DAVID S. ROBINSON

Christ and Revelatory Community in Bonhoeffer's Reception of Hegel

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22



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For my mother and father

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	VII
Introduction	1
A. Juxtaposing Monuments	1
B. From Disruptive Word to Revelatory Community	2
C. Ferment of the Mind: Textual Reception and its Matrices	4
D. From Theology to Philosophy – and Back Again	6
E. Beyond Revolt: A Case for 'Eclectic' Reception	9
F. Scholarship on Bonhoeffer's Reception of Hegel	13
G. Chapter Outline	18

Part One – Beyond the Incurvature of the Self

	hapter 1: From Word to <i>Geist</i> : evelation Becomes the Community	
А.	Geist and the External Word	27
	I. Shapes of <i>Geist</i> in Hegel	
	II. Bonhoeffer's Appropriation of 'Objective Geist'	
	III. Recovering the Word Before Geist	

Table	of	Contents
-------	----	----------

В.	Revelation and Hiddenness in History	38
	I. Hegel on the Unfolding of Revelation	39
	II. Bonhoeffer on 'Revelation in Hiddenness'	
С.	From 'Self-Confinement' to Reciprocal Confession in Hegel	43
	I. Confessions of the Beautiful Soul	43
	II. Knowledge of the Appearing God	47
D.	Bonhoeffer's Turn to Intercession	50
	I. Confessions of the Privately Virtuous – and 'Confessing' Church.	
	II. Constitutive Intercession and the Simultaneity of Sin	52
Е.	'Suspending' Reflection in Act and Being?	56
F.	Conclusion	61
Cl	hapter 2: A Cleaving Mind: The Fall into Knowledge	63
А.	To Break and to Bind: Relating the Two Lecturers	65
	I. Biblical Evocations in Hegel's Thought	
	II. Bonhoeffer's Criticism of Hegel's 'Divine Knowledge'	67
В.	Similar Depictions of the 'Fallen' Mind	70
	I. Hegel on the Reflexive Division of Judgement	
	II. Bonhoeffer on the Presumptuous 'Creator-Human'	72
С.	Divergence over Protology	74
	I. Hegel on Primal Volatility	74
	II. Bonhoeffer on Original Unity	76
D.	The Politics of Knowing: Supersession from Scripture to Culture	80
	I. Hegel on the Primal State of Others	80
	II. Bonhoeffer on 'Our' Urgeschichte	82
Ε.	A 'Sublation' of Ethics?	84
F.	Conclusion	89

Х

Part Two - The Substitution of Christ

Cl	hapter 3: Disruption of the Word: Christ as Counter-Logos.	93
Α.	Idea and Appearance: A Classification that Divides?	94
	I. Hegel on the Relation of Idea and Appearance	94
	II. Noli me tangere: Hegel on Christ's Departure	
	III. Bonhoeffer's Charge of Docetism	102
В.	Hegel's 'Trinitarian' Logic	106
	I. The Passing of the Son's 'Other-Being'	106
	II. 'Geist or God'? Suspicions of Pantheism	
С.	Bonhoeffer's Account of the Whole and Present Christ	111
	I. Christology from an sich to pro nobis	111
	II. Resisting Rational 'Necessity'	
D.	Christ Against Reason?	115
	I. Logos as Inception of Hegel's Philosophy	116
	II. Bonhoeffer's Menschenlogos-Gegenlogos Dialectic	
	III. Thinking After Confrontation: Toward a Christological Logic	119
Ε.	The 'Christ-Reality' and the Unities of Thought	122
F.	Conclusion	124
Cł	hapter 4: That Insistent <i>Est</i> :	
	nrist as Preaching and Sacrament	127
А.	Reformed-Lutheran Debates in the 1920s	128
	I. Karl Barth's Criticism of the 'Predicate of Identity'	129
	II. Franz Hildebrandt's Defence of the <i>Est</i>	
В.	Christ as Doctrine, Christ as Address	134
	I. Hegel on the Doctrinal Construction of Community	134
	II. Bonhoeffer on the Present Address of Preaching	

С.	Christ as Sacrament	144
	I. Hegel on Consciousness and Consumption II. Bonhoeffer on the Eucharistic <i>Est</i>	
D.	Christ as Community: Outlining the Revelatory Body	149
Е.	Conclusion	152

Part Three - The Body of Christ After 'World History'

Chapter 5: From Revolution to Right? Polities of Freed	om155
A. The Sermon on the Mount as Revolutionary Teaching	157
I. Hegel on Jesus' Sans-Culottism	157
II. Bonhoeffer on Jesus' Unbounded Community	
B. Similarities in Post-Revolution Criticism	163
I. Hegel on the Need for an Actualised State	163
II. Bonhoeffer on the Nihilism of Absolute Freedom	
C. Hegel on the Cultivation of the State	169
I. Prussian State Apologist?	169
II. From Augsburg to the Merged Church	
D. Bonhoeffer's Retrieval of Confessional Space	177
I. Visibility for the Ecclesial Body	177
II. Weakness of the Word, Strength of the Idea	
E. Suffering Body, Spiritless Age: The Hiddenness of Recognition	
I. Hegel on Mutual Recognition and Religious Opposition	184
II. 'Community of Strangers': Bonhoeffer on Non-Recognition	
F. Embattled Alliance: Church and Remnant State in Ethics	189
G. Conclusion	192

Chapter 6: <i>Volk</i> , Race, and the Shapes of History19	5
A. From Thinking the Whole to the Racial Community	6
I. Hegel among the Neo-Hegelians?	
B. State Responsibility Before the Jewish People	2
I. Hegel on Supersession and Civil Rights	
C. The Limits of Völkisch Thinking	9
I. Beyond Hegel's Germany: Dark Continent, Future Land21 II. Bonhoeffer's Confession as Transnational Dialectic21	
D. Between Shapes of Geist and the Form of Christ	8
I. Hegel on the Cunning of Reason Through Shapes of <i>Geist</i>	
E. Rethinking Cultural Formations After 'World War'	5
<i>F. Conclusion</i>	7
Conclusion	9
A. Revisiting the Humboldt Monuments	9
B. From Word to Geist: How Does the Community Reveal?	9
C. Eclectic and Christologically Intent: A Posture of Reception23	1
D. 'Luther to Idealism': Toward Further Enquiry in the Tradition23	3
E. Contributions to Contemporary Theology	4
<i>F. Contributions to Contemporary Ethics</i>	5

Bibliography	239
A. Hegel's Literature with Abbreviations	239
B. Bonhoeffer's Literature with Abbreviations	241
C. Contextual and Interpretive Literature	243
Indexes	251
A. Index of Names	251
B. Index of Subjects	255

The community in itself is what produces this doctrine, this relationship. The latter is not something produced from the word of Christ, so to speak, but through the community, the church.

- G.W.F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion

The Word is the rock upon which the Idealist *Geist*-monism founders; for the Word implies that sin still exists, that absolute *Geist* has to fight for its rule, that the church remains a church of sinners.

- Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Sanctorum Communio

Introduction

A. Juxtaposing Monuments

There is a stark difference between two monuments that stand outside Humboldt University in Berlin.¹ The first monument lists Dietrich Bonhoeffer among the names of twelve people who died between 1938–1945. The inscription gathers the names as 'those who fell in the struggle against Hitler's fascism'. Beside the list, two contorted fists protrude from iron bars wound with barbed wire. There is no facial representation. Although Bonhoeffer lost his teaching license in 1936, in part for association with an illegal seminary, the university now places him with the collective that commands the attention of current students and faculty. 'Their death is an obligation to us', the inscription reads.

