modern Philosophy, p. 55.

⁷ Hobbes, Thomas, The Leviathan, edit. intro. Michael Oakeshott (Oxford) 1955, Chap. XIV, p. 234.

It can easily be shown that Hobbes preferred monarchies which were absolute from passages in his works, "... where the public and private interests are most closely united, there is the public most advanced. Now in monarchy, the private interest is the same as the public ... a monarch receiveth counsel of whom, when, and where he pleaseth; and consequently may hear the opinion of men versed in the matter about which he deliberates ... at his will."⁸ There is no inconsistency of numbers in monarchies as the king alone rules. In assemblies and parliament different wishes may be in conflict, a thing which can never happen in a monarchy.

no conflict

From this no doubt remains that Hobbes preferred monarchies to other forms of government. His motivation was to supply support to the royal cause. "As a defender of royalty he expected the marked favour of Charles II when The Leviathan appeared in Paris."⁹ It may be true that Hobbes did expect the favour of the king, but that the Leviathan carries his own convictions cannot be doubted simply from the fact that he justifies the nobles for compounding with Cromwell.

Machiavelli, on the other hand, accepted as a monarchist on the strength of the Prince and its tactics had to take "The sorry mauling the Prince received on its appearance ..."¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., pp. 122-3.

⁹ Dunning, W.A., A History of Political Theories, From Luther to Montesquieu, (London) 1916, p. 268.

¹⁰ Shevill, Six Historians, p. 79.

This "... was naturally avid gleefully extended to its author, who was painted as an authentic son of Satan intent on providing a handbook for tyrants prepared to blot free and christian governments from the face of the earth."¹¹

What is the strange part of the whole affair is that the cruel, heartless Machiavelli turns out to be a republican when his Prince and Discourses are compared. It is in the Discourses that Machiavelli gives us his own unqualified convictions and that he prefers republics. Any careful reading of The Prince will easily tell us that he never mentions monarchies as being better than republics, while he does the opposite in the discourses.

Among the reasons given as to why a republic is better than a monarchy is that it is easier to find good rulers among the people who will competently and virtuously rule; while in a kingdom we may have one or two good kings in succession and then we start to have unvirtuous and weak ones.¹² Another reason is that "If we compare the faults of a people with those of princes, as well as their respective good qualities, we shall find the people vastly superior in all that is good and glorious."¹³

Machiavelli had started the discourses as a commentary

¹¹ Ibid, p. 79.

¹² Machiavelli, Discourses, pp. 174-5.

¹³ Ibid., p. 264.

on the first ten books of Livy's history of Rome, but the contents of the book finally took the form of Machiavelli's own views.

The problem which comforts us now is why Machiavelli wrote The Prince, a work which opposes his own political ideas. The answer to the problem is simple. The Prince is like many others written in the middle ages, a text to help the sovereign to rule the government, in other words it is a textbook for princes. And as a scientist may write the best way to make a dangerous drug why can a politician not write about the best way to rule a state. If the book seems to be shocking it is for the only reason that its unusual realism is difficult to accept even in our own times.

The motivation for writing their respective philosophies seems to be quite different. Hobbes writing to justify an absolute sovereign and Machiavelli writing a textbook plus accidentally his own views on politics. But what is important is that they were both motivated in writing about political philosophy and that they have both been far ahead of their own time both in method and results.

TWO METHODS

Hobbes

Hobbes like most other political philosophers wrote because of what happened at a certain time in his own country, and the defects of a certain time are deeply reflected in his philosophies, even if it is only to reject them. That a philosopher is affected by his era does not mean that he has to repeat it, and not have insight to the future, as in the case of Hobbes who had great insight into the future. What had affected Hobbes was the Puritan Revolt and that was what had pushed him to write a brilliant defence of kings. It may equally be said that in the Puritan Revolt lies his hate of revolution and his strict prohibitance of it in his own philosophy, backed up by his proofs for sustaining what he believes in.

Hobbes is the first Englishman to present a system of political philosophy, but his views of absolute monarchy and on the right of rebellion had pleased no one in his own century where these views were not accepted.

"The novelty of Hobbes's theory lies in his attempt to derive the 'ideal' in purely non-moral terms. Whereas the majority of political philosophers have conceived of the ideal as the moral ideal, Hobbes conceives of it as the rational ideal, and thus regards the ideal state as the sort of state

which would result if men correctly judged the most effective means for achieving their desires."¹⁴

This is not the opinion of one critic alone as Russell also writes to the same effect. "He is completely free from superstition; he does not argue from what happened to Adam and Eve at the time of the Fall, he is clear and logical; his ethics, right or wrong, is completely intelligible, and does not involve the use of any dubious concepts. Apart from Machiavelli, who is much more limited, he is the first really modern writer on political theory. Where he is wrong, he is wrong from oversimplification not because the basis of his thought is unreal or fantastic. For this reason, he is still worth reading."¹⁵

This on the whole seems to be an accurate position to take. It is true that Hobbes does not start from superstition and that he starts from natural grounds. But to say that he is always clear and always completely logical seems to be an oversimplification. He bases his theories always on reason so that to say that he is not fantastic is completely correct. On the other hand to say that he is always realistic is not so true, as theory is not necessarily always reality.

