



THE APOCALYPSE OF LEVIATHAN: ESCHATOLOGY ON THE POLITICAL PROJECT OF THOMAS HOBBS

EL APOCALIPSIS DEL LEVIATÁN: ESCATOLOGÍA EN EL PROYECTO POLÍTICO DE THOMAS HOBBS

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Abstract

The main objective of this presentation is to determine the role played by eschatology within the political thought of Thomas Hobbes. In order to determine this role, it is fundamental to give an account of the bibliographic framework used for this presentation. Moreover, there will be an analysis on the relationship of the concepts of "death of State," "history," and "contract," and Hobbes's main consequences in the post-apocalyptic political landscape. Finally, there will be an interpretation of Hobbes's use of eschatology responding the following question: Is eschatology just a rhetorical device, or is it essential for the entire structure of its political system?

Keywords: *Eschatology, Hobbes, Apocalyptic Imaginary, State, End of times*

Resumen

El objetivo principal de esta presentación es determinar el papel que jugó la escatología dentro del pensamiento político de Thomas Hobbes. Para determinar este rol, es fundamental dar cuenta del marco bibliográfico utilizado para esta presentación. Además, se analizará la relación de los conceptos de "muerte del Estado", "historia" y "contrato" y las principales consecuencias de Hobbes en el panorama político postapocalíptico. Finalmente, se realizará una interpretación del uso que hace Hobbes de la escatología respondiendo a la siguiente pregunta: ¿Es la escatología sólo un recurso retórico, o es esencial para toda la estructura de su sistema político?

Palabras claves: *Escatología, Hobbes, Imaginario apocalíptico, Estado, Fin de los tiempos.*

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1. Approaching to Eschatology on Hobbes

1.1 Studies on Eschatology

The eschatology in Hobbes is a field that has just begun to be explored in the Anglophone language in 1968 by P.G.A. Pocock in *Time, History and Eschatology in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes*. On this first approach Joel Schwartz in *Hobbes & Two Kingdoms of God* says:

Hobbesian eschatology was long ignored by scholars, but it has recently received considerable attention, chiefly because of a thoughtful and provocative essay by J.G.A. Pocock. He argues that Hobbes's eschatology points to a significant historical dimension in the latter's thought. Pocock, rightly reminds us that although the first two books of *Leviathan* contain Hobbes's secular ahistorical philosophy, the focus in the last two books shifts to a highly historical account of divine revelation. (Schwartz, 1985, p.8)

Added to Pocock, Patricia Springborg, Eldon J. Eisenach, Richard Tuck, Wolfgang Palaver, among others¹, deal in considerable depth with the problem of eschatology from its political and historical implications, without complicating about the sincerity of Hobbes's Christianity. In this way, the study on eschatology is not about whether it looks like the Apocalypse on the Bible but most of its political consequences, as Patricia Springborg says: "To be skeptical of Hobbes's personal religious beliefs does, however, imply that one should be skeptical of the relevance of his theological arguments to his political theory" (Springborg, 1975, p.289).

¹ Springborg, Patricia. *Leviathan and the Problem of Ecclesiastical Authority*, *Political Theory* 3 (1975):289-303, Eldon J. Eisenach. *Hobbes on Church, State and Religion*, *History of Political Thought* 3 (1982): 215-243; Richard Tuck (1992). *The Civil Religion of Thomas Hobbes. Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge University Press, 120-38.

There is a second group of Hobbesian working on eschatology in a more descriptive way, (without seeing its consequences within Hobbes's political theory), we have the unpublished doctoral thesis of James Miller Lewis entitled *Hobbes and the Blackloists, A Study in the Eschatology of the English Revolution* (1976), and the chapter IX of his book *Two Gods of Leviathan* (1992) titled *Angels and Eschatology*, of the A.P. Martinich. Now, within this bibliographical framework, the first group will be taken as a reference for introducing considering for this time, only English-speaking commentators.

1.2. The beginning of Hobbes` s Eschatology

After almost two years of exile in Paris, Hobbes's contacts were decisive in the development of his thought. The one who appears as one of those who took this task seriously was undoubtedly Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665). Once a pirate (between 1627 and 1629), this Protestant philosopher who converted to Catholicism in 1630 - and who also had an active political role representing Maria Henrietta in the papal seat in Rome (Lametti, 2012, 108) - met Hobbes between 1635-1636, years in which coincide - most likely says Martinich - in The Great Tew Circle². As early as 1637, Hobbes received a copy of the *Discourse on the Method* of Descartes, through Digby, and later - from Mersenne³ - the *Metaphysical Meditations*, to which Hobbes made the third round of objections within the book published in 1641 (Martinich, 1999, p.163).