The second monument features the name 'Hegel' on a tall stone column with no identifying date, place, or title. The bust at the top is pitched slightly forward, lips pursed and eyes intent. The clarity of the presentation calls to mind Hegel's description of the philosopher, particularly in contrast to the political actor. In a lecture delivered at the university in the 1820s, Hegel states that in political history 'the subject of deeds and events is the individual in his particular natural make-up, genius, passions, energy, or weakness of character – in a word, what makes him *this* individual'.² The philosopher who surveys that history stands in marked contrast:

Here on the other hand the productions are all the more excellent the less is their merit attributed to a particular individual, the more, on the other hand, do they belong to freedom of thinking, to the general character of the human being as human being, the more is thinking itself, devoid of personality, the productive subject.³

Hegel's claim to speak for 'thinking itself' would be subjected to Søren Kierkegaard's scorn. In one of several jibes, Kierkegaard points out the irony in-

¹ The university was founded as The University of Berlin, a title that covered the period of Hegel's professorship. It was known to Bonhoeffer as Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität and today goes by the name Humboldt-Universität.

² *LHP*, 9.

³ *LHP*, 9.

volved in a claim to discern the course of reason in world history without explicitly accounting for oneself.⁴ Bonhoeffer draws on Heidegger to take a similar critical line, stating that 'Hegel wrote a philosophy of angels, not of human beings as *Dasein*'.⁵ Idealism, especially as represented by Hegel, appears to have reached a 'synopsis of act and being', Bonhoeffer observes, 'if only those doing the philosophising themselves did not founder on the resistance of their own reality to this philosophy'.⁶

The stark difference between the monuments should not obscure the significant similarities between Bonhoeffer and Hegel. Although they each offered original contributions to their fields of theology and philosophy, neither understood himself as an 'individual' thinker. Each sought to articulate the constitutive social aspect of human reason, acknowledging the question of God as integral to this task. Engaging the Lutheran theological tradition, each sought to challenge a sharp distinction between divinity and humanity, taking seriously the ways that revelation 'becomes' the community. Specifically, convictions about the 'real presence' of Christ in the Eucharist led them to articulate an account of God not only within, but *as* human social relations. These endeavours carried strong ethical implications, as shown throughout their highly contested reception histories.

B. From Disruptive Word to Revelatory Community

A great deal of Bonhoeffer's critical engagement with Hegel involves the relation of Word, the divine address embodied in Christ, to *Geist*, collective 'spirit' or 'mind'. With Hegel in view, Bonhoeffer will often portray the Word as a disruptive presence vis-à-vis communal patterns of reason and practice. He signals this approach in his first dissertation, *Sanctorum Communio*, by claiming that 'the Word is the rock upon which the Idealist *Geist*-monism founders'.⁷ In Bonhoeffer's 1933 Christology lectures, which occur in the same year as his Hegel seminar, a 'counter-*logos*' [*Gegenlogos*] confronts a merely 'human*logos*' [*Menschenlogos*], with Hegel's shrewd account of reason singled out within the latter.⁸ By speaking of a 'disruption of the Word' in this sense, Bonhoeffer draws on a Lutheran commitment to the 'external' Word while also

⁴ 'Too bad that Hegel, merely for the sake of illusion, did not have 1843 years at his disposal, for then he presumably would have had time to make the test as to whether the absolute method, which could explain all world history, could also explain the life of one single human being.' Søren Kierkegaard, *Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 201.

⁵ *DBWE 2*, 42; *DBW 2*, 35.

⁶ *DBWE 2*, 42; *DBW 2*, 35.

⁷ *DBWE 1*, 212; *DBW 1*, 143.

⁸ DBWE 12, 302; DBW 12, 282.

alluding to Karl Barth's early work that, in Gary Dorrien's words, 'abounded with metaphors of disruption, cleavage, and faith'.⁹

Bonhoeffer's emphasis on the *disruptive* Word is provoked, in part, by Hegel's focus on the work of the spirited community in the construction of doctrine. Hegel asserts that doctrine is not produced by the 'Word of Christ, so to speak', but by the community.¹⁰ In Nicholas Adams' gloss, Hegel criticises religious thinking because 'it treats what it freely *produces* as something alienly *received*'.¹¹ As Adams also notes, however, Hegel's response risks its own 'false opposition'. I argue that such overcorrection provokes Bonhoeffer to accentuate the externality of the Word. As Bonhoeffer nevertheless maintains Luther's insistent '*est*', testimony to the present Christ given in and through the community, his work is a promising resource for intra-Lutheran 'repair'.¹²

The task of 'repair' involves attending to the nuance in both Hegel's and Bonhoeffer's positions, which are not reducible to the *Gegenlogos-Menschenlogos* dialectic. For one, Hegel is also conditioned by a Lutheran emphasis on the community's *reception*. In a statement highlighted in Bonhoeffer's edition of the *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, Hegel states that concerning 'positive' elements of the 'absolute religion', '*everything must come to us in an external manner*'.¹³ Moreover, Bonhoeffer does not merely portray the Word as an external, disruptive force. *Act and Being* is an attempt to challenge a reduction of revelation to mere 'act' – a punctiliar disruption of otherwise immanent processes. To that end, he states that revelation is 'held fast' by the community:

God gives the divine self in Christ to the community of faith and to every individual as member of this community of faith. This happens in such a way that the acting subject in the community of faith, proclaiming and believing, is Christ...Hence the gospel is somehow held fast here. God's freedom has woven itself into this personlike community of faith, and it is precisely this which manifests what God's freedom is: that God binds God's self to human beings.¹⁴

⁹ Dorrien goes on to note the irony that 'for all of Barth's warnings about the narrowness and hubris of theological systems, his dogmatics took on the appearance of a massive new Scholasticism'. Gary Dorrien, *Kantian Reason and Hegelian Spirit* (Oxford: Wiley-Black-well, 2012), 469, 487.

¹⁰ LPR III, 254; VPR III, 198.

¹¹ The criticism is summarised with reference to the *Phenomenology* in Nicholas Adams, *The Eclipse of Grace: Divine and Human Action in Hegel* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 69.

¹² Adams calls for a 'repair' of Hegel's thought on this point, suggesting the use of a 'NeoPlatonic strand in Christian negative theology'. See Adams, *Eclipse*, 69.

¹³ *NL*-*VPR III*, 19.

¹⁴ DBWE 2, 112; DBW 2, 108.

Emphasis on the social continuity of revelation is already signalled in *Sanctorum Communio*, where Bonhoeffer adopts Hegel's notions of a historically conditioned 'objective *Geist*' and a divine, self-revealing subject 'existing as community'.¹⁵ This theological trajectory drives Bonhoeffer's criticism of Barth's early 'actualism' and later 'positivism of revelation'.

The adjective 'revelatory' is taken from the subtitle of the third volume of Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, the focus of Bonhoeffer's 1933 seminar. This text records Hegel's use of the evocative phrase 'God existing as community' in the context of his engagement with the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist. Revelation was not merely ecclesial for Hegel, however, and much of his other work attends to social 'orders' beyond the church.¹⁶ That broader philosophical project was shaped inevitably by Hegel's status as a civil servant at the recently founded University of Berlin in the early nineteenth century.

Insofar as Bonhoeffer also portrays the ways that revelation becomes the community, Hegel's claim to 'God existing as community' proves congenial to his work. However, from his first dissertation onwards Bonhoeffer persistently changes the subject so that the phrase reads 'Christ existing as community'. That variation can stand as a shorthand for Bonhoeffer's complex engagement with Hegel over Christology, ecclesiology, history, and political philosophy. It indicates a posture of reception that I characterise as both eclectic and Christologically intent. Such characteristics are also conditioned by history, of course: Bonhoeffer's variations on Hegel were part of a critical response to the work of church 'deconfessionalisation' that had occurred in the intervening years.

C. Ferment of the Mind: Textual Reception and its 'Matrices'

This study prioritises Bonhoeffer's reception of Hegel's texts. The key work for his exposition is the *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, edited by Georg Lasson. Bonhoeffer also refers to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Geist*, *Philosophy of Right*, and *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline*. During the dissertations, many of his interactions come at second-hand, in and through the work of supervisors. My study will therefore focus on the lectures

¹⁵ As Bonhoeffer states: 'The church is the presence of Christ in the same way that Christ is the presence of God. The New Testament knows a form of revelation, "Christ existing as community".' *DBWE 1*, 140–41; *DBW 1*, 87.