Russell himself after this praise of Hobbes goes on in

¹⁴ Murray, A.R.M., An Introduction to Political Philosophy, (London) 1953, pp. 105-6.

¹⁵ Russell, Bertrand, History of Western Philosophy, (London) 1954, p. 578.

an unbivalliant way both to praise and critisize him. His criticism often contradicts the priase which is given to Hobbes in the earlier quotation.

Philosophers of the past either over emphasized mathematics or thought; "Hobbes had neither of these defects. It is not until our own day that we find any other philosopher who was an empiricist and yet laid stress on mathematics. In this respect, Hobbes' merit is great. He has however, grave defects, which make it impossible to place him quite in the first rank. He is impatient of subtelties, and too much inclined to cut the Gordian knot. His solutions of problems are logical, but are attained by ommitting awkward facts. He is vigorous but crude; he wields the battle-axe better than the rapier. Nevertheless, his theory of state deserves to be carefully considered the more as it is more modern than any previous theory, even that of Machiavelli."¹⁶

Russell seems to think that Hobbes is a readable but not a great philosopher whose greatest virtue is his being extremely modern, but whose defects in method stop from being as great as he might otherwise have been. This seems to be a fair presentation of Hobbes' position. But it must not be forgotten that very few philosophers can be said to have been perfectly in accordance with their method. Russell's presentation with words like "vigorous" and "axe" seem to suggest a certain force in the system of this philosopher.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 568.

"Hobbes is important, that is to say, because of the dramatic almost brutal, way in which he expressed the crucial problem of finding a place for value in a world of fact."¹⁷ His way of attack is a subtle way of argument and ridicule. His mistake is to think that his style could be applied to everything. Finally "He wrote to convince and to refute."¹⁸

The dynamism in Hobbes' works is really undeniable but to say that this was used as a means to form an axiological reason for the "world of fact" can only be said to be true if Hobbes accepted the most reasonable way as the one of greatest value. This also seems to be true for it would be very unlikely for any philosopher to search for the most reasonable government unless he believed it to be the most valueable. Could this style be applied to everything? This is a question which is not well asked; as it would be more accurate to say could his system be applied to everything? Can any system be applied to everything? Probably not but every philosopher has to select a system and try to find out how far it can be extended and Hobbes must not reproach for also having done so. One can only reproach him for the inconsistencies within his system. Hobbes obviously did "write to convince and to refute", it would be strange to say that a philosopher did not have this in his method of writing.

"The philosophical value of Hobbes' political works consists not so much in their subjectmatter as in the form of

¹⁷ Jones, W.T., A History of Western Philosophy, (New York) 1952, p. 659.

arguing and reasoning."¹⁹

Indeed the form of argument in Hobbes is very interesting as he is among the earliest users of the geometrical method and its best known expounder in England.

Hobbes in his quest for truth starts by an inquiry in first principles and defining the subjects nature essence. "Once this definition has been found all its properties can be derived in a strictly deductive way."²⁰ True definitions have to be 'generic' and 'casual', in other words, they have to answer the questions what and why. It must be noted that in looking for the 'raison d'etre' of the state it is empirical beginning and historical fact that is looked for but logical validity. "What matters alone is not the historical but the legal basis that is answered by the theory of the social contract."²¹

The legal basis in the quoted passage by Ernst Cassirer may be said to be the reasonable government which Hobbes preached. His system needed a legal basis for the social contract which was provided by the evolution of society. This evolution is not empirical but is logical as was deemed necessary by his method. This is important for it adds proof that his method is the use of rason rather than empirical.

¹⁹ Cassirer, Ernst, The Myth Called State, New York) 1955, pp. 217-18.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 217.

²¹ Ibid., p. 217-18.

"Social-political philosophy vied with mechanics and geometry in dominating his (Hobbes') thought ...

"The geometric procedure impressed Hobbes as expanding knowledge by vigorous deduction from primary definitions. Philosophy, according to him, is concerned with the casual explanation of things. As we understand and express clearly the nature of a thing we can infer its various qualities and consequences. Thus we move from proposition to proposition in formulating our system of knowledge."²²

According to the last quotation it is casual definitions alone that matter for deducing, but according to a former quotation a definition must be both casual and generic. It is the first quotation which is undoubtedly correct even from a casual glance in The Leviathan, as he always first gives the casual definition and then goes on to explain its reasons. But that he was impressed by the geometric system is an undeniable fact.

According to Wright on the other hand: "In his method, he makes an advance upon the narrowly inductive empiricism of Bacon, finding a place for mathematical reasoning and deduction from careful definitions. He was right in his attempt to erect philosophy upon natural science, and to develop an interrelationship between inorganic nature; men as individuals studied by

²² Tsanoff, Radoslav A., The Great Philosophers, (New York) 1953, p. 276.

psychology, and men organized in the state."²³

Is Hobbes' philosophy completely mathematical or is it also empirical? His system in his psychology and epistemology seems indeed to be quite empirical and is one of the most modern parts of his philosophy. On the other hand the system which is used in his political philosophy can be called completely mathematical as he always starts by a theoretical definition and deduces from it. This does not mean that he uses this method perfectly, for he does indeed have quite a number of faults in using it; the main one being oversimplification. Hobbes does indeed start his philosophy with nature and psychology and base his political philosophy on what may be called natural science. This is so until he steps into political philosophy in which he is completely mathematical in his method. It can be said that most of the first part of the Leviathan is empirical but that the parts dealing with commonwealth are mathematical in method.