It is this constant friction with the works that circulated by this selected group of intellectuals that, according to Lodi Nauta in *Hobbes's Religion between Elements to Leviathan*, generates a deeper interest in Hobbes for eschatology:

The exile took Hobbes from a regal Anglicanism to the outskirts of orthodoxy. The readings of some Catholic thinkers around 1640 such as Denis Petau, Kenelm Digby, Thomas White, Henry Holden, and John Sargeant, perhaps stimulated Hobbes to

² A meeting place for the young aristocracy of the time, the vast majority of whom were Oxford students and where scientific and religious discussions prevailed with great influence from Socinianism and Erastianism. For more information on this group see Chapter 3: The Great Tew Circle: Socinianism and scholarship (2010). *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. To see the relationship between "The Great Tew Circle" and the ideas of the revolution see: Hugh Trevor-Roper (1988). *Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans Seventeenth Century Essays*. Chicago University Press. To deepen the relationship between "The Great Tew Circle" and Hobbes, see: A.P. Martinich (1999) *Hobbes, A Biography*. Cambridge University Press, p. 137. For the relationship between Socinianism and Hobbes see, C. Coady, (1986) *The Socinian Connection: Further Thoughts on the Religion of Hobbes*, *Religious Studies* 22 (2), 277-280.

³ Who sent the manuscript to distinguished philosophers and theologians for criticism and subsequent publication of with Descartes' responses.

develop his position on hell, the soul, church government, the trinity, and eschatology. (Nauta, 2002, p. 580)

So, while all this was happening, Hobbes had already been related enough to some themes typical of eschatology, such as, the immortality of the soul, purgatory, and hell. These approaches took place in the context of his good relationship with Sir Kenelm Digby and Thomas White, whom he criticized *De Mundo* in 1643. It is precise with these renowned Catholics that (similar to Hobbes) were used to theological discussions that Hobbes begins to develop his eschatological order of events (Miller, 1976). The strong criticism that Hobbes makes of White and Descartes (and the response that Hobbes receives from him through White), made the English philosopher come closer to the intellectual circle frequented by the Catholic priest, astronomer, and philosopher Pierre Gassendi (Martinich, 1999), and the physicist Samuel de Sorbiere, who would publish a French translation of *De Cive* in 1649, of *De Corpore Politico*, or the *Elements of Law* in 1652 and would help publishing the Latin translation of the *Leviathan* in 1668 (Miller, 1976). This last connection allowed Hobbes to become acquainted with *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogeni Laertii, qui est De Vita, moribus, Plactisque Epicuri* of Gassendi, published in 1649, in which the French tried to make Epicurean philosophy compatible with Christianity. The final chapters of this book could have inspired, according to Miller (1976), much of the *Leviathan's* eschatology⁴.

Meanwhile in England, the new Lord Protector of the Commonwealth (appointed 1653) Oliver Cromwell not only did not shy away from anticipation for the messiah but was even seen to be obsessed with calculating his date. So much so that - yielding to the intercession of John Dury (a millennialist) - he lets the Jews enter England as a milestone that would supposedly accelerate the coming of the Messiah, and even sponsors Dury himself in his mission to unify the European Protestant Church to the imminent return of Jesus⁵.

Immersed in this constant first-level philosophical exchange and those 'apocalyptic times', our author published in 1642 what was originally the third section of *Elementa Philosophiae, De Cive*. Although *Elements* largely fulfills his political project, in terms of the scientific development of his political theory, Hobbes remains concerned about the constant threat that civil war posed to his country due to conflicts arising from inconsistent

⁴ In this regard, another of those who may have influenced eschatological thought, according to Jeffrey L. Morrow, was Isaac La Peyrère, from whom Hobbes would have derived the model of biblical exegesis. See in Morrow, J. (2011), *French Apocalyptic Messianism: Isaac La Peyrère and Political Biblical Criticism in the Seventeenth Century*, *Toronto Journal of Theology* 27 (2), 210.