¹⁶ This broader interest is indicative of his Lutheran commitment. As Stephen Houlgate observes, Hegel credits Luther with stressing that 'Christian faith and love are properly expressed in the *sittlich* spheres of family life and civil society'. Stephen Houlgate, *An Intro-duction to Hegel: Freedom, Truth and History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 263–64.

Bonhoeffer delivered in 1932–33, as they surround his expository Hegel seminar.

The textual focus of this study is important in light of the interpretive challenge posed by both Hegel's and Bonhoeffer's writings, which led Karl Barth to advise care in approaching their respective works. As to Bonhoeffer, Barth praises his early ecclesiology, as well as his clear and courageous response to the oppression of the Jews, even as he questions the elusiveness of Bonhoeffer's theological terms. 'Do we not always expect him to be clearer and more concise in some other context', Barth writes to a correspondent, 'either by withdrawing what he said, or by going even further?¹⁷ Fifteen years later, in a letter to Eberhard Bethge, Barth opines that systematic theology was not Bonhoeffer's strongest field and laments that Bonhoeffer's turbulent life and early death cut short his remarkable ability to evolve.¹⁸ Barth also counsels interpretive caution when reading Hegel. Commenting on Hegel's far more developed body of work and longer reception history, Barth queries whether the true age of Hegel was yet to come. Whether or not Hegel would become the 'Aquinas' of Protestantism, Barth warns readers to think three times before contradicting him, for they would likely find their contradiction already voiced within Hegel's system – and given its best possible answer.¹⁹ It is a warning often ignored by critics that overstate the effectiveness of a young doctoral student's criticism.

Claims to intellectual influence extend well beyond textual transmission, of course. While text-focused 'genealogical' enquiries are often sophisticated, Kwame Anthony Appiah warns that 'that metaphor is perhaps too determinate – in the mode of those biblical catalogs of begats – to capture the ferment of the mind'.²⁰ Appiah speaks instead of 'matrices', attention to which involves wider political currents as well as a variety of a thinker's peers in order to gain a sense of what ideas were 'in the air'.²¹ This study will identify two additional matrices involved in Bonhoeffer's reception: interlocutors and political context.

¹⁷ Karl Barth, 'Letter to P.W. Herrenbrück, 21 December 1952', in *World Come of Age:* A Symposium on Dietrich Bonhoeffer, ed. R. Gregor Smith (London: Collins, 1967), 90.

¹⁸ Barth warns against fixing Bonhoeffer into a trajectory based on previous writings, speculating on how his own work might have been construed were he to have died after the publication of the *Römerbrief*, or immediately following the 1927 *Christliche Dogmatik*. Barth rejected the latter volume years later for the new approach that became the *Church Dogmatics*. Barth's letter to Bethge is reprinted in André Dumas, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian of Reality*, trans. Robert McAfee Brown (London: SCM Press, 1971), 239–42.

¹⁹ Karl Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 396.

²⁰ Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Lines of Descent: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Emergence of Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 4.

²¹ See Appiah, *Lines*, 4–5.

Introduction

As to *interlocutors*, Bonhoeffer received much of his Hegel education from Reinhold Seeberg, his first doctoral supervisor, as well as Wilhelm Lütgert, who specialised in Idealism and supervised Bonhoeffer's *Habilitationschrift*. Moreover, Bonhoeffer's university courses, including a 1927 series on the philosophy of culture by Eduard Spranger, exposed him to the neo-Hegelian 'revival' of the 1920s.²² As shown by his early seminar papers, he was also aware of a larger 'speculative trajectory' that followed on from Hegel and minimised confessional and biblical interest.²³ Alongside these Berlin instructors, Bonhoeffer's thinking was also formed through a longstanding dialogue with his friend and fellow student Franz Hildebrandt, whose own dissertation appropriates several of Hegel's ideas.

As to the *political context*, there was a significant movement of German neo-Hegelianism in Bonhoeffer's time. Although Bonhoeffer was no longer based in the academy after 1936, the work of legal philosophers such as Carl Schmitt and Karl Larenz would have confronted him through laws introduced under the Third Reich. Neo-Hegelianism, however contestable its claim to Hegel's thought, came to present a nationalist and exclusive political settlement.²⁴ This contextual note should be qualified, however, by the fact that Bonhoeffer did not have a mono-cultural experience of Hegel reception. During his exchange period in America, for instance, he came across the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, whose critical work with Hegel cut against the grain of national and racial exceptionalism.

D. From Theology to Philosophy - and Back Again

This book draws on recent scholarship that depicts Hegel as a philosopher who is interested in the logical forms derived from Christian doctrine.²⁵ In other

²² The background of emerging movements emphasising synthesis or 'the whole' is recounted in Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community 1890–1933*, Reprint ed. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990), 305–314, 365, 384–403.

²³ In a 1926 seminar paper, Bonhoeffer observes that '[s]ince Schleiermacher, theology had partly been allowed to grow speculative and wild – this is especially evident in Hegel's student Biedermann – and partly was constrained by biblicism. At any rate it seemed to have distanced itself a long way from Lutheran-Reformed doctrine'. *DBWE 9*, 404; *DBW 17*, 30 [published in the *Register und Ergänzungen*].

²⁴ See Andreas Grossmann, 'German neo-Hegelianism and the Plea for Another Hegel', in *The Impact of Idealism: The Legacy of Post-Kantian German Thought, Volume II*, ed. John Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 232–259.

 $^{^{25}}$ I draw on Adams' distinction between philosophy – a 'second-order discourse' that investigates systems of classification and the rules that govern judgments – and theology as a 'first-order' task of articulating doctrinal loci that takes its categories and rules of judgment for granted. Adams, *Eclipse*, 167–68.

words, I do not read him primarily as a theologian, much less one who seeks to revise Christian dogma. Such an explicitly doctrinal project is suggested by titles that depict him as a 'theologian of Spirit' or as developing a distinct 'Christology'.²⁶ Hegel's multi-layered treatment of *Geist*, typically translated 'spirit', can lead to the assumption that he develops an alternative pneumatology. I argue, in contrast, that Hegel does not offer a competing theology of the Holy Spirit, even though Trinitarian doctrine informs his philosophical account. If Hegel is primarily interested in Christian theology in order to investigate its logic, rather than to articulate an idiosyncratic doctrinal statement, his work may be less threatening to the theologian.²⁷ Insofar as threat does exist, it is best handled by a 'turn to the texts' following a period marked by broad and misleading overviews.²⁸ Such expositional work should acknowledge diachronic distinction while identifying both 'epic' and 'dramatic' tendencies in Hegel's thought.²⁹

Along with depicting Hegel as a philosopher first, I readily acknowledge Hegel's insistence on his Lutheran confession. As Hegel was also accused of heterodoxy during his lifetime, often for holding a form of 'pantheism', he sought to defend himself both in published works and personal correspondence. To take one example, in a late letter, Hegel asserts his defence against challenges to the integrity of his Christian doctrine, while criticising rationalist approaches to the Trinity in turn: 'I am a Lutheran, and through philosophy have been at once completely confirmed in Lutheranism. I detest seeing such things explained in the same manner as perhaps the descent and dissemination of silk culture, cherries, smallpox, and the like'.³⁰ Although there were important political motivations behind such a profession, Stephen Houlgate rightly states that it would be 'wilful to dismiss this as subterfuge'.³¹ I therefore

²⁶ See the anthology *Hegel: Theologian of Spirit*, ed. Peter Hodgson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997) as well as James Yerkes, *The Christology of Hegel* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

²⁷ Hegel is explicit that logic is his primary concern, as observed in Adams, *Eclipse*, xviii.

²⁸ The case is made for close exposition of primary sources, situated within a summary of the field, in Adams, *Eclipse*, xvii.

