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CARL SCHMITT'S POLITICAL THEOLOGY FROM THE HERMENEUTICAL POINT OF VIEW

(...) If sanctuary lamps in front of all Catholic altars will be powered by the same electricity as all the theatres and bars in the city, then Catholicism will also become a relatively understandable and normal element of the world subject to economy.

Carl Schmitt¹

Political theology is both a controversial and fashionable term. It is the subject of study of not only contemporary theologians² but also thinkers representing numerous philosophies and ideologies. Despite new, frequently appearing publications on political theology, there are multiple interpretations of this issue. The term itself has not been clearly defined, hence it must be stated in the introduction what is understood by it³.

In the age of dynamically developing empirical and formal branches of science, political theology developed by Carl Schmitt (1888-1985)⁴, a German lawyer, an

¹ C. Schmitt, *Rzymski katolicyzm i polityczna forma*, in: id, *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, ed. II, Aletheia Publishing, Warszawa 2012, p. 117.

² Especially noted should be: J. Taubes, *Teologia polityczna św. Pawła*, PWN Publishing, Warszawa 2010; R. Brague, *Prawo Boga*, Teologia Polityczna Publishing, Warszawa 2014; K. Marulewska (red.), *Teoria i praktyka polityczna Marka Aureliusza*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja, Teologia Polityczna, Centrum Europejskie Natolin Publishing, Warszawa 2011. A lot of information about political theology is also included in the yearbook „Teologia polityczna”, published since 2003.

³ cf. H.A. Jędrzejczak, *Teologia polityczna i etyka. Próba ujęcia tematu na przykładzie «Etyki» Dietricha Bonhoeffera, «Teologii politycznej» Carla Schmitta i «Teologii politycznej» Johanna Baptisty Metzta*, „Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe”, 2013, no. 1/41, p. 13.

⁴ While writing about Carl Schmitt's *Political Theology*, the main source is *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma* by Carl Schmitt, translated by. M.A. Cichocki, edition II, Aletheia Publishing, Warszawa 2012.

expert in constitutional law and a political scientist, deserves special attention. His theory is the main subject of this study. It should be noted that at the present stage of the development of theological sciences, the issue of political theology still remains a multifaceted and multidimensional problem. It is difficult to cover all its aspects in an article limited by editorial requirements. Therefore the following article is only a contribution and an invitation to deeper analyses on the topic.

For the purposes of the following study, attention will be first paid to the way theology, political theology and politics are defined, and then an attempt will be made to capture the essence of political theology according to Carl Schmitt. In order to realise the research purpose, the basic work that will be analysed is *Political Theology and Other Works*, translated by Marek A. Cichocki, extended edition from 2012.

1. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF DEFINITIONS

Considering the issue of “political theology” some thought should be given to how to understand the term which is fundamental for the purpose of the analysis: “political theology” in comparison with the definition of “theology”. Comparison of these two terms seems to be necessary to obtain the right definition conceptualization. There is no doubt that the terms mentioned above are cognitive in their character⁵.

1.1 Theology

The word “theology” derives from the Greek and consists of two parts: the Greek *θεός* (God) and *λόγος* (word, language, knowledge, science). Hence theology is the science and the knowledge about God and everything that is connected with Him. The term “theology” is used in several meanings that are related to one another. Most frequently it is interpreted as religious knowledge of God, man, the content of the Revelation, faith and moral rules. As the scientifically systematized term it discusses the phenomena taking place in the world, or in Christianity. The term “theology” can be considered in a narrower or wider meaning. The first meaning treats “theology” as learning about God by means of intellect and mysticism, the other one is the doctrine of a particular religion⁶.

An outstanding methodologist and historian of science, Stanisław Kamiński, offers another look on theology. He claims that “the subject of theology is God and everything that is related to Him. Therefore the subject of theological research

⁵ cf. W. Cichosz, J. Lisica, *Edukacja prozdrowotna w technopolu*, in: D. del Mastro, W. Dyk, T. Dyk, W. Skrzypczak (red.), *Sozologia systemowa, v. IX, Zdrowie. Człowiek i jego środowisko w aspekcie przyrodniczym, filozoficznym i teologicznym*, Volumina Publishing, Szczecin – Fasano 2016, p. 28.

