

Four calls for religious reforms in the 1780s: Urlspurger, Joseph II of Austria, Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia

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SUMMARY

The religious life of German-speaking Europe became increasingly variegated during the second half of the eighteenth century. This fact may be observed through the writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Karl Heinrich Bogatzky, Hermann Samuel Reimarus, August Wilhelm Friedrich and Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg. The changes were the result of an important shift in European culture: in this period the foundation of religion and what was necessary to constitute religious legitimacy was shifting from the will of sovereigns to the consensus beliefs of the peoples. This second phenomenon may be

observed through four different calls for religious reforms that were made between 1780 and 1788 by Joseph II, the ruler of the Habsburg domains in Central Europe and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; Friedrich Wilhelm II, the king of Prussia; Immanuel Kant, the professor of logic and metaphysics at the world's second oldest Protestant university; and Johann August Urlspurger, a Lutheran pastor and one of the few German corresponding members of the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Their different calls for reform illustrate this trend as well as how religious consensus in German society began to fragment and reform around multiple expressions of belief and unbelief.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das religiöse Leben im deutschsprachigen Europa erfuhr eine zunehmende Vielfalt in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Dies ist wahrzunehmen in den Schriften von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Karl Heinrich Bogatzky, Hermann Samuel Reimarus, August Wilhelm Friedrich und Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg. Die Veränderungen waren das Ergebnis eines bedeutenden Wandels in der europäischen Kultur: In dieser Zeit änderten sich die Grundlagen für Religion und das, was für religiöse Legitimation nötig war; nicht länger war Religion vom Willen der Herrscher abhängig, sondern vom Glaubenskonsens der Völker. Dieses Phänomen lässt sich auch in vier unterschiedlichen Aufrufen zu

religiösen Reformen zwischen 1780 und 1788 beobachten: Sie ergingen seitens Josefs II., Herrscher der habsburgischen Gebiete in Mitteleuropa und Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, Friedrich Wilhelm II., König von Preussen, Immanuel Kant, Professor für Logik und Metaphysik an der zweitältesten protestantischen Universität, und seitens Johann August Urlspurger, lutherischer Pfarrer und eines der wenigen auf Deutsch korrespondierenden Mitglieder der Londoner Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung christlichen Gedankenguts. Ihre unterschiedlichen Rufe nach Reform veranschaulichen diesen Wechsel und auch die Art und Weise, wie religiöser Konsens in der Gesellschaft in Deutschland zu fragmentieren und sich um vielfältige Ausdruckformen von Glauben und Unglauben zu gruppieren begann.

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RÉSUMÉ

La vie religieuse de la partie germanophone de l'Europe a manifesté une diversification croissante au cours de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Ce phénomène peut s'observer en considérant les écrits de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, de Karl Heinrich Bogatzky, de Hermann

Samuel Reimarus, d'August Wilhelm Friedrich et de Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg. Les changements sont intervenus en conséquence d'une évolution de la culture européenne. À cette époque, la base de la religion et des conditions de la légitimité religieuse a cessé d'être déterminée par la volonté des souverains pour être définie par le consensus des peuples quant à leurs

croyances. Cette évolution transparaît dans les différents appels à des réformes religieuses qui ont été lancés entre 1780 et 1788 par les quatre figures suivantes : Joseph II, le souverain des domaines de Habsbourg en Europe centrale et l'empereur de l'empire romain germanique, Friedrich Wilhelm II, roi de Prusse, Emmanuel Kant, professeur de logique et de métaphysique dans l'une des deux plus anciennes universités protestantes,

et Johann August Urlsperger, un pasteur luthérien et l'un des quelques rares correspondants allemands de la Société pour la Promotion du Savoir Chrétien basée à Londres. Les appels différents à une réforme qu'ils ont lancés illustrent bien la tendance et montrent comment le consensus religieux de la société germanique a commencé à se fragmenter et à évoluer vers de multiples expressions de foi et d'incrroyance.