⁵ Goldish, M. y Popkin, H. (2001). *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World*, *International Archives of the History of Ideas*. Springer, xii. For more see Fisch, H. (1964). *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

interpretations of Christianity. This concern was recorded in a letter sent from Paris to Lord Cavendish in mid-1641: "Experience teaches us that in recent times, in all Christian countries, the struggle for supremacy between secular and clerical power has been - more than any other in the world - the cause of civil wars" (Hobbes, 1994, p.120).

We must highlight that the deployment of his eschatology is framed within his analysis of the Christian nations. In this logic, eschatology is not something that appears in the rational foundation of the monarch's sovereignty but comes into play when the power of the said sovereign is threatened by religious factors.

The constant anticipation of the appearance of the kingdom of Christ and his second coming was still alive in the midst and on the subject of political conflicts, as described by B.S. Capp (2011):

The tension produced by the Reformation combined with nationalism, literal Protestantism, elitist Calvinism, and perhaps the tradition of the Lollards produced the spread of apocalyptic and millennial beliefs. The civil war, unleashed in 1642, soon came to be seen as the decisive millennial apocalyptic event, intensifying the excitement early on. (p.395)

According to Springborg (1976, p.178), eschatology and millenarianism were the Protestant weapons to unite the apocalypse and present political history. This practice was taken to an extreme by the Fifth Monarchists, a millenarian movement that ensured Jesus will be the next king of England after Charles. In the seventeenth century in England, many people thought that the end was imminent. Andreas Osiander and even a Flemish cartographer known as Gerardus Mercator claimed that the end of the world should pass around the year 1588 (Ball, 1975). Those calculations plus the imminent attack of the Spanish float to England in that year carry to Hobbes to said: "My mother dear did bring forth twins at once: Me and the Fear" (Clark, 1898, p.328).

According to Bernard Capp, Brayan Ball, Paul Christianson, among others, eschatology, and the calculation of the end of the world were a transversal concern in the English society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Capp, 1972). This kind of psychosis suffered based on the profuse and multiple prophetic readings of the same political or social fact will be extremely relevant to locate at what level of eschatological interpretation Hobbes is. For our philosopher is useless to build a perfect scientific political model in theory if ambiguities in biblical interpretation threaten its integrity. Hence, the clarifications and biblical references

will become essential for the survival, not of his theory but of the implementation of it in a quite complicated time from the political-social point of view.

Now, we can say that Hobbes knew these concerns, however, we are not able to say whether he believed what he wrote about the end of time or not. About this same Luc Borot in *History in Hobbes's Thought* (2006) says:

The fundamental antimillennialism of Hobbes's exegesis is, here again, to drown the serpent of chiliastic expectation that rapidly drives men to misdirected faith and generates energies for rebels against the authority of their kings - who are, by God's law - guided by preachers who use incomprehensible words. (p.321)

What we can do is venture into a hypothesis about the place that eschatology has in his political theory. Hobbes begins to talk about the Day of Judgment in *Elements* and develops his eschatological doctrine in *De Mundo, De Cive, Leviathan*, in his *discussion with Bramhall* and the *Leviathan Appendix* of 1668. Why does he decide to expand his political theory including eschatology?

In that sense, Lodi Nauta (2002) clarifies that the greatest development of his eschatology is in *Leviathan*, and that is because why we will make a brief eschatological review of this book.

2. Two deaths of Leviathan

Beyond the well-known sentence "*a Mortal God under the Immortal God*" (Hobbes, 2012, p.260) the death of the leviathan is not an explicit matter in the political work of Hobbes. And while in books I and II of *Leviathan*, the death or dissolution of the State is a direct consequence of the internal [chapter XIII] or external political conflicts of the nation [chapter XXX], in books III and IV, the end of the leviathan is a phenomenon that is inserted into a series of worldwide eschatological events. These two ways of understanding the death of the State, begin to become contradictory once we analyze them in detail. For instance, while in the first pair of books the death of the State is a transitory condition that ends when human beings decide to re-hire, there is a passage very clear about the possibility of an everlasting State:

Time and industry produce every day new knowledge. And as the art of well building is derived from principles of reason, observed by industrious men that had long studied the nature of materials and divers effects of figure and proportion, long after mankind began (though poorly) to build, so, long time after men have begun to constitute commonwealths, imperfect and apt to relapse into disorder, there may principles of reason be found out by industrious meditation, to make their constitution (excepting by external violence) everlasting. (Hobbes, 2012, p.522)

