

SCHLEIERMACHER ON PIETY: A THEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT¹

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I. Introduction

In the eighteenth century, Western Europe recovered from the religious war and began to be optimistic for the future. Autonomous reason became the criteria of the truth. The Enlightenment challenged the validity and relevancy of the Christian faith. The Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) started from Britain, and the thoughts of John Locke and John Newton influenced France and Germany. Among the French Enlightenment thinkers, like Voltaire and Rousseau, Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) not only separated religion from reason, but also religion from morality.² Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) proposed that the cosmos

¹ Kwok Hung-biu, "Enlightenment and Secularization: Course of Modernization in both the West and East" (A paper presented at Wuhan University, 17-20 September 2006).

² Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*, book 2, vol. vi (New York: Image Books, 1960), 7.

works under the law of cause and effect. Within the closed mechanism of the universe, Lord Herbert Cherbury (1583-1648) suggested the idea of Deism.³ In Germany, the focus of Enlightenment was the historical study. H.R. Reimarus (1694-1768) argued that the New Testament could be explained in naturalistic terms without any space of miracle. G.E. Lessing (1729-1781) doubted how eternal truth could derive from an accidental historical event. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) defined the role of reason as dealing with the sensible and empirical world. Human knowledge is only about the "phenomena," but not the "nomenum." Apart from the rational and empirical understanding of the form of object, there is no objective knowledge of "thing-in-themselves" independent of the knower.⁴ The consequence for Epistemology is the ontological separation of knower from knowing object. For the philosophical background of eighteenth century, Reinhold Rieger has given a clear picture.⁵ The rationalistic thinking caused the development of empiricism and hostility towards metaphysics. Beside the Enlightenment in Germany, Pietism was a reaction to the rationalistic thinking world. P.J. Spener (1635-1705) and Nicolas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) were the representatives. This influence gave birth to the Moravian. Another important trend was Romanticism, of which the most important representative was J.W. von Goethe (1749-1832). Politically, the French Revolution in 1789 gave rise to the rejection of the infallibility of the Church and even

³ Keith Clements, ed., *Friedrich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology* (London: Collins, 1987), 9.

⁴ Clements, ed., *Friedrich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology*, 10.

⁵ Reinhold Rieger, *Interpretation und Wissen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988). Rieger's dissertation is divided into two parts: the first part described the influence of semiotistic Rationalism, semiotistic Realism and semiotistic Idealism. Under semiotistic Rationalism, Leibniz, Wolff, Baugarten, Lambert, Meier were being discussed. Under semiotistic Realism were Hamann, Herder, Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. Under semiotistic Idealism were Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis. The second part was the theological response made by Schleiermacher.

the Bible and dogmas. During 1780-1830, Romanticism became the high point of reacting the rational understanding of Enlightenment. After the publication of Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 and *Critique of Practical Reason* in 1788, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) developed his understanding of religion not as morality. J.G. Fichte (1762-1814) was another figure interpreting God as the supreme idea of moral duty. However, G.W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) attempted to grasp the ultimate truth by human mind. In response to the two great thinkers, Kant and Hegel, Schleiermacher went his own direction. Schleiermacher has been grown up in the Moravian background with more academic interest in theology. In response to Kant, he avoids interpreting religion as morality, and with regard to Hegel's Idealism, he interprets religion not as a rational system. He tries to understand religion as a sense of tasting the infinite through the absolute dependence on God. As Schleiermacher was the father of modern theology, responding to the influence of Enlightenment by Kant and Hegel, I would like to contribute an article on Schleiermacher from a Chinese Christian theological point of view. Following the recent studies on the piety of Schleiermacher, I would clarify the relationship between piety and morality in Schleiermacher's thought.