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The Enlightenment

The religious landscape of German-speaking Europe in the late eighteenth century presents us with an exceedingly complex cultural picture. No lesser observer of German culture than the author and philosopher Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1748-1832) commented on the general religious tumult of these times, remarking that during his days as a law student at the University of Leipzig between 1765 and 1768, 'the Christian religion fluctuated between its own historic beliefs and a pure deism'.¹ Not only was there tremendous diversity of metaphysical beliefs and practices, but in the ten years before the French Revolution of 1789, four calls for religious reforms came from different corners of German-speaking Europe: from Vienna, Berlin, Königsberg and Augsburg, from individuals who possessed different types of authority: Joseph II, the ruler of the Habsburg domains in Central Europe and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; Friedrich Wilhelm II, the king of Prussia; Immanuel Kant, the professor of logic and metaphysics at the world's second oldest Protestant university; and Johann August Urlsperger, a Lutheran pastor and one of the few German corresponding members of the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The proliferation of multifarious expressions of religiosity in German society, by which I mean individuals' supernaturally-oriented cognitions, emotions and behaviours,² was indicative of a single long-term cultural trend, which was among the most significant historical developments of the eighteenth century. The foundation of European religion and what was necessary to constitute religious legitimacy was shifting from the will of sovereigns to the consensus beliefs of the peoples. In earlier centuries monarchs had generally been able to successfully prescribe the boundaries of religions in their territories by regulating which confession was accorded the benefits of an

established church and whether or not others were tolerated or banned. But now the progress of the Enlightenment eroded rulers' abilities to exercise their right of reformation, *jus reformandi*, as it greatly undermined public confidence in the legitimacy of such actions. To be sure, this was a gradual trend in European cultural history, but from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards the pace of this shift began to increase. The marked growth in the production of scholarship and the commercialised distribution of the findings of academic enquiry facilitated the acceleration this trend. Paul Raabe has determined that between 1763 and 1800 the production of books in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire increased by 300%.³ This significant increase in the access to information precipitated new ways of thinking about religion while the further expansion of German print culture enhanced the ability of authors from the entire range of religious perspectives to communicate their messages.

Jürgen Kocka has defined the Enlightenment as a movement that aimed at a comprehensive liberation of people from traditional constraints, prejudices which had been handed down, and illegitimate authority. The movement wanted to sweep away ignorance, superstition and intolerance through education, public criticism and free discussion, and it wanted to make the mature use of reason the governing rule of all private and public relationships.⁴

The public intellectual and spiritual climate created by the enlightened ideal did not yield a uniform set of conclusions about the natural and supernatural worlds as some philosophers had anticipated it would. As Paula Hyman has noted, even the forcible closures of churches and synagogues in France during the Reign of Terror were unsuccessful in bringing about a 'new enlightened society with a universalistic culture'.⁵ The true fruit of

the Enlightenment was how consensus coalesced around multiple sets of beliefs, as their proponents argued their respective merits to the members of society at large in the manner described by Kocka.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

I will begin my examination of this shift by returning to Goethe's reflections on religious life in the 1760s. Based on their religious attitudes, Goethe discerned the existence of two basic kinds of groups in society, whom he likened to butterflies and flowers. Recall that butterflies reach the adult stage in their lifecycle by going through a transformation of maturation in which the juvenile caterpillar encases itself in a chrysalis, undergoes metamorphosis and emerges several weeks later as a fully formed adult butterfly. Goethe likewise perceived as transformations of maturation the intellectual and spiritual developments of those who were moving away from expressions of Christian religiosity that had been historically prevalent in German society. Yet, just as definite biological continuity exists between caterpillars and butterflies, so too Goethe perceived continuity between the old and new religiosities, describing the latter as the 'organic perfection' of the former.⁶

In two letters to Johann Kaspar Lavater during the summer of 1782, Goethe appears to have understood himself as a butterfly. Rebuffing the evangelistic overtures of his deeply pious friend, Goethe wrote 'I am definitely not an 'anti-Christian' or an 'un-Christian', but I am decidedly a 'non-Christian'.⁷ Two weeks later Goethe made plain what he meant by this finely parsed distinction, explaining that even 'an audible voice from heaven would not persuade me that a virgin gave birth or that a man rose from the dead. Furthermore, I regard such beliefs as profanities against the great God and his revelation in nature'. Responding to his Swiss friend's assertion 'that there was nothing more beautiful than the Gospel', Goethe rejoined 'I can think of a thousand books just as beautiful as the Bible, that are older and newer than it, that are written by men whom God has pardoned and that are beneficial and indispensable for humanity'.⁸ To interpret him in the terms of his own metaphor, Goethe retained some fundamental concepts from the caterpillar stage of his intellectual and spiritual life, e.g. that there is a God, that there is divine revelation and that mankind has the need to be pardoned by God, but in becoming a fully-formed adult butterfly he left behind certain other 'juve-

nile' accompanying beliefs, which had helped to carry these more fundamental ones to maturity. While Goethe was not one of them, he nonetheless used positive imagery to describe the faith of those Christians who desired continuity and congruency with the past, those whom he referred to as flowers. The thrust of his botanical metaphorical is simpler to understand. Just as flowers' roots provide the nourishment and life-giving connection that enable their blossoms to bloom, so too did the beauty of the religiosity of this second group come from their fidelity to the faith of their fathers.⁹