In my point of view, Hobbes said that if we use the principles of reason in the administration of the State, the leviathan can endure everlasting. About this point Marko Simendić (2016) says:

The internal causes of its "dissolution" would also be eliminated with the progression of reason as "may, Principles of Reason be found out, by industrious meditation, to make their constitution (excepting by external violence) everlasting". Without the threat of "external violence" and by establishing the "everlasting" constitution, the "Mortal God" rises up to the immortal one, and its sovereign representative becomes the equivalent of Christ, God's representative on Earth. (p.894)

But in books III and IV this situation changes dramatically. The death of the leviathan is irreversible, there is not important the use of the reason because the life of the leviathan is not in humans' hands but God's. The death of the leviathan does not come from an external force but is the result of the advent of the kingdom of Christ; a spiritual State presided by Jesus himself based in Jerusalem and rules over all the Christian nations of the world. In this way, the arrival of the immortal God becomes an unmistakable sign of the end of the mortal god. In this matter Hobbes:

The prophets foretold should be restored by Christ, and the restoration whereof we daily pray for when we say in the Lord's Prayer (...) and the Proclaiming whereof, was the Preaching of the Apostles; and to which men are prepared, by Teachers of the Gospel; to embrace which gospel, (that is to say, to promise obedience to Gods government) is, to be in the Kingdom of Grace (...) when Christ shall come in Majesty to judge the World, and actually to govern his owned people, which is called the Kingdome of Glory. (Hobbes, 2012, p.644)

In the second coming of Jesus, there will not be any human reason capable of standing up before the Kingdom of Glory. Under that logic, the leviathan comes to his end. Now, on

one hand, the State can resurrect everlasting and on the other hand never rise again, what is the real death of the leviathan: the reversible or the irreversible? Are these two complementary deaths? Or is there a definite death only for the Christian State? We will try to develop an answer as we get to know the post-apocalyptic world of Thomas Hobbes.

3. History

Another of the important changes that eschatology causes within the political work of Hobbes, is the concept of history.

Before eschatology, in *Elements* (chapter VI) for example, Hobbes affirms that history is only "the testimony of the memories of knowledge" (2017, p.65). A similar definition is offered in chapter IX of *Leviathan* (2012) where he defines it as "knowledge of a fact and not a cause" (p.124), a knowledge out of the table of sciences. Now, despite his assessment, the history for Hobbes is not something that can exist outside the State, under the state of nature, because in the state of nature: "In such a condition, there is no place for industry (...), no culture of the earth, no navigation (...) no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society" (2012, p.124).

Now, what kind of time and history leaves humans outside the State? In this regard, Karl Schuman understands that the history in Hobbes can be divided between natural history and civil history (Schumann, 2000). Natural history would be that period, where the development of Nature takes place, and civil history is that period of linear time that passes within the walls watched over by a sovereign. In that sense, the State seems to act as a dimensional portal through which men become subjects and objects of history, being able to initiate it through the contract. It is in this context that the leviathan can resurrect indefinitely and even have a perpetual duration according to the improvement of internal governability.

In this first moment, before eschatology, history is not possible, if first there is no civil contract, that is, there is no history without State.

However, after the eschatology described in the last two chapters of *De Cive* and books III and IV of *Leviathan*, Hobbes extends history beyond the life of the State. Because history is not only understood as the record of the acts of men, but also as the record of the

acts of God described in the Bible. It is based on this reading that the English philosopher divides the transit of humanity on Earth between ANCIENT WORLD (from Adam to the Flood), PRESENT WORLD (King Saul to Second coming of Jesus) and FUTURE WORLD (from the second coming of Christ for all eternity)⁶. Under this concept, the existence of history does not depend on the human will but on the divine one, in which God unfolds a cosmic program within which both, the contract and civil history, is only one stage of the human race.

