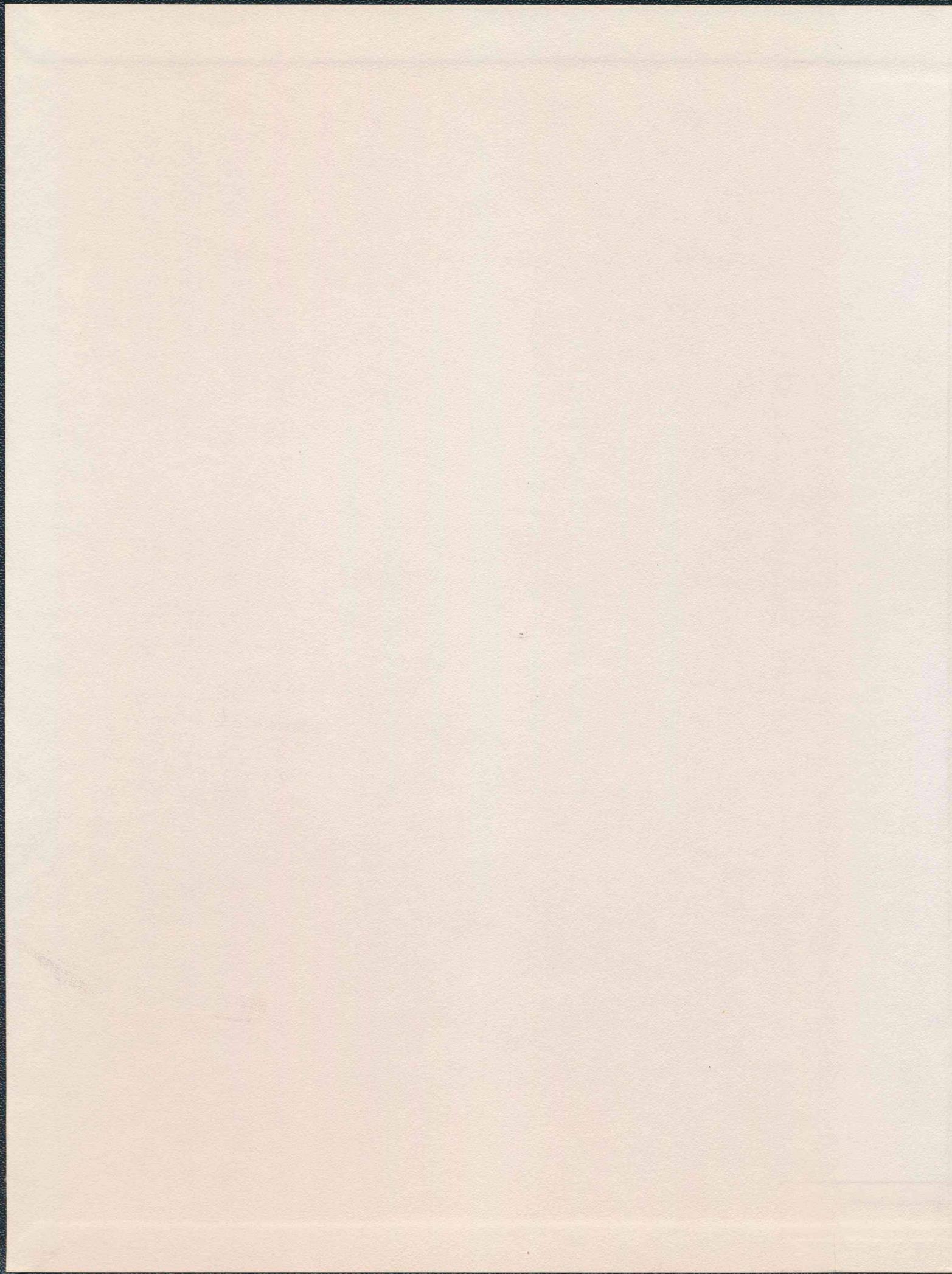


Schleiermacher's Idea of
the Feeling of Absolute Dependence



TADAO HARA



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feeling of absolute dependence

SCHLEIERMACHER'S IDEA
OF
THE FEELING OF ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE

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Tadao Hara
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INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1813 Berlin had fallen in danger. Bonaparte and his troops were approaching.

The students of the University and the gymnasium, who were about to start for Breslau as volunteers, uniformed and armed, had in a body requested Schleiermacher to deliver a sermon and administer the sacrament to them immediately before their departure, thus to consecrate them for their holy undertaking. Their firearms were piled in front or rested against the walls of the Church of the Holy Trinity. The beautiful old hymn, In All My Acts, sung with heartfelt effusion, had attuned the minds of the congregation to the proper pitch of solemnity. After having pronounced a short prayer, full of unction, Schleiermacher went up into the pulpit-- there, in this holy place, and at this solemn hour--his noble countenance beaming with intellect, and his clear, sonorous, penetrating voice rang throughout the overflowing church. Speaking from his heart with pious enthusiasm, his every word penetrated to the heart, and the clear full, mighty stream of his eloquence carried every one along with it. His bold, frank declaration of the causes of our deep fall, his severe denunciation of our actual defects, as evinced in the narrow-minded spirit of caste and of proud aristocracism, struck down like thunder and lightning, and the subsequent elevation of the heart toward God on the wings of solemn devotion was like the harp-tones from a higher world. At last, with the full fire of enthusiasm, he addressed the entire body of youths already equipped for battle, and then, turning to their mothers, the greater number of whom were present, he concluded with the words, "Blessed is the womb that has borne such a son! Blessed the breast that has nourished such a babe! A thrill of deep emotion ran through the assembly, and amid loud sobs and weeping, Schleiermacher pronounced the closing Amen.¹

¹W. Robertson Nicoll (ed.), "Schleiermacher's Sermon," Foreign Biblical Library (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, n.d.), p. 29.

Under Napoleon's pressure, Schleiermacher was a heroic patriot in Germany; in the stream of theology he was a brilliant star in the nineteenth century. He established a great monument of theology in the top of his idea of the feeling of absolute dependence. Schleiermacher had a very interesting and colorful life. There was piety in his spirit, love was in his heart, sword and blood were around him, and he was thinking God is the whole, including the worst romances under the heaven, and he was a part of the whole.

He was a man of change. He did not stop his changing until his death. Philosophers, novelists, and his lady friends kept him to change. One thing, however, in which he did not change was his spirit of piety and his love for Christ. In order to understand Schleiermacher, the most important thing is to study his life and the background of his life. This is attempted in the first chapter. As Rome was not built in a day, Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute dependence was not created in a day.

In the second chapter the general survey of the idea of "the feeling of absolute dependence" is described. The analysis of the idea is mostly concentrated to show Schleiermacher's interpretation of the idea. Therefore,

quotations from Schleiermacher himself are seen in this chapter, especially in the section on theological analysis. In the fourth chapter his theological and philosophical influences in Europe and America are treated.

This paper aims to study Schleiermacher's theological thought which is centered around the idea of the feeling of absolute dependence. The study of Schleiermacher's theology has been rather neglected in America, and especially in our Pentecostal circles.

The attempt to understand his theology of the feeling of absolute dependence led to the discovery that Schleiermacher's idea and Pentecostal belief have some common ground concerning the idea of Christian mysticism and its subjective approach.

Finally, I should like to express my appreciation to Dr. Willard C. Peirce, chairman of the thesis committee, the Reverend Richard W. Bishop, Dean of Education, the Reverend Amos D. Millard, Registrar, and Miss Ann Brill, Librarian, for their great help and advice.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

The Holy Roman Empire was established on the twenty-fifth of December in A.D. 800 when Charlemagne was crowned by the pope, Leo III (795-816). The great Christian civil power of Europe was joined with the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman pontiff, and thus the Holy Roman Empire became a strong leading power in Europe until far into the Middle Ages. Having great political power, the Holy Roman Empire was never united in one because of many different racial elements. Many emperors have tried to unify the imperial provinces, and Otto the Great (936-973) succeeded partially. However, all failed ultimately due to the strong ambitions of powerful nobles, because the position of the Holy Roman Emperor was for a long time elective and not hereditary. The emperor owed his office to the Electors of the Empire, the nobles and the bishops.¹ In 1740 Charles IV, archduke

¹The Holy Roman Empire consisted in 1740 of three hundred and eighteen states. Each of these states enjoyed full territorial sovereignty and the right to form alliance with any other states or with foreign powers, on condition that such alliances should not be injurious to the emperor

of Austria and the head of the Holy Roman Empire, died without a male heir. His daughter, Maria Theresa, had succeeded to her father's position. Just at that time Frederick the Great, the most famous of all the Hohenzollerns, ascended the throne in Prussia. When Frederick saw the weakness of Austria, he took advantage of the fact and invaded Austria and seized Silesia. Maria Theresa tried to defend her domains, and thus the War of the Austrian Succession was begun. After eight years struggle Maria Theresa could secure all of her father's land except Silesia. After the war of the Austrian Succession Maria Theresa devoted all her effort to securing allies. She easily gained the Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia as an ally because Elizabeth had been offended by Frederick the Great. Besides having Russia, Austria, Britain, and Holland as allies already, Maria Theresa had to gain the support of France in order to break Prussian power; therefore, she sent an expert in diplomacy, Count Kaunitz, to France. Kaunitz persuaded Louis XV to abandon Prussia and to become an ally with Austria, but Louis XV hesitated to make his decision. However, Kaunitz could secure the favour of the king's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who did not like Frederick II. Through Madame de Pompadour's

or to the empire. George Madison Priest, Germany Since 1740 (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1915), p. 2.

persuasion, Louis XV made his decision to join Austria. Meanwhile, Britain changed its mind in the security of British land of Hanover and made special arrangements with Frederick II.

In 1754 the Seven Years' War broke out. When Frederick attacked Saxony and moved his army into Bohemia, the Russian army moved into East Prussia; the Austrians came into Silesia; the Swedish army came into northern Brandenburg, and the French sent an advance force from the west. Prussia had fallen into risk but at this moment Frederick displayed his military skill. He moved his troops to central Germany, and at Rossbach Frederick attacked the French army with a blitzkrieg and then moved his army swiftly to Leuthen and defeated the Austrians. However, Frederick lost his many men in five years of battle. He had ingenious ability to fight and had enough money, which was supplied by Britain, but few men. At this time the Tsarine Elizabeth died, and Peter III succeeded to the Russian throne. Peter III was an admirer of Frederick II; therefore, Peter moved his army from the Austrian side to the Prussian side. Austria was unable to fight without Russian support. Thus the Seven Years' War came to an end. In the Treaty of Hubertusburg (on February 15, 1763) Maria Theresa gave up all claims to

Silesia.² In the same year France, Spain and Britain signed the Peace of Paris. From 1763 till 1786 there was peace in Germany, and Frederick started his work of the internal development of Prussia. He helped his people by remitting the taxes, distributing cavalry horses and giving large quantities of seed.

In Austria Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa and Joseph I, came to the throne, but Maria Theresa was actually ruling Austria, believing in the theory of absolute monarchy. She granted some social and political reforms in education and religious toleration. Schleiermacher was born at this time in Breslau of Silesia, which had belonged to Austria in 1740, but as the result of the War of the Austrian Succession, this land had fallen into the hands of Frederick. Frederick ignored the intelligence and the reliability of the common people. He was indifferent towards German thought and religion. However, freedom of speech and religion was granted by Frederick's edict.

²The lasting significance of the Seven Years' War lies in its profound effect on German national consciousness and in the German sense of unity. Frederick's victories were not only Prussian; they were also German. The people of different states might be jealous of this brilliant success and the rise of Prussia, but they were enthusiastic admirers of Frederick. He was a German hero. Pride in his achievement united countless Germans in spirit and gave new impulse to a sense of German national life. Ibid.

In 1786 Frederick II died and his nephew Frederick William II (1786-1797) succeeded to the throne, but this new king was so weak in his reign that Prussia went down and degenerated to the third rank in the military power in Europe within twenty years. In 1789 the French revolution had broken out because of the extravagance of the kings, nobles, and bishops, and because of ministers' mismanagement and the corruption of the old regime. (Schleiermacher was now twenty years old.)