Bogatzky and Reimarus

Goethe's vision of the German religious landscape is one that can be corroborated by many other period examples. In the preface to his 1761 devotional commentary on the Book of Revelation, Karl Heinrich Bogatzky, a former student of August Hermann Francke at the University of Halle, warned his readers of the dangers of attempting to read the Bible apart from the theological lenses provided by the Lutheran confessions. Bogatzky recognized certain strains of Enlightenment thought as Pelagian because they did not reckon seriously enough with the consequences of the Fall, and in their optimism about humanity's potential for goodness they did not drive people to seek salvation outside themselves in Christ alone.¹⁰ Bogatzky died in 1774 and in his posthumously published autobiography he railed against the rising generation of divinity students who did not believe that personal repentance and conversion were essential prerequisites for pastoral ministry. The only thought that consoled him in these circumstances was that there would necessarily come a day when such pastors would become 'weary of their vain speculations, their dry morality and the rest of their refined acquirements'.¹¹ On the day that they realised 'that they were unable to provide anyone with spiritual comfort at the hour of their death', they would return to the edifying writings of Luther, Arndt, Spener and Francke.¹²

In stark contrast to Bogatzky stood Hermann Samuel Reimarus, a Hamburg gymnasium teacher and the anonymous author of the five essays that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing purportedly discovered in the Wolfenbüttel Library and subsequently published between 1774 and 1778.¹³ Reimarus entitled his second and fourth essays, 'The impossibility of there being revelation that all peoples could believe'¹⁴ and 'The books of the Old Testament

were not written to reveal a religion'.¹⁵ These titles indicate the degree to which he departed from historic Lutheran orthodoxy. The subject of his fifth essay was the resurrection of Jesus. That Jesus did not publicly reveal himself to large crowds in Jerusalem after Easter morning was for Reimarus 'enough to cast all credibility of the resurrection aside'.¹⁶ He went on to rebuke those who 'sigh and complain about the unbelief of the people' when they themselves are unable to provide the kind of evidence that the resurrection had taken place that 'sound reason necessarily demands'.¹⁷

An important middle position between Bogatzky and Reimarus was that of August Wilhelm Friedrich Sack, the chaplain to King Frederick the Great for the entirety of his 46-year reign and a member of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science for nearly as long. In 1751 Sack published an apologetic work entitled *The Faith of Christians Defended*, the enlarged second edition of which appeared in 1773. In this latter edition, which ran to 824 pages, Sack declared in the language of 2 Peter 3 that the Church was now living in the 'last days' in which the 'degeneration of morals had spread in all directions and advanced against almost all humility and innocence'.¹⁸ Furthermore there was at this time 'a huge herd of non-believers and so-called free-spirits who have come up among us, who publicly speak scornfully of religion and virtue, and especially of the teaching and person of Jesus Christ, which they seek to befoul with the most outrageous blasphemies and mockeries'.¹⁹ But in response to this state of affairs, unlike Bogatzky, Sack did not advocate a zealous adherence to the Reformation-era confessions of faith. Instead he encouraged believers and nonbelievers to 'use their own eyes and examine the sources of the Christian religion for themselves'. The two sources to which Sack directed his readers were 'reason and revelation' and he urged them 'not to believe anything that did not flow out from them'. Sack continued that 'this exhortation' was what 'all the righteous theologians in the Protestant churches gave to their listeners', which may be seen as an implicit rebuke of those clergy and scholars who relied on the confessions as the definitive source of authority for all matters of faith and life.²⁰