II. Schleiermacher's Theological Construction

One of the deputed issues of Schleiermacher's theology is his relationship with Hegel. Falk Wagner thinks that the understanding of God in *The Christian Faith* is not the original one, but a development of *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*. Schleiermacher separates religion from theology (or more exactly dogma). Therefore, Schleiermacher and Hegel possess totally

different philosophies of religion. Hegel would prefer the connection between feelings of absolute dependence and the content of theology, but Schleiermacher allows the independence of feelings from theology.⁶ Schleiermacher does not ground the validity of religion on objects, but the subjective religious consciousness.⁷ Wagner explains that self-consciousness is not grounded on theology but on the grace of the Ground of Being.⁸ However, Dietz Lange would not interpret the understanding of Religion between Hegel and Schleiermacher in a polemic relation. Lange thinks that Schleiermacher has distanced himself from the metaphysics and ethics especially against Kant and Fichte in *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, but he has not built up a new understanding of humanity yet. What Schleiermacher has successfully achieved, is to put feeling as the correlated concept beside thinking and action.⁹ Lange means that Schleiermacher has not yet built up a solid understanding of Religion. Therefore, it is too early to conclude any difference between Hegel and Schleiermacher. Lange points out that Hegel has mentioned Schleiermacher's idea of religion in *Glauben und Wissen* (1802), however there was not any polemic position against Schleiermacher. Lange finds that there are common elements between Hegel and Schleiermacher in Hegel's *Differenz des Fichteschen und Schellingschen Systems* (1801). The conception of perception (*Anschauung*) that Schleiermacher added in *The Christian*

⁶ Falk Wagner, *Was ist Theologie? Studien zu ihrem Begriff und Thema in der Neuzeit* (Gerd Mohn: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1989), 69.

⁷ Falk Wagner, "Funktionalität der Theologie und Positivität der Frömmigkeit," in *Schleiermacher und die wissenschaftliche Kultur des Christentums*, ed. Günter Meckenstock (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 293.

⁸ Wagner, *Was ist Theologie?* 70.

⁹ Dietz Lange, "Die Kontroverse Hegels und Schleiermachers um das Verständnis der Religion," *Hegel-Studien* 18 (1983): 203.

Faith, is positively elaborated in Hegel's writings. Hegel called the aesthetic perception as the objective intellect.¹⁰ Lange reminds us that the difference between Schleiermacher's *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* and *The Christian Faith* is not the concept of feeling, but the inclusion of the concept of perception.¹¹

Ulrich Barth has given us a substantial literature review on Schleiermacher studies including hermeneutics, dialectics, ethics, religion and dogmatics.¹² When we choose a starting point of Schleiermacher's theology, Christology is the right choice.¹³ For Schleiermacher, "there is no other way of obtaining participation in the Christian communion than through faith in Jesus as Redeemer."¹⁴ In facing the critique of the Enlightenment of the christological and trinitarian dogmas as irrational and nonsense, Schleiermacher published *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* in 1791. He emphasizes that true religion is not mere dogmas, but a "sense of the infinite", that means individual and personal elements of religion are more basic than dogma and the structured institution. However, he puts much emphasis on the church as a believing community in *The Christian Faith* published in 1821-1822. Chapter fifteen to nineteen of *The Christian Faith*, Schleiermacher explains the role of dogma as science which formulates Christian beliefs in the Christian

¹⁰ Lange, "Die Kontroverse Hegels und Schleiermachers um das Verstandnis der Religion," 209.

¹¹ Lange, "Die Kontroverse Hegels und Schleiermachers um das Verstandnis der Religion," 211.

¹² Ulrich Barth, "Schleiermacher-Literatur im letzten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts," *Theologische Rundschau* 66 (2001): 408-61.

¹³ B. A. Gerrish, *A Prince of the Church. Schleiermacher and the Beginnings of Modern Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 37.

¹⁴ Friedrich Schleiermacher, H.R. Mackintosh, and J.S. Stewart, eds. *The Christian Faith* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989), 68.

community.¹⁵ Actually, the focus of *The Christian Faith* is Christology.¹⁶ Schleiermacher is also an important figure in the area of hermeneutics. He is also called as "father of modern theology." Comparing the introductions of the first and second edition, self-consciousness of the infinite is closely related to Jesus of Nazareth.¹⁷ According to Schleiermacher, theology could be divided into three parts: Philosophical Theology which deals with religious self-consciousness, Historical Theology which deals with Dogmatics and Church teachings, and Practical Theology which deals with the practical works in the church.