⁶ cf. *Teologia*, in: <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/3986485/teologia.html> (23.9.2016).

are God and His matters, that is if they are revealed, and to what extent they require even more natural cognitive operations – *in quantum intelligibiles*. Therefore positive theological inquiries study only truths fundamentally revealed (virtualiter revelata)⁷. This theory is an appropriate complement of the definition of theology by Thomas Rausch, who claims that “Theology deals with our experience of God, particularly our experience of God as community of faith. It is an effort to understand and interpret the experience of common faith in the way that can be expressed in language and in symbol”⁸. That is why Łukasz Remisiewicz rightly observes that various definitions of theology refer to the notion of God as the One that has already been understood, but on the other hand they are based on a particular kind of experience, that is “the experience as the community of faith” and “religious experience”⁹.

The above presentation of selected definitions of theology puts forward the holistic look on theology understood as – to use the simplest terms – scientifically systematized knowledge about God, man and the world¹⁰, which gives the basis for the attempt to define the notion of “political theology”.

1.2 Political theology

Ancient texts should be consulted in search of the origin of the term “political theology”. Our basic source is Saint Augustine’s *City of God*. “Augustine is often presented as an apolitical thinker, contrasted in this way with Fathers of the Church, especially *Eusebius* of Caesarea, who formulated the basics of state theology in service of Constantine a hundred years earlier”¹¹. In *Decivitate Dei*, a characteristic treatise on political theology, the author critically analyses the division into three types of theology (science about gods): *mythicon*, *physicon* and *civile*¹² introduced by Quintus Mucius Scaevola. Although the three-fold division was once used to describe polytheism, this thought has become the reason of the dispute on the relationship between theology and politics.

St. Augustine’s thought included in the work that belongs to the most important political writings in the European tradition is the impulse to explain the theological basis of both political issues and questions. It has to be noted that the very notion

⁷ cf. A. Bronk, S. Majdański, *Teologia – próba metodologiczno-epistemologicznej charakterystyki*, „Nauka”, 2006, no. 2, p. 82.

⁸ T.P. Rausch, *Theology and Its Method*, in: id (red.), *The College Student’s Introduction to Theology*, Collegeville 1993, p. 12. Quoted from: Ł. Remisiewicz, *Teologia jako nauka formalna*, „Analiza i Egzystencja”, 2015, no. 32, p. 123.

⁹ cf. Ł. Remisiewicz, *Teologia jako nauka formalna*, op. cit., p. 123.

¹⁰ cf. Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Traktat o Bogu*, ZNAK Publishing, Kraków 1999, p. 27.

¹¹ M.A. Cichocki, *Wieczny pokój u św. Augustyna. Teologia polityczna wobec filozofii politycznej*, „Teologia Polityczna”, 2003-2004, no. 1, p. 185.

¹² cf. Św. Augustyn, *Państwo Boże*, translated by W. Kubicki, ANTYK – Marek Derewiecki Publishing, Kęty 1998, p. 231.

of politics in the context of religion causes many definition problems. There is no doubt that the term was and still is the reason of controversy and misunderstandings¹³. Contemporary scientific literature presents numerous attempts to cope with the term of political theology made by not only theologians but also philosophers, historians, sociologists and political scientists. Since the time the term “politics” was introduced into the European discourse by William of Moerbeke¹⁴, a question have emerged about the possibility of the existence of relationship between political and religious space, which could be appropriately assigned to the category “political theology”¹⁵.

According to Jolanta Sawicka, the beginnings of theology point that its connection with politics is not secondary but is at the core of both fields. There is no theology which does not have any meaning for political order¹⁶. A similar opinion is expressed by Jacob Taubes, an outstanding Jewish philosopher of religion and professor at the Free University of Berlin, who emphasises the fact that there is no theology without political consequences, and similarly there is no political theory without theological assumptions¹⁷.

Apart from that, the aim of the political theology is first of all to present mutual relationships between the Christian faith and social and political system, and also to express opposition against social injustice. Political theology attempts to define in a new way the relationship between religion and the state system, between the faith and social and political practice. Therefore the political mind should be part of the critical reflection of a theologian, and at the same time theology cannot allow religion to be eliminated from politics. So the aim of political theology is to be practical hermeneutics of faith and ethics of action, whose purpose is to create a just society and a new man of faith¹⁸.

The above comments are the basis for the statement that the term “theology” used with the epithet “political” is a complex and multi-element expression. “It can assume three meanings, which correspond to three possible relationships

¹³ cf. B. Secler, *Teologia polityczna – zarys problemu*, in: M. Kosman (ed.), *Na obrzeżach polityki*, INP and DUAM Publishing, Poznań 2010, p. 91.

