

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER

ON RELIGION

SPEECHES TO ITS CULTURED DESPISERS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY
RICHARD CROUTER

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梁小民

ON RELIGION

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I AND THOU

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To
BJC

For without doubt it must hold for art as it does for science that form and content serve mutually to confirm one another.

Schleiermacher, *Kritik der Sittenlehre*

Authors in whose works one finds everything one expects and nothing more are absolutely logical and impersonal. But they are very poor writers. The productive spirit always brings forth something that could not have been expected.

Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutics*

Schleiermacher is the Protestant theologian of the Romantic movement. One will have difficulty imagining Schleiermacher without this, but will also not grasp the significance of the Romantic school for the development of theory in the nineteenth century without knowing and recalling that in him a theologian wholly dedicated to the Romantic school exercised the determining influence on theology. His *Speeches* show this relationship not only in their substance, but also in their form.

Martin Kähler, *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik im 19. Jahrhundert*

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This edition, published in the Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy series, keeps the relevant scholarly annotations of the 1988 version intact, while making a few changes to the translation. The Introduction has been somewhat recast, and a Chronology, Further Reading, and a Note on Editions added, in order to produce a leaner, more accessible volume.

Abbreviations

- Ath.* *Athenaeum: Eine Zeitschrift.* 1–11. Edited by August Wilhelm Schlegel and Friedrich Schlegel. 3 vols., Berlin, 1798, 1799, 1800
- Br.* *Aus Schleiermachers Leben. In Briefen.* 1–1v. Edited by Ludwig Jonas and Wilhelm Dilthey. 4 vols., Berlin, 1860–63
- Dierkes Hans Dierkes, "Die Problematische Poesie: Schleiermachers Beitrag zur Frühromantik," *Schleiermacher-Archiv*. Edited by Hermann Fischer et al. *Internationaler Schleiermacher-Kongreß Berlin 1984*. Vol. I, edited by Kurt-Victor Selge. Berlin, 1985, pp. 61–98
- KGA* 1.1 *Friedrich Schleiermacher Kritische Gesamtausgabe 1 Schriften und Entwürfe. Band 1 Jugendschriften 1787–1796*. Edited by Günter Meckenstock. Berlin, 1984
- KGA* 1.2 *Friedrich Schleiermacher Kritische Gesamtausgabe 1 Schriften und Entwürfe. Band 2 Schriften aus der Berliner Zeit 1796–1799*. Edited by Günter Meckenstock. Berlin, 1984
- KGA* 1.3 *Friedrich Schleiermacher Kritische Gesamtausgabe 1 Schriften und Entwürfe. Band 3 Schriften aus der Berliner Zeit 1800–1802*. Edited by Günter Meckenstock. Berlin, 1988
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- Oman Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*. Trans. by John Oman. Louisville, 1994

Introduction

On Religion in its cultural milieu

The work of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), inaugurated by this book, brilliantly reflects the tensions between the religious thought of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. When *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* was published in 1799, its author was an all but unknown cleric and member of the German Romantic circle. At the time of his death Schleiermacher was the most distinguished theologian of Protestant Germany, the author of a modern post-Enlightenment system of theology that ranks with Calvin and Aquinas in the history of Christian thought. *On Religion* is the premier expression of an understanding of religion as rooted in immediate pre-reflexive feeling and intuition, and only secondarily at the level of intellectual cognition or in moral systems and deeds. This classic theory of religion arose from the Romantics' intense critique of Kant's moral and religious philosophy in the repressive political atmosphere of a Prussia that feared the social upheavals of the French revolution. A many-faceted work, *On Religion* belongs to modern intellectual history, to German studies, to philosophy, religious studies, and theology.

Ultimately Schleiermacher's fame derives from his systematic interpretation of Christian theology, *The Christian Faith (Glaubenslehre* [1821–2, 1830–1]), whose relationship to *On Religion* is often disputed. Yet Schleiermacher never renounced his early book and considered his revisions (1806, 1821) to be more stylistic than substantive. Both works share a strategy of moving from abstract to more concrete structures of experience; for both religion arises from immediate self-consciousness and expresses itself individually and socially within a historical community of faith.