²⁹ In Adams' interpretation, Hegel shows tendencies towards both 'epic metaphysics', which establishes the true nature of reality from a position of supreme insight, and 'dramatic metaphysics', which begins from the human 'middle' and constructs an account of reality from there. *Science of Logic* is given as an example of the former, with *Phenomenology of Geist* representing the latter. Adams, *Eclipse*, 16.

³⁰ G.W.F. Hegel to Friedrich August G. Tholuck, July 3, 1826, *Hegel: The Letters,* trans. Clark Butler and Christiane Seiler (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1984), 519–20; cited in Dorrien, *Kantian Reason and Hegelian Spirit*, 222.

³¹ Houlgate, Hegel, 254.

attend to the confessional aspects of Hegel's texts, demurring over claims that he is inadvertently heterodox or practically an atheist.³²

Along with having a basis in Lutheran theology, Hegel's philosophy has itself become a source for much subsequent theology. Adams observes that Hegel's work 'generates the German philosophical lexicon through which many of the imaginative moves in the twentieth century are cast'.³³ As a result of Hegel's pervasive influence, a theologian can be overtly critical of him while still appropriating his thought forms.³⁴ Insofar as Bonhoeffer works downstream from Hegel, many of his terminological and conceptual choices are best understood by having Hegel's project in view. At times he will react against his predecessor, of course. For instance, Bonhoeffer's depiction of the disruptive Word should be understood as, in part, a reaction against a Lutheran 'pneumaticism' that informs Hegel's project.³⁵ Indeed, I argue that the background of Hegel's account of Geist helps to explain why Bonhoeffer does not give much explicit attention to pneumatology as a doctrinal locus.³⁶ Rather than criticising him for lacking systematic 'balance', a reader can come to appreciate his attempt to foreground what is lacking in his time, namely, the distinctive 'mind' and body of Christ.

This book comes at a period of renewed interest in Hegel in English-language scholarship. Hegel's published works are in the midst of being translated for new critical editions.³⁷ Another set of volumes presents Hegel's various lecture series in diachronic rather than composite fashion.³⁸ Regarding editorial

³² In spite of a catalogue of heretical sources, Cyril O'Regan observes that 'Hegel presumes himself not to be deviating from the spirit of Lutheran confession'. Cyril O'Regan, *The Heterodox Hegel* (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 1994), 195. Oswald Bayer asserts that Hegel's secularisation of Christian freedom, 'which is primarily real only in promise', involves a theoretical turn in which 'he is an atheist, despite the fact that he saw himself as a Lutheran!' Oswald Bayer, *Freedom in Response – Lutheran Ethics: Sources and Controversies*, trans. Jeffrey F. Cayzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 85.

³³ Following this influence, Adams continues that 'Hegel's theological innovations are quite secondary'. Those innovations, he admits, are susceptible to the charge of heresy. Adams, *Eclipse*, 4, 220, 226.

³⁴ For example, Barth criticises Hegel's Pelagianism even as he displays neo-Hegelian tendencies in *Church Dogmatics*. Adams, *Eclipse*, 3.

³⁵ Hegel is said to radicalise the 'pneumaticism' that was crucial to revelation for Luther. See O'Regan, *Heterodox Hegel*, 39, 150.

³⁶ The charge that Bonhoeffer lacks a pneumatology is reiterated in Rowan Williams, 'Margins and Centres: Bonhoeffer's Christ', (Hulsean Lectures, University of Cambridge, February 16, 2016).

³⁷ Cambridge University Press has published the *Encyclopaedia* and *Science of Logic*. The draft form of *Phenomenology of Geist* is currently in circulation, and will be published in 2018.

³⁸ Oxford University Press has been reprinting Hegel's lecture series, with Peter Hodgson serving as a lead editor.

commentary and interpretive literature, Frederick Beiser observes that the 'Hegel Renaissance' involves adaptations to current philosophical trends.³⁹ At least three dominant schools of philosophical interpretation can be identified: materialist readings, based in the *Phenomenology*, which tends to collapse divine agency into an atheistic history; neo-pragmatist readings in which Hegel works from the Kantian project to articulate the social construction of reality; and metaphysical readings that refer primarily to the *Science of Logic* and *Encyclopaedia* with an emphasis on the concept of 'infinity'.⁴⁰ In the midst of such interest, theological concerns are frequently marginal. It is a particularly critical time, then, for reception accounts of particular theologians that show how Hegel both receives Christian doctrine and comes to influence it in turn.

Bonhoeffer certainly understood philosophy with a view to its doctrinal origins. He observes at one point that German-Continental traditions, including Idealism, 'are based on philosophical-methodological demands derived from theological insights'.⁴¹ In *Ethics*, he describes the political crisis of the early 1940s as a time when many important philosophical concepts find a way back to their origin in the church after a period of estrangement.⁴² The language of estrangement and return is ironic when heard in relation to Hegel, whose account of *Geist* proceeds through such a movement. In any case, Bonhoeffer speaks of recovered alliance more often than threat in his later writings.

E. Beyond Revolt: A Case for 'Eclectic' Reception

Bonhoeffer tends to allow philosophy its own integrity while making his resolutely theological interest clear. As early as *Sanctorum Communio* he compares philosophical and theological enquiry through the analogy of how sound is perceived. 'Just as sound lies in different spheres of perception for musicians and physicists,' Bonhoeffer claims, 'so it is with time for Idealist epistemology and for a Christian concept of person, without the one sphere cancelling out

³⁹ The Hegel renaissance is a 'puzzling' phenomenon, understandable only because of those 'nonmetaphysical' interpreters who have rendered him more acceptable to a secular, positivist age. See Frederick Beiser, 'Introduction: The Puzzling Hegel Renaissance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel and Nineteenth Century Philosophy*, ed. Frederick Beiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3–5.

⁴⁰ The schools are sketched in Graham Ward, 'How Hegel Became a Philosopher: Logos and the Economy of Logic', *Critical Research on Religion* I, no. 3 (2013), 272.

⁴¹ *DBWE 15*, 443; *DBW 15*, 437.

⁴² DBWE 6, 132; DBW 6, 124.

the other⁴³. Having identified disciplinary difference, Bonhoeffer frequently sidesteps philosophical questions, declining, for example, debate on the existence of an 'external world'.

This study presents Bonhoeffer's employment of philosophy, among other disciplines, in the service of his first-order theological work. The first sentence of Bonhoeffer's preface to *Sanctorum Communio* makes his regular intention clear: 'in this study social philosophy and sociology are employed in the service of theology'.⁴⁴ As Michael Mawson has argued, Bonhoeffer is not primarily interested in providing grounds for a dialogue between disciplines.⁴⁵ Moreover, Bonhoeffer's willingness to engage philosophical terms is tempered by the awareness that the transferral of concepts can 'burst the framework' of the host discipline.⁴⁶ When such a threat is identified, he is willing to issue sharp criticism of philosophical figures and movements, as shown in his depiction of 'Idealism' as particularly susceptible to the 'incurvature of the self'.

Why then did Bonhoeffer choose to lead an expositional seminar on Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* in 1933? In Jörg Rades' words, Bonhoeffer sought to recover, in the midst of a crisis in German history, his lost cultural inheritance 'in the proper way by reading and then interpreting it'.⁴⁷ Such broader cultural interest is always framed by Bonhoeffer's commitments to the authority of scripture and the Lutheran confessions. In other words, he read Hegel for the task of ecclesial theology before any desire to produce work that is 'philosophically interesting'. As a result, Bonhoeffer does not stake everything either for or against Hegel. He remained, as Ralf Wüstenberg observes, adherent to no single philosophical school.⁴⁸

⁴³ *DBWE 1*, 48; *DBW 1*, 28. The sound analogy is apt, for Bonhoeffer describes the act of 'hearing' revelation as evoking a person's active centres of intellect and will. Borrowing a concept from Seeberg, he describes this reception as the 'formal presupposition' of his anthropology – the human being defined by the 'audibility' of the Word. See *DBWE 1*, 63n4.