In 1792 Russian troops invaded Poland. Prussia hastily moved to Poland also and shared the land of Poland with Russia. In July of that year the Prussian Duke, Charles of Brunswick, threatened the French to destroy the country if King Louis XVI suffered by violence. Charles crossed the borderline and came within a hundred miles of Paris. However, the French organized their troops and, singing the famous "La Marseille," blocked the Prussian troops and finally drove the Prussians out of France. When Louis XVI was beheaded as a traitor to his country, England declared war against France. Spain, Sardinia, and all the states of the Holy Roman Empire joined with England. Austria regained her Netherlands and Prussia recaptured Mainz. However, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the French was high, and they defeated the allies. Not only could they defend their own land, but in

1796 the French Republic started to invade Austria and the Empire on the way to Italy. Here the famous Napoleon Bonaparte appeared in Italy as a chief commander of the French Army. Napoleon conquered northern Italy and came up close to Vienna in Austria. The treaty of Campo Formio humiliated Austria and Prussia. In November of 1799 Napoleon took the dictatorship in France, and he started to invade Europe. First he invaded Austria and put the last period in the Holy Roman Empire. However, the common German people were not paying so much attention to the political changes. Pietism in religion, idealism in philosophy, romanticism in literature and arts were enjoying their gorgeous blooming time. Lessing, the founder of modern German drama, died in 1781; but a top German poet, dramatist, and novelist, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), was writing his famous masterpiece, "Faust," after his publishing of "Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers," "Egmont," "Herman und Dorothea," and many other poems and criticisms. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), from whom Schleiermacher received some influence, was living in East Prussia. Fichte (1762-1814), a philosopher and patriot, was also writing his famous "Reden an die Deutschen." Johann Christoph Frederick von Schiller (1759-1805), a famous poet from whom Goethe received strong influence, and Beethoven, who used Schiller's poem of "An die Freude"

in his famous "Ninth Symphony," were also living. Ludwig von Beethoven (1770-1827) was also living at that time and was composing many famous symphonies. August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1827), and Henrich Heine (1797-1856) were also living at that time. Of course, we cannot say that Austrian, Prussian, and peoples of the other states did not show concern for the political situation. George M. Priest said in his Germany Since 1740 that the common people of the individual German states showed almost complete indifference to the epoch-making political changes. Enlightenment and participation in political affairs, which the eighteenth century had not generally bestowed, the people did not sorely miss or greatly desire. Thus, neither the French Revolutions nor the sweeping changes of 1803 caused more than a transitory stirring of popular interest.³ However, it was a fact that when Napoleon's army trod German soil, the Prussians and other Germans felt an upsurge of a new nationalistic spirit. Fichte's Reden an die Deutschen was the cry of a patriot. He was trying to appeal to the nationalistic spirit of the young people's hearts.

⁴Ibid., p. 45.

Napoleon's invasion of Germany gave rise to the feeling of the need of unity of German states and Prussia. Napoleon's triumphant expansion did not continue long. Within ten years his dreams were completely broken. Though he conquered most of central Europe, Italy, and Spain, his campaign against Russia brought him to mortal doom. In 1813 the Russian Emperor, Alexander, led his army against France and declared the liberty of the Europeans. Thus, the War of Liberation had broken out. Austria made a proposal for peace, but when Napoleon rejected it, Austria joined in a coalition with Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Britain. In 1814 the Allies moved into France, and Napoleon's troops were defeated by the Allies. Napoleon was sent to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII ascended the throne, and the Allies started to discuss the redistribution of Europe. When Napoleon saw the disunity among the Allies in the spring of 1815 he escaped from the island of Elba and landed on the French coast. Immediately, he gathered his troops and fought his last fight. After Napoleon was defeated at the battle of Waterloo (January 18, 1815), he was sent to St. Helena, and there he died in May 1821. The German people despised Napoleon's tyranny but at the same time they received great benefits from Napoleon. He helped to abolish the class privileges and to bring the idea of popular civil

liberty. In the autumn of 1814, while Napoleon was in Alba, leading statesmen assembled together in Vienna to reach some conclusion from the revolutions and Napoleonic Wars. After many political plays, the "Big Four"--Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain, made their boundaries.

The period from 1815 to 1848 has been known as the "Era of Metternich." He was an Austrian conservative statesman who tried to keep peace between states in Germany. He believed strongly that nationalism and liberalism were the cause of disturbances. Therefore, he tried to discourage and repress such intentions. He succeeded in his policy to some extent. He instituted the "Concert of Europe"--an alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Britain, and France, and tried to enforce his policy in all Europe. However, his policy created many conflicts between Liberals and Conservatives in the European countries.

It was the time of struggle and transition from Feudalism to Liberalism. As a result of the French revolution the common people's power and rights were realised, but still kings, nobles, and other aristocrats could not forget the former times. Even among the common people, some liked monarchism, some liberalism, and many did not know what kind of political system they preferred. However, it was a fact that a new age was breaking out. The age in which constitutions are made for the people and by the people.

II. THEOLOGICAL HISTORY

Rationalism

One of the characteristic features of the eighteenth century was the spirit of investigation, which had been awakened through the reformation. P. H. Krommings, professor of Church History in Calvin Theological Seminary, called it "The Age of Reason." He said, "It began to look as though every belief must justify itself before the court of human reason."⁴

The Reformation, from its very commencement, included a double interest, viz., that of universal reason as well as the specific religions. In the consciousness of its freedom, the subjective spirit, moved by the pressure of the need of salvation, emancipated itself from everything which was in irreconcilable opposition to the religious consciousness. The freedom of Scriptural interpretation had again become limited by the dogmatic pressure of the confession of faith--a conflict must ensue with a domineering system which did not allow the freedom of the individual. But the relation was different so far as this, that the principle of self-emancipation was not won to be battled for what had been already gained was to be grasped in its full significancy, and carried out to its practical and valid results.⁵

Rationalism had its first era in France and England in the form of deism and naturalism in the seventeenth century. In the early part of the eighteenth century

⁴P. H. Krommings, Church History, p. 245.

⁵K. R. Hagenback, Text-Book of the History of Doctrine (Vol. II; New York: Sheldon and Company, 1862), p. 375.

rationalism made its appearance in Germany through Christian Wolff (1679-1754). He was a disciple of Leibnitz, a follower of Descartes who had protested against any external authority for the first principle of belief. Wolff emphasized natural religion. He believed in a revelation which does not contradict reason and experience, and not the laws of nature of existence. Like Locke's philosophy on the reasonableness of Christianity, it (rationalism) stimulated intellectual speculation about revelation. Wolff taught these doctrines in Halle and presented them by mathematical demonstration. Thus, it was implied that philosophy no longer depended upon the Bible, but the Bible rested upon philosophy.

The next rationalist was Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1790). He was the founder of historical criticism of the Bible. He tried to prove that the books in the Bible were brought together by accidental incidents.

He examined the New Testament with the critic's scalpel, and applied the principle of ordinary interpretation to the word of God. . . . Logos was reason and wisdom in the Greek writings; why should it mean Christ or the Word when we find it in the Gospel of John?⁶

However, his private life was an example of piety. His Moravian origin and pietistic training were distinctly

⁶John Fletcher Hurst, History of Rationalism, p. 126.

kept in his daily life, though he was teaching destructive skepticism.

The third appearance of rationalism was made by Reimarus, the author of the Wolfeubuttelsche Fragments, which purported to a question upon the credibility of the Gospel. The Fragments of Wolfeubuttel were published by Lessing when he was charging the library of Wolfeubuttel.⁷ In this Wolfeubuttel Fragments Old Testament History was said to be a string of legends and myths. Christ and His Gospel were treated merely as a vain attempt to restore Judaism from the yoke of the Romans.

The next appearance of rationalism was in the works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781). He tried to spiritualize every word of the Bible. The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion but more supposition. His idea was exactly the same idea which modernists and liberalists are holding and believing today.

Then a brilliant star appeared in the University of Konigsberg. Immanuel Kant (1723-1802), through his critiques, stressing the moral effect of philosophy, gave

⁷Baur said of Tubingen, "The Wolfeubuttel Fragments were the German product of the energetic character of English Deism, and in these and kindred controversies, carried on by Lessing, with all the power of his soul, the German mind already showed that it was able to grapple with the boldest doubts, and that it could assume no other than a critical relation to the contents of Revelation." Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 379.

the death-blow to the philosophy of Protestant Germany and expelled the French materialism.

There were two other men after Kant. They were Fichte and Schelling. Fichte taught idealism, and like Spinoza, he denied the existence of God in order to conceive Him more spiritually. However, his view concerning Christ was entirely different from that of the rationalists. He did not see Christ as a mere teacher or moral example, but believed Christ was really united with the Father. Schelling was a disciple of Fichte. He believed the Old Testament to be mythology. He believed the person of Christ to be not a teacher but a content, and he treated Christianity as "real history." "To Schelling, Christianity is a higher, a supernatural stream of history flowing upon the bosom of the ocean of cosmic history."⁸

Rationalism had a great political supporter in Frederick the Great. He was a deist and a disciple of Voltaire. He replaced evangelical professors and pastors with free-thinkers.

Pietism

When rationalists were enjoying their liberty and playing with their refined toys of ideas, there was another

⁸J. P. Lacroix, Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (Vol. IX; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing Company, 1850), p. 408.

group called pietists. This was a kind of reactional movement against Lutheran orthodoxy, and sleeping Calvinism as well.

As a result of the successive wars many homes had been broken and extreme poverty had been brought to Germany. Poverty led the people into an awful moral decay. People needed God, but Protestant ministers had become absorbed in controversy with Roman Catholics and even among themselves. Their interest for the spiritual needs of the people was neglected.

The Lutheran church was still keeping its form without life. The Church needed some reform urgently, and this could be brought about by piety.

The first leaders of this pietism were Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Francke (1633-1727). They declared that "religion was something of the heart and not of the head, to be cultivated by prayer, not disputation, to be practiced in charity, not exercised in controversy."⁹ Spener, seeing the morality and evils in religion, began to preach simple practical sermons. He insisted upon the need to be born again and to live a holy life more than any form of the church or any view of doctrines. His effort produced fruit, and the pietist movement began.

⁹Sabine Baring-Gould, Nations of the World - Germany (New York: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1898), p. 357.

August Francke was a pastor and professor in the University of Halle, and soon this city and its university became the center of the movement. Halle produced the earliest Protestant foreign mission work. However, the orthodox church could not observe these developments in silence. The faculties of Wittenberg and Leipsic started to attack pietism. They charged Spener with two hundred sixty-four theological errors and started many controversies, but pietism, for half a century, spread throughout the areas of German Protestantism.

One of the greatest movements of pietism was the Moravian Movement. The founder of the Moravians was Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), an Austrian nobleman. He studied in Halle and had a close relationship with Francke. In his youth he conceived a plan to found a city like Spener and Francke. He bought an estate in Saxony in order to carry out his plan. At this time came a Bohemian Brotherhood, a religious group which had its origin in the work of John Hus, driven out by persecution from their country. Zinzendorf gave them the permission to live on his estate in Saxony. Thus, the community of Herrnhut, meaning 'Shelter of the Lord,' was formed and they lived a literal pious life.

Pietists emphasized an inner experience in religious life, not formal, but enthusiastic and emotional; not

theoretical, but practical. They thought that true faith is the feeling or conviction of God's grace and power.

Francke once declared that a small quality of living faith is to be valued more highly than a hundred-weight of mere historical knowledge, and a drop of true life more than a whole sea of knowledge of all secrets. For the pietists to live in a state of pious feeling was the true religious life. As they were depending upon the feeling and intuition, the rational sense was neglected. Therefore, pietism went into extreme fanaticism. It forbade everything regarded as worldly, even the reading of newspapers. After the death of Spener and Francke, Halleian pietism became so weak that it fell into artificial pious feelings and forms.

The reason that pietism lost its power was that it neglected sound doctrine. The pietists' motive was good and pure, and their aim was holy, but they depended upon feelings, whereas the rational and intellectual element was lacking. Thus they lost their balance.¹⁰

¹⁰We Pentecostal believers must learn a lesson from the history of Pietism. The Pentecostal movement resulted from a reaction against a cold formalism of the church and we stress the pious feeling and inner experience. Sometimes the baptism in the Holy Spirit is emphasized as an important element for salvation and very often only the ecstatic phenomenon is emphasized. If Pentecostals do not realize the importance of teaching sound doctrine and keeping the balance between intellectual life and emotional life, the Pentecostal movement will soon disappear from the historical scene, leaving only a fanatic impression.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. BOYHOOD

Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher was born in Breslau on November 21, 1768. It was about four years after the Seven Years' War, and Prussia and Austria were just enjoying a short peaceful period. His father, Gottlieb, was a humble chaplain to a Prussian army in Silesia. He belonged to the Reformed Church and was a theologian of a stern and unbending orthodoxy. His mother, a daughter of the court preacher Stubenrauch, was a very intelligent and pious woman. As her husband was away from home frequently because of his duties, she exercised the chief influence upon her boy's childhood and guided his education.

