

religious transcendence as an aesthetic experience. In Berlin, Carl Blechen (1798–1840) by contrast sundered the concept of landscape into solemnity on the one hand, and irony on the other. The religious implications of Romanticism have been systematically evaluated only in recent research. Particularly in Germany, Romanticism acquired a political component in the context of national unification and rejection of → Napoleon. Late Romanticism is marked by a tendency towards fairy tale (Moritz v. Schwind [1804–1871]), → sagas and legends, and national chivalric epics, as in the Emperor and Nibelungen cycles of Schnorr v. Carolsfeld in Munich (Residenz, 1831–1867).

Romanticism found expression particularly in painting and graphic arts; for a long time, sculpture remained locked in the forms of the Classical-Idealist canon. Nevertheless, B. → Thorvaldsen frequented the Nazarene circle in Rome; in his statue of Christ (Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen, 1828) he created the Romantic ideal picture of an irenic God transcending the confessions. A criterion for architecture was the return to the Middle Ages, for example in the Neogothic designs of K.F. → Schinkel (Friedrich-Werder Church, Berlin, 1821–1823). Yet in the early 19th century architecture largely bore classical features. Historical tendencies (→ Historicism) are reflected in the wishes of patrons such as Louis I of Bavaria (Walhalla near Regensburg) and the “Romantic on the throne,” → Frederick William IV (Friedenskirche, Potsdam). Romantic ideas occur in garden design, notably in Britain, with the close connection between buildings and their landscape setting.

In Germany, Romanticism is also the birthplace of the history of art as a historical discipline. It became a distinct academic discipline with Carl Friedrich v. Rumohr (*Italienische Forschungen*, 1827–1831) and Johann David Passavant (*Rafael von Urbino*, 1839), in reaction to W.H. → Wackenroder and L. Tieck (*Herzenergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, 1797 [Outpourings from the heart of an art-loving monastic brother]), F. Schlegel’s descriptions of paintings (*Europa*, 1803–1805), and the rise of the secular cult of → Raphael.

F. Novotny, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780–1880*, 1971 • K. Gallwitz, ed., *Die Nazarener*, 1977 • W. Busch, *Die notwendige Arabeske*, 1985 • H. Börsch-Supan, *Die deutsche Malerei von Anton Graff bis Hans von Marées 1760–1870*, 1988 • C.A. Grewe, “The Invention of the Secular Devotional Picture,” *Word & Image* 16, 2000, 45–57 • M.B. Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined*, 2001 • W. Busch, *C.D. Friedrich. Ästhetik und Religion*, 2003. Michael Thimann

## II. Church History

**1. General.** In the first half of the 19th century, Romanticism was one of the movements influencing dif-

ferent confessional redefinitions of churches, theology, and religion. The main features of this redefinition were the elevation of → confession to a religion, the growing independence of belief, legitimization of the subjective, and the organic view of society, insistence on the historical, and openness to the world of culture and education. Religion freed to be itself could separate from the functional claims of confession and morality. → Religion became a value in itself. Its central act was to believe, not any particular belief. This increased the value of individual acts of faith as compared with social forms of belief, and attached more importance to feeling than to metaphysical, rational or confessional understandings that thought of themselves as knowledge. Individualization brought with it a sharper awareness of the importance of the historical, and therefore also a new evaluation of the historical individuality of the confessional churches. This resulted in emphasis on historical disciplines in theology and the historical-critical method.

The new definition in terms of Romanticism was supported by Protestant and Catholic movements and circles. These groupings saw themselves as sociable friendship circles and “families,” therefore also as anticipation of a renewed universal religion and a renewed confessional church. The groups formed first in German university cities. Their circles often intersected, and also gained in importance across boundaries in Europe and North America.

**2. Historical development.** Despite the claim of early Romanticism, over against established religions, to be a new “mythology” to transcend all religions in the world, Romanticism generally elevated religion and talk of religion, even where it showed nihilistic traits. Religion, in the multiplicity of its manifestations, was discovered as an independent expression of humanity. The “language and wisdom of India” (F. Schlegel, 1808) were enthusiastically received, as were the Germanic and Romance traditions of Europe. Thus F.D.E. → Schleiermacher’s *Über die Religion* (1799, 1993; ET: *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, 1988) sees religion as independent → religiosity, that does not want primarily to be theology, but speaks rather of the existential concern of humanity dependent on God. Philosophy, and especially poetry, can express what is not expressible for theological derivations. Hence the rewriting, for instance, of Neopietist hymns by Clemens Brentano and L. → Hensel. Hence also the spectacularly staged conversions, for example of F. and Dorothea Schlegel to Catholicism (1808). The propagation of demonstrative general confession did not result from dogmatic conviction, but from the Romantic understanding of religion as a universal union of all opposites, including public worship and the intimate convictions of faith. Thus the

early Romantics, especially, aimed to link the authentic immediacy of the oral with the inspiration of writers' public lectures, including for religious instruction. The sermon prospered as a form. Schleiermacher's influence as a preacher and academic teacher was greater than as an author. Through colleagues in Berlin such as W.M.L. de → Wette and A. → Neander, his concept of religion influenced 19th-century → mediation theology, and also Catholic theology, for example that of the Tübingen school (→ Tübingen: I).