⁴⁴ DBWE 1, 21; DBW 1, 13.

⁴⁵ This is emphasised in response to Peter Berger's criticism that Bonhoeffer does not provide a fruitful starting point for the dialogue between theology and the social sciences in Michael Mawson, 'Theology and Social Theory – Reevaluating Bonhoeffer's Approach', *Theology Today* 71 no. 1 (2014), 74.

⁴⁶ DBWE 2, 77n89; DBW 2, 71n89.

⁴⁷ Jörg Alfred Rades, 'Bonhoeffer and Hegel: from *Sanctorum Communio* to the Hegel Seminar with some Perspectives for the Later Works', Dissertation first draft and quotations [ca. 1983–1989] University of St. Andrews [UTS Archives, Bonhoeffer Secondary Papers, Series 2A Box 3], 7.

⁴⁸ Wüstenberg makes this point before offering a Hegelian reading of Bonhoeffer's movement between different philosophers. See Ralf Wüstenberg, 'Philosophical Influences on Bonhoeffer's "Religionless Christianity", in *Bonhoeffer and Continental Thought*, ed. Brian Gregor and Jens Zimmermann (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 146.

Index of Names

Abromeit, Hans-Jürgen 128 Adams, Nicholas 3, 6-8, 27, 29, 38, 49, 66, 71, 75, 80, 101-102, 108-110, 123, 133, 170, 175, 219, 221, 234 Adorno, Theodor 14, 60-61, 175, 195-196 Althaus, Paul 73, 160-161, 208 Anderson, Lisa Marie 40 Appiah, Kwame Appiah 5, 199, 202, 212 Aquinas, Thomas 5, 140 Aristotle 75 Avineri, Shlomo 204, 207 Baillie, J.B. 27 Balthasar, Hans Urs von 12, 28 Barth, Karl 3, 5, 11, 12, 35, 57, 88, 120, 128-131, 140-141, 148, 152, 192, 236 Bayer, Oswald 8, 26, 152, 174, 182 Beiser, Frederick 9, 235 Bell, George 178 Bennett, Jana Marguerite 209 Berger, Peter 10 Bethge, Eberhard 5, 26, 35, 51, 55, 110, 129, 142-143, 160, 178, 187, 214-216, 226 Biedermann, A.E. 104 Bismarck, Otto von 172 Boehme, Jacob 12, 179 Bonaparte, Napoleon 164, 186-187, 211, 220-222 Brandom, Robert 45-47 Brown, David 118 Brown, Robert 28, 109, 212 Brunner, Emil 161 Brünstad, Friedrich 129 Burke, Edmund 171 Butler, Judith 65

Calvin, John 144-145 Carové, Friedrich Wilhelm 207 Carter, Guy 14 Carter, J. Kameron 236 Clark, Adam 14 DeJonge, Michael 16, 128, 169, 208, 223, 233 de Gruchy, John 63-64 de Graff, Guido 54 Delitzsch, Franz 57 Dews, Peter 71, 78 Dickey, L. 171 Dorrien, Gary 3, 7, 12, 29, 138, 226, 236 Du Bois, W.E.B. 5, 6, 197, 199–202, 213-215, 224, 227 Dulckeit, Gerhard 197 Dumas, André 5, 93, 124 Dunning, Stephen 40 Eagleton, Terry 60 Elert, Werner 160 Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi 82 Fanon, Frantz 201 Fergusson, David 82, 234-235 Feuerbach, Ludwig 129-131 Fichte, Johann G. 25, 33, 110, 169 Floyd, Wayne W. 14-15, 17, 59-60, 195-196, 199 Forde, Gerhard 141, 148 Fries, Jakob Friedrich 170, 182, 207 Gans, Eduard 172 Gilroy, Paul 214, 224 Glockner, Hermann 197 Goebbels, Joseph 181 Gogarten, Friedrich 160-161

Gollwitzer, Helmut 16 Gooding-Williams, Robert 200 Green, Clifford, 14, 37, 84, 190 Green, Garrett 84, 88 Grisebach, Eberhard 32 Grossmann, Andreas 6, 157, 197–198 Gutiérrez, Gustavo 224-226 Habermas, Jürgen 171 Haller, Karl Ludwig von 169-170 Hamann, Johann G. 27, 37-40 Hardenberg, Karl August von 206 Harnack, Adolf von 105-106, 120, 168 Haym, Rudolf 172 Haynes, Stephen 208 Hegel, Marie 158 Heidegger, Martin 2, 16–17, 168 Heine, Heinrich 171 Herder, J.G. 197 Herrenbrück, P.W. 5 Hildebrandt, Franz 6, 17, 20, 88, 128-129, 131–134, 143, 152 Hirsch, Emanuel 12, 160 Hitler, Adolf 1, 63, 198, 222 Hodgson, Peter 7, 8, 28, 45, 48, 63, 70, 74, 75, 96, 100, 107-108, 109, 138, 144, 146–147, 212 Hölderlin, Friedrich 116, 138 Holl, Karl 54-55 Houlgate, Stephen 4, 7, 66, 114, 185-186, 210, 219, 221 Howard, Thomas Albert 18, 175, 179 Hütter, Reinhard 234 Inwood, Michael 28, 61, 223 Irenaeus 177 Jacobi, F.H. 39, 48, 182 James, William 216 Jenson, Matt 53 Jüngel, Eberhard 191–192 Kaiser, Joshua 58, 85 Kant, Immanuel 14, 25, 55, 82-83, 110, 121, 169-170, 203, 210, 219 Kelly, Geffrey 63 Kierkegaard, Søren 1-2, 12-13, 25, 112, 162, 172-173, 183 Kirkpatrick, Matthew 13

Knox, T.M. 207, 233 Kojève, Alexandre 109 Künneth, Walter 159 Kuske, Martin 162 Larenz, Karl 6, 197-198 Lasson, Georg 4, 63, 132 Lehel, Ferenc 11, 128 Lenz, Max 157 Lessing, G.E. 98, 183 Lévinas, Emmanuel 195, 225 Levy, Heinrich 197 Litt, Theodor 151-152, 189 Lütgert, Wilhelm 6, 16, 114 Luther, Martin 3, 26, 34-35, 42, 51, 53-54, 57, 73, 105, 111, 127-134, 137-138, 143, 148, 152, 161, 169, 174-176, 181, 190, 192, 229, 231, 233, 237 Lyman, Eugene 41 Marcks, Erich 157 Marcuse, Herbert 198 Marheineke, Philipp 58 Marsh, Charles 14-15, 17, 56, 58, 99, 124, 217 Mawson, Michael 10, 16, 34, 41, 56 Meinecke, Friedrich 169 Melanchthon, Philipp 175 Mendelssohn, Moses 206 Meyer, Michael 205-206 Mignet, Auguste Marie 165 Milbank, John 235 Miller, A.V. 45 Montesquieu, Charles de 197 Moses, John 156-157 Newman, Amy 203 Niebuhr, Reinhold 201 Niethammer, Friedrich 149 Nietzsche, Friedrich 78 Nisbet, H.B. 171 O'Regan, Cyril 8, 12, 28, 38, 53, 67, 75, 94, 100-102 Pannenberg, Wolfhart 68, 114, 118 Paton, William 155, 168