¹⁴ The terms „politics/political” only appeared in the translation of *Politics* by William of Moerbeke, and then they started to be used in theories of the state. Cf. W. Ullmann, *Średniowieczne korzenie renesansowego humanizmu*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie Publishing, Łódź 1985. Quoted from: M. Gierycz, *Chrześcijaństwo i Unia Europejska. Rola religii w procesie integracji europejskiej*, WAM, Instytut Politologii Publishing, Kraków 2008, p. 19.

¹⁵ cf. *ibid.*

¹⁶ cf. J. Sawicka, *Teologia polityczna i średniowieczna figura króla*, „IDEA – Studia nad strukturą i rozwojem pojęć filozoficznych”, 2014, no. XXVI, p. 256.

¹⁷ cf. J. Taubes, *Teologia a teoria polityczna*, przekł. R. Kuczyński, in: *Apokalipsa i polityka. Eseje mesjańskie*, collected translations, SIC Publishing, Warszawa 2013, p. 300.

¹⁸ cf. G. Kucza, *Eschatologia w teologii wyzwolenia*, „Studia Warmińskie”, 2006, v. XLIII, pp. 194-195.

between the terms that constitute that expression. If the term 'theology' is superior to the other one, then 'politics of theology' is created, which is subject to religious imperatives and in specific cases aspires to establish hierarchy, or a church state. If the two terms are in balance, then a reflection emerges on the theological core of politics and on the philosophical and political, that is organising sense included indirectly in every theology"¹⁹. This perspective on the issue of "political theology" may pose the question about the nature of these relationships between theology and politics. In order to specify more clearly the discussed scientific problem, the term "politics" requires further clarification.

1.3 Politics

The term "politics" in itself is not unambiguous. Nowadays this issue refers to, generally speaking, the art of ruling a country or even the very activity of running the country, directing its citizens towards common good. However, in the wider meaning we can talk about politics as a certain method of acting or managing people for particular purposes, without using the so called positive compulsion. In its popular meaning, however, politics can be regarded as a fight for power or ways of keeping it. For Karl Marx politics is a class struggle led in the conditions of modern societies, mainly for power in the country. This happens largely though the revolution²⁰.

Social teachings of the Church define two ways of understanding the term "politics". The first one is the aspiration to participate in exercising power in the country, the other one treats politics as striving for common good. In his post synodal apostolic exhortation *Christifideles laici* John Paul II emphasises that "the lay people cannot renounce their participation in 'politics', that is in all kinds of economic, social and legislative activity, which organically serves to increase common good (...) Neither accusations of careerism, of the cult of power, egoism, corruption (...) nor quite widespread opinion that politics must be the ground for moral threat justify the scepticism and absence of Christians in public life"²¹. This is also confirmed in the apostolic exhortation *Familiaris Consortio* (no. 46) and in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (no. 2211). In the further scientific analyses, this understanding of politics allows to treat the state, in the Christian conception, as an organism, or a community of communities which appoints the state power for the strict purpose, which is above all the concern for the common good²².

From the above conceptualization of definitions of the terms of "theology", "political theology" and "politics" it can be concluded that in the multitude of

¹⁹ M. Scattola, *Teologia polityczna*, transl. P. Borkowski, PAX Publishing, Warszawa 2011, p. 7.

²⁰ cf. W. Irek, *Spolecznosc w swietle rozumu i wiary*, PWT Publishing, Wrocław 2005, p. 107.

²¹ ChL, n. 42.

²² cf. W. Irek, *Spolecznosc w swietle rozumu i wiary*, op. cit., p. 110.

terminologies trying to describe the above terms, the modern distinction between them does not mean the lack of union of the areas of close meanings, or the possible permeation of their contents. The analysis of the relationship between theology and politics led Carl Schmitt to the conviction of the existence of consubstantial²³ relationship between them. Therefore we can hazard a statement that from the very beginning of its existence theology and the political order created an almost intimate relationship. Theology and political order were at the same time different aspects or expressions of the same reality, the same truth and the same cosmic order²⁴. Therefore the above assumptions open the discussion on the political theology according to Carl Schmitt.