III. Schleiermacher on Piety

About Rationalism, Schleiermacher explains piety as another item beside knowing and doing. Upon the development of piety of Schleiermacher, Christian Albrecht has given a comprehensive dissertation. Albrecht states that there are different focal points in the three writings concerning religion, namely *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* (1791, revised in 1808 & 1821), *The Christian Faith*, and *Dialectics*. In *Speeches*, Schleiermacher points out that the self could be one with the infinite in his theory of religion. In *The Christian Faith*, he uses the term "piety" (*Frömmigkeit*). In the *Dialektik*, he calls it "immediate self-consciousness"

¹⁵ Hans-Joachim Birkner, "Beobachtungen zu Schleiermachers Programm der Dogmatik," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 5 (1963): 127.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Der Mittelpunkt der Glaubenslehre Schleiermachers," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 10 (1968): 295.

¹⁷ Hayo Gerdes, "Anmerkungen zur Christologie der Glaubenslehre Schleiermachers," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 25 (1983): 122.

(*unmittelbares Selbstbewusstsein*).¹⁸ Loius Roy suggests that Schleiermacher mentions two kinds of self-consciousness in *The Christian Faith*, one is "feeling" (*Gefühl*) or immediate self-consciousness (*unmittelbares Selbstbewusstsein*). Roy suggests that Schleiermacher works with a twofold structure, namely pre-reflective (immediate) and reflective (objective) consciousness and develops the third kind of self-consciousness that links knowing and doing.¹⁹

In constructing Schleiermacher's understanding of piety and God-consciousness, it is meaningful to deal with the relationship between knowledge and piety. One should pay attention to how Schleiermacher interprets the concept of subjectivity and how to distinguish between true faith and superstition. *On Religion* was an apologetic work for cultural men. Schleiermacher calls religion "a sense and taste for the Infinite." He avoids grounding religion either on knowledge or morality, but presupposes religion as the basis for knowledge and morality. To him, piety is neither knowing nor doing;²⁰ it is a special kind of knowledge grounded in God. Piety is the knowledge of life through contemplation. This contemplation is a kind of immediate consciousness of the infinite in and through finite things.²¹ The way of knowing God is neither by rational argumentation nor by heteronomous practice of religious activities. Piety is the consciousness of our absolute dependence on God with affection. Through contemplation, we could experience our oneness with God

¹⁸ Christian Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Theorie der Frömmigkeit. Ihr wissenschaftlicher Ort und ihr systematischer Gehalt in den Reden, in der Glaubenslehre und in der Dialektik* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 11.

¹⁹ Louis Roy, "Consciousness according to Schleiermacher," *Journal of Religion* 77, no. 2 (1997): 226.

²⁰ Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Religion as Feeling and Relationship", in *Friedrich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology*, ed. Keith Clements (London: Collins, 1987), 10.

²¹ Schleiermacher, "Religion as Feeling and Relationship," 83.

in relationship, not in substance. Schleiermacher does not propose feeling replaces perception and action, but emphasizes the inseparability of the perception, feeling and action.²² Schleiermacher does not suggest an irrational understanding of religion avoiding rational criticism of religion or practicing religious norms. He challenges the way of thinking in the Enlightenment period which regards rational understanding as the sole criteria of truth. He suggests a holistic understanding of religion which consists of perception, feeling and action.²³ To him, feeling has a rational ground and an ethical implication. The spirit of God enables human beings to discover the depth of the finite things in the world.²⁴ In this paper, I could not deal with the operation of feeling with perception and action in Schleiermacher's epistemology, but I would emphasize his epistemological ground in terms of Christian dogma and the Church's communion life.²⁵ Dennis M. Doyle remarks that Schleiermacher has influenced Johann Adam Mohler's (1796-1838) communion ecclesiology.²⁶ Schleiermacher succeeds Martin Luther's understanding of the Church in which a fellowship of believers is primary while the Church structure and institution as only secondary.²⁷ However, it is problematic to interpret the universal consciousness through human's piety for a pluralistic understanding of religion.²⁸ I do agree with

²² Schleiermacher, "Religion as Feeling and Relationship," 89: "There then you have the three things about which my Speech has so far turned-perception, feeling and activity, and you now understand what I mean when I say they are not identical and yet are inseparable."

²³ Maureen Junker, *Das Urbild des Gottesbewusstseins* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 43.

²⁴ Schleiermacher, "Religion as Feeling and Relationship," 93.

²⁵ Schleiermacher, "Religion as Feeling and Relationship," 107.

²⁶ Dennis M. Doyle, "Möhler, Schleiermacher, and the Roots of Communion Ecclesiology," *Theological Studies* 57 (1996): 568.