The control that man had over history and its development passes into the hands of the divinity, which determines for each WORLD a specific political scenario: First, from the pact with Moses until the election of King Saul, God determined a "Priestly Kingdom "; in this stage, the priests possess the civil and religious control of the population. Second: from the election of Saul until the second coming of Christ, the Creator determined a "Kingdom of God"; in this stage, the Christian sovereigns possess the civil and religious control of the nation. Third, for the last stage of humanity, God's program indicates the restoration of the "Priestly Kingdom," in which Jesus governs as priest and king of the entire Christian population in the world (Hobbes, 2012, p.686). Regarding this system of shifts, Hobbes (2012):

Seeing, then, our Savior hath denied his kingdom to be in this world, seeing he hath said, he came not to judge, but to save the world, he hath not subjected us to other laws of their several sovereigns; and all men to the laws of nature- the observing whereof, both he himself and his apostle have in their teaching recommended to us, as a necessary condition of being admitted by him in the last day into his eternal kingdom, wherein shall be protection and life everlasting. (p.822)

According to this new concept of history based on biblical history and crowned with eschatology, all those who embraced the Christian faith and obeyed (in civil and religious material) their sovereigns —whether they were believers or pagans— in the present world, will have a place within the kingdom of Christ in the future world. But if Christians do not obey, then they become part of Satan's kingdom.

Now, if on the one hand human history begins every time that men contract, and on the other hand, human history is determined by a biblical eschatological calendar, under which history should we understand the origin, development, and end of leviathan? Are there

⁶ While in chapter XXXVIII Hobbes founds the Ancient World from Adam, in chapter XLIV he founds it from Creation.

two different histories? Are there two parallel histories? Or is there one history inside the other? Under what history should we understand Hobbes's political theory?

4. The two Kingdoms of God

How we can resolve the dilemma about under what concept of history we should lead us, Hobbes reinforces the idea of a history directed by God, with an innovative definition of the kingdom of God. the *Leviathan* raises one of the greatest conceptual innovations regarding *Elements* and *De Cive*, defining all Christian states in the present world as part of the "kingdom of God."

This is because if *Elements* and *De Cive* understood the 'Kingdom of God' as the future kingdom of Christ, in *Leviathan* Hobbes (2012) defines the 'Kingdom of God' as something present on earth in the form of a Christian civil state To define the kingdom of God is to define at the same time the attributions of the church and the prince, the duties and rights of the sovereign and the subject; in short, it is to clear, almost all the political and theological conflict of the time based on a single concept.

Hobbes (2012) extracts the definition of the kingdom of God due to the exegetical subterfuge that he calls: "the literal interpretation of the Kingdom of God" (a literal interpretation of the Kingdom of God) (p.664). This means that The Kingdom of God (or now also, Kingdom of Heaven) is the sovereignty of God inherited on earth to the rulers of each Christian nation; delegation that transforms them into vicars (Lieutenants or Vicars) of God, who in the manner of King Saul, is chosen by the people and authorized by God. It is in this sense that Hobbes (2012) understands that the Kingdom of God is a kingdom or Civil State:

In the writings of theologians and, especially, in sermons and devotional treatises, the expression Kingdom of God is generally equivalent to eternal happiness after this life, to happiness in that high heaven that is also often called the kingdom of glory; and sometimes it is used to signify the most valuable of that happiness, sanctification, which they call the kingdom of grace. But this expression is never used to signify the monarchy, that is, the sovereign power of God over any of his subjects, acquired by their consent, meaning that is the proper one of the word kingdom. Quite the contrary, I find that KINGDOM OF GOD, in most passages of Scripture, means a kingdom properly so called. (p.634)

God does not rule through a High Priest (Priestly Kingdom) as in the ancient world, nor does He do it as He will through Jesus Christ in the world to come, but rather through the kings chosen by the people under the supervision divine. If a majority translate or understand that the kingdom of God is something after the second coming, Hobbes at this point is clear to specify that the kingdom of God is a civil state in the present world. On this Hobbes (2012) says:

Lastly, seeing it hath been already proved out of divers evident places Scripture, in the 35 chapter of this book, that the Kingdom of God is a civil Common-wealth, where God himself is Sovereign, by virtue first of the Old, and since of the New Covenant, wherein he reigned by his Vicar, or Lieutenant; the same places do therefore also prove, that after the coming again of our Savior in his Majesty, and glory, and Eternally. (p.708)

Our philosopher makes an essential distinction between the kingdom of God, which is, the kingdom of God through his vicars, lieutenants, or sovereign, and the future kingdom of glory, which is the spiritual state and definitive and eternal kingdom of Jesus: "when Christ shall come in Majesty to judge the world, and actually to govern his own people, which is called The Kingdome of Glory" (Hobbes, 2012, p.644). So, the second coming is the most significant signal that shows that civil obedience changes from the mortal god to the immortal god. The second coming of Jesus kills leviathan inaugurates a new era, and fulfills the prophecy. In simple words, saying that God has two types of kingdoms, a civil and a spiritual, Hobbes assures that every Christian will obey his sovereign until the second coming.