In 1783 Schleiermacher was sent to a Moravian school at Niesky because his parents had once visited the school and were deeply impressed by its spiritual atmosphere. His mother wrote a letter to her brother as follows:

I have often trembled for the children on account of the soul-destroying opinions, principles, and manners of our times; ah, how could we have preserved them from their subtle poison? We thank our dear Lord with all our hearts that He has not inclined their tender hearts to rush to destruction with the world. O Lord,

preserve them in this truth, that it is only in Thy love that they can be blessed and happy.¹

In this school Schleiermacher's knowledge was rapidly developed. When he was fifteen or sixteen years old he wrote a letter to his sister Charlotte who missed the celebration of Passion Week and Easter among the brethren:

We partake all the same body of Jesus that was offered for us, and of his blood that was shed for the pardon of our sins, and the effect of it must be just the same if our hearts are humbled by our sins and by His mercy, and if we yet rejoice in him because He quickens and refreshes us when we approach Him with a spirit full of reverence and love, I am sure you must have experienced this.²

However, Niesky's doctrine of original sin and supernatural grace caused him to have a religious doubt.

II. YOUTH

In 1785 he went to the Seminary of the Brethren at Barby. Here his religious doubts were increased. He could not be satisfied by the teaching of the school. There was a strong objection by modern theology against the orthodox theology but the school did not teach or espouse such a modern theology.

There is one thing I do not like, I should like to study theology thoroughly; but I shall not be able to say that I have done so when I leave this place, and

¹William Baur, Religious Life in Germany (London: Strahan and Company, 1870), pp. 261-262.

²Ibid., p. 264.

it seems to me that the fault lies in the limited scope of our lectures; for of all the present objections, exceptions, and disputations about exegesis and dogma, we read nothing except in the learned newspapers. . . . This course causes many to suspect that there must be a great deal in these modern objections, and that they are hard to refute, because they seem afraid to lay them before us.³

In January 1787, he wrote a letter to his father in which he stated:

I cannot believe that he, who called himself the Son of Man, was the true eternal God; I cannot believe that his death was a vicarious atonement, because he never said so himself; and I can not believe it to have been necessary, because God, who obviously did not create men to attain perfection, but to pursue it, can not possibly intend to punish them eternally because they have not attained it. You say the glorification of God is the end of our being, and I say the glorification of the creature. Is not this in the end of something? Is not the Creator more and more glorified the happier and more perfect his creatures are? I entertain doubts about the doctrine of the atonement and the divinity of Christ and you speak as if I were denying God.⁴

His father fell into grief, for he thought his son was lost. He could not understand the young boy's trouble, and he did not try to understand. He replied:

Oh, foolish son, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth; before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, but now is crucified by you. You did run well; who did hinder you that you should not obey the truth?⁵

³Richard B. Brandt, The Philosophy of Schleiermacher (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, c. 1941), p. 20.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Baur, Op. cit.

If his mother had been living (she died when her son was in Niesky), she could have reconciled the painful collision between her son and husband with her tender love and with strong confidence in her son. However, her brother, Stubenrauch, professor of Theology at Halle, helped Schleiermacher and became a kind mediator.

In the spring of 1787 he left the Brethren and entered the University of Halle. There he studied as he pleased and plunged into Kantian and Greek philosophy. He heard the old-aged rationalist, Semler, and devoured the works of Wolff, Kant, and Jacobi. He could not accept everything that was taught nor could he agree with Kant's system.

I am not sure that I construct the whole field of knowledge into such a system that I can readily assign to every question its place and its solution; but I am sure that the nearest approach to it will be made by a candid hearing of the reason on both sides, and by not settling upon anything with positiveness until this has previously been done.⁶

He stayed at Halle two years, and then he went with his uncle to Drossen.

In the summer of 1790, he passed his theological examination, and he became a tutor in the family of Count Dohna-Schlobitten in Prussia by the recommendation of

⁶W. Robertson Nicoll (ed.), "Schleiermacher's Sermon," Foreign Biblical Library (New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company, n.d.), p. 30.

F. G. Sack. He enjoyed the fellowship with the nobility but this life did not continue very long. A dispute on the subject of education came up, and as he could not change his mind concerning his convictions, he left this position in 1793. First he went to his uncle and in the autumn he went to Berlin and taught an orphan school.

In 1794 he became an assistant pastor to a relative, Pastor Schumann at Landsberg, on the Wartha. Here he read the works of Spinoza. In the autumn of 1794 his father passed away, and he was deeply affected.

III. ADULTHOOD

In 1796 he moved from Landsberg to Berlin and became a chaplain of the Charite, the chief hospital in Berlin. From this year his intellectual life took its richness. In Berlin he was surrounded by his friends Gustav von Brinckman, Alexander Dohna, who became a minister afterwards, Henrietta Herz, Scharnhorst, Dorothea Veit, and Frederick Schlegel. Henrietta Herz, a wife of a Jewish physician, Marcus Herz, was a very beautiful and brilliant lady who exercised great influence upon Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher found a very congenial friendliness in her and she became one of his very close friends. He stayed in Berlin six years, and during this time he published the Discourses on Religion and the Soliloquies. However, the most important thing in

his fellowship with Friedrich Schlegel, with whom he lived a short period in 1797, was that he breathed the air of romanticism. Schlegel wrote his romance, Lucinda, and the book was attacked by the people, but Schleiermacher defended this book by his "Confidential Letters on Lucinda." About this time Schleiermacher met Mrs. Elenore Grunow who was the very unhappy wife of a Berlin clergyman. She was a cultured and gifted woman. He fell in love with her. He desired her to divorce so she might be united with him, because he believed that a marriage which does not have an inward oneness is no heart union and is an immoral relationship.⁷

In May, 1801, he went to visit a theologian, Ehrenfried von Willich, who greatly admired Schleiermacher's "Monologues" with Henrietta Herz and her daughter. Schleiermacher and Willich were drawn very close together by this visit. Afterward Henrietta Herz wrote to Schleiermacher,

I was touched and pleased to see how intimate you and Willich were becoming, and I would gladly have extended to both the friendship that one possesses already. . . . He (Willich) told me that he had not felt so devout for a long time.⁸

⁷Schleiermacher was deeply influenced by Schlegel's belief that marriages should be a quate since he remarked in one of his letters that often, if one took three or four couples together, really good marriages could arise, if they dared exchange. Brandt, Op. cit., p. 8.

⁸Baur, Op. cit., p. 286.

There Schleiermacher had met Henrietta von Muhleufels who was Willich's fiance at that time. She was only sixteen. Who knew then that she would be a wife of Schleiermacher in later days?

In 1802 he was appointed as a court preacher at Stolpe in East Pommerania. He stayed here about two years, and while he was staying at Stolpe he translated Plato's works. Also, he received a letter from Elenore Grunow saying that she had decided to stay with her husband.

In 1804 he was elected as a professor of practical theology at the University of Würzburg, but the Prussian government was opposed to his holding that position. Then a professorship of theology at Halle was offered. He became an extraordinary professor of theology and soon was appointed as an ordinary professor. While he was at Halle he became more active in literary work. He published two volumes of translations of Plato, The Celebration of Christman, and he revised the edition of Discourses on Religion and The Encyclopedia of Theology.

In the winter of 1806 to 1807 Schleiermacher's work at Halle was interrupted by the Napoleonic War, and he became an outstanding patriot in his activity for the keeping of German freedom. He hated Napoleon because he believed that Napoleon was an enemy of Protestantism. He started to preach patriotic sermons at the risk of his life

because Halle was taken by the French already.

In March, 1807, he received a sad letter from Henrietta Willich. Willich had suddenly died. Henrietta wrote to him,

I entreat you, by all that you hold dear and holy, to assure me, if you can, that I shall find him and know him again. Tell me your opinion about it. I should be annihilated if this faith were to fail me.⁹

He replied and said,

Dear Jette, what shall I say to you? Certainly beyond this life has not been granted us. Do not misunderstand me; I mean that there is no certainty for the fancy which lives to see everything in defined forms, but there is the greatest certainty, indeed, we could be sure of nothing if not of that, that there is no death, no destruction for the soul. But the personal life is not the essence of the soul, it is only an appearance. How this will be reproduced we do not know; we can not know anything about it, we can only imagine. But you may allow free course to your living and devout imagination in your secret grief; do not attempt to hinder it. Its piety will prevent it from desiring anything contrary to the eternal laws of God, and therefore there will be a truth in the fancies in which you indulge.¹⁰

He tried to help this poor widow with great sympathy in his correspondence. Henrietta was greatly comforted by Schleiermacher's counseling work. However, Schleiermacher's deep sympathy towards the young widow changed to love. Henrietta was depending upon Schleiermacher as in the relation of a father and a daughter. In 1808 he went to

⁹Ibid., p. 288.

¹⁰Ibid.

Rugen to visit Henrietta and on this occasion made his betrothal with Henrietta. In May of 1809 Schleiermacher brought home Henrietta as his bride and started his almost ideal domestic life, which was filled with joy, happiness, and a freshness that was maintained to the end.

In 1809 he was appointed as a pastor of Trinity Church in Berlin, and in 1810 he became a professor of theology in the University of Berlin. His position gave him an opportunity to do some political work. When the king summoned volunteers on February 3, 1813, Schleiermacher gave all his energy to help those who gave their names as volunteers. He also preached to the people of Berlin to fight against their evil enemy.

After the restoration of peace his lectures at the University of Berlin were widely extended. He gave historical lectures on Greek philosophy and brief expositions of theology, the Christian faith, and philosophical ethics.

In his private life he loved his family and made an ideal home. When a son, Nathaniel, was born to him he was delighted but when the boy became twelve years old, he suddenly died.¹¹ Schleiermacher fell into grief but he preached in the funeral and soon his work became as normal.

¹¹W. Robertson Nicoll said that Nathaniel died at nine years of age. Nicoll, Op. cit., p. 34.

On the sixth of February in 1834, after severe suffering from a cough, he was seized by intense pain, but he did not give outward expression to it. After opium was given to him he was in a state of half-consciousness. On the last day he said, "O Lord! I am in great suffering." Knowing death was approaching, he asked for the preparation of Holy Communion. When the necessary things were brought, with a countenance illumined with a wonderful light of fervour and devotion he uttered a few words of prayer introductory to the ceremony. He then distributed the bread and wine, saying the appointed words with a clear voice to each one separately.

When it was over he said,

"On these words of Scripture I rest; they are the foundation of my faith." He then pronounced the benediction, and, turning to his wife with a look of intense affection, said, "In this love and communion we are and shall ever be one." Then, lying back on the pillow, and with the help of loving hands trying for a few moments to find a comfortable position, his eyes gradually closed, and he breathed his last.¹²

¹²Baur, Op. cit., p. 314.

CHAPTER III

THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

I. INFLUENCE OF THE MORAVIANS

How Schleiermacher owed a debt to the Moravians can be understood from one of his letters to his friend.

I am truly happy here with a dearly loved sister, in a glorious country, amid the wonder-moving impression of an earlier stage of life. There is no place so favourable as this to lively reminiscence of my whole spiritual course, from the first higher awakening to the point at which I now stand.

Here it was that my first consciousness arose of the relation of man to a higher world; on a small scale, it is true; just as spirits, they say, often make their apparition as children and dwarfs; spirits, however, they are, and for the essence of the thing it is all one.

Here was the first unfolding in me of the mystic sentiment which so belongs to my nature, and which was upheld and saved me amid all the storms of scepticism. At that time it appeared in the germ; now it has attained its form; and I may say that I am becoming a Herrnhuter again, only of a higher, you can imagine the lively life in my own thoughts that I am having here.¹

And in 1805 he spent Easter as an honored guest at Barby, and from Barby he wrote a letter to his sister, Charlotte, and said,

¹James Eassay Martineau, Reviews and Addresses (London: Longman's Green and Company, 1890), p. 296.

. . . beautiful service on Good Friday, based all together on the great idea of the Atonement.

In truth, dear Charlotte, there is not, throughout Christendom, in our day, a form of public worship which expresses more worthily, and awakens more thoroughly, the spirit of true Christian piety than does that of the Herrnhut brotherhood! . . . I could not but feel deeply how far behind them we are in our church, where the poor sermon is everything . . . and is rarely animated by a true and living spirit.²

Then what kinds of influence did Schleiermacher receive from the Moravians? It is better to examine the influence of the Moravians from two different aspects. First is the doctrinal influence and second is the influence of the Moravian life.

The doctrines of the Moravians which were issued by the Synod of 1869 were as follows. The points of doctrine which we deem most essential to salvation are:

- (1) The doctrine of the total depravity of human nature; that there is no health in man, and that the fall absolutely deprived him of the divine image.
- (2) The doctrine of the love of God, the Father, who has "Chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world"; and "so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."
- (3) The doctrine of the real godhead and the real manhood of Jesus Christ; that God, the Creator of all things, was manifested in the flesh, and has reconciled the world unto himself; and that "he is before all things, and by him all things consist."