"The basis of all his thought in ethics and politics was materialistic, and for its development no method appealed to him but that of Euclid. Definition and deduction summed up his demonstrative process ... Hence the teaching of history and of authority have no place in his system."²⁴

The Leviathan consists of a series of definitions and a

²³ Wright, Modern Philosophy, p. 68.

²⁴ Dunning, History of Political Theories, p. 265.

set of deductions which bear the reader to the writer's conclusions. Hobbes tries to convince the reader through attack upon attack.²⁵ That Hobbes tries to convince the reader through attacks and deductions is very true, for his deductions at times omit awkward fact or oversimplify the issue so that a normally critical person can be convinced by it.

To sum up what Hobbes tried to achieve as his method in his political philosophy: (1) Hobbes' method is free of religious superstition, (2) is rationalistic and mathematical, (3) starts from generic and 'casual' definitions, (4) and deduces from these definitions.

This is the ideal situation in his method which is used throughout The Leviathan as it has been pointed out earlier with inaccuracies and with great force. It would not be interesting to apply these four points to some parts of Hobbes' philosophy and see it on actual practice.

a. Definition.

" ... I define civil law (writes Hobbes) in this manner. CIVIL LAW, is to every subject, those rules, which to the commonwealth hath commanded him, to word, writing or other sufficient sign of the will, to make use of, for the distinction of right; and wrong: that is to say, of what is contrary, and what is not contrary to the rule."²⁶

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 265-6.

²⁶ Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 173.

This statement is clearly a definition which is the result of the author's own thought and is not deduced from any previous statement. The questions to be asked now are what and why to find out if the statements are generic and casual.

What is civil law? It is "..., those rules, which the commonwealth hath commanded him, ..., to make use of ... "27

Why is civil law? It is "..., for the distinction of right, and wrong; that is to say, of what is contrary, and what is not contrary to the rule."28

The answers to the two questions show that the definition is both casual and generic as they are claimed to be.

b. Deduction.

From this statement Hobbes deduces that (1) the sovereign is the only legislator, (2) that he is not subject to these laws.

c. Superstition.

Both the definition and the deductions are completely free from superstition as Hobbes would have them.

d. Mathematical Usage.

The remaining problem is the use of mathematics or geometry in Hobbes. Where and how have they been used in those

definitions and deductions? The way they are used seems to be only in spirit and not in actuality. In spirit because they start with a definition as in geometry and deduce from this, but not in actuality because no clear step to step proof can be found. The proofs and steps are not as in geometry or as in Spinoza. They do not try to built a system on a few absolute truths, but a new one is given each time we have a new definition.

Machiavelli

Through all history there had been a difference between theory and practice. This did not trouble anyone until Machiavelli showed that they could very well be one.²⁹ The only problem was that Machiavelli was too realistic for almost any convention be it for his own or later eras, this caused his being nicknamed as 'Old Nick' the devil.

But still this sort of intellectual honesty about political dishonesty would be impossible in any other country or at any other time. This is only the outcome of Machiavelli's purpose "... to set forth the means to assigned ends whether the ends are good or bad."³⁰

The fact that Machiavelli's philosophy was deplored for such a long time and the fact that it was extended to his own

²⁹ Schevil, Six Historians, p. 74.

³⁰ Russell, History of Western Philosophy, p. 525.

person is not so strange. No one it seems tried to understand The Prince and the motivation behind it, and few attempts probably were made to read The Discourses which is less famous and longer. It probably is true that Machiavelli's work is the first attempt to combine reality with philosophy in actual practice although Machiavelli's works do contain theoretical parts.

"Machiavelli was not a philosopher in the strict sense of the word. He was rather a man of affairs who found time in a multitude of other interests, to write down his impressions of the world and of man, but who lacked the inclination or the ability to organize these impressions into systematic account."³¹ For him a systematic account probably was secondary to the glory of the world in which all the Renaissance believed and the discription of means to ascertain end.³²

Machiavelli was not a systematic philosopher by any means and never attempts to be one. He simply, as has been said before, tries to show the best way of doing a certain political action, and deeped into that we see his own theory of which sort of government and law is best for any state.✓

Machiavelli turned against the ideals of the humanists to pour the real side of his era into writing and had the

³¹ Jones, W.T., Masters of Political Thought, ed. Edward Mc Chesney Sait, Vol. II, Machiavelli to Benthans, (London) 1949, p. 25.

³² Ibid., pp. 27-8.

capacity to see the difference between man as he should be and as he really is - between the ideal form of institutions and the pragmatic conditions under which they operate.

"Machiavelli sought to distinguish the realm of what ought to be and the realm of what is. He rejected the first for the second."³³

It is true that Machiavelli did have the capacity to see reality and the pragmatic conditions under which a state operates, but to say that he completely rejected the realm of what ought to be is erroneous as he often in his discourses states that the best sort of government is a republic. So that what can safely be said is that Machiavelli knew how to distinguish between man as he ought to be and as he really is, with at times additions of what he himself thinks is best. This distinction is one of the most important points in his method.