2. CHARACTERISATION OF CARL SCHMITT'S POLITICAL THEOLOGY

In contemporary science the issue of “political theology”, as it has been mentioned, is mostly associated with Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) and his work published in Berlin in 1922 entitled *Politische Theologie. Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität*. In Poland this book was not published until 2000, when it was translated by Marek Cichocki²⁵. Creating his theory in the times of Weimar Republic, Carl Schmitt represents the type of conservatism that adopted modern ideas separating politics from ethics. Moreover, he focuses on issues such as the existence of the political order, sovereignty, law, power and its effectiveness. Using the well-known classification of Leo Strauss, it can be acknowledged that Schmitt was more of a “modern man” than a philosopher referring back to classical philosophy of politics²⁶. “Thanks to his interpretations of terms such as ‘political theology’, ‘politicalness’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘state of exception’, ‘decisionism’ he permanently became part of not only conservatism, but also philosophy and political science. Although Schmitt disgraced himself with anti-Semitism, NSDAP membership and holding the position of the “key lawyer” of the Third Reich, his ideas influenced many right-winged theoreticians of politics such as Eric Voegelin, Gianfranco Miglio or Paul Gottfried, philosophers dealing with classical philosophy

²³ Maureen Henry pays attention to the fact that this consubstantial relationship between theology and politics disintegrates when the so called truth of theology and the truth of politics begin to differ in the translation of reality in which they exist.

²⁴ cf. M. Henry, *The Intoxication of Power. An Analysis of Civil Religion in Relation to Ideology*, D. Reidel Publishing, London 1979, p. 1. Quoted from: P. Grabowiec, *Elementy teologii politycznej w religii obywatelskiej amerykańskich eugeników*, „Theologica Wratislaviensia”, 2013, v. 8, p. 40.

²⁵ C. Schmitt, *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, transl. M.A. Cichocki, op. cit. or the second extended edition published in Warszawa in 2012.

²⁶ cf. D. Sepczyńska, *W poszukiwaniu najlepszego modelu polityki*. C. Schmitt, J. Rawls, Ch. Mouffe, in: J. Błahut-Prusik, D. Sepczyńska, P. Wasyluk (red.), *Współczesne dylematy filozofii i kultury*, Instytut Filozofii UWM Publishing, Olsztyn 2010, p. 177.

of politics – Leo Strauss, Hannah Arendt, a Jewish theologian Jacob Taubes, a Russian Hegelian Aleksander Kojève. His ideas are also enthusiastically accepted by left-wing thinkers such as Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Etienne Balibar, Giorgio Agamben, Antonio Negri, Paolo Virno, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, Chantal Mouffe, Daniel Bensaïd, Massimo Cacciari, Martti Koskenniemi, and also by liberal thinkers²⁷. Interestingly, none of the above mentioned representatives of international intellectual circles called themselves advocates of principlism or integritism.

In the work entitled *Political Theology and Other Writings*²⁸ Carl Schmitt presents an unconventional point of view and understanding of political theology, called also the *sociology of terms* or the *theory of analogy of religious and legal and political terms*²⁹. This concept demonstrates that all essential terms used in the science of politics, state and law are secularized theological terms. This philosophical and historical perspective emphasises that contemporary states, laws or political powers were constituted on the model of institutional structures of religious, spiritual or even ideological type. Their basic categories were taken from the Church institutions and structures. It has been rightly observed by Tadeusz Buksiński, who is an authority and specialist in social and political philosophy, that indicating the above analogies will allow to better understand the essence of “political theology”, or modern laws, politics, powers and public life as having their roots in theology or metaphysics of religious character. Carl Schmitt focuses on indicating that politics and lay institutions are modelled on religious and Church patterns, which as a result leads to their sacralisation, or political theologism, or theological politicalness³⁰.

We should now proceed to present the selected religious and legal and political terms:

- a. “The notion of the sovereign power is modelled on the view of God”³¹. Carl Schmitt observes that “according to some theories of sovereignty, it is only

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁸ Different interpretations of „political theology” are present in Carl Schmitt’s writings such as: *Teologia polityczna. Cztery rozdziały poświęcone nauce o suwerenności* from 1921, *Politische-Theologie II. Die Legende von der Erledigung jeder politischen Theologie*, Berlin 1970, and also in autobiographical notes known as „Glossarium”, (*Glossarium. Aufzeichnungen der Jahre 1947-1951*, Berlin 1991). As it was mentioned at the beginning, for the purposes of this article, the characteristics of „political theology” were presented on the basis of: *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, transl. M. A. Cichocki, ed. II, Warszawa 2012.

²⁹ cf. T. Buksiński, *Trzy teologie polityczne Carla Schmitta*, „Filozofia Publiczna i Edukacja Demokratyczna”, 2014, v. III, no. 1, p. 25.