Pinkard, Terry 29-30, 43-47, 68, 71, 76, 109-110, 138-139, 145, 149, 158, 164–165, 169, 171–172, 207, 211-214, 220 Pippin, Robert 185 Popper, Karl 156-157, 198 Prentor, Regin 141 Purvis, Zachary 28, 170 Rades, Jörg 10, 156, 161 Ranke, Leopold von 43, 157, 225 Rashdall, Hastings 236 Rasmussen, Joel 13 Reuter, Hans-Richard 60 Ringer, Fritz 6, 168 Ritschl, Albrecht 105 Robespierre, Maximilien de 165, 167 Rosenkranz, Karl 58 Rothe, Richard 179-180 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 76, 163, 166-167 Rumscheidt, Martin 16, 26, 33, 36, 105 Rüsen, Jörn 226 Schelling, Friedrich 39, 76, 110, 138, 145 Schiller, Friedrich 218 Schlegel, Friedrich von 44, 145, 182, 186 Schleiermacher, Friedrich 25, 29, 33, 48, 136–139, 148, 161, 170, 175, 179,203 Schliesser, Christine 86-87 Schmidt, Karl 102 Schmitt, Carl 6, 191, 198 Schrötter, Friedrich Leopold von 205 Seeberg, Reinhold 6, 10, 13, 31, 33, 35, 128, 140, 157, 221, 225 Shanks, Andrew 52, 99 Singer, Peter 27 Slane, Craig 53 Slot, Edward van 't 16, 129, 236 Smith, Steven 164, 184, 213, 220 Socrates 97, 186

Soosten, Joachim von 27, 54 Sorkin, David 206 Spengler, Oswald 226 Spranger, Eduard 6, 85-86 Stayer, James 54 Stein, Baron von 172 Tafilowski, Ryan 208 Taylor, Charles 28-30, 53, 109, 151, 163-164, 171-172, 182-183, 236 Temple, William 230 Tholuck, Friedrich August G. 7 Tietz, Christiane 16, 17, 237 Tödt, Ilse 162 Troeltsch, Ernst 175-176, 179-180 Walker, John 235 Wannenwetsch, Bernd 77, 104, 224, 230, 237 Ward, Graham 9, 116 Ward, Harry 201 Washington, Booker T. 201 Weber, Max 161, 201 Wendte, Martin 49, 221 Westphal, Merold 13 Wild, John 195 Wilhelm, Friedrich 174 Wilkes, Nicola 52 Williams, Reggie 82, 200-201, 214 Williams, Rowan 8, 50 Wilson, Woodrow 168 Windelband, Wilhelm 37, 197 Windischmann, Karl J. 68 Wood, Allen 172, 210, 218 Wüstenberg, Ralf 10 Yerkes, James 7, 122, 144 Yovel, Yirmiyahu 203-204, 231 Zamir, Shamoon 200 Ziegler, Philip 11, 112 Zimmermann, Jens 16 Zimmermann, Wolf-Dieter 129, 150

Zwingli, Ulrich 130, 144-145

Index of Subjects

actualisation 17, 29-30, 34-36, 41, 54, 75, 163–166, 169, 171, 182, 186, 225 address (Anrede) 2, 20, 68, 83, 104, 127, 134, 139-144, 147, 155, 230-231 Africa, African 81-82, 199-201, 210-214 African American 82, 199-202, 214, 222, 224 agency 9, 26, 43, 49, 52, 62, 101-102, 110, 113, 115, 134-135, 140, 146 America, American 6, 81-82, 87, 168, 199-202, 210-217, 223, 225-227 anti-Semitism 14, 60, 196, 199, 207 apophaticism 39 Arianism 97 Aristotelianism 30, 75, 112, 231 Aryan Paragraph 184, 207-209 ascension 35, 100-101, 111, 130, 181 atheism 8, 16, 100 atomism 31, 216 Augsburg Confession, 20, 36, 39, 169, 173-174, 187-188, 192, 230 authority 10, 40, 46, 66, 94, 99-100, 127, 134, 136, 149–150, 156, 166, 169-173, 176, 178, 211, 214, 231 baptism 47, 121, 161, 209 beautiful soul 43-47, 51, 62, 157 being-there (Dasein) 2, 16, 45, 112, 132 Bible, biblical 5-6, 15, 38, 40, 48, 53, 63-66, 69, 74, 77-78, 83, 89, 97, 101, 113, 148-150, 158, 173, 177-178, 181, 190, 215 See also scripture, Word

Catholicism 105, 107, 131-132, 135-137, 140, 144-145, 149, 165-166, 171-176, 188, 204, 213, 223 catholicity, catholic 210, 215-217, 223, 227 Chalcedon 104-105, 119, 122-125, 190 Chalcedonian logic 49, 116, 123, 190, 233 Christ See Jesus Christ Christology 4, 7, 11, 16-19, 26, 54, 69, 87, 89, 93-94, 104-105, 108, 111-122, 124, 127-128, 131, 133, 155, 215, 222, 230-234 'Christ existing as community' 4, 16-17, 26, 39, 43, 52-53, 56, 128, 150, 156, 177, 180, 214–215, 218, 226, 229, 230, 232 Christ-reality 17, 93, 122-125, 152 church struggle (Kirchenkampf) 52, 62, 224 civil service 4, 155, 169–171, 185, 192, 211 collective person 34-35, 43, 53 'communication of attributes' (communicatio idiomatum) 104, 130, 233 concept (Begriff) 65-66, 80, 98, 108, 202, 210, 226, 232 Confessing Church 35, 50-52, 87, 178, 183, 196, 216, 232 confession (of doctrine) 8, 36, 40, 52-53, 131, 142, 144, 148, 155-156, 169, 173-174, 177-180, 192, 196, 202, 208, 216-218, 227, 232-233 confession (of sin) 17-18, 26, 39, 43-52, 62, 146, 174, 230

conscience 44, 46, 73, 173 consciousness 28-33, 36, 44-50, 54-57, 70-71, 75, 80-81, 95-99, 101, 108, 122, 136–137, 144–146, 151, 163, 185, 189, 196, 199, 204, 218-219, 224 See also self-consciousness creation 37, 73-78, 83, 159-161, 230, 235 See also nature, order cross, crucifixion 21, 29, 37, 101, 108, 118, 158-159, 187, 189, 193, 202, 209, 222-223, 227 cultivation (Bildung) 76, 137, 144, 149-150, 166, 170-171, 189, 191, 198, 204, 206, 226 See also education deconfessionalisation 4, 18, 20, 178, 232 dialectic, dialectical 14-15, 21, 32, 34, 37-38, 41, 55-60, 65, 79, 88, 130, 143-144, 195, 210, 214, 217-218, 221, 223, 226-227, 231 act-being 59–61 master-slave 33, 117–118, 184, 201 - Menschenlogos-Gegenlogos 2-3, 19, 93, 113, 115-119 diaspora 21, 218, 223-224, 227 disruption 2-3, 8, 29, 31, 36-37, 58, 62, 71, 83, 93, 98, 115, 121, 152, 231 docetism 12, 19, 93, 96, 102-106, 119, 124, 127, 180 docetic-Idealist ecclesiology 17, 19, 20, 177, 179–181, 192, 218, 230, 232 doctrinal development 40, 106, 134-139, 159 ecclesiology 4-5, 13, 26, 31, 54, 152, 190, 196, 234, 237 See also doceticidealist ecclesiology eclectic reception 4, 9-12, 19, 101, 128, 231-233 education 6, 47-48, 75-76, 80-81, 99, 134-136, 143, 147, 149-150, 169-171, 175, 178, 204, 219, 221, 226 See also cultivation, university election See predestination England 165, 186, 223