In this, regard Hobbes (2012):

How then can we be obliged to obey any Minister of Christ, if he should command us to do anything contrary to the Command of the King, or other Sovereign Representant of the Commonwealth, whereof we are members, and by whom we look to be protected? It is therefore manifest, that Christ hath not left to his Minister in this world, unless they be also endued with Civil Authority, any authority to Command other men. (p.782)

Hobbes reaffirms his point of view and puts the history and his lecture about of kingdom of God on an eschatological order of events: First coming of Christ, that establishes civil obedience until the, second coming of Christ, where direct obedience to Christ begins. In that sense, the absolute obedience of a Christian covenant is a requisite of being a

participle of the future kingdom of Jesus Christ. There is a direct association between civil obedience and the eschatological calendar. In the same sense: "But our Savior was sent to persuade the Jews to return to, and to invite the Gentiles, to receive the Kingdome of his Father, and not to reign in Majesty, no not, as his Father Lieutenant, till the day of Judgment" (Hobbes, 2012, p.780).

5. Contract and Post-apocalyptic World

A final aspect that eschatology modifies in Hobbes's political theory is the dimension of the civil contract. And it is that while in books I and II of *Leviathan*, the individual who hires to save his physical integrity, in books III and IV, the person not only saves his body but hires to receive a glorified and eternal body. In this regard Hobbes (2012): "*I have showed already that the kingdom of God by Christ beginneth at the day of judgment; that in that day the faithful shall rise again, with glorious and spiritual bodies, and be his subjects in that his kingdom, which shall be eternal (p.990).*"

Based on the above, it is worth asking what will happen to the contract, after the arrival of the Kingdom of Christ, can they continue to hire men among themselves? To answer that, we must review how Hobbes describes the post-apocalyptic world.

After the second coming of Jesus, and the general resurrection of the dead⁷, comes the final judgment, where God divides humanity among those approved, people who during the PRESENT WORLD believed in Jesus and obeyed his sovereign, and those condemned, those who did not believe or obey. After this division, all those approved enter the eternal kingdom of Christ⁸ with glorified, immortal bodies, so they don't need to reproduce, eat, drink, or marry; "living like Adam was before he had sinned" (Hobbes, 2012, p.990). These humans' beings are a kind of race parallel to the human, those superhumans will administer with Christ, a holy, peaceful, prosperous nation:

⁷ "Now seeing the Scripture maketh mention but of two worlds; this that is now, and shall remain to the day of Judgment, (which is therefore also called, the last day;) and that which shall be after the day of Judgment, when there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, the Kingdome of Christ is not to begin till the general Resurrection" (Hobbes, 1994, p. 762).

⁸ According to Christopher Scott McClure (2011), this kingdom "would be about ten times the size of France or something smaller than Australia".

But spiritual commonwealth there is none in this world. For it is the same thing with the kingdom of Christ, which he himself saith is not of this world, but shall be in the next world, at the resurrection, when they that have lived justly and believed that he was the Christ shall (though they died natural bodies) rise spiritual bodies; and then it is that our Savior shall judge the world, and conquer his adversaries, and make a spiritual commonwealth. (Hobbes, 2012, p.918)

On the other hand, the condemned are destined to live with the same mortal body and depending on reproduction to keep the race alive; "living like Adam after he had sinned" (Hobbes, 2012, p.942). All of them are condemned to die eternally and to be subjects of cruel and evil rulers, who are part of a kingdom called the "Kingdom of Satan". About this, Hobbes (2012):

For without the kingdom of Christ, all other kingdoms after judgment are comprehended in the kingdom of Satan (...) it followed that they are to suffer such bodily pains and calamities as are incident to those who not only live under evil and cruel governors but have also for the enemy the eternal king of the saints, God Almighty. (p.716)

Based on the above, it seems that this kingdom of Satan is a return to the state of nature but constant throughout eternity and under bad kings, where also besides, all humanity is constituted as an enemy of the kingdom of Christ. Now, will the civil contract survive upon the arrival of the Kingdom of Christ? Apparently not, because when Jesus reigns there is not vicars that represent him.

