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# *Schwärmerei* and *Enthusiasmus* in Recent English Translations of Kant's Lectures and Writings on Anthropology

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Years after his days in Königsberg, Johann Gottfried Herder wrote: "Ich habe das Glück genoßen, einen Philosophen zu kennen, der mein Lehrer war. [...] die Gedankreichste Rede floß von seinen Lippen; Scherz und Witz und Laune standen ihm zu Gebot, und sein lehrender Vortrag war der unterhaltendste Umgang. [...] Dieser Mann, den ich [...] nenne, ist Immanuel Kant." ("I have had the good fortune of knowing a philosopher who was my teacher. [...] Talk rich in ideas issued from his lips, joking, humor and wit were at his disposal, and his teaching lectures were the most amusing entertainment. [...] This man whom I name [...] is Immanuel Kant.")<sup>1</sup>

Kant's university lectures – as recorded by students such as Herder – are an indispensable source for understanding the development of Kant's philosophy, the meaning of claims found in his published writings, and his relation to authors of the textbooks he used in his courses. Transcripts of his university lectures have been translated into English and other languages; his lectures on political philosophy, religion, metaphysics, logic, ethics, and anthropology make up a substantial part of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in English Translation*.<sup>2</sup> In the following, I will focus on the import of the *anthropology* lectures, with particular reference to the proper understanding of fanaticism and enthusiasm (*Schwärmerei* and *Enthusiasmus*).

The Cambridge Edition often (though not always) glosses *Schwärmerei* as 'enthusiasm', adding 'enthusiasm' as the translation for *Schwärmerei* in the glossary of the (only) volume that the general editors Paul Guyer and Allen Wood co-

<sup>1</sup> Johann G. Herder: Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität [Letters on the Advancement of Humanity] [1795]. Sechste Sammlung. In: Herder: Sämtliche Werke. Ed. by Bernhard Suphan. 33 vols. Berlin 1877–1913. Reprint Hildesheim 1967. Vol. 17. 404 [my translation]. Herder attended Kant's courses between 1762 and 1764 and recorded direct transcriptions of the lectures.

<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992–. General editors: Paul Guyer and Allen Wood [hereinafter referred to as: Guyer/Wood].

translated.<sup>3</sup> The choice attempts to convey the term's link to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century debates about religious enthusiasm. While this attempt is understandable, this choice has serious drawbacks. First, the appeal to the word's archaic meaning risks confusing readers and students today, for whom *enthusiasm* means something like enjoyable excitement or approval.<sup>4</sup> Not creating confusion is clearly a negative condition of any acceptable translation.

Second, it hides a crucial distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei* that Kant makes over the course of decades of writing and lecturing. As Peter Fenves put it: "Kant, like other German writers of the eighteenth century, never tired of trying to distinguish a thoroughly repugnant *Schwärmerei* from an *Enthusiasmus* without which 'nothing great in the world could take place'."<sup>5</sup> Kant's key distinction between enthusiasm and fanaticism is extremely difficult to make if *Schwärmerei* is rendered as 'enthusiasm'. Thankfully, there is an obvious and suitable alternative that is (as we will see) historically grounded: 'fanaticism'. In fact, Kant himself sometimes uses variations of *fanaticism* (*Fanaticismus*,

<sup>3</sup> One exception exists: *KrV* A 819/B 847. Cf. Guyer/Wood translation 684, *schwärmerrisch* is translated as 'fanatically'. The glossary entry for *Schwärmerei* is found at Guyer/Wood 763.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know of a place where the Cambridge Edition's general editors specifically justify the choice of 'enthusiasm' for *Schwärmerei*, but I have corresponded with students of Allen Wood about it. The former student (now a professor) gathered that Allen Wood's thought was to use 'enthusiasm' in order to match up with Locke's well-known comments in English about *enthusiasm*. In additional informal conversations with others, it was likewise suggested to me that Wood was aiming to make this connection to Locke and other modern writers. In any case, it is fair to assume that this was the aim. In the glossaries in the Cambridge Edition volumes, the term *Schwärmerei* always lists at least 'enthusiasm' (though sometimes alongside other words).

As the general editors' statement at the beginning of each volume of the Cambridge Edition makes clear, the series aims for terminological consistency. However, in the actual process of translating the Mrongovius lecture in *Lectures on Anthropology*, translators (including me and Felicitas Munzel) were thankfully given freedom to choose 'fanaticism'. Sometimes even Robert Louden, a translator in that volume who generally prefers 'enthusiasm', opted for 'fanaticism'; that is, he did so when the passage essentially demanded it. Unlike the one in *Critique of Pure Reason*, the glossary entry for *Schwärmerei* in *Lectures on Anthropology* was accordingly expanded to include more than just 'enthusiasm'.

<sup>5</sup> Kant: *Raising the Tone of Philosophy*. Trans. and ed. by Peter Fenves. Baltimore 1993, xi. See also Rachel Zuckert: *Kant's Account of Practical Fanaticism*. In: *Kant's Moral Metaphysics. God, Freedom, and Immortality*. Ed. by Benjamin J. Bruchvoort Lipscomb/James Krueger. Berlin 2010, 291–317. Kant had written in 1764: "und es ist niemals ohne denselben in der Welt etwas Großes ausgerichtet worden" (*VKK*, AA 02: 267). Compare with 1790: "man gemeinlich vorgiebt: ohne ihn könne nichts Großes ausgerichtet werden" (*KU*, AA 05:272). But then Kant goes on to question the statement, suggesting an apparent shift in his view with respect to the one defended decades earlier in *Versuch über die Krankheiten des Kopfes*.

*fanaticism*) to explain *Schwärmerei*, which strongly suggests that 'fanaticism' is the most appropriate default translation of the latter.<sup>6</sup>

Third, the archaic translation has sometimes misled or confused otherwise capable scholars.<sup>7</sup> In my scholarly writings and in a 2012 translation of the 1784/85 Mrongovius lecture on anthropology for the Cambridge Edition,<sup>8</sup> therefore, I consistently used 'enthusiasm' for *Enthusiasmus* and 'fanaticism' for *Schwärmerei*.

Although the term *Schwärmerei* occurs in other places such as the *KrV*, in the following I will largely focus on the use of the term in Kant's anthropological texts and writings, and will discuss recent translations in English. The reference to *anthropology* is broadly construed to include Kant's handwritten *Reflexionen* ('notes') such as the *Bemerkungen* ('remarks') written in the *GSE* (*Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* [c. 1764–1766]), published works such as the *Observations* and *VKK* (*Essay on the Maladies of the Head* [1764]), student transcripts of Kant's lectures on anthropology, and *Anth* (*Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* [1798]). The question of how best to translate *Schwärmerei* has contemporary relevance, too.<sup>9</sup> According to the apt description of a 2019 conference on (what the conference calls) *fanaticism*, the concept of *fanaticism* was historically "discussed under the labels of *enthusiasm* (Locke, Hume, Shaftesbury) and *Schwärmerei* (Kant)".<sup>10</sup> This connection seems exactly right.

In the first section, I give a brief overview of Kant's anthropology, mentioning the discipline's topic, method, and background. In section two, I sketch the intellectual-historical context in which Kant formed his conception of *Schwärmerei*, citing writings by Locke, Hume, Shaftesbury, as well as by Mendelssohn, Wieland, and Garve. In the third section, I briefly survey Kant's critical view of *Schwärmerei* in his major published writings, even if they are largely on topics other than anthropology. This examination of Kant's major publications is needed to provide context for the discussion of Kant's writings and lectures on anthropology. In the fourth section, I discuss Kant's discussion of *Schwärmerei* found

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., *VKK*, AA 02:267/Wilson translation, 73; *GSE* 2:250, 2:251, 2:251n/Guyer translation 57, 58; and *KpV*, AA 05:136/Gregor translation 249.

<sup>7</sup> For examples, cf. Robert R. Clewis (ed.): *The Sublime Reader*. London 2019, 5 n.10. A more recent example of such confusion can be found in Robert Doran: *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant*. Cambridge 2015, 199–200 and 267.

<sup>8</sup> Kant: *Lectures on Anthropology*. Ed. by Robert Louden/Allen W. Wood, translated by Robert Clewis/Robert Louden/Felicitas Munzel/Allen Wood. Cambridge 2012. The Mrongovius *Anthropology* Lecture, Winter 1784–1785 is found on 339–510.

<sup>9</sup> Two conferences can be mentioned: *Confronting Fanaticism. Theoretical and Applied Perspectives*. International Conference at the University of Vienna, Austria, the Department of Philosophy (November 2019). *Filosofia e Follia. Da Kant a Hegel e oltre*, at Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Department of Philosophy, Communication, and Media Studies (May 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the description of the aforementioned Vienna conference, 2.

in precritical publications on anthropological themes, such as *VKK* (*Essay on the Maladies of the Mind*) and *GSE* (*Observations*). In section five, I briefly examine *Schwärmerei* in the *Notes* (*Reflexionen*) such as Kant's *Remarks* in the *Observations*. I examine *Schwärmerei* in the lectures on anthropology (section six) and in *Anth* (section seven).

### I. Kant's Anthropology. A Brief Overview

Kant lectured for 23 years on anthropology, from winter semester 1772/1773 until his retirement in 1796. His lectures on anthropology were his most popular academic offering in terms of attendance, interest, and accessibility. After logic, metaphysics, geography, and moral philosophy, it was one of his most frequently taught courses: he offered it 24 times.<sup>11</sup> The anthropology transcriptions were copied widely, a fact that reveals the course's popularity. Of all of his courses, the anthropology course has given rise to the highest number of manuscripts produced (47 total) as well as to the most transcripts that today are still available online or in archives (36); physical geography and logic, respectively, come second and third.<sup>12</sup> From these many transcriptions of the anthropology course, seven lectures were published in 1997 as volume 25 of the *Akademie-Ausgabe*:<sup>13</sup> *Collins* (1772/1773); *Parow* (1772/1773); *Friedländer* (1775/1776); *Pillau* (1777/1778); *Menschenkunde* (1781/1782); *Mrongovius* (1784/1785); and *Busolt* (1788/1789). (The dates refer to the year of the source lecture, not to the date of composition.)