"The Prince is part of the world's polemic literature because it places itself squarely in the ranks of realism. It brushes aside, with impatience in which Machiavelli scarcely cares to conceal his disdain, the tender-mindedness of reformer and idealists."³⁴

This statement probably holds true for the Prince but to try to judge Machiavelli by this book alone would be a

³³ Machiavelli, Prince and Discourses, Intro. Lerner. p. XVI

³⁴ Ibid., pp. XXX 11 - XXXIV.

mistake; for an author is not to be judged by only one of his books but by the sum total of all his works. It must also be noted that Machiavelli is a reformer as he tries to show what is the best way to do thing. Even though his advice may be very realistic, it does not mean that it does not try to reform. The reform may not be ideal in morality or ethics, it is towards the corrupt or badly run state.

The sheer realism of his political thought may have been completely unknown in the literary and philosophical works of his time, but it was part of the life and deeds of many kingdoms, in short Machiavelli was also a child of his own time.³⁵

Realism is part of Machiavelli's method and was part of the way of life of his own time. This might have effected the form of the book. What must not be forgotten though is that Machiavelli does not give examples of the history of his own time alone but from history in general. So that although he was in spirit and method inspired by his time, he remains and accepts history as universally interchangeable.

Another reason for Machiavelli's realism may be seen in the fact that "... he was one of those rare intellectuals who write about politics because they have had a hand in politics and learned what it is about."³⁶

"He himself, he would say, was an observer in politics.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. XXXI-XXXII.

³⁶ Ibid., p. XXV.

And as such he would find it irrelevant to impose his own ethical patterns on the torrential flow of history. It is for that reason that Machiavellianism, after everything has been said about it, fails to be an unadequate philosophy for a way of life."³⁷

That Machiavelli was indeed in a position to write about politics is obvious as he not only was a politician but a historian also. These two faculties gave him an insight both to his own time and into the past which he could follow with great realism. Machiavellianism does not try to be a way of life anyway; it simply is a political handbook, a way to rule a government. To try even to say that it is a way of life is erroneous. As to what Machiavelli himself would say on any subject we can only guess, and we can not rely upon.

"... political action appeared to him as independant even of the conscience of him who performed it: almost a natural phenomenon of which men might tranquilly investigate the cause, force and effect."³⁸

This statement tries to point out that Machiavelli forgets that men have a conscience and that they would not act that way. It completely forgets that Machiavelli's claims are based on observation and the author (Villari) later contradicts himself

³⁷ Ibid., pp. XIV-XIVI.

³⁸ Villari, P., The Life and Times of Niccolo Machiavelli, trans Linda Villari, ed. new rev. edn. 2 vol. (London) 1892, p. 144

by writing. Whether his aims or views are correct what matters is "... whether he succeeded in discovering and expounding truth."³⁹

With this the fact that Machiavelli's method is primarily realistic and indeed to such an extent that its general acceptance has been impossible even within our own times. Whether he tries to establish an ideal sort of political rules or not is another problem. Even if he does not look for an ideal he tries to find the most practical way out of any problem. He always thinks of the ends as being more important than the means. But to say that he never has any theory or view of his own is not correct.

"... he retains political science founded on history and his own observations, a science which consists of these essential principles: it is the capacity of the human soul which makes history; interests and passions may change in appearance, but not the law of history; and though some nations progress and others decline, the contributions of each endure."⁴⁰

In modern views history never repeats itself but for Machiavelli it did so. This means that for him historical events are interchangeable. This means that he has written

³⁹ Ibid., p. 133.

⁴⁰ Machiavelli, N., Machiavelli, ed. Count Carlo Sforza, (London) 1949, p. 5-6.

all times. By Machiavelli's times the feudal system was wrecked so that he is the first writer to write without direct reference to God and the hierarchy of the middle ages.⁴¹

History repeats itself, a maxim often used even in our times was one of the main points of Machiavelli's philosophy. Had he not thought so he could not possibly use his method in which he draws examples from any era in history to prove the point he tries to make. It is, of course, true that motivations change but for Machiavelli the events and the way that take place are hardly changeable. This certainly would mean that Machiavelli has written not for his own era alone but for all the future of mankind.

"His main concern throughout life was politics and his main purpose as a writer was to bring some sort of order into the unmanagable torrent of uninterpreted political events by assembling them under reflections and generalizations by which their total movement acquired at least a measure of intelligibility and could without presumption be offered to the masters and lords of politics in expectation that they might profit from them by establishing a more effective control of public affairs."⁴²

To say that Machiavelli's first concern as a writer was to bring the torrent of uninterpreted historical data is not an accurate statement, as all the data has come together as a

⁴¹ Cassirer, Myth Called State, pp. 144-70.

⁴² Schevill, Six Historians, p. 90.

result of his method which was indeed to reflect and generalize on historical thought. His purpose in writing as has been written before is either to teach or write his own unqualified (except by his method) thoughts.