For nearly two hundred years *On Religion* has been deeply appreciated and severely criticized. Seekers of a religious perspective that challenges traditional belief find in it a host of stimulating ideas. Students of theology assess the author's heterodox Christian belief alongside its twentieth-century nemesis Karl Barth, whose critique of Schleiermacher's religious liberalism and Romanticism rests on a

Here it was that for the first time I awoke to the consciousness of the relations of man to a higher world . . . Here it was that that mystic tendency developed itself, which has been of so much importance to me, and has supported and carried me through all the storms of skepticism. Then it was only germinating; now it has attained its full development, and I may say, that after all that I have passed through, I have become a Herrnhuter again, only of a higher order.³

At Halle, which was dominated by the philosophical rationalism of Leibniz and Christian Wolff (d. 1745), Schleiermacher continued to pursue theology, philosophy, and classical studies.

Schleiermacher passed his theological examinations in 1790 in Berlin under the prominent Berlin churchman and family friend, F. S. G. Sack, who encouraged him to translate Joseph Fawcett's *London Sermons*.⁴ Unable to secure immediate church appointment, Schleiermacher became a house tutor (*Hofmeister*) at Schlobitten in East Prussia. The apprenticeship among an upper-class royalist family served, as it were, as a window on the world. During his first year at Halle the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1789) occurred, a foundational experience for his generation. His Schlobitten years coincided with the growing radicalism of the Jacobins in France, the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, the declaration of a French Republic, and the execution of King Louis XVI (January 1793). Schleiermacher shared his peers' enthusiasm for the movement's aspirations, even if he found the execution of the king repugnant and came to see that peace could only be restored by the overthrow of the Jacobins.⁵ Life among the upper classes in Schlobitten provided a taste of the literary and cultural milieu that soon became his own in Berlin.

The tutoring appointment enabled Schleiermacher to continue a process of philosophical and theological self-education. When his duties took him to Königsberg he had a half-hour meeting with Kant, but no obvious intellectual significance was attached to the visit. At the time, the German Enlightenment typified by Kant had not yet undercut efforts to shore up orthodox forms of Protestant Christian belief by appealing to reason. To be sure, naturalistic (today we would say behavioristic) tendencies in human development theory were pursued by Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741–92) and Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–90). The Old Testament scholar Hermann Samuel Reimarus's radically skeptical fragments remained unknown until published by Lessing, while the works of conservative, popular religious poets and writers, like Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–69) and Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), enjoyed great popularity. In Germany the new wave of pietistic self-examination and the dominant rationalism of Christian Wolff

³ Letter to Georg Reimer (30 April 1802), *Br.* 1, pp. 294–5; Rowan, *Life of Schleiermacher*, 1, pp. 283–4.

⁴ Joseph Fawcett, *Predigten*, trans. F. Schleiermacher with a preface by F. S. G. Sack (Berlin, 1798).

⁵ See Kurt Nowak, *Schleiermacher und die Frühromantik: Eine literaturgeschichtliche Studie zum romantischen Religionsverständnis und Menschenbild am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1986), pp. 92–5, and Richard Crouter, "Schleiermacher and the Theology of Bourgeois Society: A Critique of the Critics," *Journal of Religion*, 66 (July 1986), 301–17.

often went hand-in-hand in trying to show that reason and divine revelation were mutually compatible and the existence of God capable of demonstration.

Such defenders of Protestant orthodoxy were, however, being challenged by a newer, more liberal perspective called "neologism," which maintained biblical authority but restricted the content of revelation to what can be known by natural reason. Where the Bible teaches miracles, Jesus and his followers were merely accommodating their views to popular belief. By acknowledging the role of the human will and feeling in shaping biblical faith "neologism" gave fresh impetus to the historical criticism of scripture. Such writers had not yet discovered that a historical understanding of religion confronts them with the radical otherness of the biblical world. Lessing's and Herder's understanding of history as progressive revelation had not penetrated into the world of official theology. Alongside the philosophical challenge to religious belief of a Diderot, Voltaire, Hume, or Kant, both orthodox rationalists and "neologists" seemed like traditional voices. In Berlin circles, the popular preacher Johann Joachim Spalding (1714-1804) represented "neologist" theology. His *On the Usefulness of the Preaching Office and Its Continuity* (1772; 3rd ed., 1791), which demanded that religious doctrines be left out of sermons so the church could attend to society's moral needs, drew ironic commentary from Herder.⁶