²W. Robertson Nicoll, "Schleiermacher's Sermon," The Foreign Biblical Library (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, n.d.), pp. 8, 9.

- (4) The doctrine of the atonement and satisfaction of Jesus Christ for us; that he was delivered for our offences, and was raised for our justification; and that in his merits alone we find forgiveness of sins and peace with God.
- (5) The doctrine of the Holy Ghost, and the operations of his grace; that it is he who works in us the knowledge of sin, faith in Jesus, and the witness that we are children of God.
- (6) The doctrine of the fruits of faith; that faith must manifest itself as a living and active principle, by a willing obedience to the commandments of God, prompted by love and gratitude to him who died for us.

In conformity with these fundamental articles of faith, the great theme of our preaching is Jesus Christ, in whom we have the grace of the Lord, the love of the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost. We regard it as the main calling of the Brethren's Church to proclaim the Lord's death, and to point to him, "as made of God unto wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."³

Schleiermacher could not accept the Moravians' doctrine.

When he was at Niesky he already had shown his disagreement with the Moravian doctrines. He was actually expelled from Barby because he did not believe the Moravian doctrines.

He said, "I am convinced, that the Moravians have a really good cause in religion; only, their theology and Christology are certainly unfortunate. But those are the externals."⁴

³J. P. Lacroix, "Doctrine of Moravians," Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing Company, 1850).

⁴Richard B. Brandt, The Philosophy of Schleiermacher (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, c. 1941), p. 21.

As far as the theology was concerned, Schleiermacher's theology was far more systematically advanced than that of the Moravians. However, Schleiermacher enjoyed their teaching and practice. The Moravians taught that it is to be defined in the language of Scripture, and every human explanation of that language is to be avoided, except in so far that the spiritual, and not the real, presence is to be held.

The deep religious life of the Moravians, especially at its early stage, looks like the genuine Pentecostal movement, though there is no record that they spoke in tongues in their worship. They were trying to be the true followers of Christ and they were exercising singleness of life, lowliness of heart, love one to another. They could not hide their religious feeling and they expressed such a feeling in song.⁵ They did not use the so-called "old hymn" but they sang many choruses. They also had a wonderful prayer life. They divided the hours of a day systematically

⁵The deep religious life of the Herrnhuters could not help finding expression in song, as had been the case with their hymn-singing forefathers. For this count was in his element, and he was the founder of the famed Singstunde. Aiding him in this was his musically gifted secretary, Tobian Frederick. The song service commonly opened with the singing of an entire hymn and continued with the singing of single stanzas, skillfully but spontaneously chosen to form a unified theme in song. Hymn books were seldom used, except by visitors, since the count was of the conviction that a hymn must be memorized in order to express adequately the

so that prayer for others never ceased even at midnight. It was begun on August 27, 1729, by twenty-four brethren and twenty-four sisters. Carried without interruption for a hundred years, it was a program according to which some one was engaged in intercessory prayer every hour of the day.⁶

Another great feature of the Moravians' life was that they never separated religious life and secular life. They literally lived the pious life in public and in private.⁷ Zinzendorf's idea was to build a biblical community, and he did this except for his private life. They started a day with a worship service at dawn. In the later morning they held service for the children and aged people. The last activity of a day was the song service, and prayer went up to heaven twenty-four hours a day. However, we cannot see any of this pious life in

individual's Christian experience. John R. Weinlich, Count Zinzendorf (New York: Abingdon Press, c. 1956), p. 85.

⁶Ibid., p. 86.

⁷The story of Dorothea Trudell (Swiss Moravian). It develops in her biography that her prayers were sometimes prolonged to midnight; that her soul was so wrought with intense desire that often the sweat would stand in beads upon her forehead. Among the sayings she left on record is this, "The heart ought not to be an inn where the Lord sometimes comes, but a home where He always abides." She prayed for the sick and received much persecution from physicians and magistrates. She lived in the nineteenth century village of Mannedorf on Lake Zurich, Switzerland. "Absorbing Devotion," The Pentecostal Evangel (March 9,

Schleiermacher's life. He loved flowery social intercourse. There is no record in any period that he devoted his time to prayer, but rather he devoted his time to talk with his close friends, and one time he even fell in love with a clergyman's wife and was involved in other scandal. If he did not receive any influence from the Moravians in theology and in daily life, what influence did he receive from the Moravians? He received the religion of feeling from the Moravians. However, the religion of feeling did not have any connection with his life but only kept in his mind. "The religion of feeling" became an ingenious best toy with which to play. From the idealist's standpoint he simply handled this pious feeling and interpreted it by his subjectivity. He was a great philosopher and theologian but there was no consistency between his theory and his daily life. It was a very sad thing that this ingenious man could not realize the reality of the Holy Spirit. If he had, his life would have been like that of the Moravians.

II. INFLUENCE OF KANT

While Schleiermacher was at Halle a wave of Kantianism swept over Germany and broke the orthodox

1958), Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, p. 29.

rationalism. Richard B. Brandt said in his The Philosophy of Schleiermacher that "the major influence upon his metaphysical views at this time (at Halle) was his growing acquaintance with Kant."⁸ In the class room he defended Kant against the attacks of his teacher, Eberhard, a representative of the Wolffian philosophy. He spent the major portion of several years on a study of Kant. However, Wilhelm Dilthey has remarked as follows regarding the influence of Kant on Schleiermacher:

If Schleiermacher's theology did not rest, from the very bottom, on the foundation of Kant, on the proof of that great thinker that there is no universally valid scientific knowledge beyond the realm of possible experience, which is independent of the world constitution of man, I shall not be able to understand it. It would seem to me, because of its thoroughly subjective character, only a romantic "inspiration."⁹

Schleiermacher agreed with the Kantian definition of Das Höchste Gut as morality plus happiness and also agreed with Kant's criticism of hedonistic ethics and conception of moral law. But, on the other hand, Kant's legalistic reasoning and the dualism between pure practical reason and happiness troubled him. Schleiermacher said, "I must seek to know the truth about my life. . . . For I have long been comforted by the firm belief that Truth and Happiness are

⁸Brandt, Op. cit., p. 23.

⁹Ibid.

one."¹⁰ He advised his friend in 1789 that Kantian philosophy is the best shelter from which to defend oneself from the attack of philosophical doubt. Richard B. Brandt, using these words, emphasized the strong influence of Kant upon Schleiermacher but he completely ignored the hedonistic social condition at that time. He meant that Kantian philosophy is the best shelter from the attack of the hedonistic or orthodox rationalism, because at that time there was no other distinguished philosopher who was vitally against the hedonism besides Kant. (Schleiermacher was still at Halle in 1789.) Therefore, as Kant had done for the human reason, "to bring it from the desert waste of metaphysics into its true appointed sphere," Schleiermacher tried to bring it back to the facts of Christian consciousness as its basis and true object of investigation, and in doing this he in fact secured for it an objective ground, that is, by showing that it rested on valid facts of Christian faith.¹¹ Surely the philosophy of Kant helped Schleiermacher's philosophical development in the sense of offering many materials for study.

¹⁰Lewis O. Brastew, Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, Representative Modern Preachers (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), p. 17.

¹¹Ibid.

III. INFLUENCE OF PLATO

In the *Dialectic* Schleiermacher criticizes Kant, saying that there is "incompleteness, confusion, and short coming as regards the understanding of himself. On the other hand he praises Plato very much. He studied Plato at Halle and in Berlin," and in Stolpe he translated Plato's works into German. Originally this plan had been suggested by his friend, Schlegel, who promised to work with him, but Schlegel's lack of knowledge of Greek and his temperament made him fail to keep the promise. Therefore, Schleiermacher translated Plato's works by himself and the first volume was published in 1804, and in 1805 two more volumes were published. Schleiermacher received greater influence from Plato than from Kant. Especially Plato's ethical views and the theory of ideas influenced Schleiermacher's ethics, his theory of knowledge, and his idea of God. Because in 1800 Schleiermacher had written that "there is no writer who has had such an influence on me, and has initiated me into the holiest not only of philosophy but men in general, as this divine man."¹² On the other occasion he wrote a letter to Jacobi and said,

. . . that philosophy normally consists in the perception that this inexpressible reality of the Supreme Being

¹²Brandt, *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

underlies all our thinking and all our feeling, and the development of this knowledge is, according to my conviction, what Plato understood by dialectic.¹³

In the Discourse Schleiermacher says,

In all the mythical representation of the divine Plato and his followers, which you would acknowledge rather as religious than as scientific, we perceive how beautifully that mystical self-contemplation mounts to the highest pinnacle of divineness and humanness.¹⁴

Here we can see that Schleiermacher received mystical influence from Plato as well as from the Moravians. In the Discourse he also says, "Wherefore, it is in this sense true what an ancient sage has taught you, that all knowledge is recollection."¹⁵ We know that Plato said the same thing. Schleiermacher took a psychological approach in order to define religion, and it is known that Plato himself used psychological analysis in his philosophy. Therefore, it is true to say that Schleiermacher received from Plato the mystical and psychological method as the way of approach to religious philosophy.

IV. INFLUENCE OF SPINOZA

Schleiermacher read the work of Spinoza through

¹³Ibid., p. 251; quotation from Briefe, Vol. II, p. 280.

¹⁴John Oman (trans.), Friedrich E. D. Schleiermacher: On Religion (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, 1893), p. 139.

¹⁵Ibid.

reading Jacobi's Briefe Über die Lehre des Spinoza which was published in 1785. He was very much attracted by Spinoza's idea of the universe. He found in Spinoza's idea a very effective weapon with which to attack the deistic view of God. Therefore, while he was in Landsburg an der Warthe as a pastor he studied Spinoza's philosophy and composed two essays on Spinoza, "Kurze Darstellung der spinozistischen System" and "Spinozismus." In the Discourse Schleiermacher speaks of Spinoza very highly:

. . . offer with me reverently a tribute to the names of the holy, rejected Spinoza. The high world-spirit pervaded him; the Infinite was his beginning and his end; the universe was his only and his everlasting love. In holy innocence and in deep humility he beheld himself mirrored in the eternal world, and perceived how he also was its most worthy mirror. He was full of religion, full of the Holy Spirit. . . . See in him the power of the enthusiasm and the caution of a pious spirit, and acknowledge that when the philosopher shall become religious and seek God like Spinoza . . .¹⁶

However, there seems to be a misanthropical element in Spinoza, belittling human passion, will, and personality. John Oman said in his introduction to his translation On Religion that he had long and earnestly been studying Spinoza, and acknowledged a large debt to him.¹⁷ Yet the Spinozism of Schleiermacher is more in form than substance-- to Spinoza the individual was merely a delusion of the

¹⁶Oman, Op. cit., pp. 40-41.

¹⁷Ibid., p. xxviii.

imagination, a section arbitrarily cut out of the universe, while the motive of all Schleiermacher's speculation was to find reality for the individual as a whole within a whole. How was he to make alive his idea of the individuality? As the solution for this problem Schleiermacher brought Kant's idea. He found that Kant, except for the moral argument, had not really suggested a theological idea fundamentally different from Spinoza's God. "Schleiermacher believed that there is a rough parallel between Spinoza's infinite substance and the Kantian things in themselves."¹⁸ Of course, he did not merely try to do a patchwork of ethical and metaphysical crumbs. He himself said in his On Religion that piety cannot be an instinct craving for a mess of metaphysical and ethical crumbs but true religion is sense and taste for the infinite.

In summary, we may say that Schleiermacher received the idea of pietism from the Moravians, the idea of pantheism from Spinoza, the idea of mysticism and the psychoanalytical method on religion from Plato, and the idea of individuality from Kant. Schleiermacher put all these ideas into a crucible and tried to crystalize the idea of religion. In other words, he put seven colors

¹⁸Brandt, Op. cit., p. 37.

together into a pot and tried to produce a sun light. The production was not pure light but rather dirty color.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY OF THE IDEA

I. THE MEANING OF THE FEELING OF ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE

General Idea

Schleiermacher's theology is a development of his conception of religion. He says that a church is nothing but a communion or association relating to religion, or piety is beyond all doubt for us Evangelical (Protestant) Christians; and he states that the piety which forms the basis of all ecclesiastical communion is considered purely in itself, neither a knowing nor a doing, but a modification of feeling or of immediate self-consciousness.¹ The self-identical essence of piety is the consciousness of being absolutely dependent, or which is the same thing, of being in relation with God.² We have to notice the fact that Schleiermacher used the word "Frömmigkeit" in the place of "religion." Actually he was trying to emphasize that the object of religion is not merely metaphysical development but very experiences themselves. The reason that Schleiermacher has made the religious experience a psycholo-

¹Friedrich Schleiermacher; H. R. Mackintosh (ed.), The Christian Faith (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1948), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 12.

gical feeling is that he was trying to indicate that the religious experience is not the product of self-reflection but it is the state of the immediate self-conscious. Thus, it is very obvious that his idea is standing on the philosophical ground of empiricism and he stresses the inner experience.