With high Romanticism from c. 1800, the claim of early Romanticism to surpass ecclesial Christianity weakened, whereas the influence on religious controversies of the time, especially in southern Germany, increased. Authors such as Z. → Werner and C.M. → Hofbauer preached publicly to thousands in Vienna at the time of the Congress of Vienna. Hofbauer and his circle of Vienna Romantics repudiated → Josephinism. Through their students, such as Cardinal Joseph Othmar v. Rauscher (1797–1875), they gained increasing church-political influence in Europe. They campaigned for the pope's return from Napoleonic imprisonment and for Roman centralism. Their philosophy of the ideal society, as formulated by A.H. → Müller, sees the state as an organism whose members form part of a sacral whole. Related ideas were also propagated in the Münster circle around F.F.W. → Fürstenberg and Amalia → Gallitzin. F.L. Graf zu → Stolberg, whose conversion to the Catholic Church in 1800 had begun the series of conversions, began to publish a universal but at the same time confessionally defined history of the world, entitled *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi*, in 1806, at the invitation of this circle. It initiated the historical self-definition of German Catholicism. Further high-profile self-definitions included the daily paper *Der Rheinische Merkur*, founded in 1814 by J. v. → Görres. Görres's *Christliche Mystik* (1835–1842) extended mystical religiosity across confessional boundaries, and also included Far Eastern religious thought. As in the Münster circle, Görres's concept of religion is indebted not only to Romantic influences. The Landshut group associated with J.M. → Sailer also took up pre-Romantic conceptions of church and religion, and combined them with Romantic notions. At Landshut University Sailer attracted, from 1799, a circle of administrators, theologians, and writers who thought of the Catholic Church especially as a mystery founded on the love of Christ. Here revival movements (→ Revival/Revival movements) were combined with modern pastoral theology and renewed → edifying literature. Sailer's widely distributed translation of → Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and much later Brentano's *Das bittere Leiden unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* (1833 [The bitter suffering of our Lord Jesus

Christ]), were characteristic of this new piety, which consciously went together with the contemporary renewal of popular piety in → pilgrimages, in the new form of the → Sacred Heart of Jesus cult, and the veneration of → saints. The university was transferred to → Munich in 1826, and through a deliberate policy of appointing Sailer's students a center of Catholic Romanticism was founded there. The philosopher of religion F.X. v. → Baader and Görres, in particular, propagated a mystically inspired but at the same time confessionally bound religiosity. In this, God's presence in creation was understood as sacramental, prayer as the human expression of love for God, and society as a part of the body of Christ. From this understanding of the church, many became engaged in the → social question early on. The groups associated with Sailer and P.B. → Zimmer influenced theologians inspired by Romanticism even beyond Bavaria: in Lucerne, Alois Gügler (1782–1827), Joseph Widmer (1779–1844), and Franz Geiger (1755–1843); and the Catholic Tübingen school around Johann Sebastian Drey (1777–1853). Here theologians like Drey combined Sailer's pastoral theology with Schleiermacher's theology of experience and F.W.J. → Schelling's philosophy of identity. Yet to speak of a separate "Romantic theology" would be to over-emphasize Romantic influences. In Berlin, from 1816, in the Maikäfer Gesellschaft (Cockchafer society) the brothers Leopold and Ludwig v. → Gerlach formed a circle of artists, politicians, and officers whose main interest was Romantic and at the same time Neopietist poetry and politics. As with the influence of Neoromanticism among Catholics, here, too, Romantic religiosity defined the pastoral renewal of Berlin Neopietism, for example at the Spittelkirche (H.D. → Hermes) and the Bethlehemkirche (J. → Jänicke). Between 1840 and 1861, under → Frederick William IV, highly conservative members of the Gerlach circle also gained church-political influence.

Through European Romantics, particularly S.T. → Coleridge, Romanticism, → transcendental philosophy, and the historical-critical method increased in importance beyond the German-speaking countries. In Britain, Schleiermacher's theology entered into debates on the philosophy of religion in the 19th century, including those around the High Church → Oxford Movement. Coleridge and T. → Carlyle, and also theologians such as P. → Schaff and J.W. → Nevin from the German Reformed seminar in Mercersburg (PA), conveyed Romantic ideas of religion to theology in the United States (→ Mercersburg theology). In particular, non-ecclesial transcendentalism in New England and its pantheist Idealism, seen most prominently in the writings of R.W. → Emerson and his friend H.D. → Thoreau, owed much to Romanticism. Unlike Emerson,

H. → Bushnell, regarded as the “American Schleiermacher,” succeeded in combining Romantic religiosity with the Puritan tradition, bringing the social dimension into theology and the pastoral ministry.