The contrast between the "liberalism" of these Enlightenment contemporaries and Schleiermacher's perspective is illustrated by his ecclesiastical superior's comments about *On Religion*. Sack objected to the work as pantheistic and Spinozistic: "No art of sophistry and rhetoric will ever be able to convince any reasonable person that Spinozism and Christian religion can coexist" and strongly disapproved of Schleiermacher's association with Friedrich Schlegel and the Jewish salons.⁷ Defending himself, Schleiermacher wrote, "Have I indeed spoken with contempt of religion, in the sense in which you take the word, or of belief in a personal God? Never, certainly. I have only said that religion does not depend upon whether or not in abstract thought a person attributes to the infinite, supersensual Cause of the world the predicate of personality."⁸ Spinoza was an example of profound piety, not a model of Christian belief, and his choice of friends was also vigorously defended.

A clash between religious parties and the Prussian state in the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century coincided with German fears regarding the revolution in France. Having entered into coalition with Austria against France (1792), Prussia declared peace in 1795 and preserved its neutrality for the next eleven years. The ethos among Prussian burghers was thoroughly conservative. "Gen-

⁶ J. G. Herder (1744-1803), *To Preachers, Fifteen Provincial Letters*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, VII, (1774; Hildesheim, 1967), pp. 225-312, was aimed at Spalding; see Robert T. Clark, Jr., *Herder: His Life and Thought* (Berkeley, 1955), pp. 196-201.

⁷ Albert L. Blackwell, "The Antagonistic Correspondence of 1801 between Chaplain Sack and His Protégé Schleiermacher," *Harvard Theological Review*, 74 (1981), 113.

⁸ Blackwell, "The Antagonistic Correspondence," p. 118.

erally sympathetic to the revolution in France, they attributed it to specifically French causes, without application to themselves."⁹ But the issue of badly needed reform raised hopes for greater freedom and constitutionalism.

In this repressive setting fresh interpretations of religion challenged the assumptions of the churches' revealed theology. Rousseau's natural religion in "the confessions of the Savoy vicar" (*Emile*, 1762) and Lessing's understanding of revelation as historical development (*The Education of the Human Race*, 1780) pointed to a more naturalistic and historical understanding of religion. The controversy about Spinoza that broke out after Lessing's death embodied the same tensions. J. G. Hamann's (1730-88) dialectical defense of personal conversion and revelation attacked the spiritual barrenness of the Enlightenment, while Herder's aesthetic appreciation of Hebrew poetry (*The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, 1782) provided an alternative deeply aesthetic and literary understanding of the Bible. Hamann's review of Kant's first critique was not published out of deference to Kant, and Herder's *Understanding and Reason: A Metacritique of the Critique of Pure Reason* appeared the same year as *On Religion*.¹⁰ Among contemporary critiques of Kant, only *David Hume on Belief; or, Idealism and Realism* (1787) by F. H. Jacobi (1743-1819) was of direct use to Schleiermacher.

The religious conflicts came to a head as Friedrich Wilhelm II (1786-97) sought to end nearly fifty years of Prussia as a bastion of French thought. In 1788 Johann Christoph Wöllner (1732-1800), a former pastor, landowner, freemason, and Rosicrucianist promulgated his infamous "Edict concerning the constitution of religion in the Prussian states." The edict aimed at suppressing "rampant freedom" and combatting unbelief, superstition, and moral decay by requiring all acts of worship and religious instruction to conform to established church confessions. Such measures were opposed by the "neologists" and by public sentiment. Upon coming to power in 1797, Friedrich Wilhelm III invalidated the edict and dismissed Wöllner. But the decade of state-supported repression of critical thought regarding religion governed the world of the young Schleiermacher.

In this repressive period Kant published *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793).¹¹ Kant was thus faced with a direct conflict between his duty to uphold the state ("A subject of the Prussian state is declared free to hold what religious views he likes, so long as he quietly performs his duties as a good citizen of the state," in the words of the edict) and his freedom as a scholar. Exercising a right of the German universities to conduct reviews, Kant obtained an imprimatur from the philosophical faculty of Jena for the remaining parts of the book. But Prussia forbade Kant from publishing additional work on religion ("If you continue to resist, you may certainly expect unpleasant consequences to yourself"). In this perilous atmosphere Kant made a "mental reservation" in submitting to the king.