²⁷ Doyle, "Möhler, Schleiermacher, and the Roots of Communion Ecclesiology," 469.

²⁸ Doyle, 471. I do agree with Doyle's interpretation of Schleiermacher that self consciousness of the absolute dependence is universal. However, I do not agree that Schleiermacher proposes all kinds of religions pointing to the same reality or having the same content of the self consciousness.

Doyle's interpretation of Schleiermacher that self-consciousness of the absolute dependence is universal. However, I do not agree that Schleiermacher proposes all kinds of religions pointing to the same reality or having the same content of self-consciousness. Although Schleiermacher establishes human religiosity not in institutional form of religion, but in the core element of religion, however, he does affirm the Church and Christian faith as the highest form of religiosity.²⁹ Doyle considers only *On Religion*, without consulting the mature work of Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith* (1821-1822, second edition 1830). Terrence N. Tice regards that Schleiermacher emphasizes the role of the Church for receiving God's will and this revelation. In the human's self-consciousness is fully actualized through the renewal of the Holy Spirit.³⁰ In other words, Jesus Christ is the Redeemer paving the way for our participation in the Communion with God. The Christ-centered theology of Schleiermacher regards Jesus of Nazareth as the epistemological ground of the knowledge of God, and our knowing of the truth of God is not only by rational articulation; but also by a living relationship with God. This living relationship with God is a self-awareness of our limitations and finitude and the inner urge for the satisfaction of our spiritual needs. The practice of religious morality without a personal relationship with God is not an action moved by

²⁹ Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Religion and the Religions", in *Friedrich Schleiermacher. Pioneer of Modern Theology*, ed. Keith Clements (London: Collins, 1987), 264: "To every such common sphere we ascribe a boundless activity that goes into detail, in virtue of which all individual characteristics issue from its bosom. Thus, understood, the church is with right called the common mother of us all. To take the nearest example, think of Christianity as a definite individual form of the highest order...."

³⁰ Terrence N. Tice, "Schleiermacher's Theology: Ecclesial and Scientific, Ecumenical and Reformed," in *Probing the Reformed Tradition. Historical Studies in Honor of Edward A. Dowey, Jr.*, ed. Elsie Anne Mckee and Brian G. Armstrong (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 386.

piety. Schleiermacher reminds us that the relationship with God is more basic than ethics, that is *Glaubenslehre* is more fundamental than *Sittenlehre*.³¹ When we go a step further, we would discover that Schleiermacher greatly emphasizes the role of Christian dogma and the Church in his theology.

IV. Schleiermacher on Ethics

Schleiermacher's ethics is divided into two phases: The first phase is from the late 1780's until 1803. Early in this phase, the three unpublished essays *On the Highest Good* (1789), *On What Gives Value to Life* (1792-3), and *On Freedom* (1790-3) attack Kant's ethical theory. The objection of *Outlines of a Critique of Previous Ethical Theory* (1803) is given more comprehensively and systematically. The second phase began around 1800. In this phase, Schleiermacher's mature ethics lectures, like the *Soliloquies* (1800), the *Draft of an Ethics* (1805-6), and the three early essays *On the Highest Good*, *On What Gives Value to Life* and *On Freedom*, criticize Kant's inclusion in the "summum bonum (highest good)" and rejects the concept of "categorical imperative." Schleiermacher divides his ethics into three areas: teleological, deontological and virtue ethics, namely doctrine of Good (*Güterlehre*), doctrine of Virtue (*Tugendlehre*) and doctrine of Duties (*Pflichtenlehre*), in order to reflect his emphasis—virtues over duties. For the doctrine of Virtue, Schleiermacher deals with the generative power (*Kraft*) in human beings executing the good.³² Schleiermacher gives the priority to the doctrine of Good, and treats

³¹ Tice, "Schleiermacher's Theology," 402.