If the feeling of absolute dependence is the religion, it must have some form, and Schleiermacher says,

. . . forms of piety in which all religious affections express the dependence of everything finite upon one Supreme and Infinite Being, i.e., the monotheistic forms, occupy the highest level; and all others are related to them as subordinate forms, from which men are destined to pass to those higher ones.³

Here we notice that Schleiermacher is avoiding the word "God" and is using "Supreme" or "Infinite Being." As a Christian he believes the God who is the person in trinity, but theoretically his idea is inclining towards pantheism through the influence of Spinoza.

The feeling of absolute dependence is identified with the essence of religion. And he says that

if (proved previously) the feeling of absolute dependence, expressing itself as consciousness of God, is the highest grade of immediate self-consciousness, it is also an essential element of human nature.⁴

Therefore, he thinks that in the highest level every human

³Ibid., p. 34.

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

Philosophical Analysis of the Meaning

It is right to say that the feeling of absolute dependence, the immediate self-consciousness, is a pure experience. It is a state of consciousness in which there is no subject nor object. In other words, it is a state of unity of knowledge and the object. For instance, if we see a color the pure experience is the state of seeing a color. There is no judgment or decision concerning the color. If we judge the color as red, then such a judgment will immediately become a production of our knowledge or self-reflection.

Schleiermacher said it is a transition from knowing to acting, but I believe that he was trying to say that the feeling of absolute dependence is a transition from "Ding an sich" (thing in itself) to practical experience. Schleiermacher also said that the transition is a point action at the zero point. If the feeling of absolute dependence is a state at a zero point in a series of moments, how can we keep this feeling of absolute dependence within us? In other words, how can we keep piety or religion within us? The present in the pure-experience is not the theoretical productive present. The focus of self-consciousness always becomes the present in the pure-experience. Thus the field of the pure-experience comes into the field of the attention or concentration. It is

possible to keep our feeling without having any thought, in the states where there is no separation of the subject and the object in several minutes or even several hours. However, if such a feeling is the religion, then it is impossible to keep the religion constantly in our daily lives.

We Pentecostal believers have such an experience when we are filled or baptized in the Holy Spirit, but we cannot keep such a state twenty-four hours a day and not for a life time. If the feeling of absolute dependence is the religion, where there is no feeling of absolute dependence there is no religion.

Consequently, according to Schleiermacher, religion is the piety which is a mystic state.

II. THE TRANSITION OF THE IDEA

Schleiermacher had kept the development of his theology until his death. He made a distinctive change which centered around 1806. We can see his change in his Discourses on religion and in his Christian Faith, and even between the first and second editions of the Discourses we can see some differences.

First of all we should like to think of what made him change his idea. Brandt says,

One obvious change in his outlook at this time was the cooling of his enthusiasm for romanticism. Of course, there are many ideas expressed in his first works which remained important for his system. One of these was the value of individuality. Nevertheless, there was a subtle change in temper. He became much less intimate with Friedrich Schlegel, and after a time had no further correspondence with him whatever.⁷

Romanticism was the fashion in his day in the field of art and literature. Schleiermacher took a deep breath in romanticism while he had his fellowship with Schlegel; however, romanticism did not give him much good influence.

There is another important fact. That was his translation of Plato's "Dialogues." As Origen was completely sold out to Plato and brought Neo-Platonism into Christianity, Schleiermacher has breathed Plato's idea. The pantheistic mysticism of Schleiermacher was polished up with Plato's semi-monotheistic mysticism. Especially in his days there was a very favourable atmosphere for Plato's philosophy, as the writing of Schelling and Fichte after 1800 also showed Platonic tendencies. Schleiermacher published his first translation of Plato in 1804 and two others in 1805. As he made his vital change around 1806, Plato's idea must have given him some hints to change his idea. If we closely observe his later works we can see that Schleiermacher's ideas are paralleled closely in Plato's idea. Thus by the influences of Plato, Schilling, and

⁷Brandt, Op. cit., p. 145.

other philosophers, Schleiermacher's idea of religion as feeling made some changes.

Secondly, we should like to see the fact of his change. When we examine the Discourses it is very clear that there are differences between the first edition (1800) and the second edition (1806). Brandt made a good comparison of the two editions of the Discourses.

The First Edition:

1. Religion is isolated as a function of mind different from and largely independent of science and ethics.
2. Religion is declared to be composed of feelings and intuitions.
3. Intuition determines the character of religion.
4. Religion is not normal unless both intuition and feeling originate in a moment of unity, in which the two are aspects of one experience.

The Second Edition:

1. Religion is a distinct function of mind, but it is not separate or independent.
2. It is essentially feeling, not intuition. Intuition is given over to science.⁸

The notable change is that religion is a consciousness, a consciousness of the Infinite or of the universe, as, with reference to the people to which the Discourses were first spoken. He stressed that religion is a sense or taste of the Infinite. It is an intuition of the universe. In the later days and in the more matured form of the Discourses he states that religion is feeling. In the Christian Faith

⁸Ibid., pp. 175, 176.

which was his greatest work, and the first edition of which was published in 1821 or 1822, we can see some more advanced ideas than he had in the Discourses. In the Discourses, in general, Schleiermacher had recognized subjectivity as the main element in religious experience and had understood that feeling is only a state of reaction of the subject. In the Christian Faith, however, he stressed the "feeling of absolute dependence" as the element of religious experience. The reason that he states psychologically the religious experience as feeling, is that he came to the point that religious experience is not a reaction nor reflection but the state of immediate consciousness of life. At this point we have to realize that the meaning of feeling itself has been changed. The feeling which is discussed in the Christian Faith is playing a part of intuition also. The feeling is not a simple self-consciousness but includes the relation to the object. In other words, the basic structure of the feeling consists of the elements of ego and the Infinite.

It is an unavoidable fact that his idea of feeling is taking more complicated form and, having been camouflaged as Christian mysticism, is presenting an Oriental mysticism which is found in Hinduism or Buddhism. They say the ultimate enlightenment or Nirvana is the state where there is neither self nor the Infinite, but everything is fused into one.

Here I have a strong suspicion that Schleiermacher had read the works of Meister Eckhart (1260-1329), a Dominican scholar, who believed that the true object of human life must consequently be stripped of all illusions and deceptions, and return into the one great being, God.⁹

III. THE HISTORY OF STUDY OF SCHLEIERMACHER'S IDEA

In Germany:

- 1870 Dilthey, Wilhelm, Leben Schleiermachers, Berlin.
- 1878 Weiss, Brund, Untersuchungen über Schleiermachers Dialektik, Breslau, 1878.
- 1893 Kattenbusch, D. F., Von Schleiermacher's zu Ritschl, Giessen, 1893.
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- 1898 Beth, Karl, Die Grundausschauungen Schleiermacher in seinem ersten Entwurf der philosophischen Sittenlehre, Berlin, 1898.
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- 1901 Fuchs, Emil, Schleiermacher Religious begriff, Giessen, 1901.
- 1903 Camerer, Heodor, Spinoza und Schleiermacher, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1903.
- 1905 Mayer, E., Schleiermacher's und C. G. von Brinkmanns Gang durch die Brudergemeinde, Leipzig, 1905.

⁹C. Schmidt, "Eckhart," Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1891), Vol. II, p. 688.

- 1905 Clemeu, C. C., Schleiermachers Glaubenslehre in ihrer Bedeutung für Vergangenheit und Zukunft, Giessen, 1905.
- 1907 Buchholz, Paul, Das religiöse Bewusstsein nach Schleiermacher, Königsberg, 1907.
- 1910 Forsthoff, H., Schleiermachers Religious theorie und die Motive seiner Grundausschauung, Rostock, 1910.
- 1913 Dunkmann, D., Der Religionsbegriff Schleiermachers in seiner Abhängigkeit von Kant, Leipzig, 1913.
- 1913 Siegmund-Schultze, F., Schleiermacher's Psychologie in ihrer Bedeutung für die Glaubenslehre, Tuebingen, 1913.
- 1914 Mann, G., Das Verhältnis der Schleiermacherschen Dialektik zu Schellingschen Philosophie, Stuttgart, 1914.
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- 1920 Otto, Rudolf, Introduction to edition of the Reden, 1920.
- 1920 Wehrung, Georg, Die Dialektik Schleiermachers, Tubingen, 1920.
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- 1930 Hunzinger, Walthur, Der Begriff des Gefühls und seine Wandlungen in Schleiermachers Religionsauffassung, Hamburg, 1930.
- 1931 Barteheimer, W., Schleiermacher und die gegenwärtige Schleiermacher Kritik, Leipzig, 1931.

In England:

- 1893 Oman, John, On Religion, London, 1893.

- 1903 Munro, Robert, Schleiermacher, Personal and Speculative, Paisley, 1903.
- 1913 Selbie, W. B., Schleiermacher, London, 1913.
- 1928 Mackintosh, H. R. and Stewart, J. S., The Christian Faith (translation of second edition), Edinburgh, 1928.
- 1937 Mackintosh, H. R., Types of Modern Theology, London, 1937.

In the United States of America:

- 1905 Brastow, Lewis O., Representative Modern Preachers, New York, 1905.
- 1912 Leuba, James H., Psychological Study of Religion, New York, 1912.
- 1914 Stalker, James, Christian Psychology, New York, 1914.
- 1926 Friess, Horace, Leland (trans.), Schleiermacher's Soliloquies, Chicago, 1926.
- 1941 Brandt, Richard B., The Philosophy of Schleiermacher, New York, 1941.
- n.d. Nicoll, W. Robertson, "Schleiermacher's Sermons," Foreign Biblical Library, New York, n.d.

As we see in the list on Germany, many scholars have expended effort on the study of Schleiermacher's theology, especially in the later part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. In England and in the United States of America not so many scholars have studied the theology of Schleiermacher.

In March, 1958, I wrote a letter to the Department of Research Service of Great Books of the Western World and

I received the following very interesting answer from the editor of the Syntopicon of Great Books of the Western World:

May 8, 1958

Dear Mr. Hara:

"Schleiermacher's Idea of the Feeling of Absolute Dependence" is a little remote from the territory in which the Great Books research Service operates. But we shall be glad to mention a few bibliographical references which come to mind.

- G. Cross, The Theology of Schleiermacher
 W. B. Selbie, Schleiermacher: A Critical and Historical Study, London, 1913
 Robert Munro, Schleiermacher: Personal and Speculative, Paisley, 1903

Most of the material with which I am acquainted is in German, but I shall not refer to it because you ask specifically for references in English. My impression is that Schleiermacher has not been as influential in the United States as in Europe, and this may be due partly to the decline of interest in Kantian philosophy. You will find quite a bit about Schleiermacher in the books of Paul Tillich, on whom he exerted an early and continuing influence. Reinhold Niebuhr also pays tribute to Schleiermacher. The well-known French philosopher and theologian, Jean Hering, makes the interesting point that Schleiermacher's language, which was rather subjective, exposed him to the charge that his theology was subjective. Professor Hering replies that the reverse was the case. In line with phenomenological method, Schleiermacher refused "to build a philosophy of religion on the speculation which pretends to cast a look behind the veil," and preferred to "stick to the data revealed by consciousness" (Philosophic Thought in France and the United States, New York and Paris, 1950. Ed. by M. Farber, p. 70). But he goes on to say that "this attempt of Schleiermacher and his disciples unluckily failed because of their naive and non-intentionalist conception of consciousness, bringing them always back to a purely subjectivist philosophy of experience" (Ibid.).

I allude to this criticism because it seems to me that the most interesting philosophical approach to Schleiermacher would be a phenomenological one. The question would be: What refinements of analysis would be possible in Schleiermacher's dialectical balance of the feeling of Absolute Dependence and the feeling of Freedom, if the resources of Husserl's phenomenology were applied?

Sincerely yours,

Mortimer J. Adler

MJA:mr

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE IDEA

I. THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

D. Karl Lechler says that the doctrine of Schleiermacher especially demands the concession, first, that on the psychological ground which forms the basis of its idea of religion, a dogmatic system has been erected, which may be considered the fullest scientific apprehension of Christianity contemplated from the position of the evangelical creed yet given. And second, that its fundamental thoughts more than those of any other system since Kant have penetrated into the common views of Christian life.¹

As Lechler said above, it is proper to study Schleiermacher's theology dividing it into two parts, Psychological Analysis and Theological Analysis.

There are also two particular tendencies in his theology. One is pantheism, and the other is mysticism.