⁹ R. R. Palmer, *The World of the French Revolution* (New York, 1971), p. 237.

¹⁰ Henry E. Allison, *The Kant-Eberhard Controversy* (Baltimore, 1973), p. 5.

¹¹ T. M. Greene (ed.), *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (New York, 1960), pp. xxxii-xxxvii.

He kept his vow to "refrain from all public statements on religion," but took it as binding only until the king's death in 1797, after which he published a second, larger edition of the book. Like *On Religion*, published two years after the first edition, the book challenged the right of biblical theologians and traditionalists to be the sole interpreters of religion.

Kant's situation typified current relationships between intellectuals and the state. To teach at a university was to be bound to the state as a civil servant. But Germany, which, in the words of R. R. Palmer, had "philosophized the French revolution," could scarcely repress the tide of criticism.¹² It is little wonder that a new generation, nurtured as much by Rousseau and Herder as by rationalism, could no longer espouse the options of religious orthodoxy and dogmatism. Friedrich Wilhelm III's accession was marked by hope for a new beginning. Responding to his troubles with the censor, Kant in *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1798) argued for academic freedom in the life of the university.

Hopes for a greater measure of academic and religious liberty were also present in the mind of the young Schleiermacher. After a brief pastorate in Landsberg, Schleiermacher returned to Berlin in 1796 as the Reformed hospital chaplain at the Charité, an institution that served some three thousand persons a year. His social and intellectual life reached beyond the Charité to include his old schoolmate, Karl Gustav von Brinckmann (1764–1847), who shared his passion for Plato and Kant. Through friendship with his Schlobitten employer's son, Count Alexander von Dohna (1771–1831), Schleiermacher was introduced to the literary salon of Markus Herz (1747–1803), a wealthy Jewish physician and pupil of Immanuel Kant, and his talented wife, Henriette (1764–1847). The circle included the linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), whom he would later serve in the founding commission of the University of Berlin. In another literary group, the "Wednesday Society," Schleiermacher came to know Friedrich Schlegel (August 1797), who quickly emerged as his most significant friend.¹³ Although the venture only lasted three years, Friedrich and his brother August W. Schlegel's literary journal, the *Athenaeum*, remains the best introduction to the intellectual world of the young Schleiermacher.

Collaboration with Friedrich Schlegel was enhanced when he moved into Schleiermacher's house near the Oranienburg Gate on 21 December 1797. Among his many projects, Schlegel was at work on *Lucinde*, a novel that was notorious for its bold literary form as well as for its lightly disguised portrayal of his sexual relationship with Dorothea Veit. Spurred on by these friends, Schleiermacher's work appeared as aphorisms in the *Athenaeum* along with book reviews, poetry, and criticism by the Schlegels and Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg; 1772–1801). In quest of a moral philosophy that would challenge rationalism, Schleiermacher

¹² *World of the French Revolution*, pp. 233–50.

¹³ F. Schlegel's letter to A. W. Schlegel attests to Schleiermacher's many talents and proposes a role for him in contributing to the *Ath.*; *KGA* 1.2, pp. xii–xiii and n. 10.

worked on a study of the principles and conditions of society that enabled free sociability (*Geselligkeit*) to develop. But the project was interrupted by the writing of *On Religion*, where the fruits of these reflections influenced the arguments of the fourth address.¹⁴

On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers was conceived amid this literary and philosophical ferment that surrounded Friedrich Schlegel, Henriette Herz, and their friends. As a Christian clergyman – and thus a “natural enemy” of the literary avant-garde – Schleiermacher was an enigma. At a surprise twenty-ninth birthday party on 21 November 1797, Schlegel, Herz, and Dohna urged him to write a book, presumably to explain his view of religion. To some extent his own circle constitutes the “cultured despisers” addressed by the book. The idea of doing the book actually dates from late summer 1798, but the writing only took shape in 1799 when Schleiermacher accepted an interim position as court preacher at Potsdam. There, in the more relaxed atmosphere outside Berlin, *On Religion* was written between mid-February and mid-April. Letters from Henriette Herz and Schlegel helped keep him focused. Schlegel wrote that, “I hope that the boredom, which you seem to enjoy there, will serve it well and chain you to the desk”¹⁵ and, like Herz, commented on style as well as substance. The book arose from the qualities of sociability (*Geselligkeit*) and shared philosophizing (*sympphilosophieren*) that the group admired. Schlegel kept Schleiermacher informed about work on his *Lucinde* and affairs in Berlin.¹⁶ While completing the last part of the second speech on God and immortality, Schleiermacher expressed a fear that the work might be suppressed as “atheistic” or possibly turned over to Sack as censor. Pressure to finish was exerted by the publisher, who hoped to have the book in time for the Easter book fair. Its completion brought him exhilaration (“the joy of fatherhood”) as well as a curious fear of death.¹⁷