Enlightenment 17, 39-40, 60, 66, 82, 145, 182, 186, 204 epistemology 9, 13, 32, 37, 46, 59, 98, 101, 106, 179, 215 Erastianism 155, 169, 175, 180, 190 eschatology 39, 41-42, 69, 88-89, 124, 131, 151, 221, 225 estrangement 9, 71, 80, 94, 187-188, 190, 202, 214, 233 ethics 13, 18, 35, 37, 39, 46, 48-51, 60, 63, 73, 84-90, 110, 151, 165, 175, 180, 200, 204, 218, 221, 229, 232, 234-237 Eucharist 2-4, 19-20, 107, 127-134, 144-150, 152, 179, 230, 232 Eurocentrism 21, 212, 222-223, 227 Europe, European 82, 167–168, 172, 181, 210-216, 222 See also Occident, West evil 44-46, 55, 70-71, 75, 80-85, 94, 173, 222 See also 'knowledge of good and evil' faith 3-4, 36, 42-43, 55-61, 66, 68, 99, 102, 105, 113, 120-121, 124, 130-133, 135-137, 145-148, 151, 162, 165-166, 168, 182, 186, 188-189, 236-237 Fall 37, 63-75, 78-80, 83, 86, 89, 235 fascism 1, 229, 235 feeling (Gefühl) 20, 29, 40, 81, 127, 136, 139, 146, 159, 170, 186, 204-205 forgiveness 26, 39, 45-50, 52, 62, 189, 230 freedom 1, 3, 8, 11, 29-30, 43, 56, 86, 94, 111-115, 119, 122, 125, 140-141, 155, 158, 163-169, 173-175, 177, 184-186, 190-193, 201, 210, 214, 219-220, 222, 229, 231, 233 absolute freedom 20, 155, 158, 162– 169, 192 France, French 20, 158, 164-168, 171, 192, 206, 218, 223 French Revolution 20, 155, 157-159, 162-163, 166-171, 176, 182, 184, 190, 211, 213, 219, 225

- *Geist* 2, 7–9, 25–35, 39, 41–43, 45–47, 50, 55, 57, 60–61, 66, 74–77, 81–82, 89, 95, 102, 111, 114–115, 127, 132, 135–137, 142, 145–147, 164, 180, 210–212, 219–221, 226, 229–231
- absolute 25, 28-29, 36, 47, 109
- objective 4, 18, 25, 27, 30–35, 43, 55, 61, 115, 135, 141–142, 197, 221, 231, 234
- shapes of 21, 27–31, 37, 196, 218– 221, 225, 227, 231
- Volksgeist 28, 30–32, 196–197, 218
- Weltgeist 28, 109, 219–220
- genus majestaticum 131, 148
- Germany, German 47, 52, 164, 167– 173, 199, 201, 210–212, 214–218, 222–223, 226–227, 232–233, 235
- gnosticism 12, 67, 97, 105, 235
- 'God existing as community' 4, 16, 18, 20, 26, 29, 39–41, 43, 47, 49, 50, 62, 66, 88, 110, 149, 189, 231–232
- gospel 3, 68, 87, 105–106, 116, 133, 142, 177, 181, 188, 217
- grace 35, 114, 137, 178
- Greece, Greek 42, 47, 87, 99, 103–106, 142–143, 159, 210–211, 223, 227
- guilt (*Schuld*) 21, 51–56, 76, 78, 80, 82– 83, 86–87, 90, 190, 192, 195, 202, 205, 218 *See also* responsibility
- Hegelianism, Hegelian 10–11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 34, 41, 52–55, 59, 65, 79, 84–85, 102, 104, 110, 121, 128–129, 132–133, 143, 151–152, 156, 177, 182, 192, 196, 199, 201, 204, 230– 231, 235
- neo-Hegelianism 6, 18, 196–199, 201, 227
- Hegel Seminar (1933) 2, 4–5, 10–11, 15, 17–19, 55, 114, 128, 232
- hermeneutics 16, 182
- heterodoxy 7–8, 12, 19, 67, 99, 105, 180, 233
- hiddenness 41–43, 119, 141, 144, 148, 161, 222, 226 *See also* 'revelation in hiddenness'
- hidden centre 19, 21, 41, 69, 93, 119, 195, 226, 229

historicism 38, 41, 82, 156, 159, 200, 232

- Holy Spirit 7, 27–28, 34–36, 43, 55, 97– 100, 106–111, 113, 115, 134–137, 143–144, 177, 180, 214, 234
- idea 19–20, 30, 50, 60, 76, 86, 93–98, 106–108, 119, 121, 127, 133, 137, 140, 173, 178–179, 181–184, 198, 220, 230–231
- relation to appearance 19, 93–98, 102–106, 111–114, 124, 140
- identity 36–37, 50, 53–54, 58, 60, 68, 95, 101, 107–108, 110, 118, 124, 129–131, 146, 151, 156, 181–182, 185
- image of God (*imago dei*) 67, 70, 72-73, 75, 77, 95, 137
- incarnation 21, 29, 86, 93, 95–96, 112– 114, 122, 124, 130, 222–223, 227
- 'incurvature of the self' 10, 18, 25, 43, 112, 121
- of the heart 57
- of reason 18, 25, 57–58, 62, 134
- intercession 18, 26, 42, 50-56, 62, 115
- Jews, Jewish 21, 49, 53, 63, 69, 104– 106, 157–158, 185, 195–197, 202– 209, 211–212, 218, 224, 227, 233
- Jesus Christ 20, 32, 34, 49, 54, 58, 67, 86, 96–113, 115–116, 127–128, 130, 132, 137, 141, 143, 147–148, 152, 168, 172, 180, 182, 188–191, 202– 203, 215, 217, 224, 229–230, 232 *See also Logos*, Word
- body of 8, 55, 94, 101, 149–151, 157, 173, 177, 180–181, 189, 190– 191, 193, 225, 230–231
- form of 21, 123, 128, 196, 218, 221– 227, 231–232
- social teachings of 106, 155–163, 172, 192 See also Sermon on the Mount
- Judaism 99, 145, 158, 162, 202–203, 207, 209
- judgement 70, 83, 89, 95, 105, 206, 212–213, 218–220, 222, 225

Kantianism, Kantian 9, 57, 116, 170, 197, 211, 215, 236 'knowledge of good and evil' 19, 64-73, 75, 79-90 language 37, 40, 45, 61, 66, 104, 107-108, 158, 168, 182, 202 law, legal 6, 39, 44, 46, 61, 70, 84, 87, 105, 122, 130, 160, 162, 164–169, 174-175, 185, 190, 197-198, 205-209, 212, 222 living space (Lebensraum) 20, 177, 181 logic 7, 19, 26, 43-46, 49, 65-66, 88, 94, 101-102, 106, 108, 110, 114, 124, 129, 207, 209, 219, 230, 232-233, 237 See also Chalcedonian logic Logos 9, 19, 69, 93-94, 97, 115-122, 124, 133-134, 139-140, 148, 236 See also dialectic, Word Lutheranism, Lutheran 2-4, 6-8, 10, 12, 15, 17-18, 20, 29, 37, 39, 49, 54-55, 64, 66, 110, 112, 123–124, 127–134, 141-143, 146, 148, 152, 156, 159, 161, 173-176, 178, 193, 209-210, 223-224, 226, 232-234 Marxism 11, 171, 199 materialism 9, 131 mediation 20, 35, 48, 55, 76, 81, 88, 116-117, 127, 135-136, 161, 163-164, 168, 183, 185, 188-189, 233 metaphysics 7, 9, 32-33, 37, 109, 196, 235-236 miracles 66, 94, 98-99, 136 modalism 49-50, 94, 99-100, 127 monarchy 165, 169-170, 173 monasticism 144, 155, 175-176, 178, 181, 188, 192 monophysitism 12 mysticism 12, 54, 146, 179-181 nation 53, 159, 166-167, 199-200, 203, 212, 215, 217, 221, 224, 229 See also Volk nationalism 6, 12, 20, 82, 157, 164, 167-168, 172, 175, 195, 206-207,