³² Brent W. Sockness, "The Forgotten Moralists: Friedrich Schleiermacher and the Science of Spirit," *Harvard Theological Review* 96, no. 3 (2003): 345.

it as a way human being confronting the world. Reinhold Rieger describes Schleiermacher's ethics as a theory of historical Spirit. He reminds us the preconception of Schleiermacher's epistemology of thinking and being. Nature is the object of knowledge and reason is the knowledge of nature.³³ Schleiermacher follows Greek's division of philosophy, namely logic, physics and ethics. He identifies physics and ethics as "Supreme Science." Schleiermacher defines physics as the act of nature and ethics as the act of reason.³⁴ "Good" means historical unity of reason and nature while virtue is the power influencing this unity, and duty is the action performing this unity. The act of reason in nature has two directions—spontaneity and will. According to Schleiermacher's ethics (1812/13), reason has the function of organ and symbol. Organ serves the unity of spontaneity and will, while symbol serves the receptivity and understanding.³⁵ Rieger points out that although Schleiermacher does not elaborate the relationship between hermeneutics and dialectics in his ethics, however, the mature system of Schleiermacher's ethics is embedded in his theory of dialectics.³⁶ The relationship among hermeneutics, dialectics and ethics is beyond the concern of this paper. Brendt W. Sockness lists out four characteristics of Schleiermacher's mature ethical system. Firstly, the concept of the highest good is placed in top priority in his system. Secondly, the descriptive element is replaced by indicative element. Thirdly, ethics is not only personal, but also social. Fourthly, both personal and communal ethics have their own individuality.³⁷ It is an important issue that how

³³ Reinhold Rieger, *Interpretation und Wissen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988) , 242.

³⁴ Rieger, *Interpretation und Wissen*, 245.

³⁵ Rieger, *Interpretation und Wissen*, 247.

³⁶ Rieger, *Interpretation und Wissen*, 257.

³⁷ Sockness, "The Forgotten Moralists," 343.

Schleiermacher develops his ethics in his rejection of Kantian's rational and universal approach. H. Richard Niebuhr has classified Schleiermacher as the representative of "Christ of Culture," who surrenders distinctive Christian belief in order to gain acceptance from culture.³⁸ Albrecht Ritschl criticized Schleiermacher for neglecting the role of ethics. However, Brandt comments that both Niebuhr and Ritschl have overlooked Schleiermacher's *Sittenlehre* (1843).³⁹ Brandt points out that Schleiermacher's understanding of theology consists of doctrinal theology and ethics.⁴⁰ Jacqueline Marina points out that Schleiermacher has a critical reception of Kantian's ethics in his works, like *On Freedom* (written between 1790-1792), notes on Kant's second *Critique* (1789), *Dialogues on Freedom* (1789), and his review on Kant's *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (1799). Marina argues that *On Freedom* is Schleiermacher's mature ethical writing which is also the most Kantian one.⁴¹ According to Kant, the moral principle of discrimination (*principium diiudicationis*) and the moral principle of execution (*principium executionis*) are interrelated. The moral principle of discrimination is the categorical imperative and its validity is based on the transcendental freedom of human beings. Therefore, the rational and universal apriori principle cannot depend on any empirically given desires. In other words, the pure rational principle is the incentive for the will. Marina furthers that Schleiermacher keeps this "thinking" structure but argues for the role

³⁸ James M. Brandt, "Ritschl's Critique of Schleiermacher's Theological Ethics," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 17, no. 2 (1989): 52.

³⁹ Brandt, "Ritschl's Critique of Schleiermacher's Theological Ethics," 54-55.

⁴⁰ Brandt, "Ritschl's Critique of Schleiermacher's Theological Ethics," 56.

⁴¹ Jacqueline Marina, "Schleiermacher on the Philosopher's Stone: The Shaping of Schleiermacher's Early Ethics by the Kantian Legacy," *Journal of Religion* 79, no. 2 (1999): 194.

of feeling in the principle of execution.⁴² Marina discovers that Schleiermacher has affirmed the obligation to the laws for their rational practical effects.⁴³ It means that the moral laws themselves are the incentive for the will. From Marina's point of view, Schleiermacher shares a common view with Kant in this issue. However, Marina criticizes Schleiermacher that it is still unclear how the moral agent is to be moved to take a moral action. Marina proposes that transcendental freedom might be a possible solution.⁴⁴

V. Relationship between Piety and Ethics in Schleiermacher's Theology

In the first edition of *The Christian Faith* (1821), Schleiermacher proposes an anthropological oriented theology, but in 1830/31 edition he has changed much in his views of Christology. The universal anthropological-oriented self-consciousness of God is turned into a Christ-centered Christology as the ground of the God-consciousness.⁴⁵ Due to the new emphasis of the doctrine of sin, Schleiermacher develops his understanding of human freedom and soteriology.⁴⁶ In view of Kantian understanding of the original image (*Urbildlichkeit*) of Jesus as only an idea without any relevance to history, Schleiermacher emphasizes the unity of the original image (*Urbildlichkeit*) of Jesus and his history (*Geschichtlichkeit*).⁴⁷ Schleiermacher also integrates two

⁴² Marina, "Schleiermacher on the Philosopher's Stone," 193.