In addition to the book *On Religion* and his aphorisms in the Schlegels’ literary journal, Schleiermacher had begun work on a German translation of David Collins’s *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (1798).¹⁸ Upon hearing that his first published sermon would appear in a collection of sermons by the outgoing court preacher, Johann Peter Bamberger, he expressed delight: “I should like someday to write a book about everything; but I shall have to postpone this a good many years. I should require a long time to gather my materials and should also be somewhat at a loss about the form.”¹⁹ He ends by remarking that the

¹⁴ KGA 1.2, pp. I–III, 163–84.

¹⁵ Jack Forstman, *A Romantic Triangle: Schleiermacher and Early German Romanticism* (Missoula, MT, 1977), pp. 65–6; KGA 1.2, p. III; Br., III, p. 103 (2 March 1799).

¹⁶ KGA 1.2, pp. lvif.; Br. III, p. 105.

¹⁷ KGA 1.2, p. lv, Br. I, pp. 197, 201; in Br. III, p. 103, Schlegel informs him that the censor was Upper Consistory President von Scheve. KGA 1.2, p. liv. The book was, however, only completed on 15 April with copies first in circulation in June; see KGA 1.2, p. lx and also Br. I, pp. 217f.

¹⁸ KGA 1.2, pp. xivf., and n. 27; such travel accounts were immensely popular among Germans in the period; Herz had collaborated on two others, on Africa and on North America.

¹⁹ Rowan, *Life of Schleiermacher*, I, p. 209; Br. I, pp. 219–20, letter to Herz.

sermons, aphorisms, book on religion, and Australian travel book "make together a wonderful entry into the literary world. What may I not still become in this sublunary sphere!"

Heightened literary activity continued, undeterred by the author's anticipation of early publishing success. As a friend of the Herz family who was acquainted with the social conditions and aspirations of Berlin's Jews, Schleiermacher entered the debate regarding Jewish emancipation. The issue had attracted a flurry of pamphlets by conservative Jews and Christians as well as by radicals and reformists. His small book, still untranslated, *Letters on the Occasion of the Political-Theological Task and the Open Letter of Jewish Householdors* (July 1799), recommends the establishment of a reform sect within Judaism.²⁰ Concealing his identity behind the dual fictions of an anonymous political editor, who has received six letters on the topic of Jewish emancipation from an anonymous correspondent, Schleiermacher argues against the view of David Friedländer that Christian baptism could be used to "naturalize" Jews into Prussian society. Friedländer's proposal appealed to the common humanity and rational morality of Christian culture, while paying lip service to Christian teaching. Schleiermacher took the stance of advocating full civil rights for Prussia's 30,000 Jews, while denying the appropriateness of "quasi-conversion" as the means of attaining social and political standing. To Schleiermacher, Friedländer's proposal, which was not uncommon in Enlightenment Jewish circles, would water down all religious traditions.

Amid this literary activity Schleiermacher, like Schlegel, fell desperately in love with a married woman. Unlike Schlegel, who eventually married Dorothea Veit (1804), Schleiermacher's hopes for a relationship with Eleanore Grunow, then unhappily married to a fellow clergyman, were never fulfilled. His next publication, the *Soliloquies*, was begun in late fall, 1799, as "a New Year's Gift" to Eleanore. Although never attaining the popularity of *On Religion*, the *Soliloquies* exemplify the Romantics' ideal of bringing philosophy into the world of letters, novels, poetry, and personal reflection. Schleiermacher's assault on the popular Kantian moralism of J. G. Fichte is seen in the *Soliloquies* where we read "I no longer know the thing which men call conscience."²¹ Schleiermacher's ethical insight – sometimes missed by readers of *On Religion* – is based more on recognition of the complex determinations of moral choice in lived existence than on the hope that rational action deserving of merit can ever be attained.