In general, the student lecture notes on anthropology – whether residing in archives, digitalized online, or published in the *Akademie-Ausgabe* – are an important resource for understanding the development of Kant's philosophy, for clarifying arguments from his published works, and for revealing his views on topics unexplored in his published writings. The interest in examining minor texts, lecture notes, and literary remains, which goes back to the earliest days of Kant scholarship, continues to this day. Paul Guyer, for instance, concentrates on the significance of the anthropology lectures as a source for charting Kant's views in aesthetics, and maintains that some of the essential elements of Kant's mature aesthetic theory (e.g., the claims about a free play between imagination and un-

derstanding) were already present in early versions of the lectures.<sup>14</sup> Since Kant never published works on aesthetics between 1764 and 1790, the anthropology (and logic) lecture notes and fragments are a key resource for understanding the development of his aesthetics, and therefore for helping us have a more nuanced interpretation of the views articulated in the third *Critique*. For instance, since the *Busolt* anthropology lecture (1788/1789) derives from the period when Kant was composing the third *Critique*, i.e., in 1789, it is an ideal text to mine in order to understand Kant's thinking at that crucial time. Finally, Kant's conception of the sublime, widely recognized as being among the most relevant and important passages are an important source for our learning of the development of his ideas about the sublime. But here we are interested in the anthropology material for what it reveals about Kant's views of *Schwärmerei* and enthusiasm.

The object of study in Kant's anthropology, naturally enough, is the human being. Kant puts it succinctly in a metaphysics lecture dating from circa 1790/1791: "What is man? Anthropology teaches that." (*V-Met-L2/Pöhlitz*, AA 28: 534; my translation) Kant conceives of the field as an empirical discipline. His anthropology makes use of an observational method – that is, one observes other human beings and even oneself – and it draws on literary sources from diverse authors such as Shakespeare, Montaigne, and Rabelais, from literary periodicals and journals such as *The Spectator*, and from stories and descriptions that Kant had heard or read – about kings and queens, savants, and entire *Völker* (the 'Chinese', 'French', 'Germans', 'Russians'). This empirical discipline, however limited its content and method may strike us today, gave Kant a chance to examine the human being in various aspects that were not covered by critical-transcendental philosophy: its social and cultural, biological and animal, and historical dimensions.

The title of the lectures collected and published in 1798, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (*Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*), indicates that in the course Kant adopted a 'pragmatic' perspective. The anthropology reveals a richer view of humanity, going beyond a transcendental critique of human faculties for cognition and the rational capacity to set moral ends, and instead emphasizing humanity's social, cultural, historical, and practical but not yet strictly moral dimensions. Not only does such anthropology adopt a pragmatic perspec-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Steve Naragon's useful website: Kant in the Classroom [<https://users.manchester.edu/Facstaff/SSNaragon/Kant/Lectures/lecturesIntro.htm>] [accessed February 26, 2019]. Cf. also Robert R. Clewis: Editor's Introduction. In: *Reading Kant's Lectures*. Ed. by Robert R. Clewis. Berlin 2015. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Naragon: Kant in the Classroom [note 11]. Cf. also Clewis: *Reading Kant's Lectures* [note 11] 16.

<sup>13</sup> Kant: *Gesammelte Schriften*, currently edited by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin (1900–). *Akademie-Ausgabe* [AA].

<sup>14</sup> Paul Guyer: *Play and Society in the Lectures on Anthropology*. In: Robert R. Clewis (ed.): *Reading Kant's Lectures* [note 11] 223–241. 223. In a similar vein, cf. Clewis: *Beauty and Utility in Kant's Aesthetics. The Origins of Adherent Beauty*. In: *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 56/2 (2018). 305–336.

<sup>15</sup> For representative texts from that history, cf. Clewis (ed.): *The Sublime Reader* [note 7].

<sup>16</sup> E.g., *V-Anth/Collins*, AA 25:187–198; *V-Anth/Parow*, AA: 25:388–91; R 1928, 572f, and 5729.

tive, but it also has morally oriented aims. In short, Kant wishes to shape his students into globally minded, cultivated students of the world.

If the notes and lectures in general provide a valuable resource for obtaining a richer understanding of Kant's views and their development, then the lectures and notes (on anthropology) are an important source for understanding the distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei* in particular. Kant distinguishes these two terms not only in his published works but also in his notes and lectures. To see the origins of Kant's conception of *Schwärmerei*, let us turn to the historical-intellectual contexts surrounding his appropriation of the concept.

## II. *Schwärmerei*: The Historical Debate

Grimm claims that the word *Schwärmerei* is etymologically connected to the 'swarming' of bees, noting that it was used by Martin Luther in religious texts.<sup>17</sup> *Schwärmerei* denotes not just an intense passion or zeal but, as its etymology suggests, also its collective character, as if fanatics see themselves as part of a movement or group. In England, participants in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious debates employed the word *enthusiasm* to describe a similar phenomenon. The term was used to describe those who made a false claim to inspiration and, with that, unwarranted independence from such anchors of faith as Scripture or the Church. It functioned as a general aspersion of Puritanism or more radical Protestants, even if the precise sense was applicable only to a small number of

In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), Locke condemns *enthusiasm* in a sense close to what Kant would call *Schwärmerei*:

This I take to be properly enthusiasm, which, though founded neither on reason nor divine revelation, but rising from the conceits of a warmed or overweening brain, works yet, where it once gets footing, more powerfully on the persuasions and actions of men than either of those two, or both together.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Grimm 1854–1961. Zuckert also mentions this etymology. Zuckert: Kant's Account of Practical Fanaticism [note 5] 294. In addition, she usefully defends translating *Schwärmerei* with 'fanaticism'. Ib. 295–297.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Lawrence E. Klein: Editor's Introduction. In: Anthony Ashley Cooper Shaftesbury: *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. Ed. by Lawrence E. Klein. Cambridge University Press, 1999. xxx. Cf. also Klein's remark at 4 n. On the enthusiasm controversies, cf. Michael Heyd: 'Be Sober and Reasonable'. *The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*. Leiden 1995.

<sup>19</sup> For this and the following two quotes, cf. John Locke: *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Ed. by Peter H. Niddich. Oxford 1975. 697–706 (book/chapter/section: IV.xix.7).

According to Locke, enthusiasm replaces both reason and revelation with ungrounded fancies. "Whereby in effect it [enthusiasm] takes away both reason and revelation, and substitutes in the room of them the ungrounded fancies of a man's own brain, and assumes them for a foundation both of opinion and conduct." Locke uses the metaphors of sight (and feeling) to explain the enthusiast's presumed knowledge. "But to examine a little soberly this internal light, and this feeling on which they build so much. These men have, they say, clear light, and they see; they have awakened sense, and they feel." In the *Essay*, Locke never uses *fanatic* or its etymological relatives, but only *enthusiasm*. Shaftesbury and Hume, in contrast, use both terms, and they seem to use the terms interchangeably.

In *A Letter concerning Enthusiasm* (1708), also published in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), Shaftesbury characterizes enthusiasm. Unlike Locke, Shaftesbury appears to use *enthusiasm* in two distinct senses, one more negative than the other. In the negative sense, the term refers to the claim to be immediately inspired by God or the gods. It is used to describe delusional claims and intense religious emotionality.

In its more positive sense, Shaftesbury's *enthusiasm* refers to "whatever was sublime in human passions".<sup>20</sup> "Something there will be of extravagance and fury when the ideas or images received are too big for the narrow human vessel to contain. So that 'inspiration' may be justly called 'divine enthusiasm'."<sup>21</sup> Shaftesbury follows this by referring to the Platonic enthusiasm found in Plato's *Phaedrus* (241 E), *Meno* (99 D), and *Apology* (22 B). At the end of Shaftesbury's *Letter*, we again find the positive sense. Looking back on what he had written, Shaftesbury claims that he "justified enthusiasm and owned the word". In a moment of playfulness, he concludes the piece by referring to himself as *enthusiastic*.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike Locke, Shaftesbury employs the word *fanaticism* (and its relatives) in his discussions of this theme. He uses *enthusiasm* and *fanatical* in the same sentence, in what appear to be synonyms (i. e., they both refer to the same phenomenon). "The Roman historian [Livy], speaking of a most horrible enthusiasm which broke out in Rome long before his days, describes this spirit of prophecy: Men, as if possessed, would prophesy with fanatical convulsions of the body."<sup>23</sup>

In the following paragraph, Shaftesbury uses the two terms again as apparent synonyms. The end of the passage gives a clear indication of the meaning of *fanaticism*.

<sup>20</sup> Shaftesbury: *A Letter concerning Enthusiasm*. In: *Characteristics* [note 18] 4–28. 27. In the *Bemerkungen* Kant, like Shaftesbury, claims that enthusiasm is the passion of the sublime; *Bemerkungen*, AA 20:43.

<sup>21</sup> Shaftesbury: *A Letter* [note 20] 27.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. 28.

<sup>23</sup> Ib. 24. Cf. also 27. Likewise, Shaftesbury uses the two words in the same paragraph in *The Moralists, a Philosophical Rhapsody*. In: *Characteristics* [note 18] 288.