⁴³ Marina, "Schleiermacher on the Philosopher's Stone," 203. Schleiermacher has written in *On Freedom*, that "reason becomes practical only through the idea of obligation to its laws."

⁴⁴ Marina, "Schleiermacher on the Philosopher's Stone," 215.

⁴⁵ Maureen Junker, *Das Urbild des Gottesbewusstseins*, 97.

⁴⁶ Junker, *Das Urbild des Gottesbewusstseins*, 122.

⁴⁷ Junker, *Das Urbild des Gottesbewusstseins*, 174.

lines of christological thoughts, namely the fulfillment of creation (*Vollendung der Schöpfung*) and redemption (*Erlösung*).⁴⁸ Both lines of christological thoughts point to the grace of God by means of human salvation. To Schleiermacher, sin-consciousness (*Sündenbewusstsein*) and grace-consciousness (*Gnadenbewusstsein*) are in opposition.⁴⁹ Concerning this opposition, the Christian piety is a way out of the guilty feeling.⁵⁰ As the feeling of the absolute dependence on God is the highest form of consciousness, Schleiermacher goes a step further to ground the self-consciousness in the transcendental God in his *Dialektik*.⁵¹ Actually, Schleiermacher is more interested in the implications and meanings of the historical Jesus. Jesus Christ, the universal redeemer unites human beings personally and communally in Christian church through the Holy Spirit.⁵² In my opinion, the theological ground of the connection of Schleiermacher's piety and ethics is his understanding of redemption. Redemption is the regeneration and sanctification of human being. It is a process of becoming and participating in the blessedness of Christ in every moment of existence. To Schleiermacher, Christ, Church and Spirit are three important elements of redemption.⁵³ When Schleiermacher uses the word "feeling" that signifies the absolute dependence on God, he does not reduce the piety to a privatized

⁴⁸ Gerhard Ebeling, "Interpretatorische Bemerkungen zu Schleiermachers Christologie," in *Schleiermacher und die wissenschaftliche Kultur des Christentums*, ed. Günter Meckenstock (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 135.

⁴⁹ Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Theorie der Frömmigkeit. Ihr wissenschaftlicher Ort und ihr systematischer Gehalt in den Reden, in der Glaubenslehre und in der Dialektik*, 137.

⁵⁰ Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Theorie der Frömmigkeit. Ihr wissenschaftlicher Ort und ihr systematischer Gehalt in den Reden, in der Glaubenslehre und in der Dialektik*, 203.

⁵¹ Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Theorie der Frömmigkeit. Ihr wissenschaftlicher Ort und ihr systematischer Gehalt in den Reden, in der Glaubenslehre und in der Dialektik*, 262.

⁵² Junker, *Das Urbild des Gottesbewusstseins*, 1.

⁵³ Paul T. Nimmo, "The Mediation of Redemption in Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 5, no. 2 (2003): 189.

area. He never agrees that religion is only an arbitrary choice. However, Andrew Dole criticizes him for denying the supernatural intervention in the natural order.⁵⁴ In my opinion, Schleiermacher is on the one hand a church theologian who develops a new way of theological interpretation under the challenge of the Enlightenment, and on the other hand, a cultural theologian interacting with the academic circle. However, most of the cultural theologians pay attention to his universal anthropological interpretation of religiosity, and neglect the ground of Schleiermacher's understanding of religious consciousness which is in the spirit of historical Jesus. Schleiermacher regards the individual relationship with Christ (*Christus praesens*) through the Holy Spirit must take place in the "fellowship" context.⁵⁵ According to Schleiermacher, individual regeneration is not independent of the life of fellowship in the church.⁵⁶ In fact, Schleiermacher develops his theology as an exercise of ecclesial dogmatics.⁵⁷ As Christology is the center of Schleiermacher's theology, the redemption of Christ opens up human self-consciousness for God. Schleiermacher concerns more about the spiritual reality of Jesus of Nazareth than the doctrine of two natures. However, it doesn't mean that dogma is of no importance for Schleiermacher. He just wants to emphasize the subjective experience of the spiritual dimension of dogmas. In my opinion, Ralph del Colle's suggestion for understanding Schleiermacher's Christology from Spirit Christology's perspective is worth further studies.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Andrew Dole, "Schleiermacher and Otto on Religion," *Religious Studies* 40 (2004): 389.