Joseph II

In turning now to the four calls for reform, I will not consider them in chronological order but the-

matically, so as to better demonstrate the shift in the foundation of religion and the basis of religious legitimacy in German-speaking Europe. Less than a year after he acceded to the throne, Joseph II circulated his Patent of Toleration on 13 October 1781, 'being convinced that all violence to conscience is harmful and that a great benefit would accrue to both religion and the state from a true Christian tolerance'.²¹ This act emancipated the Lutheran, Calvinist and Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg territories from a host of civil restrictions that had been enforced by his mother, Maria Theresa. It enabled them to become master craftsmen, enter the civil service, obtain academic posts, own houses and real estate, operate schools and hold private worship services. The effects of this legislation were rapidly realised. As a result of immigration and of hidden Protestants declaring themselves, the size of the Protestant population in the Habsburg territories increased by over 100% within five years, rising from 74,000 to 157,000 by 1786.²² Furthermore, Joseph II decreed that Pope Clement XI's 1713 encyclical *Unigenitus Dei filius* was no longer to be enforced. This bull had condemned the proposition that 'the reading of Sacred Scripture is for all' and led Joseph II's grandfather, Charles VI, to criminalise the possession of the Bible.²³ German and later British evangelical groups recognised the abrogation of this bull as an opportunity to distribute the Bible and with their support, the Nuremberg merchant Johann Tobias Kiessling made 106 such trips to Habsburg lands before he died in 1824.²⁴

Friedrich Wilhelm II

While the policies of Joseph II displayed the progressive sensibilities of enlightened absolutism in initiating a shift in the location of responsibility for religious matters from the state to religious groups and individuals, the opposite may be seen in Friedrich Wilhelm II's Religious Edict of 9 August 1788, also issued near the beginning of his reign. Inspired by his strong commitment to Rosicrucianism, the king explained that it was his royal duty to 'preserve in Prussian territory the Christian religion of the Protestant Church in its old original purity and authenticity'.²⁵ The edict enacted restrictions against 'those who stir up the miserable errors of Socinians, Deists, Naturalists and other sects ... who extremely abuse the term "Enlightenment" to disparage the reputation of

the Bible as the revealed Word of God among the people ... and make a mockery of Christianity all over the world'.²⁶ Additionally, it compelled all Lutheran and Reformed clergy to strictly support their teaching and preaching to the letter of their confessions. There is scholarly debate over whether the document was as purely reactionary as it seems or whether, as in Christopher Clark's view, its enlightened purpose was 'to consolidate the existing confessional structures and thereby safeguard the pluralist compromise struck at the Peace of Westphalia'.²⁷ Whichever way one decides that question, the edict was a monarchical attempt to prescribe the boundaries of religiosity in Prussian society which totally failed to achieve its stated aims. In contrast to how Joseph's Patent of Tolerance transformed religious life in the Habsburg lands in a lasting way, when the successor of Friedrich Wilhelm II, Friedrich Wilhelm III, became king in 1797, he immediately took steps to repeal the edict. Noting that before the edict had become law there had been 'more religion and less hypocrisy than there was now', the young king dismissed Christoph Wöllner, the royal counsellor most responsible for the edict, without a pension.²⁸ The inability of the state and its supporters to overcome the resistance to the edict, combined with the inability of Wöllner to shape Prussian religiosity in the edict's desired direction, even with the new powers he had to implement the edict, suggests that Prussian society had reached a stage in which the consensus beliefs of the people were strong enough to override the expressed will of their sovereign.

Immanuel Kant

The edict of Friedrich Wilhelm II must have seemed like a nightmare to Immanuel Kant because it was the exact opposite of the type of royal behaviour he had praised in his famous 1784 essay 'What is Enlightenment?'²⁹ In it he had extolled his uncle, 'Frederick the Great', as 'a prince who does not find it beneath him to say that he considers it to be his *duty* [emphasis in original] to regulate nothing, but rather to leave men complete freedom in religious matters'.³⁰ At the heart of Kant's call for religious reforms was his concern that the state of religious affairs in Germany did not treat most people with human dignity as they were kept in a state of immaturity by being told by others what they must believe. Thus Kant's qualms were not primarily with the theological contents of Christian

beliefs, but with the manner in which they were inculcated in the population, which he compared to how farmers treat their livestock.³¹ He called religious immaturity the 'most harmful and dishonourable kind of immaturity'³² and exhorted his readers to 'have the courage to use your *own* understanding [emphasis in original]'.³³ By comparing the fixed statements of religious truth in the confessions of the churches to hypothetical contracts 'that would prevent all further enlightenment of the human race'³⁴ Kant seems to ignore the possibility that agreement with the confessions could ever be the conclusion of one's mature use of one's own understanding. Nonetheless, his overall vision was of a world in which religion was based on consensus without coercion and in his essay he urged the people to pursue this goal and the authorities to have nothing to fear from their realisation of it.