For inspiration is a real feeling of the Divine Presence and *enthusiasm* a false one. But the passion they raise is much alike. For when the mind is taken up in it sees, or thinks it sees, anything prodigious and more than human, its horror, delight, confusion, fear, admiration or whatever passion belongs to it or is uppermost on this occasion, will have something vast, 'immane' [sic] and (as painters say) beyond life. And this is what gave occasion to the name of *fanaticism*, as it was used by the ancients in its original sense, for an apparition transporting the mind. [italics added by R. C.]<sup>24</sup>

Since Shaftesbury is using *fanaticism* and *enthusiasm* as synonyms, then it would seem that *Schwärmerei* can be suitably translated as '*fanaticism*' – even if the translator aims to be sensitive to the historical and intellectual contexts associated with *enthusiasm*.<sup>25</sup> *Fanaticism* is part of that history.

David Hume's work confirms this. Hume's essay *Of Superstition and Enthusiasm* criticizes what he considers 'two species of false religion': superstition and enthusiasm. Whereas superstition has its source in weakness, fear, melancholy, and ignorance, the "true sources of enthusiasm" are "hope, pride, presumption, a warm imagination, together with ignorance."<sup>26</sup> Hume claims that in enthusiasm the imagination is stretched.<sup>27</sup> "In such a state of mind [enthusiasm], the imagination swells with great, but confused conceptions, to which no sublunary [i.e., earthly] beauties or enjoyments can correspond."<sup>28</sup> Hume applies the term *enthusiast* to the German Anabaptists, French Calvinists, English anti-Cromwellian Levellers, and the Scottish Covenanters.

<sup>24</sup> Shaftesbury: A Letter [note 20] 27.

<sup>25</sup> Three additional passages suggest a synonymous use of the two words by Shaftesbury. "But happily the zeal of this kind is now left as proper only to those despised and ignorant modern *enthusiasts* we have described. The Roman Church itself is so recovered from this primitive *fanaticism* that their great men [have encouraged the liberal arts and sciences]." [italics added by R.C.] In: Shaftesbury: Miscellany V. In: Characteristics [note 18] 440. Second, cf. Miscellany V, 438: "It belongs to mere *enthusiasts* and *fanatics* to plead the sufficiency of a reiterate translated text [...]." [italics added] Finally, cf. Miscellany II, 366.

<sup>26</sup> David Hume: Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary. Ed. by Eugene F. Miller. Indianapolis 1987. *Of Superstition and Enthusiasm*. 73–79. 74.

<sup>27</sup> Even if Kant would not agree with Hume that enthusiasm is a species of 'false religion', Kant will agree that it is a 'state of mind' in which the imagination is unbridled (*zügellos*) and unbounded: "unbegrenzte[n] Einbildungskraft" (*KU*, AA 05: 274). "Die Idee des Guten mit Affect heißt der Enthusiasm. Dieser Gemüthszustand scheint erhaben zu sein, dermaßen daß man gemeinlich vorgiebt: ohne ihn könne nichts Großes ausgerichtet werden" (*KU*, AA 05: 271–272). "Im Enthusiasm als Affect ist die Einbildungskraft zügellos; in der Schwärmerei als eingewurzelter brütender Leidenschaft regellos." (*KU*, AA 05: 275)

<sup>28</sup> Hume: *Of Superstition* [note 26] 74.

Hume appears to use *enthusiast* and *fanatic* (and relatives) as synonyms. Here are three representative passages.

In a little time, the inspired person comes to regard himself as a distinguished favourite of the Divinity; and when this frenzy once takes place, which is the summit of *enthusiasm*, every whim is consecrated: Human reason, and even morality are rejected as fallacious guides: And the *fanatic* madman delivers himself over, blindly, and without reserve, to the supposed illapses [i.e., sudden attacks] of the spirit, and to inspiration from above. [italics added by R. C.]<sup>29</sup>

A second passage reads: "When the first fire of enthusiasm is spent, men naturally, in all fanatical sects, sink into the greatest remissness [i.e., carelessness] and coolness in sacred matters."<sup>30</sup> And finally:

*Enthusiasm* being founded on strong spirits, and a presumptuous boldness of character, it naturally begets the most extreme resolutions; especially after it rises to that height as to inspire the deluded *fanatic* with the opinion of divine illuminations, and with a contempt of the common rules of reason, morality, and prudence. [italics added by R.C.]<sup>31</sup>

From this brief survey of the history of *enthusiasm*, we can conclude that at least two of the most prominent Anglophone writers on the topic, Shaftesbury and Hume, appear to use *enthusiasm* and *fanaticism* interchangeably.

When we turn to the German Enlightenment and to Moses Mendelssohn in particular, we see that there is evidence for arriving at a similar conclusion. Mendelssohn appears to use *Fanatismus* and *Enthusiasmus* as synonyms. When, in *Jerusalem* (1783), Mendelssohn criticizes a '*fanaticism*' (*Fanatismus*) of godlessness or ideological secularism (*Ohngöttereit*), he uses the word *Enthusiasmus*.

Auch die Ohngöttereit hat, wie eine leidige Erfahrung lehrt, ihren *Fanatismus*. Zwar hat dieser vielleicht nie ohne eine Vermischung von innerer Ohngöttereit wütend werden können. Daß aber auch äußerer, offener Atheismus *fanatisch* werden könne, ist so unleugbar als schwer zu begreifen. So sehr der Atheist, wenn er bündig sein will, alles aus Eigennutz tun muß, und so wenig es diesem gemäß zu sein scheint, wenn der Atheist Partei zu machen, und das Geheimnis nicht für sich zu behalten sucht; so hat man ihn doch seine Lehren mit dem hitzigsten *Enthusiasmus* predigen, und wütend werden, ja verfolgen gesehen, wenn seine Predigt nicht Eingang finden wollte. [italics added by R.C.]<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* 77.

<sup>31</sup> *Ib.* 77.

<sup>32</sup> Moses Mendelssohn: *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum*. Berlin 1783. 235–236 n.

As if drawing from the etymological roots of *Schwärmerei*, Mendelssohn touches on the communal, shared nature of fanaticism: the secular fanatics desire to share their view with others ("das Geheimnis nicht für sich zu behalten sucht").

Finally, in order to help support my case that translators should convey clearly Kant's distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei*, two more authors among the many who contributed to this intellectual debate, can be mentioned: Wieland and Garve.<sup>33</sup>

In a short treatise *Schwärmerei und Enthusiasmus* published in *Teutscher Merkur* in 1775, Christoph Martin Wieland aims to save *Enthusiasmus* from being a term of derision (*Schimpfwort*).<sup>34</sup> *Schwärmerei* is a feverish disease of the soul (*Krankheit der Seele*),<sup>35</sup> he says, and the potentially much more positive *Enthusiasmus* should be rescued from association with it. Admonishing scholars to stop using the terms as synonyms, Wieland distinguishes *Schwärmerei* from the true *Enthusiasmus* of artistic creativity, which, he says, citing Plato, was inspired by God ("Gott in uns").<sup>36</sup>

For our purposes, it should be noted that Wieland explicitly claims that there is a 'rather close' connection between *Fanatismus* and *Schwärmerei*. "Dem Worte *Schwärmerei*, in dieser Bedeutung genommen, entspricht das Wort *Fanatismus* ziemlich genau; wiewol dies letztere durch den Gebrauch einer besondern Gattung von *Schwärmerei*, nämlich der *religiösen*, zugeeignet worden ist."<sup>37</sup> ("The word '*fanaticism*' corresponds rather closely to the word *Schwärmerei* taken in this sense, although '*fanaticism*' is fitting for the practice of a particular kind of *Schwärmerei*, namely, the *religious*.") It was, of course, also primarily the 'religious' kind that Hume and other British writers had on their minds – which is why they too were able to use the word *fanaticism* to describe the phenomenon.

About fifteen years later, in an essay written "at the time of the French Revolution"<sup>38</sup>, the *Popularphilosoph* Christian Garve continued in a similar vein. Garve distinguished between *Schwärmerei* and *Enthusiasmus*, the former being a kind of self-delusion and mistaking fiction for reality, and the latter a kind of creative inspiration (*Begeisterung*) and exaltation, a description that continued to reflect the concept's Platonic origins.

<sup>33</sup> On *Schwärmerei* from Luther through the German Late Enlightenment, cf. Anthony La Vopa: *The Philosopher and the "Schwärmer"*. On the Career of a German Epithet from Luther to Kant. In: *Huntington Library Quarterly*. Vol. 60. No. 1/2 (1997). 85–115.

<sup>34</sup> Christoph Martin Wieland: *Schwärmerei und Enthusiasmus*. In: *Wielands Werke*. Berlin 1879. Vol. 32. 369–371. 371. Originally from *Teutscher Merkur*, 1775, IV. 151–155. Thanks to Javier Burdman for the references to Wieland and Garve.

<sup>35</sup> Wieland: *Schwärmerei* [note 34] 370.

<sup>36</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ib.* 369. Wieland emphasizes the word *religiösen*.

<sup>38</sup> Christian Garve: *Über die Schwärmerei*. In: *id.: Gesammelte Werke*. 1. Abteilung: *Die Aufsatzsammlungen*. Vol. 3. Hildesheim 1985. 373 n.

