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Paper: Spanish Political Theology and the 'Challenge of Machiavelli'
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The paper will explore the intellectual and textual strategies employed by two prominent humanist theologians responding to what they perceive as the rise of 'Machiavellian' doctrine in early modern Spanish politics. The focus is on the political theology of Juan de Mariana SJ (1535-1624) and Juan Márquez OSA (1565-1621). Both authors want to take the wind of the sails of the Florentine vessel by shifting the boundaries of orthodox political ethics towards the needs and expectations of the secular political elite. Each in his own way, they seek to achieve this goal by adjusting the ways in which contemporaries think and talk about politics. By adjusting the linguistic and conceptual parameters of political thought, Márquez and Mariana hope to recover lost ground for a scholarly theology increasingly criticised for its apparent failure to provide moral guidance reflecting the actual reality of imperial politics. The stakes are high, as the *valimiento* of the duke of Lerma (1598-1617) is beginning to posit specific challenges to the role and status of the church of Castile in Spanish politics.

Juan de Mariana has been condemned and commended in equal measure for his treatise *De rege et regis institutione* (Toledo, 1599). Not long after its publication, book and author were blamed for the assassination of Henri IV of France (1610). Modern Historians of political thought, in turn, have come to consider Mariana a 'humanist precursor of modern constitutionalism' – and his treatise a radical development of scholastic constitutional thinking, especially regarding the right of the private individual to resist and even kill a legitimate prince acting tyrannically. Yet the language of medieval scholastic constitutionalism is merely one of several Mariana employs to harness the power of Machiavellian doctrine in the service of the church of Castile. In fact, the infamous discussion of tyrannicide is meant to be read and understood not in legal or constitutional terms, but in those of political prudence and education. Here is a thinker remarkable for his ingenious manipulation of political languages as well as his sobering and eminently practical assessment of the ethics of *realpolitik*.

Juan Márquez has been one of the most popular Spanish political authors of the first half of the seventeenth century. Like Mariana, his *El gobernador christiano* takes up the 'challenge of Machiavelli' - but promises to do so with a difference. Fray Juan's grand plan is to establish Holy Writ as the sole source of principles of statecraft and practical political advice. While Mariana became something of a *bête noire* to defenders of

monarchical power outside Spain, Márquez caused unease by making vernacular exegesis of a sacred but notoriously difficult and obscure text the point of reference for ambiguous political advice. Yet Márquez also threw down the gauntlet to those demanding that political decisions be made on the basis of natural reason inspired by historical and political experience rather than Christian doctrine tightly controlled by the masters of theological expertise. The debate is about power and agency as much as it is about the nature and content of political advice.

Short Bibliography

Juan de Mariana: Mariana has enjoyed increasing interest in recent years. For the intellectual contexts of *De rege* see for instance Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought. The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Ideas in Context), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2004) and Ronald W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society and Religion in the Time of Philip II, The 'de regimine principum' and Associated Traditions*, Brill, Leiden (1999). A detailed study of *De rege* and a review of Mariana's place in the history of early modern European political thought by H.E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2007). On Mariana's position concerning the relationship between biblical exegesis and political ethics, Nicole Reinhardt, 'Juan de Mariana: Biblexegese und Tyrannenmord', in Andreas Pečar/Kai Trampedach (eds), *Die Bibel als politisches Argument. Voraussetzungen und Folgen biblizistischer Herrschaftslegitimation in der Vormoderne*, Oldenbourg, München (2007), pp. 273-94.

Juan Márquez: Márquez deserves more attention. Much work, though, especially with regard to Márquez's economic theory, has been done by Francisco Javier López de Goicoechea Zabala; see for instance 'Juan Márquez (1565-1621): influjo y proyección historiográfica', *Revista Agustiniiana*, 37 (1996), pp. 93-126; and id., 'Política y Religión en el pensamiento de Juan Márquez (1565-1621)', *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía*, 23 (1996), pp. 275-301. A useful study of the epistemological culture within which both authors operate is Jeremy Robbins, *Arts of Perception. The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580-1620*, Routledge, Abingdon (2007).

Short Biography of Harald Braun

Harald E. Braun is Lecturer in European History (1300-1700) at the School of History, University of Liverpool. He is the author of *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2007) as well as chapters in edited volumes and articles on sixteenth and seventeenth century political thought. He is looking forward to a sabbatical year and to spending more time on articles and a monograph on the discourses, processes and institutions of political counsel in the Spanish Habsburg monarchy (c.1550 – c.1700).

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