209-214, 221

National Socialism 15, 21, 52, 156, 181-182, 188, 190, 198, 207, 233 nature, natural 1, 7, 25, 29, 40, 47, 60-61, 64-65, 70-71, 74-77, 80-82, 89, 94-95, 97-98, 101, 103, 113, 123, 136, 146-147, 157, 159-161, 163, 169, 188, 196, 198, 206, 212, 218, 220, 224 necessity 31, 36, 38, 45, 57, 76, 86, 94, 111-117, 122, 124-125, 129, 164, 190, 201, 226, 233 negative, negativity 3, 53, 61, 68, 76, 89, 104, 118, 122, 146, 163-166, 183, 200, 208, 213-214, 225 nihilism 163, 167 nominalism 31, 216 obedience 53, 58, 73, 77-78, 85, 90, 116, 144-145, 174 Occident, occidental 167-168, 190, 223 ontology 15-16, 72, 109-110, 124 order 39-40, 95, 121, 156-157, 159-163, 169, 172–174, 181, 185–186, 191-192, 198, 208-209, 213, 221 - 'orders of creation' 73, 159–163 orthodoxy 39-40, 104, 109-110, 130, 176, 215 pantheism 7, 96, 109-111 Pelagianism 8 pluralism 12, 96, 235, 237 pneumatology 7-8, 34, 101, 234 positive, positivism 3-4, 61, 98-100, 127, 136, 140, 145-146, 156, 159, 163-164, 171-172, 179, 183, 192, 199, 231, 236 Pragmatism 9, 216 prayer 26, 42, 46, 50, 52-56, 87, 114-115 preaching 20, 37, 41-42, 115, 127, 134-144, 151–152, 230, 232 predestination 114-115, 140-141 presupposition 10, 100, 103-105, 108, 117-122, 135-137 primal state 19, 27, 33-38, 62, 64, 73-83, 89, 95 See also protology

- Protestantism, Protestant 5, 20, 49, 51,
 - 57, 104, 135, 140–141, 145, 149,
 - 150–151, 155, 158, 165–166, 171,
- 173–176, 189, 203–204, 213–214
- protoevangelium 19, 64, 67–69
- protology 19, 35, 73-83, 231
- providence 82, 218–225 Prussia, Prussian 155–156, 167, 169–
- 176, 178, 182, 192, 195, 202, 204– 206, 210, 225
- pseudo-Lutheranism 122-123, 190, 230
- race, racial 6, 12, 20, 82, 195–202, 207– 209, 213–214, 218, 221, 224, 227, 229, 236
- reason, rationality 2, 11, 17–19, 25–31, 36, 40–43, 57–62, 65–70, 82–83, 86, 93–94, 103, 108, 113–125, 133–139, 147, 157, 166, 168, 170–173, 177, 180, 182, 186, 190, 192, 195, 198, 203–204, 211, 214, 219, 222, 227, 231–237
- cunning of 118, 183, 196, 218-221
- recognition 20, 46–47, 51, 71, 78, 137, 155–156, 184–190, 195, 200–201, 204–205, 208, 218, 229, 235–237
- reconciliation 17–18, 44, 47, 49, 54, 58, 62, 64, 68–69, 86–89, 95, 101, 108– 109, 115, 117–118, 122, 135, 145– 146, 200, 231
- Reformation 39, 139, 141, 174–175, 191, 210, 214, 217, 223, 237
- Reformed Theology 6, 20, 104, 114– 115, 127–134, 144–148
- religion 3, 12, 29, 36, 39, 41–42, 46, 48–50, 61, 65–69, 73, 79–84, 88, 96–101, 107–111, 122, 127–128, 133–138, 141, 145, 165, 173, 176, 179–180, 183–187, 202–208, 233– 237
- religionless Christianity 10, 236
- representation (*Vorstellung*) 38, 65–66, 70, 74–75, 96, 106–108, 133, 135, 138, 145, 147, 159, 186, 202
- responsibility 46, 52, 76, 78, 140, 185, 207, 222, 236 *See also* guilt
- resurrection 12, 34–36, 98, 100–101, 130, 140, 146, 191

- revelation 2–4, 10–11, 13, 18, 26–27, 34–43, 49, 56, 59, 62, 69, 87–88, 93, 113, 115, 117–121, 123–125, 130, 137, 140, 149–150, 170, 230–232, 235–237
- in hiddenness 26, 39, 41–43, 55, 62, 94, 98, 113, 141, 188, 196, 237
- in openness 41, 62, 113
- revelatory community 13, 18, 20, 27, 31, 34–35, 50, 55, 60, 128, 188, 210, 214, 229–232, 235, 237
- revolution 49, 155–169, 171, 192, 213, 220–221 See also French Revolution
- right, rights 20, 115, 157, 163, 166–167, 202–209, 185–193, 198, 202–208, 211–212, 218, 220, 227, 229, 230, 233
- Romanticism 13, 29, 34, 39, 44, 131, 139, 169, 182, 199
- Rome, Roman 49, 102, 105, 149, 157– 159, 198, 210, 223, 227
- Sabellianism 28
- sacrament 19, 107, 112, 127–134, 141– 152, 230 See also Eucharist
- science (*Wissenschaft*) 19, 28–29, 41, 47, 58, 68–69, 80, 83, 93, 105, 119, 124, 170, 173, 177, 179, 189, 191, 229, 237
- scripture 10, 37, 39, 40, 63, 69, 73, 83, 85, 89, 136, 150, 178, 192 *See also* Bible
- secularisation, secular 8–9, 19, 40, 144, 149, 151–152, 165–166, 217, 220, 230, 232, 235
- self-consciousness 29–33, 46, 135, 173, 184–188, 200, 218–221
- seminary 1, 51, 110, 143, 156, 176–178, 184, 187–188, 192
- Sermon on the Mount 20, 155–163, 187, 192
- Shoah 195, 203, 219, 233
- simplicity 58, 85-90, 142, 159
- sin 18–19, 25–27, 34–38, 45–46, 50–56, 62, 77, 87, 112, 189, 225
- slavery 81, 95, 117, 161-162, 210, 224
- social sciences 10, 14, 32, 59, 214

- sociality, social 2, 4, 9–10, 15, 18, 26– 47, 50, 56–57, 62, 71, 75, 102, 135, 143, 156, 161–168, 180, 184–186, 195, 198–199, 208, 214, 217, 221, 230–231, 235–236 spirit *See Geist*, Holy Spirit spiritlessness 98, 106, 131, 145, 156, 184–187 state 20–21, 30–32, 40, 49, 135, 144, 155–159, 162–193, 195, 198, 200– 213, 218–227, 229–233
- sublation (*Aufhebung*) 47–48, 59–61, 64, 71, 79, 84–89, 93, 99–100, 107, 120–121, 125, 133, 146, 173, 185, 203, 234
- suffering 78, 102, 181, 184, 187–193, 209, 224, 226, 229, 231, 236
- supersession 19, 66, 69, 84, 121, 202– 203, 207, 233
- system, systematic 5, 8, 11–12, 15, 39– 40, 53, 57, 101, 106, 117, 119, 123, 151, 169, 173, 226
- Third Reich 6, 18, 63, 78, 143, 157, 172, 181–182, 187, 190, 197, 227, 232–233 *See also* National Socialism
- timelessness 37–38, 66, 113, 229, 231– 232
- tragedy, tragic 31, 71, 85–87, 187, 220, 222, 226
- Trinity, Trinitarian 7, 27, 100–101, 106–111, 113, 234

- two kingdoms 123, 125, 159, 174, 187, 190, 208, 223, 230
- university 1, 6, 18, 64, 139, 143, 149– 150, 155, 169–171, 174, 177–179, 192, 196, 207–208, 229
- vicarious representative action (Stellvertretung) 53, 56, 229, 231 Volk, völkisch 20, 73, 166–168, 181, 185–188, 195–205, 209, 211, 220– 222, 224, 227, 237 See also nation, nationalism Volksreligion 98, 116, 127
- war 53, 62, 82, 176, 196, 199, 225–227 West, western 21, 167–169, 221–223, 225, 232
- Word 2–3, 8, 10, 18–20, 25–26, 31, 35, 41, 82, 89, 106, 115, 117–120, 134, 139–144, 147–152, 177–178, 180– 183, 209, 225, 229–232 See also Jesus Christ, Logos
- externality of 3, 27, 36, 83, 119, 231, 234
- before Geist 26–27, 35–39, 43, 61, 134, 231
- weakness of 177, 181–184
- world history 2, 28, 30, 40, 123, 183, 195, 212–214, 218–222, 226–227 worship 48, 127, 174, 213, 215, 230