Machiavelli's method consists of bold generalizations from historical fact. "His native bent was rather to squeeze the innumerable occurrences making up the historical record, and meaningless in themselves into generalizations calculated to throw light on the march of politics and to supply the responsible officials of the later societies with useful directives in their labor."⁴³

This statement summarizes Machiavelli's method of writing and also his purpose in writing whatever he is indeed writing.

Machiavelli "... by means of the historic method ... was led to discover the logical connection of events, but without ever directing his attention to any 'a priori' philosophical theory of human mind, and almost without cognizance of any theory of the kind."⁴⁴

It is true that Machiavelli accepted no 'a priori' values and that he was a realist, and that he 'was led to discover the logical connections of events'. In other words, the connection of historical events came out in his philosophy while

⁴³ Ibid., p. 86.

⁴⁴ Villari, Life and Times of Machiavelli, p. 144.

he was trying to show an altogether different thing.

"The Prince (and also The Discourses) is neither a moral nor an immoral book: it is simply a technical book. In a technical book we do not seek for rules of ethical conduct, of good and evil. It is enough if we are told what is useful or useless. Every word in The Prince must be read and interpreted in this way. The book contains no moral perscripts for the ruler nor does it invite him to commit crimes and villainies."⁴⁵

no invitation

This final statement on the purpose of The Prince and Discourses serves to remind once more that as Machiavelli was not concerned so much with the ideal that his method had to be practical. To say that the book contains no villainies or moral perscripts is a matter of interpretation from the book, what one can say is that the book does not try to be moral. If we deduce any moral values from it, it is of our own thought and not of Machiavelli's.

To sum up Machiavelli's method is completely free of religion and myths. He is indeed the first writer to write without refering to the medieaval hierarchy. As he nowhere in his works starts his argument with God. His method furthermore is realistic and historical as he bases his thought on what really happened in history. It takes a few historical events and from them makes generalizations which he believed to be true for all time. Furthermore, he nowhere tries to

⁴⁵ Cassirer, Myth Called State, p. 190-91.

attain any moral ideals, but tries to tell us what is more practical. Even his thoughts on any subject can be called a practical ideal as where he is in defence of republics against monarchies.

Let us take an example from his works to try to work this statement out:

"The Spartan held Athens and Thebes by creating within them a government of a few; nethertheless they lost them. The Romans, in order to hold Capua, Carthage, and Numania, ravaged them, but did not lose them. They wanted to hold Greece in almost the same way as the Spartans held it; leaving it free under it's own laws but they did not succeed; so that they were compelled to lay waste many cities in that province in order to keep it, because in truth there is no sure method in holding them except by dispoiling them."⁴⁶

The statement of course does not start by any sort of superstition but neither do the Discourses or the Prince, so that we can call free of superstition.

That it is realistic can be seen through the fact that all the examples have been taken out of history, and that the result is completely free of any sort of moral or rational ideal.

The method from here on was to take many historical facts

⁴⁶ Machiavelli, Prince, p. 18.

The treatment of Athens by Sparta, of Greece by the Romans among others and from these generalizing that the best way to hold a state is by dispoiling it, as otherwise no success can be obtained in trying to do so.

A Comparison of Two Methods

Hobbes and Machiavelli are both political philosophers even if their respective methods and philosophies are different. In spite of their difference in time one can still find great similarities in both.

Hobbes's motivation, when he started out, was to write a defence for absolute monarchy, but by the time he was done with it he had a complete system set out before him. This system was to Hobbes the most rational political method and therefore the ideal. This is why Hobbes has to justify his every step in accordance with logic and deduction. Machiavelli on the other hand is a teacher of best way to get to a political end: so that for him the best way is the more important than the ideal way.

But to say that Hobbes is never practical and Machiavelli is always so would not be correct. Machiavelli has some theory in his works and Hobbes probably believed that the rational state was also the most practical one.

Machiavelli may be a teacher of what is most practical

but it must not be forgotten that Hobbes' is also a teacher, a teacher of the rational state.

When we come to their methods we can easily see that they have some common points in this also. As they are both free of religion and any sort of superstition or 'a priori' statements. And they are also rather alike in organization also as they both are not organized in the best of fashions.

The main difference in their method is the fact that Machiavelli goes from facts to generalizations. Hobbes, on the other hand, always deals with ^{mathematics} generalities. To repeat their respective methods once more, Hobbes' is mathematical, and Machiavelli's can be called historical.

When it comes to why they disagree usually one can find the reasons for that in their motivation and methods. Although these motivations and methods often push them to similarities.

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ADVICE VERSUS THEORY

We have seen that Machiavelli and Hobbes had methods which differ largely from each other. Machiavelli wrote primarily to advice although from his pragmatism often arises theories of great value, and his method of historical events and generalization is known as the historical method.

Hobbes, on the other hand, also wrote to teach. What he tried to teach was what the rational state is. Hobbes tries to achieve this through the mathematical method, which consists of definitions and deductions from these definitions. He is also primarily a theoretical philosopher rather than a realist and pragmatist.

Their motivations added to their successive methods are apt to give rather different results in their philosophy, but at times these very things may give us very similar results.

What shall be attempted here is the results of their motive-method as reflected in the common subjects of the two philosophers.