Johann August Urlsperger

The same religious developments that had troubled Bogatzky, Sack and Friedrich Wilhelm II troubled Johann August Urlsperger as well, but unlike the King of Prussia's heavy-handed approach to heterodoxy, he shared Kant's desire for people to use their own understanding to seek religious truth. Urlsperger called for the establishment of an 'association for promoting, vindicating and reviving Christianity in its fundamental purity in knowledge and practice', founded on 'the principles of reason and on the sacred and unerring truths of Scripture'.³⁵ During the sixteen months between August 1779 and November 1780, Urlsperger travelled throughout Bavaria, the Rhineland, the Low Countries, Hannover and Prussia in search of like-minded Christians to join him in this undertaking.³⁶ On 11 April 1780, he addressed in English a gathering of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to inform them 'that sincere and intelligent Christians in different parts of the world, desirous of defending and spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ, by means chiefly adapted to the present time'³⁷ had come to a series of resolutions. These clustered around a commitment to studying the Bible, pursuing Protestant ecumenism and engaging in evangelism, with the particular goals of 'opposing the principles and doctrines of Arianism, Socinianism and Naturalism in a convictive and friendly manner'³⁸ and 'showing the right complexion of sound Christianity, which according to the Scriptures, is rational and cheerful'.³⁹

Conclusion

To conclude, we may observe that the phenomena of secularisation and religious awakening in German society were equally influenced by the cultural shift in which the consensus belief of the people became the foundation for European religion and religious legitimacy in the two decades following the announcement of these four reforms in the 1780s. Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg, known as the poet Novalis, commented on the secularisation of European culture in his famous 1799 essay 'Christendom or Europe.'⁴⁰ This former student of Friedrich Schiller's at the University of Jena perceived that 'hatred of the Bible had grown into hatred of Christianity and finally into the hatred of religion in general' and that men in his day had come to think of the universe as 'a monstrous mill, driven by the stream of chance, that milled of itself without Builder or Miller.'⁴¹ Alternatively, Christians who were desirous of a religious awakening coalesced around Urlsperger's society. An 1802 report published in the Edinburgh Missionary Magazine states that by this time his Christianity Society had grown from its original chapter in Basle into an international network that consisted of eighteen provincial chapters across Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, France and the Netherlands which had an aggregate total of over 100 local affiliates in their provincial circles. Agents of the Society were also at work translating and distributing its literature in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, New York City and Philadelphia.⁴² This shift has characterised religion in German society from the nineteenth century onwards, down to the present day in which more individuals share in the secular consensus than in its awakened counterpart.

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Notes

- 1 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* vol 2 (Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1812) 291: 'Die christliche Religion schwankte zwischen ihrem eignen Historischpositiven und einem reinen Deismus.'
- 2 Mariel Cornwall *et al.*, 'The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model with an Empirical Test', *Review of Religious Research* 27 (1986) 226-244.
- 3 Paul Raabe, *Gelehrtenbibliotheken im Zeitalter der*

Aufklärung (Paderborn: Universität Paderborn, 1987) 21.

- 4 Jürgen Kocka, *Geschichte und Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) 140: 'Die Aufklärung war eine Bewegung, die auf die umfassende Befreiung der Menschen aus herkömmlichen Zwängen, tradierten Vorurteilen und nicht legitimer Herrschaft zielte, durch Bildung, öffentliche Kritik und freie Diskussion Unwissenheit, Aberglauben und Intoleranz ausräumen wollte und den mündigen Gebrauch der Vernunft als Regulativ aller privaten und öffentlichen Verhältnisse zur Wirkung bringen wollte.'
- 5 Paula Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 35.
- 6 Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben*, 2.292: 'Die lebhaftesten und geistreichsten Männer erwiesen sich in diesem Falle als Schmetterlinge, welche ganz ungedenken ihres Raupenstandes die Puppenhülle wegwerfen, in der sie zu ihrer organischen Vollkommenheit gediehen sind. Andere, treuer und bescheidener gesinnt, konnte man den Blumen vergleichen, die ob sie sich gleich zur schönsten Blüte entfalten, sich doch von der Wurzel, von dem Mutterstamme nicht losreißen, ja vielmehr durch diesen Familienzusammenhang die gewünschte Frucht erst zur Reife bringen.'
- 7 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Brief 313, An Lavater', in *Goethes Briefe*, vol. 1, *Briefe der Jahre 1764-1786*, edited by Karl Robert Mandelkow and Bodo Morawe (Hamburg: Christian Wegner, 1968) 402-403: 'Da ich zwar kein Widerkrist, kein Unkrist aber doch ein dezidierter Nichtkrist binn.'
- 8 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Brief 314, An Lavater', in *Goethes Briefe* 1, 403-404: 'Du hältst das Evangelium wie es steht, für die göttlichste Wahrheit, mich würde eine vernehmliche Stimme vom Himmel nicht überzeugen, daß das Wasser brennt und das Feuer löscht, daß ein Weib ohne Mann gebiert, und daß ein Todter aufersteht, vielmehr halte ich dieses für Lasterungen gegen den großen Gott und seine Offenbarung in der Natur. Du findest nichts schoener als das Evangelium, ich finde tausend geschriebene Blätter alter und neuer von Gott begnadigter Menschen eben so schön, und der Menschheit nützlich und unentbehrlich. Und so weiter!'
- 9 Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben*, 2.292.
- 10 Karl Heinrich von Bogatzy, *Gottselige Betrachtungen und Gebete über das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi*, Siebenter Theil, Zweyter Band (Halle: Verlag des Waysenhauses, 1761) 4: 'Was ich bey dieser Arbeit zu erinnern gehabt, ist bereits in der Einleitung geschehen, und ich habe hier weiter nichts hinzu zu thun, als dass ich den Christlichen Leser bitte, nicht nur alles, obwohl vornemlich, nach der heiligen Schrift, sondern auch nach unsern symbolischen Büchern zu verstehen:

denn je länger ich lebe, je schätzbarer werden mir unsere sämtliche Bekenntnisbücher, besonders in der Lehre von dem menschlichen Unvermögen in göttlichen Dingen und in der Lehre von Christo, welche zween Grund und Hauptartickelum so vielmehr recht zu lernen und zu treiben sind, je mehr man in unsern Zeiten von seinem eignen Herzen kann verleitet werden, von diesen beyden Artickeln nicht die richtigsten Gedanken zu hegen, oder sie doch nicht hoch genug zu schätzen und beständig zu treiben. Denn ob zwar diejenigen so sich zu unserer Lehre bekennen, nicht den Namen haben wollen, daß sie der menschlichen Vernunft und Kraft zu viel zuschreiben, und also in dem pelagianischen Irrthum stecken; so besorgen doch erfahrene Lehrer, daß manche in der Praxi selbst Pelagianer sind, und wol weiter gehen möchten als Pelagius...'

- 11 Karl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *The Life of Charles Henry v. Bogatzky*, trans. Samuel Jackson (London 1856) 156-157. German original: *Karl Heinrich Bogatzky, Karl Heinrich von Bogatzky's Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst beschrieben: Für die Liebhaber seiner Schriften und als ein Beytrag zur Geschichte der Spenerschen theologischen Schule herausgegeben* (Halle: Waisenhausbuchhandlung, 1801).
- 12 Bogatzky, *The Life of Charles Henry v. Bogatzky*, 157.
- 13 Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten*, ed. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (Berlin 1784).
- 14 'Zweytes Fragment: Unmöglichkeit einer Offenbarung, die alle Menschen auf eine gegründete Art glauben könnten.'
- 15 'Viertes Fragment: Daß die Bücher A.T. nicht geschrieben worden, eine Religion zu offenbaren.'
- 16 Reimarus, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten*, 298: 'Gewiss, wenn wir auch keinen weiteren Anstoß bey der Auferstehung Jesu hätten, so wäre dieser einzige, daß er sich nicht öffentlich sehen lassen, allein genug, alle Glaubwürdigkeit davon über den Haufen zu werfen: weil es sich in Ewigkeit nicht mit dem Zwecke, warum Jesus soll in die Welt gekommen seyn, zusammen reimen lässet. Es ist eine Thorheit, über den Unglauben der Menschen klagen und seufzen, wenn man ihnen die Ueberführung nicht geben kann, welche die Sache selbst, nach gesunder Vernunft, nothwendig erheischet.'
- 17 Reimarus, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten*, 298.
- 18 August Wilhelm Friedrich Sack, *Vertheidigter Glaube der Christen* (Berlin 1773) 3-4: 'Die Verdorbenheit der Sitten hat sich leider nicht allein auf allen Seiten ausgebreitet und fast alle Bescheidenheit und Unschuld verdrengt, sondern es ist auch eine ganze Schaar von Unglaubigen und sogenannten Frey-Geistern unter uns aufge-

standen, welche der Religion und Tugend öffentlich Hohn sprechen, und insbesondere die Lehre und Person Jesu Christi mit denen abscheulichsten Lästereien und Spott-Reden zu befleken suchen.'