Pantheism

Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute

¹D. Karl Lechler, "Studien und Kritiken," Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. IV (1852).

dependence on God passed through several stages of development and in his early stage he abandoned the idea of a personal God. Schleiermacher may have protested against the above statement and said,

For myself I am supposed to prefer the impersonal form of thinking of the Highest Being, and this has been called now my atheism and again my Spinozism. I, however, thought that it is truly Christian to seek for piety everywhere, and to acknowledge it under every form.²

He believed that he was a Christian and also he knew that Christians are Monotheists. However, his idea of Monotheism is different from others. He says,

The usual conception of God as one single being on the side of the world and behind the world is not the beginning and the end of religion. It is only one manner of expressing God, seldom entirely pure and always inadequate--yet true nature of religion is neither this idea nor any other, but immediate consciousness of the Deity as He is found in ourselves and in the world.³

However, Schleiermacher cannot deny his idea of pantheism. Even he thought that his pantheism could be classified as a different kind of monotheism, because he says,

The Universe is ceaselessly active and at every moment is revealing itself to us. Every form it has produced, everything to which, from the fulness of its life, it has given a separate existence, every occurrence scattered from its fertile bosom is an operation of the Universe upon us. Now religion is to take up into one

²John Oman (trans.), Friedrich Schleiermacher's on Religion (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1893), p. 115.

³Ibid., p. 101.

life and to submit to be swayed by them, each of these influences and their consequent emotions, not by themselves but as a part of the whole, not as limited and in opposition to other things, but as an exhibition of the infinite in our life. . . . The sum total of religion is to feel that, in its highest unity, all that moves us in feeling is one, to feel that aught single and particular is only possible by means of this unity, to feel, that is to say that one being and living is a being and living in and through God.⁴

We know that such an idea is nothing but pantheism. This type of idea will be called the Idealistic Pantheism. He himself defines his Idealistic Pantheism in his "Christian Faith" as follows:

Formula of Idealistic Pantheism

1. Proposition: Reality is one substance, objects are modifications of its essence posited in it. (Spinoza's Reality is a Unity.)
2. Proposition: The substance is developed and conceived under two attributes, extension and consciousness. (Spinoza)
3. Spinoza says: Substance is causa sui or causa libera. The universal reciprocal action in the corporeal world is the manifestation of the inner oasthethico-teleological necessity, with which the All-One unfolds its essence in a variety of harmonioms modification, in a cosmos of concrete ideas.⁵

If we keep Pantheism to the customary formula, one and all, even then God and the world remain distinct, at least in point of function, and therefore a pantheist of this kind, when he regards himself as part of the

⁴H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (ed.), Friedrich Schleiermacher's The Christian Faith (Edinburg: T. and T. Clark Company, 1948), pp. 48, 50.

⁵Friedrick Paulson, Introduction to Philosophy (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907), pp. 232, 233.

world, feels himself with this dependent on that which is the One.⁶

Thus, he was trying to reach a conception of God on which we can depend. Then what kind of idea of God did he have? He says, "We have an idea of the Highest Being, not as personally thinking and willing, but exalted above all personality of all thought and existence."⁷

He says also,

Is not the man who stands over against the whole, and yet is one with it in feeling, to be counted happier in his religion, let his feeling mirror itself in idea as it may?⁸

However, Christians believe that God is One and has three personalities; Christians believe that God is a Person, and pantheists believe in an unpersonalized God. To such a question Schleiermacher says,

I will not decide on the justice of the name you are accustomed to apply to him, whether Pantheist or Spinozist. This rejection of the idea of a personal Deity does not decide against the presence of the Deity in his feeling. The ground of such a rejection might be a humble consciousness of the limitation of personal existence, and particularly of personality joined to consciousness.⁹

Now according to his idea, personal God or unpersonal God does not make so much difference in order to have the

⁶Ibid., p. 39.

⁷Oman, Op. cit., p. 95.

⁸Ibid., p. 97.

⁹Ibid.

feeling of absolute dependence. Schleiermacher's point is that piety is not dependent upon the type of God, though he thinks Monotheism is highest, nor dependent upon the kind of person, but simple realization of the universe as the whole and one standing point as a part of the whole. Therefore, Schleiermacher is saying that piety is the feeling of a part of the whole to depend absolutely upon the whole. It is true religion and becomes a simple emotional relationship between a part and the whole. The reason that Schleiermacher treated Pantheism as a variant of Monotheism was based on his effort to minimize the Anthropomorphic God. However, his idea of God, which is stated above, is one of Idealism, and the reality of the object is nothing but a product of one reasoning. Schleiermacher has tried to justify this Spinozan idea of Pantheism in the shadow of Christian Mysticism.

Mysticism

Schleiermacher's theology was always changing in some point until his death. He was very easily influenced by philosophers and thinkers. His changing idea is clearly seen in his Discourses on Religion, especially between the first and the second edition. He was a man of change. He was a man of progress. In his changing ideas there was one thing which did not change and that was his pious spirit

which he received from the Moravians. This spirit of pietism appeared in his life in the form of mysticism. He himself was sometimes called a "Mystic," but not because he disregarded the claims of thought. In him Mysticism was the bridge between Pantheism and Monotheism and the power to hold him in the realm of Christianity.

Many scholars criticized Schleiermacher's "feeling of absolute dependence" in its uncertainty of psychological position. Schleiermacher did not define what kind of feeling when he said, "the feeling of absolute dependence." Of course, he says that the feeling of absolute dependence is religious feeling but he did not distinguish between cognitive and noncognitive feeling. Schleiermacher's meaning of the feeling is not quite identical with any of these usages, "primarily," Brandt says.

It is this; either religious feeling is of cognitive or of noncognitive character.

If it is the former, then it might be legitimate to assert that religion has an ideal content, that it makes assertions about the world. On the other hand, if it is noncognitive, then the religious feelings by themselves cannot be the apprehension of a fact capable of being stated, although it might be true of either.

- (1) That there is a "meaning" cognitively apprehended which is so inseparable from religious feeling as to make separate discussion a vicious abstraction, or
- (2) That one might be able to say that the occurrence of the feeling itself has some specific significance which could be noted by someone observing it.

It looked very vague and very illogical, however, in Schleiermacher's mind. It is not necessary to make any distinction between two aspects of feeling because these two kinds of feeling are enfused into one system of Mysticism. It is very evident that Schleiermacher did not feel any conflict for the mixing of sense and religious feeling and intuition. He says in one place, speaking of the general aim of science,

Insight into the necessity and scope of all real knowledge is to develop from the immediate intuition of reason and its activity, so that from the very beginning the supposed anti-thesis between reason and experience, speculation and empiricism, is abolished, and so true knowledge is not only made possible but at least in an undeveloped way, is actually produced.¹⁰

Schleiermacher explains this Mysticism as follows:

But as often as I turn my gaze inward upon my inmost self, I am at once within the domain of eternity. I behold the spirit's action, which world can change and no time can destroy, but which itself creates both world and time.¹¹

And also he says,

The only reality that I deem worthy to be called a world is the eternal community of spiritual beings, their influence upon each other, their mutual development, the sublime harmony of freedom.¹²

¹⁰Richard B. Brandt, The Philosophy of Schleiermacher (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), p. 76.

¹¹Horace Leland Friess (trans.), Schleiermacher's Soliloquies (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1926), p. 22.

¹²Ibid., p. 17.

Therefore, "the feeling of absolute dependence" is the Mystical feeling which is able to be experienced but cannot be described. Schleiermacher himself used the word "geheimnisvoll, unbeschreiblich" for the mystical experience. Evidently he had experienced such a mystical feeling while he was staying with the Moravians. He said concerning the pious life (religious life), which is the life with the feeling of absolute dependence, as follows:

The whole religious life is composed of two elements. That man gave himself up to the Universe and allowed himself to be moved by the aspect it reveals to him, and that the contact which, as such and in its definiteness, is a single feeling, is made inward and absorbed into the inner unity of his life and being. The continual repetition of this procedure is the religious life.¹³

His conviction was that any thought, if it is the deep thought, comes from the inmost religious feelings. Truly the religious feeling was the center of his life.

II. PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Nature of the Idea

As Fausts exclaimed, "Neun's Gluck ! Herz ! Lebe ! Gott ! Ich habe keinen Namen Dafür Gefuhl ist alles."

Schleiermacher made the well-known formula, "The essence of religion consists in a feeling of absolute dependence upon God." Plato tried to approach God by metaphysics and

¹³Brandt, Op. cit., p. 177.

Kant has tried to explain God by the ethical approach. Schleiermacher tried to set the psychological position of religion. He must have thought that religion has its character in the directness or immediateness of the experience. Therefore, he said that "the piety which forms the basis of all ecclesiastical communion is . . . neither a knowing nor a doing, but a modification of feeling, or of immediate self-consciousness."¹⁴ Here we have to investigate Schleiermacher's psychological aspect in his "feeling of absolute dependence."

As I mentioned in the previous article, there has been criticism centered around the psychological matter of the feeling of absolute dependence. The criticism said that religion is a particular kind of feeling, but what is that feeling? The statement that Schleiermacher's thought of religion is a kind of feeling, is very vague. Schleiermacher thought that the feeling of absolute dependence cannot and will not originate in the pure impulse to know, and what we may know or believe about the nature of things is far beneath the sphere of religion. "Any effort to penetrate into the nature or the substance of things is no longer religion, but seeks to be a science of some 'sort'."¹⁵ He

¹⁴Mackintosh and Stoward, Op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁵James H. Leuba, Psychological Study of Religion (New York: MacMillan Company, 1912), p. 33.

also says that only what in either is feeling or immediate consciousness can belong to religion. Therefore, according to Schleiermacher, pure religion is pure feeling, that is, feeling disconnected from thought and from action.

What is the psychological process? How to get the pure feeling? Schleiermacher says,

Your organs mediate the connection between the object and yourselves. The influence of the object that reveals its existence to you, must stimulate them in various ways, and produce a change in your inner consciousness. Frequently it is hardly perceived. In other circumstances it becomes so violent that you forget both the object and yourselves.¹⁶

Seichi Hatano said, "Schleiermacher did not distinguish between sense feeling and religious feeling." Richard B. Brandt said, "Schleiermacher used feeling in the nonintentional way." Some other scholars said that Schleiermacher's definition of the feeling is very vague. Some think that Schleiermacher did not know the way of psychological analysis but his good psychological knowledge was shown in the Christian Faith and the Discourses. On the contrary, some scholars did understand that Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute dependence must be categorized under the field of pure-experience or pre-conscious states.

However, psychologically speaking, we have to realize that Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute

¹⁶Oman, Op. cit., p. 280.

dependence belongs to the psychology of mysticism. As Schleiermacher said, "It is scarcely to be described."¹⁷ Mysticism requires the singleness and unity of all things.

If we summarize the psychological nature of the feeling of absolute dependence, it will be as follows.

. . . your whole life is such as existence for self in the whole. How now are you in the whole? By your senses. And how are you for yourselves? By the unity of your self-consciousness, which is given chiefly in the possibility of comparing the varying degrees of sensation. . . . You become sense and the whole becomes object. Sense and object mingle and unite, then each returns to its place. . . . It is this earlier moment I mean which you always experience yet never experience.¹⁸

And he also says,

Religion wants to be gripped by the immediate influence of the Universe in childlike passivity and to be filled by them. All feelings are religious only in so far as they are immediately caused by the Universe. The religious man lets himself be affected by the infinite, without any definite activity, and reveals his reaction to the affection in all kinds of religious feeling.¹⁹

Character of the Idea

Whenever we discuss the "feeling of absolute dependence" we know that Schleiermacher tried to say that religion is the base of Christianity and its theology; theology must become a branch of psychological science.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Brandt, Op. cit., pp. 109, 110.

James H. Leuba said in his book, The Psychology of Religious Mysticism,

that there are five motivations of the Christian mysticism:

1. The tendencies to self-affirmation.
2. The tendencies to cherish, to devote oneself to something or somebody.
3. The needs for affection and moral support.
4. The needs for peace, for single-mindedness or unity, both in passivity and in action.
5. "Organic" need or needs for sensuous satisfaction (especially in connexion with the sex-life).²⁰

According to Leuba and Schleiermacher, the feeling of absolute dependence is brought into us by these five motives and as the feeling is the fact that it varies in degree, it behaves like a quantity, so that quantity of feeling is directed by the quantity of the motives.

However interesting, the feature of feeling is its dual nature, its division into polar opposites, unpleasantness as a fact of experience as well as of etymology.²¹

Schleiermacher also mentioned about it in his Christian Faith:

. . . the sensible self-consciousness splits up also, of itself and from its very nature, into the antithesis of the pleasant and the unpleasant, or of pleasure and pain. This does not mean that the partial feeling of freedom is always pleasure, and the partial feeling of

²⁰James H. Leuba, Psychology of Religious Mysticism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925), pp. 116, 117.