How come they become, sovereign and other subjects in a post-apocalyptic world? What history does the kingdom of Satan lives in the post-apocalyptic world? Is the kingdom of Satan the leviathan of books I and II? If the *Leviathan* is still alive: Is a war between the immortal God and the mortal god possible?

6. Conclusion

Faced with such millennial effervescence, Hobbes develops a prophetic calendar that guarantees total civil submission on the part of the religious power and its faithful. That is

why Pocock sees this history as an instrument of power because it is thanks to the historical limits that, according to Hobbes, the Bible throws up, civil government is temporarily justified. And it is that the rational justification of books I and II is not enough if it cannot be implemented in the real world. According to Schwartz (1985), the eschatology in the *Leviathan* comes to complement and make stronger the civil obedience developed in books I and II.

In this sense, Hobbes was as Tuck says: "able to refute the assertions of those who claimed spiritual authority before the return of the risen Christ"⁹, but (re) give biblical protection to the royal head and ensure the absolute obedience of the people turning his treatise into something assailable for his time too.

On this same Pocock (1989) continues: "Prophecy and eschatology —which Hobbes in effect reduces the whole body of revealed religion —were not a mere system of dogmas for believers, but an important component of the conceptual team of the Christians of Europe" (p.162).

There is a reason Hobbes added two books on religion in his book. About Tuck (1992): Why should Hobbes have felt so deeply about the theology described in Part III? The political point could have been made independently of the theology —to say that the sovereign is the sole authoritative interpreter of Scripture is a sufficiently striking and alarming claim, without the added complication of a new eschatology. But if I am right in putting the liberation of men from fear as the point of the eschatology, then we can begin to see why Hobbes felt deeply about it: the psychological work of the sovereign would not be done unless fear of an after-life could be eliminated. (p.121)

If the sovereign had full control of the circulating doctrine, eschatology seemed to be the final way to promote obedient civil life until the second coming of Christ and the final judgment. Mastering the definition of these two concepts ensured not only people's attention but reverence as well, due to the relevance of the concept of the last judgment and hell.

I think that Hobbes includes eschatology to control the enormous political problem generated by the millenarian movements, which tried to recreate the Priestly kingdom on earth by putting a date to the Apocalypse. About that, Springborg (1975): "While Hobbes

⁹(Tuck, 1992, p. 121).

showed a fine appreciation for the subtleties of millenarian thought, his scheme of sacred history represents an attempt to destroy the chiliasts' source of legitimacy" (p.291).

Eschatology is the only biblical resource to increase civil power over the Christian population through the introduction of the only things that are worse than physical death: the eternal death in hell. For that is proposed the eschatology is essential not only in the two last books of Leviathan but in his entire political project. Without an eschatology there is no Final Judgment, Second Coming, and Hell, without Hell there is not a higher fear to the physical fear and therefore are serious possibilities of rebellion. In that sense, eschatology developed at the same time a religious and political itinerary, and for that reason the study of eschatology in Hobbes is relevant.

If we accept the eschatology in the political theory of Hobbes, we must hang with some consequences of that. First of all: what will happen with the life of the leviathan? From eschatology, the leviathan will die when the kingdom of Jesus Christ appears in the clouds. Second, what will happen with non-believers? They will live with normal bodies under a bad sovereign in a kingdom called The Kingdom of Satan. Third, what will happen with all the Christians who obey his sovereigns and keep the faith? They will live with supernatural bodies eternally under the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, ruled all the earth from Jerusalem.

However, I believe that Hobbes's eschatology is basic, since in affirming the coming of the kingdom of Christ, he places it in an unreal and unspecific future scenario, unlikely, without clear signals, that eschatology becomes only a theoretical joker and not a close reality. Hobbes does not give probable dates, nor does he speak of the signs of the Apocalypse, he only deals in detail with the present and political aspects of the end of time. However, despite his condition, I believe that eschatology plays a fundamental role in understanding how his political theory enters human history. After all, the leviathan without eschatology is only a good political theory, but with eschatology, the leviathan becomes a quite realistic political program for Christian nations where the struggle between civil and religious power was a constant threat.

7. References

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