How a State is Born

"The fundamental law of nature" Hobbes defines as "... that every man, ought to endeavour peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it, that he may seek, and use, all helps,

and advantage of war."⁴⁷ From this derives the second law of nature "... that a man be willing, when others are so too, as far-forth, as for peace, and defence of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things, and be contended with so much liberty, against other men, as he would allow other men against himself."⁴⁸

"A commonwealth is said to be instituted when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant, every one, with every one, that to whatever man, or assembly of man, shall be given major part, the right to present the person of them all, that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgements, of that man, or assembly of men, in the same manner as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably among themselves, and be protected against other men."

Man in order to survive must give up all his rights except self defence, to combine and live together. This is done in Hobbes for an explanation of the most logical reason for men's combining in a state by definitions and deductions.

Machiavelli agrees fundamentally because the natives of any country can find little security in living dispersed so that they must unite to protect themselves from attacks. For this Rome is given as an example to generalize from.⁵⁰ "They

⁴⁷ Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. XIV, p. 85.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. ch. XVIII, p. 113.

⁵⁰ Machiavelli, Discourses, pp. 105-6.

resolve, of their own accord, or by the advice of some one who had most authority amongst them, to live together in some place of their selection that might offer them greater conveniences and greater facility of defence."⁵¹

Even in Machiavelli we see a sort of social contract among men to come and live together, although it seems that much more of their liberties remain. Man to protect himself bands together the fundamental idea remaining the same in spite of the diverging system; as Machiavelli arrives to this conclusion through the historical method.

Kinds of Government

There are three good and three bad types of government. Monarchy, aristocracy and democracy are the better of these. Each part of these better governments developes in its counterpart bad form, tyranny, oligarchy and anarchy. Machiavelli claims on the authority of other writers (not mentioned).⁵² All governmental forms for Machiavelli "... are defective; those three which we qualified as good because they are too short-lived, and the three bad ones because of their inherent viciousness."⁵³

This statement is an exception in Machiavelli as it is not a generalization but is based on other writers.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 106.

⁵² Ibid., p. 111-112.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 114.

But it is impossible and impracticable to establish republics where there is a great class of nobles, and monarchies where there is equality, from examples drawn from Romagna, Lombardy and Naples plus Florence, Sienna and Lucia. "Let republic, then, be established where equality exists, and, on the contrary, principalities where great inequality prevails; otherwise the government will lack proper proportions and have but little durability."⁵⁴

The first part of this was not in Machiavelli's usual method, but as soon as he must advice in more practical terms we once more see the historical method in action.

Hobbes claims that there are only three types of governments good or bad. Monarchies, aristocrasies and republics are the only existant forms of government. Oligarchy, anarchy and tyranny "... are not the names of other forms of government, but of the same forms disliked."⁵⁵ A person who does not like the way his government rules is apt to give it it's parallel bad name. This is all there is to these forms of government.

A people full of liberty are able to give full power of ruling to a monarch or an assembly as they see fit. Once this is done no other person or group may be appointed by the ✓people to rule them. The power of the sovrein is his alone

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 256-7.

⁵⁵ Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. XIX, p. 121.

and he may share with others as he pleases.⁵⁶

Hobbes once more uses his method here in his three kinds of governments and the defence of rebellion. The difference between Hobbes and Machiavelli here is one of definition. What is more important is that Hobbes does not mention where each sort of government is better, as he believes that monarchies are better than any government. And that Machiavelli does not mention the right of rebellion, but we know that he takes them for granted as things which simply happen.

Laws

Laws to Hobbes are "... the laws, that men are ... bound to observe, because they are members, not of this, or that commonwealth in particular, but of a commonwealth."⁵⁷ The legislator is always the commonwealth itself through the sovereign. The sovereign himself is not bound to these laws as he is free to make them as he wishes.

The laws of nature which are equity, justice and gratitude and the laws of the sovereign contain each other. This is because "when a commonwealth is once settled, then are they actually laws, and not before: as being than the commands of the commonwealth; and therefore also civil laws: for it is the sovereign's power that obliges men to obey them."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

⁵⁷ Ibid., ch. XXVI, p. 172.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 174.

Here Hobbes claims that laws are made by the sovereign and that he can disobey them if he wants to. He furthermore makes a difference between natural and civil laws for human beings.

Machiavelli is not so worried as to what civil law is or who makes it but on its practical aspects. The practical aspect is important because republics who have good laws through good legislation have greater security. "No republic will ever be perfect if she has not by law provided for everything, having a remedy for each emergency, and fixed rules for applying it."⁵⁹ There can indeed be no worse example in a republic than to make a law and not to observe it: the more so when it is disregarded by the very party who made it."⁶⁰

When a reform is needed in the government the best way to do it is by changing it as little as possible so that the form of laws seemed to be the same. Furthermore it is always advantageous to a republic to return to previous laws and principles because the best constituted bodies renew themselves.

Machiavelli we see is completely overoccupied with what laws can mean for a state and its administration, and is not interested in natural law at all; all that matters is civil law and specially its application. Here we have a very important difference between Machiavelli and Hobbes: the fact

⁵⁹ Machiavelli, Discourses, p. 203.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 229.

that according to Hobbes the legislator has to obey the law while Machiavelli believes that the legislator is the first person to obey them.