²¹Leonard T. Troland, The Mystery of Mind (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1926), pp. 132, 133.

dependence always pain, as seems to be assumed by those who wrongly think that the feeling of absolute dependence has, of its very nature, a depressing affect. For the child can have a feeling of perfect well-being in the consciousness of dependence on its parents, and so also can the subject in his relation to the government; and other people, even parents and governments, can feel miserable in the consciousness of their freedom. So that each may equally well be either pleasure or pain, according to whether life is furthered or hindered by it.²²

Consequently, the feeling of absolute dependence can be either pleasant or unpleasant. If the feeling of absolute dependence is unpleasant religion is no pleasant thing. Schleiermacher tried to avoid such a conflict and said that the higher self-consciousness bears within it no such antithesis. On the other hand, he states that there is a possibility to have both pleasant and unpleasant at the same time--a sorrow in the lower self-consciousness and a joy in the higher self-consciousness.²³

Here Schleiermacher's explanation is short because it is possible to have a sorrow in the higher self-consciousness--sorrow for the perishing souls and burdens for soul winning do not belong to the lower consciousness. At this point we know that Schleiermacher did not distinguish

²²Mackintosh, Op. cit., p. 23.

²³Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) said in Stages of Life's Way, Romanticism as being on the lowest stage of life, the intermediary stage is the ethical, and the highest is religious. Edward John Carnell, An Introduction to Christian Apologetics (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), p. 42.

between mental and spiritual consciousness.

III. CRITICISM OF THE IDEA

Affirmative Considerations

Schleiermacher's idea of the "feeling of absolute dependence" has opened a new approach in the theological field. His point was that religion is understood not by the metaphysical theology, nor by the legalistic and ritualistic action, but by the feeling of absolute dependence which is our very experience with God.

Schleiermacher's method departs from all previous methods. While the schoolmen begin with God and His attributes and then pass to man; while the reformers usually begin with the rule of faith, the Bible, and then, passing to the Deity proceed in the scholastic manner, Schleiermacher, on the contrary, begins and ends with the human consciousness and its contents.²⁴

True religious philosophy must be considered with the reflectional self-understandings in religious experience and its theoretical review.

Philosophy of religion is an attempt to discover by rational interpretation of religion and its relation to other type of experience, the truth of religious beliefs and the value of religious attitudes and practices.²⁵

²⁴John M'Clintock and James Strong (prepared), Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1881), IX, p. 413.

²⁵Edgar Sheffield Brightman, A Philosophy of Religion (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 22.

At this point Schleiermacher's way of approach to religion was right. Surely the religious experience is a way to know the ultimate reality. Karl Barth's "crisis," Emil Brunner's "Divine-human encounter," and "the Mystic inward illumination" are to some extent synonymous with the "feeling of absolute dependence."

Schleiermacher's idea of the "feeling of absolute dependence" should not be seen as a mere reactional theory against Deism or Natural Theology. If he did not have any deep experience with God, his theory would not have been born in his mind and heart.

It is true that we need knowledge and reason in order to understand the Word of God and God Himself. However, if we look at the Old Testament, we see clearly that many times the primitive Israelites understood God very keenly, not by their knowledge of God, but by their feelings and intuitions. Therefore, with many testimonies in the Old Testament, we can say as William James said, "I myself believe that the evidence for God lies primarily in inner personal experiences."²⁶

Bretshneider criticized Schleiermacher's idea and said, "Feeling could precede knowledge, only in the case

²⁶Edward John Carnell, An Introduction to Christian Apologetics (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), p. 74.

the being of God should touch the human mind before it knew God."²⁷ However, Paul said, "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit" (I Cor. 12:3). Jesus Himself said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 16:17).

The reason of man is incompetent to conceive a true view of God and man; therefore, we need the revelation which we receive only through our feeling and intuition.

Though the light which presents itself to all eyes, both in heaven and in earth, is more than sufficient to deprive the ingratitude of men of every excuse, since God, in order to involve all mankind in the same guilt, sets before them all, without exception, an exhibition of his majesty, delineated in the creation. Yet we need another and better assistance, properly to direct us to the Creator of the World.²⁸

Feeling in the heart has very strong power in our daily lives. Why do we go to church to worship God? Cannot we worship God in our home? Many go to church because there is a suitable atmosphere to worship God and because the sanctuary creates the feeling of reverence in their mind. How do we prove the presence of God? We say by our feeling. Pascal also said, "the heart has its

²⁷"Britshneider's New of the Theology of Schleiermacher," Bibliotheca Sacra, X (1853), 599.

²⁸John Allen (trans.), John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949), p. 80.

reasons which reason does not know." Thus feeling is the essence in the religious life and Schleiermacher's idea of the "feeling of absolute dependence" is agreeable in its general sense.

Negative Considerations

Though Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute dependence has many good points there were several weak and mistaken points also.

Rudolf Otto said that his mistake is in making the distinction merely that between "absolute" and "relative" dependence, and therefore a difference of degree and not of intrinsic quality.²⁹

Schleiermacher's mistake started when he viewed the Whole as the Infinite. It is possible to call God the Infinite, but to regard the Infinite as the Whole is obviously a mistake. If God is the Whole, the difference between religious intuition and general-sense intuition is only some difference of degrees because Schleiermacher called the content of religious intuition the image of the Universe, and we know that sense intuition has a partial image of the Universe in its content. Thus transcendence of religion, which Schleiermacher called the higher realism, became weak, and religion lost its transcendence completely.

²⁹John W. Harvey (trans.), Rudolf Otto's The Idea of the Holy (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 9.

Of course, Schleiermacher tried to protect his idea from such a mistake. He did not make intuition the essential source of religious experience. All experience of reality is the direct acquaintance with the Object. At that moment the subject and the object are still enfused into one. Feeling and intuition are not separated yet. This is an indescribable state. If we try to explain such an experience we have to make the experience as the material observation. Thus the action of reflection is brought into sight and by the reflection intuition and feeling are separated. However, still there is a question. From where does the difference between sense and religious intuition come? Schleiermacher's idea concerning this question was too vague. Of course, we know that such an idea is called Pantheism, but where can we find the distinguishing point in the above question?

Schleiermacher himself used some adjectives, like geheimnisvoll (mysterious), unbeschreiblich (indescribable). Can we distinguish the religious experience from the secular experience of reality because there is the agnostic character in the religious experience? The answer is "No." Because the thing which is mysterious or indescribable is nothing but a general sense or feeling. Such a sense or feeling is not the distinguishing character in religion but rather it must be regarded as the general character. Thus

the question goes back to the matter of a whole or a part, which is a matter of degree. In other words, we cannot see any idea of transcendence or divineness which makes religion as religion in Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute dependence.

Ralph G. Wilburn deals with the feeling complex under the name of the passive or receptive attitude which is a constituent part of that religious experience designated by the term "grace."³⁰ One of his great mistakes was his subjective approach to theology. The basic mistake is seen in his idea of the Holy Spirit. He thought the Holy Spirit is identical with our subjective idea if we are united with God. If he could understand the work and the power of the Holy Spirit, his idea could have been refined much. If the feeling of absolute dependence was treated as a feeling which is given by the Holy Spirit the problem of the whole and the part could have been resolved also.

The fact that Schleiermacher's individualism and determinism could not understand the divine power of the Holy Spirit was the sad thing. He saw the beauty of the pure feeling, the feeling of absolute dependence on God and

³⁰Ralph G. Wilburn, Schleiermacher's Conception of Grace (Chicago: University of Chicago), p. 2. A part of a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the divinity school in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

he thought that if he traced back this feeling to its source by his subjective idea and reasoning he would be able to reach God, as if seeing the beautiful seven colors that inspire some boys and girls to think that if they gather the seven colors together they will be able to produce sunlight.

Schleiermacher could not understand the power of prism which is the power of the Holy Spirit. He gathered all feelings and intuitions in a crucible of religion and he tried to melt these feelings and intuitions by the ray of subjective reasoning. He was expecting the pure and holy God as the result of his effort but instead of the pure and holy God, half-melted and vague Pantheistic Mysticism came out.

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF HIS IDEA

I. IN THE THEOLOGICAL FIELD

General

Philip Schaff says that as a theologian Schleiermacher ranks among the greatest of all ages. Some said, "Schleiermacher was divine of the nineteenth century."

Brandt says,

. . . so much so that he has influenced even writers who either had not read him or repudiated him, because the influence which he left was in the air they breathed. Almost every theologian at the present time has therefore been affected by him either directly or indirectly.¹

Surely Schleiermacher was a brilliant star which appeared in the midst of the dark age of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This star was shining among the dark deists and half-blinded rationalists and naturalists, as a genuine pious Christian theologian. However, strangely enough, his doctrine of the feeling of absolute dependence enjoyed a good reputation from liberals and orthodox theologians, both alike for the reason that his view of subjective idealism gave the liberals a chance to go astray according

¹Schaff-Herzog, The New Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, c. 1910), I, 2,123.

to their own subjective idea, and orthodox theologians felt that their subjective view is also right to continue their own way. Even Catholics received some of his idea. Thus Schleiermacher even reduced the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism to the formula, "Catholicism makes the relation of the believer to Christ to depend on his relation to the church; Protestantism makes the relation of the believer to the church to depend on his relation to Christ."²

A large number of theologians, influenced by the genius of Schleiermacher, now came forward, and exhibited more or less of Christian earnestness in defending the weightier doctrines of Christianity, but at the same time favoured the cause of rationalism in many aspects, and particularly in their style of criticism.

Baumgarten Crusins, Hase, Luke, are representatives of this school. Other disciples of Schleiermacher, however, have adhered more closely to the teaching of the Bible and of the church. Such men, for examples, are Neander Nitzsch, Twesten.³

In Germany

Schleiermacher's influence may be seen in Germany in particular. All his works were well criticized by many scholars, although they knew the importance of his works. We can see many people who were called disciples of Schleiermacher. They are George Wobbermin, Rudolf Otto,

²Ibid., IV, 2,124.

³Andover, Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell, "Methodology," Theological Encyclopaedia and Bibliotheca Sacra, (Feb. 1844), 559.

Alexander Schweitzer, A. Twisten, C. I. Nitzsch, Richard Rothe, Johann von Hofman, R. A. Lipsius, A. E. Biremann, Julius Muller, and D. F. Strauss. These people received not the detailed elaboration of Schleiermacher's system but they were generally and historically influenced. Schleiermacher's direct influence appeared in the form of a "mediating school" in Germany. It was called "mediating" because they applied their efforts to the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches.

The scholars in that school agreed with Schleiermacher that religion is not a mere philosophy nor a production of philosophy. And they believed that man not only consciously depends on God, he gives himself to God.⁴

They believed the miracles in the Bible and the subject of Eschatology, including eternal punishment. Isaak August Dorner (1809-1884) was one of the representatives of the mediating school. He mastered the theology of Schleiermacher and the philosophy of Hegel, and he infused two ideas into one positive Evangelical faith. Julius Muller was also a man in the mediating school. He adopted Schleiermacher's moral earnestness and wrote a treatise on "The Christian Doctrine of Sin."⁵ David Meudel Aeauder says,

⁴George P. Fisher, History of Christian Doctrine (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), p. 513.

⁵Baur of Tubingen said, "The Theology of Schleiermacher made an epoch, in consequence of its peculiar relation to the two opposite systems of rationalism and supernaturalism, in the midst of whose conflicts it appeared. It combines the

Whosoever participated in the religious movements at the beginning of the nineteenth century will recognize how a pantheistic enthusiasm can be, for many a thoughtful and profound spirit, a starting point for Faith in the Gospel. Specially important, as a steppingstone to the Theological and religious development, was the appearance of the "Speeches on Religion" by the late Schleiermacher. . . . It was a weight impulse to science that men were directed from the arbitrary abstract aggregate called the Religion of Reason, to the historical significance . . . of religion. . . .⁶

Zeller, the historian of Greek philosophy, says of him, that he was the greatest theologian of the Protestant Church since the Reformation. He was a preacher of mark, a gifted and effective religious teacher. . . . He was a philosopher who without a perfect system sowed most fruitful seeds . . .⁷

R. A. Lipsius says in his articles,

However much or however little may ultimately remain of Schleiermacher's peculiar world of thought, his way of regarding the theory of perception is as epoch-making in the religious sphere as Kant's "Critique of Reason," is in the sphere of philosophy.⁸

Treitschke, the historian of Germany in the nineteenth century, says,

He became the renovator of our theology, the greatest of all our theologians since the Reformation, and even yet no German Theologian arrives at inward liberty

element of both, in representing the essence of Christianity to be the immediate utterance of the religious consciousness which in its inmost spirit, it says, is Christian. . . ."
K. R. Hagenbech, A Text-book of the History of Doctrine (New York: Sheldon and Company, c. 1861), II, 404.