⁵⁵ Christine Helmer, "Mysticism and Metaphysics: Schleiermacher and a Historical-Theological Trajectory," *Journal of Religion* 83, no. 4 (2003): 528.

⁵⁶ Nimmo, "The Mediation of Redemption in Schleiermacher's Glaubenslehre," 190.

⁵⁷ Bruce L. McCormack, "What Has Basel to do with Berlin? Continuities in the Theologies of Barth and Schleiermacher," *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (2001): 146-73.

⁵⁸ Ralph del Colle, "Schleiermacher and Spirit Christology: Unexplored Horizons of the Christian Faith," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 1, no. 3 (1999): 286-307.

VI. Schleiermacher's Theology and the Implication for Sino-Theology

As a Chinese Christian theologian, I would suggest the following points for the development of Sino-Theology:

Firstly, Christianity studies without faith is impossible. When we consider Schleiermacher's definition of religion as the feeling of the absolute dependence, it is quite easy for us to interpret religious feeling as a general and universal experience without reference to the commitment to any religion. Schleiermacher uses the term "feeling of absolute dependence" for interpreting religion because he wants to show the universal validity of religious piety. He wants to avoid the trap of rationalism in which anything beyond the limits of reason is meaningless. His aim is to show the relevancy of the Christian faith for cultural men. He would not agree that the human's religious feeling could replace our faith in God. When we come together to reflect the influence of the Enlightenment thinking for Western and Eastern cultures, it is important to realize that "reason" is not the final criteria for truth. As "reason" is not the ultimate truth for religion, we have to pay more attention to understanding religion by faith. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, we would regard rational and objective studies of religion as more accurate than subjective experience of religion. However, this way of thinking neglects the limitations of reason and ignores the grounds of theological epistemology.

Secondly, anthropological approach to the transcendent God should be grounded in the transcendental reality of God. For many philosophers and cultural theologians, they have the tendency for searching self-transcendence. They have high ideals and seek for the truth eagerly. Especially, most of them have high moral-standard living. However, Schleiermacher's theology shows us how to

understand theology from below. This anthropological understanding of religion should be the way of approaching religion. If there is no ultimate transcendental reality, the aim of the continual self-transcendence remains unclear. Schleiermacher's theology is grounded in Christian dogma. The Triune God is the transcendental ground for human self-consciousness. The Jesus of Nazareth is the focus of the Christian revelation. Jesus Christ, the only Son of God and the only way for human redemption. Schleiermacher does not give up this dogmatic position, but presupposes them in his interpretation of religion as self-consciousness.

Thirdly, feeling, reason, and morality are interrelated. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, there is a tendency to separate religion from ethics. The development of ethics is trying to avoid any religious elements in determining ethical criteria. In a pluralistic religious society, we emphasize mutual respect and religious tolerance. Even under modern criticism of religion by Sigmund Freud, Ludwig Feuerbach, and Karl Marx, we would expect elimination of the inhuman element of religion. We hope for the liberation of human being's potential and live for an abundant life. However, the secular, humanistic and even post-modern understanding of ethics tends to be "relative" and losing an absolute norm. Schleiermacher's theology avoids the overemphasis of reason and interprets religiosity from subjective feeling of absolute dependence. He shows us the inter-relatedness of feeling, reason and morality.

Fourthly, Schleiermacher's theology of piety and ethics is a way responding to the Enlightenment thinking. It is a common mistake to understand Schleiermacher's understanding of piety as a kind of feeling without ethical implications. Schleiermacher interprets religious commitment in an affective way and to highlight the subjective feeling of absolute dependence on God as the ground of

ethical action. Here lies the difference between Christian Ethics and Kantian understanding of "categorical imperative." The ethical action for Schleiermacher is a normative practice of Christian faith. It is not a kind of rational calculation or fulfilling the requirement from rules outside the moral agent. It is a subjective actualization of human's mission in life and the ethical action is thereby a natural consequence of the practice of faith. Schleiermacher's theology rejects any reduction of the study of religion as the social function in society. He insists on the core of religion in the subjective encounter with the transcendental reality. This encounter in the area of affection opens a way for integrating piety and ethics.