**3. Influence.** Romanticism only ever had an effect in conjunction with other 19th-century trends, so that a precise separation of influences and connections remains difficult; in large areas, further research is required. To speak of “Romantic theology” does not seem tenable, nor is it possible to separate unambiguously Romantic redefinitions in church history from other movements such as Neopietism or mediation theology. Nor can one speak confessionally, in the perspective of international church history, of a unilateral confessional affinity of Romanticism. Persons, circles, and concepts often intersected, varied in the course of the 19th century, and were still influential up to the Neoromantic → life reform movements of the first third of the 20th century. There has so far been no modern investigation – taking into account the present state of research into Romanticism – of the relation between Romanticism and church history.

F. Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. IV, 1929 • *HKG(J)*, 6/1, 2, 1971–1973 • H. Stephan & M. Schmidt, *Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie in Deutschland seit dem Idealismus*, 1973 • H. Fries & G. Schweiger, eds., *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1975 • M. Greschat, ed., *Theologen des Protestantismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 1978 • T.F. O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism*, 1982 • N. Smart et al., eds., *Nineteenth-Century Religious Thought in the West*, 3 vols., 1985 • A. Rauscher, ed., *Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen im deutschen Katholizismus seit 1800*, 1986 • L. Grane, *Die Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1987 • F. Wagner, “Zur Theologiegeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,” *ThR* 53, 1988, 113–200 • M. Weitlauff, ed., *Katholische Kirche und Theologie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 1990 • J.E. Thiel, *Imagination and Authority*, 1991 • H. Münk, “Die deutsche Romantik in Religion und Theologie,” in: H. Schanze, ed., *Romantik-Handbuch*, 1994, 556–589 • A. Holzem, *Weltversuchung und Heilsgewißheit. Kirchengeschichte im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 1995 • J. Rohls, *Protestantische Theologie der Neuzeit*, vol. I, 1997 • G. Besier, *Kirche, Politik und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1998 • M. Weitlauff, *Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1998. *Gerhard Lauer*

### III. Philosophy

The most ambitious philosophical protagonists of Jena's early Romanticism, Novalis and F. Schlegel, outlined the relevant problem areas for a philosophy of religion at the beginning of the 19th century, and pointed the way forward. Denoting an artistic movement above all, “Romantic” becomes the index of a philosophical self-understanding, whose typical features are: (1) the call for a synthesis of philosophy and poetry along the lines of “progressive universal poetry” (see above I, 1); (2) a utopian view of reality based on dissolution of the boundaries of aesthetic experience in order to yield an over-arching whole; (3) the primacy of creative imagination as opposed to that of theoretical philosophy in the Idealist systemic thought of G.W.F. → Hegel and that of

Schelling's philosophy of identity, as also against the primacy of the practical in the writings of Fichte (in Jena); (4) the rejection of conceptually organized systemic thought in favor of non-systematic genres (fragment, aphorism, conversation); (5) opposition to all ultimate arguments that appeal – other than in endless approximation – affirmatively to a cause, or positively to an absolute (cf. Novalis's *Schriften*, vol. II, 269); (6) affinities with the tradition of → negative theology, that started with → Parmenides and constantly bears in mind the inconceivability of the absolute through negation of all conceivable predicates, and, in the light of this unattainable absolute, finds a way of dealing as aptly as possible with its own ineptitude, in paradoxically ironical figures of speech and rhetoric (cf. *ibid.* 269f.); (7) the foundation of a hermeneutics that aims for the continuum of a never-ending process of reflection and states that the endless interpretability of a work must be reflected in the comprehension and continuing composition of the work through its reception (cf. Schlegel, KA, vol. II, 162); (8) the foundation of a criticism of art that is understood as an exponential coherence of forms present in the work itself, not as the achievement of a subject reflected in his or her works; (9) the revaluation of nature as present in → Spinozism, extended to become the center of a speculative and mythological → natural philosophy, in opposition to Fichte; (10) the establishment of the historical humanities, especially through the translations of A.W. Schlegel and F.D.E. Schleiermacher, and the founding of historical linguistics by F. Schlegel.

Hegel's verdict was that Romantic philosophy remained dependent on Fichte's form of German Idealism – subjectively elaborated – and this view prevailed in the 19th and 20th centuries (S. → Kierkegaard, K. → Marx, Heine, M. → Weber, and C. → Schmitt). The rehabilitation of Romanticism and its philosophy was essentially launched by W. → Benjamin and, following him, T.W. → Adorno.

*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. E. Behler et al., 1958ff. • *Novalis Schriften*, ed. P. Kluckhohn & R. Samuel, 5 vols., 1960–1988 • W. Benjamin, *Der Begriff der Kunstskritik in der deutschen Romantik*, ed. H. Schweppenhäuser, 1973 • W. Schulz, *Metaphysik des Schwebens*, 1985 • M. Elsässer, *Friedrich Schlegels Kritik am Ding*, 1994 • L. Hühn, “Das Schweben der Einbildungskraft. Zur frühromantischen Überbietung Fichtes,” *DVjs* 70, 1996, 569–599 • M. Frank, “Unendliche Annäherung”, 1997. *Love Hühn*

### IV. Philosophy of Religion

Turning away from a rationalist Enlightenment concept of religion, Romanticism's philosophy of religion was interested in overcoming any reduction of religion to principles of → morals and/or speculative → metaphysics. Paradigmatically, attention may be drawn to a theological,