Punishment and Reward

A republic, according to Machiavelli, must reward and punish those that necessitate rewarding and punishing for any price. If a citizen does a good deed he must be rewarded for it, but if after a while he commits a crime he must be punished for this. This is because a citizen having once served must not wrong the state on basis of his good deeds. These are generalizations from the history of Rome.⁶¹

Punishment and reward must take its course in any situation and towards any person if a republic wants its good, according to Machiavelli.

Hobbes starts by defining punishment as: "A punishment, is an evil inflicted by the public authority, on him that have done, or omitted that which is judged by the same authority to be a transgression of the law; to the end that will of men may thereby by the better be disposed to obedience."⁶²

Reward he defines as either a salary or a grace. When it is a salary it is by contract and called a wage. If it is by grace it is a gift. In both cases it is either for performed

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 181.

⁶² Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. XXVIII, p. 202.

services or for encouragement for future services. Both rewarding and punishing are the rights of the sovereign. So that he is free to elevate a person from poverty to great richness, and also of punishing as he sees best fit to do.⁶³

Hobbes, it seems, also thinks that reward and punishment is necessary, but he goes on further to define what it is and also who is responsible for carrying them on. *with*

War and Armies

The right to make war and peace with other nations belong to the sovereign according to Hobbes, "... that is to say, of judging when it is for the public good, and how great forces are to be assembled, armed, and paid for that end; and to levy money upon the subjects, to defray the expenses thereof."⁶⁴ The best way to command an army or militia is by one man and that man is the sovereign.

Here we see that the sovereign in war as well as in peace has the full power of doing what he sees right.

For Machiavelli was is necessary because if a state tries to stay within her boundries she will be thought weak and be attacked anyway. The best protection from an attack is for the state herself to attack. This means that republics must always be ready for war and have armies. Treaties with other

⁶³ Ibid., p. 208.

⁶⁴ Ibid., ch. XVIII, p. 117.

states may also be important in the protection of a state.

Machiavelli urges the state to have a ready army and to war, plus to treaties with other states. We find here Machiavelli and Hobbes on common grounds without even touching each other.

Aquisition of Other States

A prince who conquers a place of the same customs, laws and language must keep in mind "... the one, that the blood of their old rulers be extinct; the other to make no alterations either in their laws or in their taxes."⁶⁵ This is because if any member of the old ruling family remains the chances of rebellion will be greater as it has indeed happened in Milan, and little changes will help the conquered people not to feel this much. Through this system a prince will easily unite the conquered principality to his own.

While a prince who conquered a state with different language and customs can do two things. The first is to go and live there and so to be near the trouble this way it will be easy to extinguish it. The second is to plant colonies in that country and try to avoid garrisons, as colonies cost less than garrisons and as the people whose homes are taken to plant the colonies can be few, poor and scattered and so not cause any trouble.

⁶⁵ Machiavelli, Prince, p. 8.

Machiavelli in these statements is completely practical and shows what the best ways to hold conquered territory is.

Hobbes' first step, on the other hand, is to define what a commonwealth by acquisition means. This is a state acquired by force. This is done by their appointing "him that they are afraid of."⁶⁶ But his new sovereign has the same right as any other sovereign.

Once more Hobbes and Machiavelli are on the same ground but do not touch each other as one is busy with advice the other theory.

What Weakens a Commonwealth

"Though nothing can be immortal, which mortal make; yet, if men had the use of reason they pretend to, (writes Hobbes) their commonwealths might be secured, at least from perishing by internal diseases."⁶⁷ This means that the internal institutions of a state have to be working well and that as soon as they stop doing so that the state may be in danger.

Another danger a state faces, according to Hobbes, is the fact that the sovereign is not given enough power or that he does not take it. A danger which arises from this is the division of power in a commonwealth. "For what is it to divide

⁶⁶ Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. XX, pp. 129-130.

⁶⁷ Ibid., ch. XXIX, p. 209.

power of a commonwealth, but dissolve it; for powers divided mutually destroy each other."⁶⁸ To have the sovereign power subject to civil law is also a threat to a commonwealth. "For to be subject to laws is to be subject to the commonwealth, that is to the sovereign representative, that is to himself: which is not subjection, but freedom from laws."⁶⁹ Accepting this as the natural situation we see that when civil law is placed above the sovereign (which is impossible) that a new power is present which divides the power of the sovereign.

To Hobbes popular men are also dangerous for the welfare of a commonwealth "... because the people, which should receive their motion from the authority of the sovereign, by the flattery and by the reputation of an ambitious man are drawn away from their obedience to the laws, to follow a man, of whose virtue, and designs they have no knowledge."⁷⁰ This is specially so in a republic where the government is popular.

The internal troubles of a state to Hobbes seemed to be summed up by any sort of division of the sovereign power. This is stated in almost Machiavellian flavor lacking only the advice about what must be done in such cases, within the method of Hobbes.

Ambitious people, writes Machiavelli, try to rise in

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 213.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 212.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 217.

the world through lies. Once these people get at high posts they might ruin the republic. "For this reason republics should make it one of their aims to watch that none of their citizens should be allowed to do harm on pretence of doing good, and that no one should acquire an influence that would injure instead of promoting liberty."⁷¹ The best way to do this is to stop him by using his own methods before him.