- 19 Sack, *Vertheidigter Glaube*, 3-4.
- 20 Sack, *Vertheidigter Glaube*, 38-39: 'Allein, was thut dann das der Christlichen Religion selber? Ist dann die deswegen ungegründet und falsch, weil einige dieselbe übel verstanden, und in einer ihrer fremden Gestalt vorgestellt haben? Oder ist etwa dadurch denen Bekennern des Christenthums die Gelegenheit und die Freyheit benommen worden, ihre eigene Augen zu gebrauchen, um aus der Quelle selbst zu schöpfen? Ich wenigstens kann nicht einsehen, daß Leute Ursach zu klagen hätten, daß sie die Wahrheit nicht finden könnten, denen die zweygrossen Quellen derselben, nemlich Vernunft und Offenbarung, nicht allein zum freyen Gebrauch angepriesen, sondern die noch dazu ermahnet und gebeten werden, solche mit allem Fleisse zu gebrauchen, und nichts zu glauben, was aus denselben nicht fließet. Diese Ermahnung thun an ihre Zuhörer alle rechtschaffene Theologi in der protestantischen Kirche...'
- 21 Gustav Frank (ed.), *Das Toleranz-Patent Kaiser Joseph II. Urkundliche Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seiner Folgen* (Vienna 1882) 37: 'Überzeuget einerseits von der Schädlichkeit alles Gewissenszwanges und andererseits von dem grossen Nutzen, der für die Religion und den Staat aus einer wahren christlichen Toleranz entspringet...'
- 22 Paul K. Sadover, *The Revolutionary Emperor: Joseph II of Austria* (New York: Archon Books, 1967) 151.
- 23 Sadover, *The Revolutionary Emperor*, 163.
- 24 Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977) 31.
- 25 Friedrich Wilhelm II, 'Merkwürdiges Edict Seiner Königlichen Majestät von Preussen, die Religionsverfassung in den preussischen Staaten betreffend', in *Acten, Urkunden und Nachrichten zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte* (Weimar 1788) 461-463: 'Wir Friedrich Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnaden König von Preussen, thun kund und fügen hiermit jedermann zu wissen, daß, nachdem Wir lange vor Unserer Thronbesteigung bereits eingesehen und bemerkt haben, wie nöthig es dereinst seyn dürfte, nach dem Exempel Unserer Durchlauchtigsten Vorfahren, besonders aber Unsers in Gott ruhenden Grosvaters Majestät, darauf bedacht zu seyn, daß in den preussischen Landen die christliche Religion der protestantischen Kirche in ihrer alten ursprünglichen Reinigkeit und Aechtheit erhalten...'
- 26 Friedrich Wilhelm II, 'Merkwürdiges Edict', 469-470: 'Wir bereits einige Jahre vor Unserer Thronbesteigung mit Leidwesen bemerkt haben, daß manche Geistliche der protestantischen