⁶John Oman (trans.), Friedrich Schleiermacher's On Religion (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1893), p. lvi.

⁷Ibid., p. x.

⁸Ibid., p. xi.

who has not settled accounts with Schleiermacher's ideas.⁹

Rudolf Otto made a fine analysis of Schleiermacher's idea of "feeling" in his book The Idea of the Holy, especially in the first chapter. Bretschneider's view of the theology of Schleiermacher appeared in 1853 in Bibliotheca Sacra and he criticized Schleiermacher's view very dogmatically.

In England

V. F. Storr acknowledges the very far-reaching effect which Schleiermacher's writing caused in England. John Oman, one of the scholars influenced by Schleiermacher, who translated The Discourses says in the Introduction to his Translation of the Discourses that it may be questioned whether, after Kant's Critique and Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, any book of the period has had such a great and lasting effect, and it is certainly no question that it foreshadows the problems chiefly discussed among us today as is done by no other book of that time.¹⁰ H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart said in the "Editor's Preface" of The Christian Faith (English translation of the Second German Edition),

In the opinion of competent thinkers, the Christian Faith of Schleiermacher is, with the exception of Calvin's Institutes, the most important work covering the whole field of doctrine to which Protestant Theology

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. x.

can point.¹¹

They also spoke of scholars who desired to study the idea of Schleiermacher, after telling the need of financial aid for the translation of The Christian Faith.

It, therefore, was resolved in 1924 to send out an appeal for financial aid to Theological Colleges and Seminaries throughout the English-speaking world. To this appeal a response came so prompt and generous that the way for action opened up, and incidentally the urgency of the demand for a translation was made clearer than ever.¹²

In Switzerland

"Switzerland has two great theologians in this century. One is Karl Barth and the other is Emil Brunner."¹³ Both of them are the leaders of Neo-Orthodoxy, a movement which is based on the theology of subjective immediacy. Barth talks of the "theology of crisis" and Brunner speaks of the "Divine-human encounter." Their argument from religious experience has come through Schleiermacher and they stress that God can be known only through feeling or religious insight. They also stress the matter of heart as Schleiermacher believed that Christianity is not a body of doctrine in the first instance, but a condition of the

¹¹H. R. Mackintosh (ed.), Friedrich Schleiermacher's The Christian Faith (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark), 1948, p. v.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Emil Brunner went to Japan just after World War I, and in a theologians' convention Japanese theologians

heart--a mode of consciousness making itself known in devout feeling and notably in the feeling of dependence on God.¹⁴

As Neo-Orthodoxy is the leading theology in the twentieth century all over the world, Schleiermacher's influence is indirectly seen in Christendom today.

In America

Unitarians. Schleiermacher's influence in the United States can be seen among Unitarians, who have been a strong force in New England. The remarkable phenomenon in Unitarianism was the development of the Intuitionist Theory and Schleiermacher's words were read by the Unitarian scholars. Unitarians are even today very modest when they speak of the Infinite. They profess to have a lively consciousness of God. A very interesting sidelight is that the Hindu leader, Rammohun Roy, was influenced by American Unitarianism and he adopted Unitarianism into Hinduism.¹⁵

Universalists. Horace Bushnell, a gifted preacher who was a Universalist, read Schleiermacher extensively and

started to ask some theological questions of him. In answering Emil Brunner said, "you can not understand God by your head. By heart only we know God."

¹⁴James Hastings (ed.), "W. B. Selbie's Schleiermacher," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1951), XI.

¹⁵Fisher, Op. cit., pp. 417, 445.

though he was not a Pantheist, he received some answers to solve his difficulties on the personality of God and others. His articles on "Nature and the Supernatural" (1858), "God in Christ" (1849), "Christ in Theology" (1851), and "Forgiveness and Law" (1874) were very influential articles in the New England Theology.

In 1928, Karl Barth was introduced to America with the appearance of his book The Word of God and the Word of Man. The Barthian view was accepted in America and soon developed among the Methodists and Presbyterians and Princeton Theological Seminary became a strong center of Barthianism. They so attacked the social Gospel that it has been completely discredited and already has been largely abandoned.¹⁶

II. IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL FIELD

Schleiermacher did not create any school of philosophy. F. Ueberweg said that Schleiermacher's system is far inferior in formal perfection to Hegel's, but it is free from many of his limitations and in its still largely unfinished form is more capable than any other post-Kantian philosophy of such a development as might remedy the defects of other systems.

So often Schleiermacher's philosophical significance appears to be overlooked in comparison with his theological work; however, as a religious philosopher, Schleiermacher's very important position cannot be ignored.

¹⁶William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1939).

From the time of Plato to the time of Rationalism philosophers pulled God down from heaven to their own level and made Him an object for theological examination. Even Hegel took the same method in order to observe God. Furthermore, many philosophers of today have the same tendency to make God an object of theoretical realization. These philosophers are thinking, without knowing the imperfection of human knowledge, that if they trace the way of theoretical examination by their reason they will be able to reach to God.

Kant made great progress when he came to the idea of Ding an Sich (the thing in itself) though he himself was still standing on the idealistic realism. However, Kant could not think of the importance of the religious experience. Schleiermacher made a very different approach toward religion. He started from the religious experience itself in order to understand God. Thus, religion became the feeling of absolute dependence on God to him.

Obviously, Schleiermacher has made an entirely new philosophical approach to religion and God. Therefore, from the standpoint of the philosophy of religion Schleiermacher's position is very important.

Ueberweg said,

The essence of my objection to Kant lies in the proof of how scientific insight is achieved not by means of a priori forms of purely subjective origin, which are

applicable only to the objects of appearance present in the consciousness of the subject (and also not, as Hegel and others urge, a priori and nevertheless with objective validity) but through the combinations of facts of experience according to logical forms themselves conditioned by the objective order of things, adherence to which secures objective validity.¹⁷

I wish to show how, in particular, the spatio-temporal and causal order is not brought into a chaotic given stuff by the intuiting and thinking subject, but is copied, through successive experience and thought of the subjective consciousness, in agreement with the reality in which it originally is. Hermann Rudolf Lotze (1817-1881), receiving strong influence from Schleiermacher, became a prominent leader against modern materialism. He clearly pointed out the limits of our mental faculties and knowledge. As he mastered the whole domain of natural science, he was a most powerful man to show the lack of solid reasoning of materialism in Germany.

Schleiermacher's philosophical influence has not been left as clearly as Kant's, Hegel's, Schopenhauer's, and Fichte's philosophies. However, in the stream of the philosophy of religion, though it was too individualistic and too subjective, Schleiermacher's idea and his brilliant intellect will never lose their brightness, though he thought philosophy has nothing to do with religion.

¹⁷Richard B. Brandt, The Philosophy of Schleiermacher (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1941), p. 316.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Schleiermacher was a man who had a specially keen intuition which could be trained by his parents and by the Moravians. Through the study of his idea of the feeling of absolute dependence I noticed that though Schleiermacher made many mistakes and errors he did his very best for the belief of pietism. Even such a profound student as Professor Adamson said that "Schleiermacher is simply a philosopher who stopped short at Spinoza, in parti-colored combination with the theologian who ended in mysticism."¹ Yet it may be stated that no one, having the pious spirit, has studied more extensively than Schleiermacher the Protestant faith which begins with Christ and ends with Christ.

Schleiermacher's idea of the feeling of absolute dependence gives us some good suggestions:

1. Feeling will never establish truth but truth establishes feeling.
2. Our feeling must be based on the objective truth.
3. The lack of the knowledge of the Holy Spirit makes an

¹John Oman (trans.), Friedrich Schleiermacher's On Religion (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1893), p. x.

unhealthy Christian faith.

4. Christianity is not only feeling but the balanced combination of feeling, knowledge, and action.
5. The feeling which is not backed up by sound reasoning is dangerous.

Now, so often Pentecostal believers have been despised by the other Christians because the Pentecostalists stress their emotion so much. However, every Christian must realize that Schleiermacher, who was regarded as a top theologian in the eighteenth century, has based his theology solely on the emotional element of the Christian life.

However, Christians must be careful to observe Schleiermacher's theology and his mistakes. Careful observation tells us that Schleiermacher's basic mistake came from his subjective interpretation of the Holy Spirit. Here, the Pentecostalists must learn from him that the Holy Spirit is not our feeling or intuition which can be subjectively interpreted.

Schleiermacher would not have tried to explain the Christian's mystical experiences by a psychological analysis if he had known the impossibility of such analysis of the Holy Spirit. Schleiermacher's excellent idea which stresses the Christian experiences was utterly destroyed by his subjective interpretation of the Holy Spirit; he pulled down the Holy Spirit to the same level on which he was standing, and he tried to analyze the Holy Spirit from the observer's stand-

point. Thus he made religion as merely an event in our self-consciousness. Though Schleiermacher had a pious heart, yet according to his theory it is impossible to experience God the Almighty who approaches us with infinite majestic power. If it is so, then religion may become a play with the self-consciousness. In religion it is very obvious that the consciousness of God is the first and the self-consciousness is nothing but the reflection of God's consciousness. In Schleiermacher it is vice versa. But we cannot blame Schleiermacher, because Subjective Idealism has been seen in German Philosophy since Kant and it became one of the main streams of thought in Europe at the time of Schleiermacher. As mentioned before, Schleiermacher's brain was a crucible in which all elements--political, philosophical, religious--were put together, and by the human's top ability he tried to make out spiritual gold. The crucible was put in the fire of Kant and Plato and Spinoza, the all through the process the Moravian's religious degree of heat has been kept.

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A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX

HIS WORKS

To 1797

Letter in the collection of Briefe.

Included among them is a brief autobiography of Schleiermacher.

Two essays on ethics, one of them largely a criticism of Kant, the other an examination of the nature of value and the worth of life.

An essay on the freedom of the will.

Two essays in Spinoza, an essay on the freedom of the will.

1797-1802

Contributions to the "Fragments" of the Athenaeum, 1799.

A Scientific diary, 1797.

On Religion, Discourses adversed to its cultured despisers, 1799.

Soliloquies, 1800.

Confidential letters on Fr. Schlegel's Lucinde, 1800.

Sermons, 1801.

Reviews:

Kant's Anthropology

Fichte's Destiny of Man

Garve's Last Published Writings

Engel's Philosophy few die well, 1799-1800.

1803-1808

Outline of a Critique of Previous Ethical Theory, 1803.

A review of Schelling's Lectures on the Method of Academic Studies. Reprinted in Briefe, Vol. IV.

Notes for his lectures on ethics, 1804-1805.

The first volume of his translation of Plato, 1804. From further volumes up to 1810.

Notes for his lectures on ethics, 1805-1806.

Second edition of the Discourses on Religion, 1806.

A Christmas Celebration (Die weihnachtsfeier, ein Gespräch), 1806.

Manuscript for his lectures on church history, 1806.

Review of Fichte's Characteristics of the present Age, 1807.

Occasional Thoughts on University in the German Sense, 1808.

1809-1812

Manuscript for his lectures on Christian ethics, 1809.

The second edition of the Soliloquies, 1810.

A brief outline of Theological Study, 1811.

The first series of lectures on Dialectic, 1811.

Lectures on the History of Philosophy, 1812.

1812-1834

The Christian Faith, first edition, 1821-1822, second, 1830.

Letters to Dr. Luke concerning the Christian Faith, 1829.

Third edition of the Discourses on Religion, 1821.

Manuscript notes on logic and epistemology, entitled Dialectic. There are six strata of notes which originated in 1811, 1814, 1818, 1822, 1828, and 1831.

Manuscript notes for his lectures on the theory of the State and on the theory of education.

Manuscript notes on psychology, originating in 1818, 1830, 1833, and 1834.

Short Papers

"On the Significance of the Concept of Virtue," 1819.

"On the Scientific Treatment of the Concept of Duty," 1824.

"On the Difference Between the Law of Nature and the Moral Law," 1825. Most important of the essays on ethics.

"On the Concept of the Highest Good." Two essays, 1827 and 1830.

"On the Scope of the Concept of Art in Relation to the Theory of Art." Two essays, 1831-1832.

His Essays on Greek Philosophy

"On Diogenes of Apollonia," 1811.

"On Anaximander of Miletus," 1812.

"On the Fragments of Democritus," 1814.

"On the Significance of Socrates as a Philosopher," 1815.

"On Diogenes Laertius' Catalog of the Works of Democritus," 1815.

"On the Ethical Works of Aristotle," 1817.

"On the Fragments of Empedocles in Relation to his Pythagoreanism," 1820.

"On the Commentaries to Aristotle's Categories and Analytics," 1821.