³⁰ T. Buksiński, *Moderność*, Instytut Filozofii UAM Publishing, Poznań 2001. Quoted from: *id.*, *Trzy teologie polityczne Carla Schmitta*, „Filozofia Publiczna i Edukacja Demokratyczna”, 2014, v. III, no. 1, p. 25-26.

³¹ *ibid.*

God that can be sovereign, and in particular – someone who is considered His representative in this world. According to others, it is the emperor, prince or the people, and to be more precise, the ones who can identify with the will of the people, who are sovereign. Regardless of the differences, it is still the same question of the subject of sovereignty, of using the term for the specific situation”³². On this basis it can be stated that once God was identified with the ones in power. It was thought that they had the power to rule which came from God.

- b. *The concept of judicial independence.* In his analyses Carl Schmitt cites Hugo Krabbe and emphasises that the study of the autonomy of law is the expression of a modern state, which in its character includes connotation to God: “The modern idea of a country replaces (...) the power of a person (king, superior), spiritual power: «We no longer live under the power of people, a natural or an artificial legal person, but we live under the power of norms, spiritual powers. The modern idea if a country is expressed in this change». These powers rule in the literal meaning of this word, since if the spiritual nature of man is their source, then people will always willingly obey them»”³³. This presentation of an organisational structure of a modern country identifies offices and office workers, understood as independent superior power, with the country.
- c. *State of exception as a general term used in the studies of a state* – according to Carl Schmitt, it constitutes a general norm, which poses a question to the citizen about the subject of sovereignty. There is no doubt that the term itself is of religious origin and is the equivalent of a miracle in religious theology. “Just like God can break the rules of nature with miracles, a lay sovereign can suspend the current laws that he himself passed. State of exception is outside the law, it is unpredictable by constitution (which then would allow to be abolished by itself), but it is not anti-legal. God makes miracles to save individuals, less often to save them from difficult life situations. The lay sovereign declares the state of exception in the name of values and interests of higher order, which could not have been predicted or defined by the established law. These values include „existence and identity of a political community organised into a country. In Poland the state of exception is known as the martial law, which was declared in 1981 by general Wojciech Jaruzelski in order to control the dissatisfaction and rebellion of the society against the then ruling political system”³⁴.

³² C. Schmitt, *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, transl. M.A. Cichocki, op. cit., p. 49.

³³ *ibid*, p. 61.

³⁴ T. Buksiński, *Trzy teologie polityczne Carla Schmitta*, „Filozofia Publiczna i Edukacja Demokratyczna”, op. cit., p. 27.

The above examples of political theology understood as analogy of terms can be multiplied. It has to be noted, however, that this comparison means that meanings assigned to a specific legal term in the political space correspond in their structure and content to a theological term. Carl Schmitt shows that quite clearly, among others in the above examples. In his opinion, meanings included in the notion of God, and the very structure of this notion evidently possess their analogies in the notion a country and politics³⁵. Also according to Michał Gierycz, a specialist in political studies, it has to be stated that in order to talk about political theology in the context of the above analogies, just stating these parallels is not enough. It is necessary to be certain that there is a connection between historical and political reality and the state of awareness of people at the time when the legal terms fundamental for a specific community were formed³⁶.

As it has been noted, Schmitt is concerned with more than just simple analogies. He claims that “terms are somehow indirectly taken and appear in the legal system of a country through political, not theological ideas. Theological analogies appear because these political ideas are based on a specific religious awareness, which is the deepest basis for the created legal terms. (...) The above argumentation and the concept of politicalness itself allow Schmitt to explain why, despite the diffusion of religious awareness, legal terms can remain unchanged”³⁷.

To conclude, Carl Schmitt observes that “all significant terms in the field of contemporary science about country are secularised theological terms. It is proved not only by the historical evolution of these terms, which have been taken from theology to be used in the study of a state – in this way for example the almighty God has become the almighty lawmaker – but also by their systemic structure the knowledge of which is necessary for looking at them from the sociological perspective”³⁸. In this way Carl Schmitt emphasises the fact that being aware of these analogies may be the key to full understanding of other ideas connected with the philosophy of a state.

Thus understood “political theology” according to Carl Schmitt is definitely an important chapter in the world political science. And although his life, as it has been mentioned above, was marked with cooperation with Nazism, and despite the fact that he wanted to introduce his legal constructions into the wheels of the country’s machine, Schmitt presented a consistent vision of politicalness, which in turn through its scientific character definitely deserves attention and further

³⁵ cf. M. Gierycz, *Teologia polityczna a badanie relacji religii i polityki*, „Przegląd Europejski”, 2007, no. 2, p. 42.