- Kirche sich ganz zügellose Freiheiten, in Absicht des Lehrbegriffs ihrer Confession, erlauben; verschiedene wesentliche Stücke und Grundwahrheiten der protestantischen Kirche und der christlichen Religion überhaupt wegläugnen, und in ihrer Lehrart einen Modeton annehmen, der dem Geist des wahren Christentums völlig zuwider ist, und die Grundsäulen des Glaubens der Christen am Ende wankend machen würden. Man entblödet sich nicht, die elenden, längst widerlegten Irrthümer der Socinianer, Deisten, Naturalisten und anderer Secten mehr wiederum aufzuwärmen, und solche mit vieler Dreistigkeit und unverschämtheit durch den äusserst gemissbrauchten Namen: Aufklärung, unter das Volk auszubreiten; das Ansehen der Bibel, als des geoffenbarten Wortes Gottes immer mehr herab zu würdigen, und diese göttliche Urkunde der Wohlfahrt des Menschengeschlechtes zu verfälschen, zu verdrehen, oder gar wegzuerwerfen; den Glauben an die Geheimnisse der geoffenbarten Religion überhaupt, und vornehmlich an das Geheimniß des Versöhnungswerks und der Genugthuung des Welterlösers den Leuten verdächtig oder doch überflüssig, mithin sie darinn irre zu machen, und auf diese Weise dem Christenthum auf dem ganzen Erdboden gleichsam Hohn zu bieten.'
- 27 Christopher Clark, *The Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006) 270.
 - 28 Cited in Guy Stanton Ford, 'Wöllner and the Prussian Religious Edict of 1788, Part II', *The American Historical Review* 16 (1910) 524.
 - 29 Immanuel Kant, 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?' *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1784) 481-494.
 - 30 Kant, 'Was ist Aufklärung', 491: 'Ein Fürst, der es seiner nicht unwürdig findet, zu sagen: daß es für *Pflicht* [emphasis in original] halte, in der Religionsdingen den Menschen nichts vorzuschreiben, sondern ihnen darin volle Freiheit zu lassen...'
 - 31 Kant, 'Was ist Aufklärung', 482: 'Nachdem sie ihr Hausvieh zuerst dumm gemacht haben und sorgfältig verhüteten, daß diese ruhigen Geschöpfe ja keinen Schritt außer dem Gängelwagen, darin sie sie einsperreten, wagen durften: so zeigen sie ihnen nachher die Gefahr, die ihnen drohet, wenn sie es versuchen, allein zu gehen.'
 - 32 Kant, 'Was ist Aufklärung', 492: 'Ich habe den Hauptpunkt der Aufklärung, die des Ausganges der Menschen aus ihrer selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit, vorzüglich in *Religionssachen* [emphasis in original] gesetzt: weil ... überdem auch jene Unmündigkeit, so wie die schädlichste, also auch die entehrendste unter allen ist.'
 - 33 Kant, 'Was ist Aufklärung', 481: 'Sapere aude! Habe Mut dich deines *eigenen* Verstandes zu bedienen!'
 - 34 Kant, 'Was ist Aufklärung', 488: 'Aber sollte nicht eine Gesellschaft von Geistlichen, etwa eine Kirchenversammlung, oder eine ehrwürdige Klassis (wie sie sich unter den Holländern selbst nennt) berechtigt sein, sich eidlich unter einander auf ein gewisses unveränderliches Symbol zu verpflichten, um so eine unaufhörliche Obervormundschaft über jedes ihrer Glieder und mittelst ihrer über das Volk zu führen, und diese sogar zu verewigen? Ich sage: das ist ganz unmöglich. Ein solcher Kontrakt, der auf immer alle weitere Aufklärung vom Menschengeschlechte abzuhalten geschlossen würde, ist schlechterdings null und nichtig...'
 - 35 Johann August Urlsperger, *An Address to All Sincere promoters of the Kingdom of God, Resident in England, concerning the Establishment of an association for promoting, vindicating and reviving Christianity in its fundamental purity in knowledge and practice* (London: 1780) 8-9; see also Johann August Urlsperger, 'Etwas zum Nachdenken und zur Ermunterung für Freunde des Reiches Gottes' in E. Staehelin (ed.), *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit der Aufklärung und der beginnenden Erweckung: Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen und Publikationen* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt 1970) 97-99.
 - 36 Staehelin, *Christentumsgesellschaft*, 7.
 - 37 Urlsperger, *Address*, 7.
 - 38 Urlsperger, *Address*, 8.
 - 39 Urlsperger, *Address*, 9.
 - 40 Friedrich von Hardenberg, 'Die Christenheit oder Europa?' in Paul Kluckhohn and R.H. Samuel (eds.), *Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs* vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 507-525.
 - 41 'Der anfängliche Personalhaß gegen den katholischen Glauben ging allmählig in Haß gegen die Bibel, gegen den christlichen Glauben und endlich gar gegen die Religion über. Noch mehr – der Religions-Haß dehnte sich sehr natürlich und folgerecht auf alle Gegenstände des Enthusiasmus aus, verketzerte Fantasie und Gefühl, Sittlichkeit und Kunstliebe, Zukunft und Vorzeit, setzte den Menschen in der Reihe der Naturwesen mit Noth oben an, und machte die unendliche schöpferische Musik des Weltalls zum einförmigen Klappern einer ungeheuren Mühle, die vom Strom des Zufalls getrieben und auf ihm schwimmend, eine Mühle an sich, ohne Baumeister und Müller und eigentlich ein ächtes Perpetuum mobile, eine sich selbst mahlende Mühle sey.' Hardenberg, 'Christenheit oder Europa', 515.
 - 42 'Account of the Basle Missionary Society' in *The Missionary Magazine, For 1802, A Periodical Monthly Publication Intended as a Repository of Discussion and Intelligence Respecting the Progress of the Gospel Throughout the World* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1802) 295-299.