Men of merit are neglected in peace by republics. This defect may cause great evil because these men of merit may then stir up trouble in order to get what is due to them. The remedy for this is to act as if there always is war.⁷²

Republics and princes should try to avoid committing wrong to a people or individual, for "... if any man be grievously wronged, either by a state or by another individual, and satisfactory reparation be not made to him, even if he lives in a republic he will ^{in then} avenger himself, even if it involves the ruin of the state."⁷³ And his very own ruin also. A republic should be careful not to entrust important posts to these people.

One of the worst evils that may befall a state is corruptness. Under such circumstances citizens will be able to make changes for the worst and will try to attain glory unworthily.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Machiavelli, Discourses, p. 233.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 462-3.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 379.

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"Women have been the cause of great discussions and much ruin to states, and have caused great damages to those who govern them."⁷⁵ Republics, should see to it that proper remedies be applied in time. (He unfortunately does not state any).

Machiavelli gives more varied examples of what may weaken a state nearly always with the solutions to these problems. And once more Hobbes and Machiavelli are on common grounds with out touching each other directly.

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⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 488-9.

THEORY VERSUS PRACTICE (A MEETING)

Machiavelli, it has been said, is a realist and his books give advice to princes and politicians on this basis. It can be seen that Machiavelli in all his books never thinks of the means but always of the best way to attain the end. In doing this Machiavelli without stating gives us a feeling that the sovreign power, be it a republic, monarchy or aristocracy has complete power and justification in doing as they do. But rebellion which is something which takes place has its natural places among all the other political actions.

Hobbes also in and through his own system believes that the sovreign power should have absolute power and indeed, as has been seen, any sort of competition with it is accepted as a danger to the state. Indeed "sovereign power is not so hurtful as the want of it, and the hurt proceeds for the greatest part from not submitting readily to less."⁷⁶

As the sovreign is there through a covenant they can not change the form of government, "... therefore, they that are subjects to a monarch, cannot without his leave cast off monarchy and return to the confusion of a disunited multitude; nor transfer their person from him that beareth

⁷⁶ Hobbes, Leviathan, Chap. XVIII, p. 120

it, to another man, or another assembly of man.⁷⁷

In other words inspite of their different motivation and method Hobbes and Machiavelli agree on the fundamental problem that sovrein power is absolute with two variations. Hobbes believes that the sovrein is above the laws, while Machiavelli accepts the laws as being above their legislator. Rebellion to Hobbes is completely wrong because of the social contract, while for Machiavelli it is another fact of history.

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⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 113.

CONCLUSION

Hobbes and Machiavelli lived far apart both in time and space. The only thing which combines them at first sight is that they both are well known political philosophers.

A person who is interested in what sorts of outcomes can come from difference in motivation and method they are an ideal pair. For through them what sort of difference can come through motivation and method can be seen, as well as what is alike in spite of different methods and motivations.

It has been seen that Machiavelli's motivation is either to write a textbook sort of work or to comment in the same textbook manner on history.

Hobbes, on the other hand, started out to write in order to justify monarchies, but ended by writing on how the most rational state can be achieved by man.

Machiavelli's method is free from the supernatural and realistic. It draws few examples from history and from them boldly generalizes, usually in terms of advice.

While Hobbes' method is mathematical starting with a definition and than deducing from it. His method is free from the supernatural also. It can be called rational as

well as mathematical because the definitions are given on the basis of thought alone.

The differences and similarities of two minds working on these different bases can only be seen through their common subjects.

That man have combined and lived in together for protection through a sort of social contract is accepted by both philosophers although Machiavelli's contract seems to be lighter. The methods of arriving to these conclusions and motives were different.

On the kinds of existing governments Machiavelli and Hobbes disagree on a matter of definition. Machiavelli accepting six and Hobbes reducing these to three. But remembering that Hobbes is a rationalist the importance of this difference may be emphasized.

It had earlier been seen that Machiavelli preferred republics to monarchies giving reasons out of his method for it. While Hobbes preferred monarchies backing this up with good reason out of his own method of thinking.

One point in common comes out here as they both seem to accept the sovereign as having absolute power. Machiavelli does this by accepting the law to be over the sovereign and taking the right of rebellion for granted. Hobbes rejects

both in favor of the sovereign, as for him the sovereign is above the law and the people have no right of rebellion.

In law they do not seem to be working with the same regions. As one thinks of its practical aspects (Machiavelli) the other of definitions and kind of law (Hobbes). Here once more they do not agree on the problem of who should be above each other, the law or the sovereign, as has been pointed out.

In reward and punishment they seem to agree on the fact that they are necessary. On all other points they are not on common ground. The same thing happens on war and armies where they speak on the same subject without any collisions. The same thing happens in the subject "Of Conquered Republics" and "Of What Weakens a Commonwealth."

To go over what they say we see that they have many points in common and many points in which they disagree completely. So that different method and motivation can arrive at times to similar and at times to different conclusions.

What is most interesting is the fact that they are most typical of their methods when they are on the same subject and simply different, not mentioning common ideas. It seems here that Hobbes is most theoretical and that Machiavelli gives advices mostly.

The conclusion is that reason and reality as methods

can agree or disagree but that together they probably would make the best method of philosophy.

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