³⁶ cf. *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, transl. M.A. Cichocki, op. cit., s. 191. Quoted from: M. Gierycz, *Teologia polityczna a badanie relacji religii i polityki*, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁸ C. Schmitt, *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, transl. M.A. Cichocki, op. cit., p. 77.

study. So referring back to his thought is innovative and pioneer, and at the same time it has great learning value in the context of contemporary political theology³⁹.

CONCLUSION

Political theology according to Carl Schmitt is an intellectually interesting political theory that carries significant explanatory potential. In the work *Political Theology and Other Writings* he starts with the analysis of legal terms and historical context, and then he reveals important connections or analogies between religion and politics, between theological and legal terms. Thus he demonstrates that in fact this analogy gives sense to all legal terms. Although Carl Schmitt's main thesis can only be regarded as correct only with reference to national states, the scientific method used by him unfortunately does not give enough instruments to analyse structures other than "national state". This is so because Carl Schmitt through his unconventional understanding of politicalness, or through his holistic ambitions requires admitting that political and legal terms of a given political institution are a secularised version of theological terms. As Michał Gierycz rightly observes, in case of European Union the above described situation would require risky methodological and intellectual search of theology, that was secularised by this European community. In consequence this could lead to politicisation of religion and the search for European versions of lay religion⁴⁰.

There is also no doubt that political theology according to Carl Schmitt raises a very important problem of defining politics with reference to ultimate and transcendental things, and simply to God. The phenomenon of political theology indicates that the connection between theology and politics is not only the matter of relationships between the institution of Church and the institution of the state, but also – as it has been observed by Helena Anna Jędrzejczak, a sociologist and researcher of contemporary political idea – a scientific analysis of the role of community and man who creates it with reference to transcendental values. Because in fact political theology remains a theology if political choices are referred to and directed at Jesus Christ. And only then such theology remains political if it is assumed that the responsibility for another man given by God is the obligation necessary to be realized in a given political reality⁴¹.

³⁹ cf. P. Hola (rec.), Chantal Mouffe (red.), *Carl Schmitt. Wyzwanie polityczności*, Krytyka Polityczna Publishing, Warszawa 2011, „Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis”, 2014, no. 12, p. 225.

⁴⁰ cf. M. Gierycz, *Teologia polityczna a badanie relacji religii i polityki*, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴¹ cf. H.A. Jędrzejczak, *Teologia polityczna i etyka. Próba ujęcia tematu na przykładzie «Etyki» Dietricha Bonhoeffera, «Teologii politycznej» Carla Schmitta i «Teologii politycznej» Johanna Baptisty Metza*, op. cit., p. 26.

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Summary

The aim of the article is to offer a holistic interpretation of Political Theology according to Carl Schmitt (1888-1985). The analysis refers to the historiosophical and political views of the German writer. In the introductory part we briefly present the definitions of Theology, Political Theology and Political Studies and then we focus on the characteristic elements of the research problem presented in the book entitled *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma / Political Theology and Other Works*, translated by Marek A. Cichocki, second extended edition of 2012. This analysis allows us to conclude that there is a close relationship between Theology and the concept of Political Theology, in which both religion and politics complete each other. The article is also an invitation to an academic discourse on Political Theology.

Keywords: *Carl Schmitt, hermeneutics, politics, religion, Theology, Political Theology*

Teologia polityczna Carla Schmitta w perspektywie hermeneutycznej

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest próbą holistycznej interpretacji teologii politycznej w ujęciu Carla Schmitta (1888-1985). Zaproponowana analiza odwołuje się do poglądów historiozoficzno-politycznych niemieckiego pisarza. Najpierw zostaje przedstawiona krótka prezentacja definicyjna teologii, teologii politycznej i polityki, następnie analizy badawcze skupiają się na charakterystyce analizowanego problemu badawczego zaprezentowanego w książce pt. *Teologia polityczna i inne pisma*, w przekładzie Marka A. Cichockiego, wydania drugiego poszerzonego z 2012 roku. Przeprowadzony dyskurs badawczy pozwala wskazać na wewnętrzny związek teologii z koncepcją teologii politycznej, w której zarówno religia jak i polityka wzajemnie się uzupełniają. Artykuł stanowi zaproszenie do naukowego procesu dyskursu nad teologią polityczną.

Słowa kluczowe: *Carl Schmitt, hermeneutyka, polityka, religia, teologia, teologia polityczna*