Zwischen Begeisterung (*Enthusiasmus*) und *Schwärmerei* ist ein wesentlicher Unterschied. Jene exaltirt nur die Begierden. [...] Diese aber schafft neue Gegenstände; sie giebt dem ein Daseyn und eine Gestalt, was nirgend ist. Die Begeisterung schränkt sich auf Empfindungen und Begierden ein; die *Schwärmerei* schiebt uns Erdichtungen als wirkliche Kenntnisse unter.<sup>39</sup>

Garve distinguishes between 'speculative' and 'practical' forms of *Schwärmerei*. Under the practical, he further identifies a subspecies he calls "fanatische *Schwärmerei*".<sup>40</sup> Fanatical *Schwärmerei* is at once religious and politically active. It is the force behind religious revolution (*Religionsrevolutionen*), and helps set up a system that unites the political and the religious under one authority.<sup>41</sup>

### III. Kant's Critical Publications: Overview of *Schwärmerei*

Kant discusses *Schwärmerei* in his precritical works, in lectures and notes, and in *Critical* writings on metaphysics, theology, and ethics. To provide context for the discussion of Kant's writings and lectures on anthropology, it is necessary to survey the handling of *Schwärmerei* in recent translations of Kant's major (critical) publications.

In the volumes in the Cambridge Edition, *Schwärmerei* is typically rendered as either '*enthusiasm*' or '*fanaticism*'. Yet as can be seen from the glossary in the *KrV*, the general editors (Guyer and Wood) prefer '*enthusiasm*' and use only '*enthusiasm*' to translate *Schwärmerei* (with a single exception, noted above). There is some inconsistency across the Cambridge Edition volumes taken together, however, with '*enthusiasm*' and '*fanaticism*' being frequently chosen as translations of *Schwärmerei*, alongside some exceptions such as '*visionary rapture*' (*KU*, AA 05: 275). The *Anthropology, History, Education* volume lists both '*enthusiasm*' and '*fanaticism*' in the glossary, and the *Lectures on Anthropology* volume lists '*enthusiasm*', '*fanaticism*', '*raptures*'<sup>42</sup> even if translators in *Lectures on Anthropology* nearly always opted for the first two of these ('*enthusiasm*', '*fanaticism*'). A Cambridge Edition glossary, therefore, always lists (at least) '*enthusiasm*' for the term *Schwärmerei*, even if sometimes other words are listed too, as concessions to the actual translational practice in the particular volume. Throughout the volumes of the series, the original German (*Schwärmerei*, *Enthusiasmus*) is occasionally added

<sup>39</sup> Garve: *Über die Schwärmerei* [note 38] 342. Original spelling has been retained.

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.* 348.

<sup>41</sup> *Ib.* 368. On page 371, he writes: "so muß daraus der wahre Fanatismus entstehen. Und diese *Schwärmerei* ist [...]"

<sup>42</sup> Kant: *Lectures on Anthropology* [note 8] 583.

using linguistic footnotes in order to clarify a difficult passage. (The Cambridge Edition aims to "rigorously segregate[e]" three kinds of notes in the text.<sup>43</sup> According to this layout, footnotes placed by Kant are marked by asterisks. Second, purely linguistic editorial footnotes are lettered alphabetically to distinguish them from the former; they specify the German original of words and phrases in Kant's text, as noted. Finally, numbered editorial endnotes provide factual information and explanations.) In short, there is a perhaps unavoidable tension between the intention of consistency (e.g., in principle always opting for 'enthusiasm', as Wood appears to have preferred) and the adaptation to a particular context or passage, which may suggest as a solution 'fanaticism' or even 'visionary rapture' (and their variants).

In *KrV* (1781/1787), Kant writes: "Through criticism alone can we sever the very root of materialism, fatalism, atheism, of freethinking unbelief, of enthusiasm [*Schwärmerei*] and superstition, which can become generally injurious [...]" (*KrV* B xxxiv; Guyer/Wood translation 119 [translators' italics]). In what surely would have struck Locke as an unfortunate irony, Kant accuses Locke's empiricist epistemology of opening up the door to *Schwärmerei*. Locke "opened the gates wide to enthusiasm [*Schwärmerei*], since reason, once it has authority on its side, will not be kept within limits by indeterminate recommendations of moderation." (*KrV* A 95/B 128; Guyer/Wood translation 226) In contrast to Guyer/Wood, Werner Pluhar translates both of these instances of *Schwärmerei* with 'fanaticism'.<sup>44</sup>

In the 1786 essay, *WDO* (*What Does It Mean to Orient Oneself in Thinking?*), Kant extensively discusses *Schwärmerei* (e.g., *WDO*, AA 08:145–146). Here the translator, again Wood, consistently translates the term as 'enthusiasm'.

According to the second *Critique* (1788), there can be *Schwärmerei* in the practical sphere, i.e., consisting in overstepping the bounds set by pure practical reason. Consistent with the Cambridge Edition's preferred rendering, Mary Gregor translates this as moral 'enthusiasm'. In contrast, Pluhar opts for moral 'fanaticism'.

If *enthusiasm* [*Schwärmerei*] in the most general sense is an overstepping of the bounds of human reason undertaken on principles, then *moral enthusiasm* is such an overstepping of the bounds that practical pure reason sets to humanity. (*KpV*, AA 05: 85–86/Gregor translation 209)

If *fanaticism* [*Schwärmerei*] in the most general meaning is an overstepping of the bounds of human reason undertaken according to principles, then *moral fa-*

natism is such an overstepping of the bounds that practical pure reason sets for humanity. (*KpV*, AA 05: 85–86/Pluhar translation 109)<sup>45</sup>

The Cambridge Edition translation of the third *Critique* (1790), carried out by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews,<sup>46</sup> at one point renders *Schwärmerei* as 'visionary rapture'. One reason they (rightly) do not opt for 'enthusiasm' is that in a key passage in the third *Critique* (as elsewhere), Kant distinguishes *Enthusiasmus* from *Schwärmerei*. The imagination is unruled (*regellos*) in *Schwärmerei*, but in *Enthusiasmus* it is merely unbridled (*zügellos*) (*KU*, AA 05: 275). This distinction forces the translator to find another word for *Schwärmerei*.

This pure, elevating, merely negative presentation of morality, by contrast, carries with it no risk of *visionary rapture* [*Schwärmerei*], which is a *delusion of being able to see something beyond all bounds of sensibility*. (*KU*, AA 05: 275; Guyer/Matthews 156 [translators' italics])

A comparison with the most recent English translation before the Guyer/Matthews, carried out by Pluhar, is instructive:

This pure, elevating, and merely negative exhibition of morality involves no danger of *fanaticism* [*Schwärmerei*], which is the *delusion of wanting to SEE something beyond all bounds of sensibility* (*KU*, AA 05:275; Pluhar 135 [translator's emphasis])<sup>47</sup>

In this section, Kant claims that if *Enthusiasmus* can be compared with *Wahnsinn* (Guyer/Matthews: 'delusion of sense'; Pluhar: 'madness'), then *Schwärmerei* can be compared with *Wahnwitz* (Guyer/Matthews: 'delusion of mind'; Pluhar: 'mania') (*KU*, AA 05: 275).

In a short, largely overlooked piece, Kant critically examines *Schwärmerei*. Although the translator Arnulf Zweig treats it as a letter,<sup>48</sup> the short piece is in fact an essay solicited by Borowski and then published in his *Cagliostro* in 1790.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Kant: *Critique of Practical Reason*. Trans. by Werner Pluhar. Indianapolis 2002.

<sup>44</sup> Kant: *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Trans. by Paul Guyer/Eric Matthews. Cambridge 2000.

<sup>45</sup> Kant: *Critique of Judgment*. Trans. by Werner Pluhar. Indianapolis 1987.

<sup>46</sup> Kant: *On the Propensity to Fanaticism and the Means to Oppose It*. In: id: *Correspondence*. Ed. and trans. by Arnulf Zweig. Cambridge 1999. 337–339. The piece is found in *Correspondence* since Zweig treats this as one of Kant's letters (To Ludwig Ernst Borowski, March 6–22, 1790), and thus without a title. The title is mentioned mentioned by Naragon [https://users.manchester.edu/facstaff/ssnaragon/Kant/Helps/KantsWritingsTranslationsLinks.htm].

<sup>47</sup> Borowski: *Cagliostro, einer der merkwürdigsten Abentheurer unsres Jahrhunderts [...]*. Königsberg 1790. 160–162. For some background, cf. Naragon: Kant in Translation [note 48].



Zweig translates *Schwärmerei* as 'mysticism'. In a volume that is not part of the Cambridge Edition, Peter Fenves translates it as 'exaltation'.<sup>50</sup>

According to *RGV* (*Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason* [1793]), *Schwärmerei* (Guyer/Mathews: 'enthusiasm') involves experiencing "alleged (merely passive) inner illuminations" (*RGV*, AA 06: 83/di Giovanni translation 122). The belief that we can produce the effects of grace in us is *Schwärmerei* ('enthusiasm') (*RGV*, AA 06: 174/di Giovanni translation 193). Religious *Schwärmerei* ('enthusiasm') is the delusion of desiring to bring about justification before God by striving for contact with the divine. A delusion is 'enthusiastic' when the (imagined) supersensible means exceed human powers. 'Enthusiastic' religious delusion is "the moral death" of reason because it is not founded on rational (moral) principles (*RGV*, AA 06:174/di Giovanni translation 193 f.).<sup>52</sup>

#### IV. Kant's Precritical Publications in Anthropology

I now turn to the translations of Kant's pre-1781 writings that discuss anthropological themes, beginning with the *GSE* (*Observations*). For decades, John Goldthwait's 1960 translation of the *Observations* was the only English translation cited by the literature.<sup>53</sup> Paul Guyer undertook a translation for the *Anthropology, History, and Education* volume (2007) in *The Cambridge Edition*.<sup>54</sup>

Kant uses *Fanaticismus* and *Schwärmerei* on the same page – seemingly interchangeably – and then in a key footnote on that page gives a fundamental distinction between the two terms (*GSE*, AA 02: 251). I put the three relevant terms in italics. Guyer and Goldthwait agree in all three cases:

Die *Schwärmerei* [Guyer, Goldthwait: 'fanaticism'] ist so zu sagen eine andächtige Vermessenheit und wird durch einen gewissen Stolz und ein gar zu

<sup>50</sup> Kant: *On Exaltation and the Remedy for It*. In: *Raising the Tone of Philosophy. Late Essays by Immanuel Kant. Transformative Critique by Jacques Derrida*. Trans. and ed. by Peter Fenves. Baltimore 1993. 107–108.