Fifthly, Schleiermacher's role of cultural theologian and church theologian is an example for Sino-theologians. Schleiermacher is a scholar pastor who serves in the Christian community and University. As a church theologian, he is faithful to the Christian dogma and the church community. As a cultural theologian, he is sensitive to the academic world. His vision is to respond to the philosophical thought from a theological perspective in his time. He does not accept parts of the Christian dogmas, but succeeds the "Catholic" faith from the Christian tradition. He is a dogmatic theologian in the sense that he is faithful to the doctrine of Trinity and the doctrine of Christ. As a Chinese Christian theologian, I greatly appreciate about Christianity studies in mainland China. Even most of the scholars are non-Christians; I think it is a blessing for the academic world and for all the people in China. However, I have reservation in excluding church theology in the area of cultural theological research, because it will lose the root of theological studies. Schleiermacher's theology will continue to exert great influence in the future because of the depth of his theology and the relevancy for the human inner needs.

ABSTRACT

In the eighteenth century, Western Europe was recovered from the religious war and began optimistic for the future. The Enlightenment Rationalism started from Britain and influenced France and Germany. In Germany, the focus of the Enlightenment was the historical study. G.E. Lessing doubted how eternal truth could derive from particular accidental historical event. Immanuel Kant defined knowledge within the limits of the experience of the object, but not the object itself. Reason became the criteria of truth and has challenged the validity and relevancy of the Christian faith. In Germany, Pietism and Romanticism became a response to the Enlightenment. J.G. Fichte interpreted God as the supreme model of moral duty, and G.W.F. Hegel attempted to grasp the ultimate truth by means of the human spirit. Friedrich Schleiermacher went his own way and avoided interpreting religion as a rational system nor a set of moral rules, but as a kind of consciousness of an absolute dependence on God. This article deals with Schleiermacher's idea on piety and gives response from the sino-theological perspective. This article is divided into six parts: the first part is an introduction. The second part is the theological construction of Schleiermacher. The third part is Schleiermacher on piety. The fourth part is Schleiermacher on ethics. The fifth part is the relationship between Schleiermacher's piety and ethics. The sixth part is the implications of Schleiermacher for Sino-Theology. Firstly, the Christian studies should have personal faith. Secondly, the anthropological search for God should be built on the reality of the transcendent God. Thirdly, feeling, reason and ethics are interrelated. Fourthly, Schleiermacher's theology of piety and ethics was a response to the Enlightenment. Fifthly, Schleiermacher is both a cultural and church theologian.

撮 要

十八世紀西歐經歷宗教戰爭後對將來持樂觀態度，啟蒙運動的影響由英國擴展至法國和德國。德國啟蒙運動的焦點是歷史研究，萊辛質疑偶發及個別歷史事件如何引伸永恒意義。康得將知識定為經驗客體的範圍內，而不是事物。理性主義帶來經驗主義及對形上學的抗拒，理性成為判別真理的標準，影響啟蒙運動的理性主義挑戰基督教信仰的真實及適切。在德國，敬虔運動及浪漫主義成為回應理性主義的思潮。菲希特則詮釋上帝為道德責任的最高理型，黑格爾則循人的心靈尋找終極真理。施萊爾馬赫則別樹一幟，拒絕將宗教定為理性系統或者道德律令，而從人的感受描繪絕對依賴神的情懷。本篇文章主要交待施萊爾馬赫對敬虔的觀點，並從華人神學的觀點回應。本篇論文分為六個部分：第一部分是導言，第二部分是施萊爾馬赫的神學建構，第三部分是施萊爾馬赫論敬虔，第四部分是施萊爾馬赫論倫理，第五部分是施萊爾馬赫論敬虔與倫理的關係，第六部分是施萊爾馬赫神學對漢語神學的啟迪。首先，基督教研究不能沒有信仰。第二，從人類學進路尋找超越的上帝必須建基於超越上帝的實體。第三，感受、理性及道德是相互關連的。第四，施萊爾馬赫的敬虔與倫理神學是一條回應啟蒙運動的道路。最後，施萊爾馬赫同時是文化神學家及教會神學家。