All of this literary activity that surrounds *On Religion* shares the early Romantic tendency to experiment with literary form. A case can be made that Schleiermacher's Plato scholarship, love of Socrates, and practice of Romantic literary theory contributed directly in 1835 to Søren Kierkegaard's discovery of the power

²⁰ KGA 1.2, pp. lxxviii–lxxxv, 327–61 and the facsimile edition with a "Nachwort" by Kurt Nowak (Berlin, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1984).

²¹ *Soliloquies*, trans. Horace Friess (Chicago, 1957); KGA 1.3, pp. 1–61. *Soliloquies*, p. 29; KGA 1.3, p. 17.

and suggestiveness of indirect communication.²² A writer can often communicate subtle and controversial thought to an audience more effectively by writing indirectly and anonymously, while freely using irony and allusion. The rhetorical ploy of the fictive letters regarding Jewish emancipation is taken in the controversial defense of Schlegel's *Lucinde*, the *Confidential Letters Concerning Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde* (1800), which consists of an exchange of letters among friends, and in the *The Celebration of Christmas: A Conversation* (1806), which seeks to discover the meaning of Christian love by focusing on the Christmas Eve celebration of a German family.²³ Later, in the 1820s, when he was involved in controversy about the proper form of Christian liturgy, Schleiermacher wrote under the pseudonym "Pacificus Sincerus."²⁴ Schleiermacher was himself modest in regard to his literary attainments. Like Friedrich Schlegel, he belongs more to the theoretical than to the practicing artistic side of the movement. The task of finding the rhetorical form that best connects with a particular audience preoccupied him much of his life.

From Kant to Romanticism

Profound criticism appropriately mingles with deep respect in marking the young Schleiermacher's relationship to Kant. Wilhelm Dilthey's view that Schleiermacher was profoundly affected by his struggle with Kant's philosophy continues to have merit. His encounter with Kant began in boarding school with a reading of the *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysic*, continued at Halle with J. A. Eberhard, and in a private study of *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and the *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785). In 1790 Schleiermacher observed that his "belief in this [Kant's] philosophy increases day by day, and this all the more, the more I compare it with that of Leibniz."²⁵ He appears not to have known the *Critique of Judgment*, the work of Kant that comes closest to Romanticism's concern to relate ethics and aesthetics.²⁶

²² Richard Crouter, "Kierkegaard's Not so Hidden Debt to Schleiermacher," *Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologischesgeschichte/Journal for the History of Modern Theology*, 1 (1994), 205-25.

²³ The *Confidential Letters* (KGA 1.3, pp. xlviii-lxviii, 139-216) remains untranslated, while *The Celebration of Christmas* appeared in English as *Christmas Eve: Dialogue on the Incarnation*, trans. Terrence Tice (Richmond, VA, 1967).

²⁴ See "Über das liturgische Recht evangelischer Landesfürsten: Ein theologisches Bedenken" (by "Pacificus Sincerus," 1824) and "Gespräch zweier selbstüberlegender evangelischer Christen über die Schrift: Luther in Beziehung auf die neue preussische Agende: Ein letztes Wort oder ein erstes" (anonymously, 1827), *Sämtliche Werke* (Reimer, 1846), 1.5, pp. 477-625.

²⁵ KGA v.1, no. 134 (2 February 1790), p. 191. The twenty-six letters, which Brinckmann dubs a "philosophical correspondence," are given in KGA v.1.

²⁶ Although the book was in the personal catalogue of books from Schleiermacher's library (Günter Meckenstock (ed.), *Schleiermachers Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1993), p. 210), a remark from 1803 that "Kant only incidentally touches lightly on art" (cited from the *Kritik der Sittenlehre*, p. 290) suggests that the young Schleiermacher had not read the book; see Eilert Herms, *Herkunft, Entfaltung und erste Gestalt des Systems der Wissenschaften bei Schleiermacher* (Gütersloh, 1974), p. 121 n. 5; Günter Scholtz, "Schleiermacher und die Platonische Ideenlehre," *Internationaler Schleiermacher-Kongress Berlin 1984*, ed. Kurt-Victor Selge (Berlin, 1985), 1.1, p. 870 n. 22.