<sup>51</sup> Kant: *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*. Trans. by George di Giovanni. In: Kant: *Religion and Rational Theology*. Cambridge 1996. 39–217.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. also Kant: *Philosophische Religionslehre nach Pölitz* (*Lectures on the Philosophical Doctrine of Religion*). *V-Phil-Th/Pölitz*. AA 28: 1109.

<sup>53</sup> Kant: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*. Trans. by John T. Goldthwait. Berkeley 1960. Goldthwait summarizes the history of translations of the *Observations*, cf. 39f..

<sup>54</sup> Kant: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*. Trans. by Paul Guyer. In: Kant: *Anthropology, History, and Education*. Ed. by Robert B. Loudon/Günter Zöller. Cambridge 2007. 23–62. The translation was reprinted in Kant: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*. Ed. by Patrick Frierson/Paul Guyer. Cambridge 2011.

großes Zutrauen zu sich selbst veranlaßt, um den himmlischen Naturen näher zu treten und sich durch einen erstaunlichen Flug über die gewöhnliche und vorgeschriebene Ordnung zu erheben. Der *Schwärmer* [Guyer, Goldthwait: 'The fanatic'] redet nur von unmittelbarer Eingebung und vom beschaulichen Leben [...].

Selbst die Ausschweifungen führen [...] Zeichen des Nationalgefühls bei sich, und so ist der *Fanaticismus*\* [Guyer, Goldthwait: 'fanaticism'] wenigstens in den vorigen Zeiten am meisten in Deutschland und England anzutreffen gewesen. (*GSE*, AA 02: 251/Guyer 58; Goldthwait 108 [italics added])

Guyer and Goldthwait justifiably translate both *Schwärmerei* and *Fanaticismus* with 'fanaticism'.<sup>55</sup> The fact that Kant uses the cognate (*Fanaticismus*) just as he characterizes *Schwärmerei* provides extremely strong support for translating the term with 'fanaticism'.

The asterisk attached to the last instance of *Fanaticismus* marks what is, given our purposes, an important footnote. It is a significant note because it is found in one of Kant's published works and contains a distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei*, which he repeats in various ways over the decades. After discussing *Schwärmerei* in the passage cited above, he describes his view of *Fanaticismus*.

\* Der *Fanaticismus* [Guyer, Goldthwait: 'Fanaticism'] muß vom *Enthusiasmus* [Guyer, Goldthwait: 'enthusiasm'] jederzeit unterschieden werden. Jener glaubt eine unmittelbare und außerordentliche Gemeinschaft mit einer höheren Natur zu fühlen, dieser bedeutet den Zustand des Gemüths, da dasselbe durch irgend einen Grundsatz über den geziemenden Grad erhitzt worden, es sei nun durch die Maxime der patriotischen Tugend, oder der Freundschaft, oder der Religion, ohne daß hiebei die Einbildung einer übernatürlichen Gemeinschaft etwas zu schaffen hat. (*GSE*, AA 02: 251n [italics added])

Goldthwait and Guyer both translate *Fanaticismus* and *Enthusiasmus* with their cognates, which are the obvious choices. What is more significant is the fact that on this same page (*GSE*, AA 02: 251) Kant uses *Fanaticismus* and *Schwärmerei* as synonyms.

This synonymous use is confirmed in the following passage, which concerns the different kinds of religious excesses:

<sup>55</sup> Guyer's choice of 'fanaticism' (in the translation he carried out by himself) would seem to imply that it was Wood, after all, who preferred 'enthusiasm' when they worked together. This is also confirmed by Wood's preference, in translations he conducted by himself, for 'enthusiasm'.

Ich bringe diese Ausschweifungen unter folgende Hauptbegriffe: Leichtgläubigkeit (Credulität), Aberglaube (Superstition), Schwärmerei (Fanaticism), and Gleichgültigkeit (Indifferentism). (GSE, AA 02: 250 [italics added to German words; italics of the Latinate words in the original])

Both Guyer and Goldthwait translate the latter German words with the English cognates deriving from Latin: 'credulity', 'superstition', 'fanaticism', and 'indifferentism' (Guyer translation 57; Goldthwait 107). As Guyer comments in an endnote to this passage, Kant here provides both a Germanic and a Latinate word, both of which can be translated by the same (Latinate) word in English.<sup>56</sup> Thus, Goldthwait and Guyer both opt for the obvious choices (the cognates).<sup>56</sup> Thus, that Kant writes "*Schwärmerei* (Fanaticism)" [sic] very strongly suggests – once again – that 'fanaticism' is the most appropriate translation for *Schwärmerei*. In my view, in fact, this passage is dispositive of the matter.

Let us look at one more passage, since it contains both *Schwärmerei* and *Enthusiasmus*. It is found a few pages earlier in the book.

In der Ausartung dieses Charakters neigt sich die Ernsthaftigkeit zur Schwermuth, die Andacht zur Schwärmerei [Goldthwait: 'fanaticism'; Guyer: 'zealotry'], der Freiheitseifer zum Enthusiasmus. (GSE, AA 02: 221–222)

Guyer's choice of 'zealotry' (35), while understandable, is inconsistent with the other instances in the *Observations* (that is, within a translation by the same translator) as well as with the translations of *Schwärmerei* throughout the volumes of the Cambridge Edition (which usually opt for either 'enthusiasm' or 'fanaticism'). Unlike Guyer, Goldthwait here uses 'fanaticism' for *Schwärmerei* (66). This seems to be the better choice since it both coheres with the other translated terms and reflects Kant's synonymous use of *Fanaticism* and *Schwärmerei*. (Both Goldthwait and Guyer choose 'enthusiasm' for *Enthusiasmus*.)

Let us now turn to *VKK* (*Essay on the Maladies of the Mind*), a short work in which Kant treats medical-anthropological themes; it is included in the Cambridge Edition volume titled *Anthropology, History, and Education*.<sup>57</sup> It was recently translated into English at least three times, if one includes extracts: in 1963, 1969, and in (2007) *Anthropology, History, and Education*.<sup>58</sup>

In *Maladies*, Kant gives us a picture of fanaticism similar to the one observed thus far. The fanatic (*Fanatiker*) or visionary (*Visionär*), he writes, is a deranged

<sup>56</sup> Guyer in: Kant: *Anthropology, History, and Education* [note 54] 495, n. 41.

<sup>57</sup> Kant: *Essay on the Maladies of the Mind*. Trans. by Holly Wilson. In: Kant: *Anthropology, History, and Education* [note 54] 65–77.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Kant, ed. by Gabriele Rabel. Oxford 1963, 60 (short extracts). Cf. Extract from the *Essay On the Diseases of the Mind of 1764*, by Kant. In: id.: *Dreams of a Spirit Seer, and other Related Writings*. Trans. by John Manolesco. New York 1969. 162–168.

person who presumes to have immediate inspiration and familiarity with heavenly powers.

This two-sided appearance of fantasy in moral sensations that are in themselves good is *enthusiasm* [*Enthusiasmus*], and nothing great has ever been accomplished in the world without it [...]. Things stand quite differently with the *fanatic* (*visionary, raver*) [*Fanatiker* (*Visionär, Schwärmer*)]. The latter is properly a deranged person with presumed immediate inspiration and a great familiarity with the powers of the heavens. (VKK, AA 02: 267; Wilson translation 73 [translator's emphasis])

Note that Kant refers to "the latter" (singular), suggesting that "*Fanatiker* (*Visionär, Schwärmer*)" has one referent (namely, the fanatic). If these words are referring to the same thing, then *Schwärmer* appears to be used as a synonym of *Fanatiker*. Moreover, since in this passage Kant (again) distinguishes *Enthusiasmus* from what is felt by the *Fanatiker* ("things stand quite differently"), this passage gives support to reserving 'enthusiasm' for *Enthusiasmus* and translating *Schwärmerei* as 'fanaticism'.

Another short work touching on similar themes is *On the Philosopher's Use of the Body*. Gregor translated it in *Anthropology, History, and Education* from the Latin.<sup>59</sup> Gregor translates *Fanaticos* with the cognate 'fanatics':

[S]till others [i. e., insane people] produce captivating semblances that fly about through the void, which lead those we call fanatics [*Fanaticos*] to rave with a certain show of reason, or torment cruelly the mind of those we call melancholics [*Melancoliae*] or hypochondriacs [*hypochondriacae*]. (Refl, AA 15: 947; Gregor translation 188)

In short, from this survey we can see that the Cambridge Edition frequently translates *Schwärmerei* with 'enthusiasm' or 'fanaticism', though sometimes a translator opts for other choices. Outside of the Cambridge Edition, 'fanaticism' is a frequent choice.

## V. Kant's Notes and Marginalia

Working in conjunction with the lectures, the *Reflexionen* (*Notes*) are an important source for understanding the development of Kant's philosophy. The notes on anthropology have not been translated into English in a stand-alone volume.

<sup>59</sup> Kant: *On the Philosopher's Use of the Body*. Trans. by Mary Gregor. In: Kant: *Anthropology, History, and Education* [note 54] 184–191.

However, the Cambridge Edition volume (2005) *Notes and Fragments*<sup>60</sup> contains a significant number of notes on anthropology.

*Notes and Fragments* typically translates *Schwärmerei* with 'enthusiasm' (or its relatives).<sup>61</sup> In a note titled *On Philosophical Enthusiasm* (from either 1780s or 1776–1779), Guyer/Rauscher use 'enthusiasm' for *Schwärmerei*.

Will man den Weg der Kritik nicht einschlagen, so muß man die Schwärmerei ihren Gang gehen lassen und mit Shaftesbury [sic] darüber lachen.

If one will not tread the path of critique, then one must let enthusiasm run its course and laugh at it along with Shaftesbury (*Refl* 6050, AA 18: 436; Guyer/Rauscher 328).

Given Kant's invocation of Shaftesbury, this choice of 'enthusiasm' is somewhat understandable; however, it should be recalled that Shaftesbury sometimes discussed *fanaticism* in precisely the same contexts in which he discussed *enthusiasm* [cf. above, section two].

In another note (from circa 1776–1778), Kant refers to Lavater as a genius who is also "an enthusiast [*schwärmt*] who goes far beyond the circle of experiential cognition" (*Refl* 921, AA 15: 406–407/Guyer/Rauscher 619 n. 113). In the same note, Kant refers to Rousseau as "an enthusiast who is worthy of respect" [*Achtungswürdiger Schwärmer*] (AA 15: 406/Guyer/Rauscher translation 619 n. 113). But the most interesting part of the note – Kant's distinction between *schwärmerischer* and *enthusiastischer* genius – was not translated in *Notes and Fragments*: "Das schwärmerische Genie übertreibt in Ideen, das Enthusiastische in Handlungen nach an sich wahren Ideen oder in der praktischen Anwendung der letzteren." (*Refl* 921, AA 15: 406). ("The fanatical genius goes off into ideas, the enthusiastic into actions, toward ideas that are in themselves true, or in the practical application of them.") This suggests that while *Schwärmerei* has a primarily theoretical dimension, *Enthusiasmus* has a largely practical one.

Finally, let us turn to the *Remarks* that Kant wrote in his personal copy of the *Observations* in the mid 1760s. The *Bemerkungen* have been fully translated into English at least twice, namely, by the present author (2003) and later by Guyer and Frierson (2011).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Kant: *Notes and Fragments*. Ed. by Paul Guyer and trans. by Curtis Bowman/Paul Guyer/Frederick Rauscher. Cambridge 2005.

<sup>61</sup> In *Notes and Fragments* [note 60], cf. *Refl* 4284, AA 17: 495 (125); *Refl* 4452, 17: 557 (135); *Refl* 4851, 18: 8 (194); *Refl* 5962, 18: 403 (315); *Refl* 6378, 18: 546 (351); *Refl* 6611, 19: 109 (424); and *Refl* 933, 15: 414 (514). The page number in *Notes and Fragments* is here placed in parenthesis.

<sup>62</sup> Clewis: *Aesthetic and Moral Judgment: The Kantian Sublime in the Observations, the Remarks* (translated), and the *Critique of Judgment*. PhD Dissertation. Boston College 2003

The Guyer/Frierson translation renders *schwärmerische* as 'enthusiastic'. "Philosophical eyes are microscopic. Their vision is exact but limited [...]. The sensual vision is bold and supports enthusiastic dissipation [*schwärmerische Ausschweifung*], which is stirring, yet only to be encountered in the imagination." (*Bemerkungen*, AA 20: 19; Guyer/Frierson translation 78)

In these notes, Kant employs the term *Enthusiasmus* (or relatives) several times. When Kant simply uses the term *Enthusiasm*, Guyer and Frierson opt for the obvious translation, 'enthusiasm'. There are three examples of this. Clearly taking up Shaftesbury's claim that the *sublime* in human passions is *enthusiasm*, Kant writes: "Moral beauty, simplicity, sublimity. Justice; righteousness is simplicity. The passion of the sublime is enthusiasm [*Enthusiasm*]." (*Bemerkungen*, AA 20: 43; Guyer/Frierson translation 95) The second instance reads: "In the case of this soul at peace, friendship is no *enthusiasm*, sympathy [is] no soft-heartedness, gentleness not *ceremony*." (*Bemerkungen*, AA 20: 154; Guyer/Frierson translation 171 [translators' emphasis]) In the third passage, Kant shows that he also uses *Enthusiasm* in the sense in which – following Longinus – rhetorical style can be called inspired. "Young people indeed have much sentiment, but little taste; the enthusiastic or excited<sup>63</sup> style [*der enthusiastische oder begeisterte<sup>64</sup> Stil*] ruins taste." (*Bemerkungen*, AA 20: 7; Guyer/Frierson translation 70)

In short, in *Notes and Fragments* and in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*, Guyer/Rauscher and Guyer/Frierson tend to translate both *Schwärmerei* and *Enthusiasm* as 'enthusiasm'.

## VI. Kant's Lectures on Anthropology

As mentioned previously, there are student transcriptions based on Kant's courses not only on anthropology, but also on logic, metaphysics, mathematics, physics, moral philosophy, natural law, pedagogy, mechanics, physical geography,<sup>65</sup> and even mineralogy (namely, winter semester 1770/1771). The number of pages of

(part 3 of the dissertation), 356–548. Kant: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*. Ed. by Paul Guyer/Patrick Frierson. Cambridge 2011. 63–202. While not part of the Cambridge Edition, it was published by Cambridge University Press. The translation team consulted Clewis's independent translation; cf. 'Note on the Texts' xliii.

<sup>63</sup> Taking up the Longinian inspiration underlying Kant's claim, the Clewis 2003 translation here states 'exalted' rather than 'excited'.

<sup>64</sup> The AA states: *begeisteret* [sic].

<sup>65</sup> So far only one of the planned Akademie-Ausgabe volumes on *geography* has been published (2009), containing the Holstein lecture. Although more geography lecture transcriptions are scheduled to be published, it will still only make up a fraction of the many pages of handwritten manuscripts on *geography*. Cf. my article about translating Kant's *Physische Geographie* in this volume.

student lecture notes on all areas of Kant's teaching notes veers into the thousands, and much of it still in hard-to-read manuscripts in archives around the globe.

The *Vorlesungen über Anthropologie* (1997), volume 25 in the Akademie Ausgabe, contains seven representative student lecture notes on Kant's course on anthropology – coming to no fewer than 1,691 pages. While this two-tome volume contains finely edited versions of seven course transcriptions, of these seven, only two were translated in full in the Cambridge Edition's (2012) *Lectures on Anthropology*. Friedländer and Mrongovius were translated in their entirety, while the other five lecture notes were excerpted in portions of varying lengths.

Before we turn to anthropology, let us examine two examples of how the lecture notes on ethics (i. e., moral philosophy) can help us understand Kant's distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei*.

Herder's practical philosophy transcription (from winter semester 1763/1764 and/or the start of winter semester 1764/1765) contains Kant's distinction between the *Enthusiast* and the *Fanatiker*. It puts the "Schwärmer, Fantasten, Phanatiker" together in one group, suggesting a synonymous use of *Schwärmer* and *Fantaster*: "Enthusiast, und Fanatiker – Viele halten oft Phantastereien und eigne Urteile vor Empfindungen einer göttlichen Einwirkung, und heißen alsdenn Schwärmer, Fantasten, Phanatiker." (V-PP/Herder, AA 27.1: 21; not translated in *Lectures on Ethics* ["Enthusiast, and Fanatic – Many often take fantasies, fanatics, fanatics, to be sensations of a divine influence, and then are called fanatics, fanatics, Phanatiker."]) The transcription claims that, unlike the *Enthusiast*, the *Fanatiker* can become *schwärmerisch*: "Ein Enthusiast darf also nicht unmittelbare göttliche Einwirkung glauben; Fanatiker aber wird bloß daher schwärmerisch." ("An enthusiast thus should not believe in an immediately divine influence; but the fanatic becomes simply fanatical from it.") Kant then accuses the author, Alexander Baumgarten, of missing this very distinction. "Der Autor verwechselt beide, und hält sie bloß im Grad unterschieden." (V-PP/Herder, AA 27.1: 21; not translated in *Lectures on Ethics*; ["The author confuses the two and takes them to differ merely in degree."]) If the *Fanatiker/Enthusiast* distinction is so important to Kant that he makes this remark in a lecture, it seems obvious that translators should convey that distinction as well.

In the Powalski lecture notes on practical philosophy, written about two decades later (1782/1783) (V-PP/Powalski, AA 27.1: 175–177; not translated in *Lec-*

<sup>66</sup> Alexander Baumgarten's *Introduction to First Practical Philosophy* and the *Philosophical Ethics* were both used in Kant's moral philosophy course, which Herder took between 1762 and 1764. The two Baumgarten texts are: Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten: *Initia philosophiae practicae primae acroamaticae*. Halle 1760; and Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten: *Ethica philosophica*. Halle 1740 [2nd ed. 1751; 3rd ed. 1763]. Cf. Steve Naragon: Kant's Lectures by Discipline. In: Kant in the Classroom [note 11].

tures on Ethics), we find a distinction between *Enthusiasm* and *Fanatismus* according to which enthusiasm is opposed to *moderation* in religious conviction, and fanaticism opposed to *reason*. "Der Enthusiasmus ist opponirt der Müßigkeit in Ansehung der Gesinnungen der Religion. Der Fanatismus ist der Vernunft opponirt" (V-PP/Powalski, AA 27.1: 175 ["Enthusiasm is opposed to moderation with regard to religious convictions. Fanaticism is opposed to reason."]) Likewise, a section (sec. 11) called "Fanatismus" is devoted not to the topic of the *Enthusiast* and *Enthusiasmus*, but to the *Schwärmer* and *Schwärmerei* (V-PP/Powalski, AA 27.1: 176). Finally, we find a distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei* according to which *Schwärmerei* is a kind of derangement, but *Enthusiasmus* is not: "Der Enthusiasmus ist eine Art von Verrückung. Er ist es zwar noch nicht; er ist es aber auf dem Wege, und dieses ist auch die Schwärmerei." (V-PP/Powalski, AA 27.1: 177 ["Enthusiasm is a form of derangement. While not yet derangement, it is nevertheless is on the way to it, and the latter is also fanaticism."])

As indicated, the terms *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei* were not translated uniformly across the several translations in *Lectures on Anthropology*. (As mentioned, there is also inconsistency with other Cambridge Edition volumes. For instance, *Schwärmerei* is translated as 'visionary rapture' in the third *Critique* [KU, AA 05: 275], but in other translations in the Cambridge Edition it is typically rendered as 'enthusiasm' or 'fanaticism').

Here are just a few among many examples of the inconsistencies within *Lectures on Anthropology*. In the lectures on anthropology, Kant offers several descriptions of fanaticism. The Friedländer lecture (1775/1776) states:

Der Phantast bildet sich ein, Gegenstände dieser Welt zu sehen, der Schwärmer aber glaubt Gegenstände der Geisterwelt zu sehen. (V-Anth/Fried, AA 25: 528)

This is rendered thus by the translator (Felicitas Munzel):

The fantast fancies he sees objects of this world, but the enthusiast believes he sees objects of the spirit world. (Munzel translation 94)

Thus, Munzel uses 'fantast' to translate *Phantast* and 'enthusiast' for *Schwärmer*. But this strategy shows its weakness when in the *very same* lecture we read:

So nobel der Enthusiast ist, so niedrig ist der Schwärmer. Der Enthusiast hat doch ein wahres Urbild zum Gegenstande, dieser aber folgt Undingen und Hirngespinsten [...]. Alle Schwärmer haben keine richtige Philosophie, wohl aber die Enthusiasten, nur sie folgen ihren richtigen Begriffen mit vollem Affect. (V-Anth/Fried, AA 25.1: 531)

Munzel translates it thus:

As noble as is the enthusiast [*Enthusiast*], so base is the fanatic [*Schwärmer*]. The enthusiast [*Enthusiast*] has after all a true archetype as his object, but the fanatic [*dieser*] follows absurdities and figments of the mind. [...] All fanatics [*Schwärmer*] have no correct philosophy, but the enthusiasts [*Enthusiasten*] indeed do, only they follow their correct concepts with complete affect." (Munzel translation 95)

This situation strongly suggests that the 'fanatic' (not the 'enthusiast') is the better choice for *Schwärmer*, since it leaves 'enthusiast' for *Enthusiast*. Indeed, in this case Munzel opts for 'fanatic'.

In the 1784/1785 anthropology lecture, Kant criticizes Alexander Baumgarten, whose *Metaphysica* he used as the textbook for the course (cf. *V-PP/Herder*, AA 27.1: 21, above). "Der Autor vermischt den Enthusiasmus mit den Schwärmern oder Visionären." (*V-Anth/Mron*, AA 25.2: 1287) ["The author [Baumgarten] conflates enthusiasm with fanatics [*Schwärmern*] or visionaries." Clewis translation 404] Once again, it would be unfortunate if the translation of *Schwärmer* into English further contributed to confusing *Enthusiasmus* with *Schwärmerei*.

The *Mrongovius anthropology transcription* contains a claim that is nearly identical to a claim found in third *Critique*. "Beim Enthusiasten ist die nearly bildungsKraft wohl zügellos d i ohne Schranken aber nicht regellos Beim Trübsinnigen ist die Einbildungskraft regellos." (*V-Anth/Mron*, AA 25.2: 1262) ["With enthusiasts [*Enthusiasten*], the power of imagination is no doubt unreined, that is, without limits, but not unruléd. With the dreamer, the power of imagination is unruléd." (Clewis translation 387)] Later in the same lecture, this characterization of the *Enthusiast* re-emerges: "Hat der Melancholiker viel Verstand so wird er ein Enthusiast hat er wenig Verstand so wird er ein Phantast oder Schwärmer beim Enthusiasten ist die Einbildungskraft zügellos beim Phantasten regellos. Das erstere kann ich noch zähmen denn es ist bloße Uebertreibung der Regeln das letztere aber nicht denn es ist ohne alle Regeln" (*V-Anth/Mron*, AA 25.2: 1373) ["If the melancholic has a great deal of understanding, he becomes an enthusiast [*Enthusiast*]; if he has little understanding, he becomes a fantast [*Phantast*] or fanatic [*Schwärmer*]. With the enthusiast [*Enthusiasten*], the power of imagination is unreined; with the fantast, it is unruléd. I can still tame the former, for it is mere exaggeration of the rules, but not the latter, for it is without all rules." (Clewis translation 470)]. This passage reveals again the strong advantages of translating *Enthusiast* with 'enthusiast' and *Schwärmer* with 'fanatic'.

Indeed, elsewhere the *Mrongovius transcription* makes *Schwärmerei* and *Fanatismus* appear to be synonyms pure and simple. "Die Schwärmerei oder der Fanatismus komen auch aus dieser Quelle her" (*V-Anth/Mron*, AA 25: 1219; cf. Clewis translation 351). This, too, seems to settle the matter.

One final phrase from the *Mrongovius transcription*, "Schwärmereyen der Fanatiker", suggests a very close association between *Schwärmerei* and *fanaticism*:  
 Ein Mensch wird oft, wenn er tief medirt so in Unordnung gerathen, daß ihm Gedancken durch den Kopf laufen, die er sich gar nicht erklären kann, wie sie hergekommen sind. Weil sie nun keine Ursache davon in sich entdecken können; so suchen sie in andern Dingen. Aus dieser Täuschung sind alle die Schwärmereyen der Fanatiker von innern Empfindungen eines göttlichen Lichts ZE der Schuster Böhme. (*V-Anth/Mron*, AA 25.1: 1257)

A human being, when he meditates deeply, often gets into such disorder that thoughts run through his head whose origin he cannot explain to himself. Now because they can discover no cause within themselves, they look for it in other things. All the fanaticisms of the fanatics [*Schwärmereyen der Fanatiker*] of inner sensations of a divine light, for example, the cobbler Böhme, come from this delusion. (Clewis translation 382, modified)

The expression *Schwärmereyen der Fanatiker* was rendered as 'fanaticisms of the fanatics'. This admittedly awkward expression is far from a perfect rendering, but I settled on it for the sake of consistency.

Stephen Palmquist questions this rendering.<sup>67</sup> He claims that if *Schwärmerei* and *Fanatizismus* "were synonyms", this phrase "would be redundant ('fanaticisms of the fanatic' [sic])."<sup>68</sup> But this strikes me as not being completely correct. To see this, replace the term not just with a synonym, but (making Palmquist's case even stronger) replace it with a different form of the *same* word, such as 'the dogmatism of the dogmatists'. This is not totally redundant. Rather, the phrase picks out what the dogmatists have which makes them dogmatists (namely, dogmatism). Similarly, we can say that it is the *Schwärmereyen* that make the *Fanatiker* fanatics. The repetition in the English version is admittedly not ideal (partly because of the *-ism*). But it is neither completely redundant nor nonsensical and without meaning.

The *-ism* in *fanaticisms* makes this rendering awkward in English, since *-ism* makes one think of a position or doctrine, i. e. what Locke and Hume had in mind, whereas *Schwärmereyen* here captures something more like a mental, trance-like state involving private inspirations or illuminations. The phrase 'fanaticisms of the fanatics' is thus far from perfect; perhaps something like 'inspirations of the

<sup>67</sup> Stephen Palmquist: *Comprehensive Commentary on Kant's Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*. Chichester 2016. 520f. Palmquist suggests translating *Schwärmerei* as 'delirium'.

<sup>68</sup> Palmquist: *Comprehensive Commentary* [note 67] 521. Thanks to Steve for comments and discussion on this point.

'fanatics' would be better. For the plural form *Schwärmereyen* suggests something like whims, illuminations, or fantasies. Moreover, the English *-ism* does not fully capture the idea that we are dealing with the *product* of the fanatic's activity, the inspired ravings. This active connotation of *Schwärmereyen* (which is also present in the verb *schwärmen*, to swarm, and in the noun *Schwarm*, swarm) will be absent in any *-ism* word.

In any case, 'fanaticisms' was chosen here for the sake of consistency. The phrase *Schwärmereyen der Fanatiker* appears in a lecture (and only there), so this one-time concession did not seem too onerous.

### VII. Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View

Kant oversaw the publication of *Anth* (*Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* [1798]), and it was based on Kant's own set of lecture notes. Thus, the publication deserves to be seen as more authoritative than the lectures on logic (1800, edited by Jäsche), lectures on physical geography (1802, edited by Rink), and lectures on pedagogy (1803, also edited by Rink). At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that the material still derives from a university course and that the manuscript is in the end still based on a set of lecture notes (referred to as *H*, or also the *Rostock manuscript*), even if they are Kant's own.

*Anthropology* has been completely translated three times in English in recent decades, by Dowdell, Gregor, and Loudon.<sup>69</sup> For the sake of space, I discuss primarily the most recent of these, the one carried out by Loudon for the Cambridge Edition. As with Munzel above, we see Loudon generally prefers to gloss *Schwärmerei* as 'enthusiasm' but struggles to make the *Enthusiasmus/Schwärmerei* distinction without rendering *Schwärmerei* as 'fanaticism'. Consider this passage in which Kant characterizes the *Phantast* and the *Enthusiast*. "Wer bei seinen Einbildungen die Vergleichung mit den Gesetzen der Erfahrung habituell unterläßt (wachend träumt), ist Phantast (Grillenfänger); ist er es mit Affect, so heißt er Enthusiast." (*Anth*, AA 07: 202 ["Whoever habitually neglects to compare his imaginings with laws of experience (who dreams while awake) is a visionary [*Phantast*] (a melancholic [*Grillenfänger*]); if he does so with affect, he is called an enthusiast [*Enthusiast*]."] [Louden translation 309]). Here, 'enthusiast' for *Enthusiast* is the obvious choice. But, a few lines later we find a revealing passage:

Wahnsinn mit Affect ist Tollheit, welche oft original, dabei aber unwillkürlich anwandelnd sein kann und alsdann, wie die dichterische Begeisterung (*furor poeticus*) an das Genie gränzt; ein solcher Anfall aber der leichten, aber unregelmässigen Zuströmung von Ideen, wenn er die Vernunft trifft, heißt *Schwärmerei*. Das Hinbrüten über einer und derselben Idee, die doch keinen möglichen Zweck hat, z. B. über den Verlust eines Gatten, der doch ins Leben nicht zurückzurufen ist, um in dem Schmerz selbst Beruhigung zu suchen, ist stumme Verrücktheit. – Der Aberglaube ist mehr mit dem Wahnsinn, die *Schwärmerei* mit dem Wahnsinn zu vergleichen. (*Anth*, AA 07: 202–203) [italics added]

Dementia accompanied by affect is *madness*, whose fits, though involuntary, can often be original and which then, like poetic rapture (*furor poeticus*), border on *genius*. But an attack like this of a gentle but unregulated flow of ideas, if it strikes reason, is called *enthusiasm*<sup>70</sup> [*Schwärmerei*]. Brooding over one and the same idea when there is no possible point to it, e.g., over the loss of a spouse who cannot be called back to life, in order to seek peace in the pain itself, is *dumb madness*. – *Superstition* is more comparable with dementia, *fanaticism* [*Schwärmerei*] with *insania*. (Louden translation 309.f.)

To translate the second instance of *Schwärmerei*, Loudon switches to 'fanaticism'. *Schwärmerei* is not even consistently translated in the same *paragraph*.<sup>71</sup> Surely this is a sign that something has gone wrong.

Interestingly, in this passage Kant claims that *Aberglaube* – not *Enthusiasmus* – is comparable to *Wahnsinn* ("Der Aberglaube ist mehr mit dem Wahnsinn [...] zu vergleichen."). Thus, the passage differs in an important respect from another one that is otherwise very similar. According to the following third *Critique* passage (1790), it is *Enthusiasm*, not *Aberglaube*, that is comparable to *Wahnsinn*.

Wenn der Enthusiasm mit dem Wahnsinn, so ist die Schwärmerei mit dem Wahnsinn zu vergleichen. (*KU*, AA 05: 275)

If enthusiasm can be compared with the delusion of sense [*Wahnsinn*], then visionary rapture is to be compared with the delusion of mind [*Wahnwitz*]. (Guyer/Matthews translation 157)

<sup>69</sup> Gregor: Kant: *Anthropology* [note 69]: 'fanaticism' (74).

<sup>71</sup> In translating *Menschenkunde* in *Lectures on Anthropology*, Loudon (cf. AA 25:1161; Loudon 299) creates a revealing linguistic footnote: "fanatisme. *Menschenkunde* reads: He is enthusiastic in religion, in friendship, and in patriotism, out of which ultimately fanaticism springs." ("Er ist enthusiastisch in der Religion, in der Freundschaft, in der Vaterlandsliebe, woraus zuletzt Fanatismus entspringt.")

There is no mention of *Enthusiasm* in the 1798 passage found in the *Anthropol.* (97). Perhaps in 1798 Kant considered enthusiasm to be even less reproachable than he thought it was in 1790.

Indeed, in other places in *Anthropology*, we find a more positive view of *Enthusiasm*, to counterbalance the otherwise negative remarks<sup>72</sup> that Kant makes about *Enthusiasm*. After claiming that since affects lack the guidance of reason it would be wrong to foster them on purpose, Kant offers a surprisingly positive characterization. As in *KU* (AA 05: 275), Kant uses the term *Enthusiasm* (cf. also *Anth.*, AA 07: 269):

Nevertheless, reason, in representing the morally good by connecting its ideas with intuitions (examples) that have been imputed to them, can produce an enlivening of the will (in spiritual or political speeches to the people, or even in solitary speeches to oneself). Reason is thus enlivening the soul not as effect but rather as cause of an affect in respect to the good, and reason still always handles the reins, causing an *enthusiasm* [*Enthusiasm*] of good resolution – an enthusiasm which, however, must be attributed to the *faculty of desire* – an affect, as to a stronger sensible feeling. (*Anth.*, AA 07: 253–254; Loudon translation 356)<sup>73</sup>

The end of this passage is admittedly puzzling (since Kant refers to an “affect in respect to the good” and then *denies* that enthusiasm counts as an affect), but this need not detain us here. It is as if Kant, having witnessed the establishment of a republic in Europe, the First French Republic – even while recognizing the Revolution’s violence, regicide, and its bloody aftermath in the Reign of Terror – gives a more positive view of enthusiasm as issuing from, and guided by, reason. Indeed, in *Conflict of the Faculties* (also from 1798) Kant interprets enthusiasm in response to the Republic as 1) morally based and directed to the morally ideal

<sup>72</sup> For his negative remarks, cf. *KU*, AA 05: 273; *Anth.*, AA 07: 202; *Anth.*, AA 07: 314; and *MS*, AA 06: 408f.

<sup>73</sup> “Gleichwohl kann die Vernunft in Vorstellung des Moralisch-Guten durch Verknüpfung ihrer Ideen mit Anschauungen (Beispielen), die ihnen unterlegt werden, eine Belebung des Willens hervorbringen (in geistlichen oder auch politischen Reden ans Volk, oder auch einsam an sich selbst) und also nicht als Wirkung, sondern als Ursache eines Affects in Ansehung des Guten seelenbelebend sein, wobei diese Vernunft doch immer noch den Zügel führt, und ein Enthusiasm des guten Vorsatzes bewirkt wird, der aber eigentlich zum Begehrungsvermögen und nicht zum Affect, als einem stärkeren sinnlichen Gefühl, gerechnet werden muß.” (*Anth.*, AA 07: 253f.) – Loudon (*Anth.*, AA 07: 132; Loudon translation 243) adds a footnote commenting on rendering *Schwärmerei* as ‘*enthusiasm*’, as if admitting that the latter is not the most suitable translation. He writes: “‘*Enthusiasm*’ is the traditional rendering for *Schwärmerei*. However, throughout the Enlightenment, ‘*enthusiasm*’ often was meant in a sense closer to our ‘*fanaticism*.’” A similar note by Loudon is found at page 295 of his translation (on *Anth.*, AA 07: 187).

(the idea of right), and 2) as a morally significant indication of human progress in history. He characterizes it thus: “Genuine enthusiasm always moves only toward what is ideal and, indeed, to what is purely moral, such as the concept of right, and it cannot be grafted onto self-interest.” (*SF*, AA 07: 86; Gregor/Anchor translation 303)<sup>74</sup>

### VIII. Conclusion

The foregoing survey and discussion of passages reveals the clear advantages of translating *Enthusiasmus* with ‘*enthusiasm*’ and *Schwärmerei* with ‘*fanaticism*’. While translators who opt for ‘*enthusiasm*’ may put forward historical reasons for doing so, this does *not* settle the matter, since even Hume, Shaftesbury, and Mendelssohn discuss *fanaticism* and *enthusiasm* together in the same sentences or paragraphs. Moreover, Shaftesbury uses *enthusiasm* in two very different senses, one more positive, the other negative. While *Schwärmerei* may come close to capturing the more negative sense of *enthusiasm*, it would seem that *Schwärmerei* differs clearly from *enthusiasm* in Shaftesbury’s positive sense, where *enthusiasm* refers to what is *sublime* in the human passions.

I conclude with a conjecture. Kant could have chosen the then popular term *Fanatismus* instead of *Schwärmerei*. Why did he not generally opt for *Fanatismus*? Perhaps he was reacting to the fact that *Fanatismus* (French: *fanatisme*) was at the time a key word for political campaigning (a *politischer Kampfbegriff*), as Garve’s comments on fanaticism reveal. Perhaps Kant did not want his philosophical use of the term to be associated with those political debates. While *Schwärmerei* could also eventually be connected to controversial political notions and even revolutionary ideas, perhaps he thought that the term was less directly associated with them. It is also possible that *Schwärmerei*, moreover, had some anti-pietistic connotations that Kant was willing to embrace as he was laying out his critique of certain forms of mysticism.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> “[...] daß wahrer Enthusiasm nur immer aufs Idealische und zwar rein Moralische geht, dergleichen der Rechtsbegriff ist, und nicht auf den Eigennutz gepropft werden kann.” (*SF*, AA 07: 86)

For an interpretation of this enthusiasm, cf. Clewis: *The Kantian Sublime and the Revelation of Freedom*. Cambridge 2009.

<sup>75</sup> I am grateful to Gisela Schlüter for this suggestion. Thanks to Gisela Schlüter and Hansmichael Hohenegger for their comments on this chapter.