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Vorwort

Das Interesse an Dietrich Bonhoeffer ist unverändert groß. Der vielseitige Charakter seines Erbes, das neben unmittelbar ansprechenden geistlichen Texten Werke mit äußerst anspruchsvollen theologisch-philosophischen Themen enthält, das teils fragmentarisch ist, teils inhaltlich und formal vollendete Arbeiten umfasst, zu dem eine bewegende und theologisch epochale Briefliteratur und viel gelesene Lyrik gehören, produziert noch immer großes und sehr verschiedenartiges Interesse. Einerseits wird die Relevanz seines Vermächtnisses gerade in seiner vielfältigen, gelegentlich unvollendeten, ja widersprüchlichen und doch unverkennbaren und authentischen Gestalt erkannt, andererseits verlockt das gleiche Werk auch zu einer partiellen, ja einseitigen Rezeption oder gar Umdeutung.

Die Vielschichtigkeit dieses Interesses spiegelt sich auch im vierten Jahrgang des Dietrich Bonhoeffer Jahrbuchs 2009/2010 wider und lässt sich an den Beiträgen ablesen. Die Rubrik »Beiträge zur Bonhoeffer Forschung« enthält einerseits die Diskussion einer angemessenen Hermeneutik Bonhoeffers, in der L. Ohly Bonhoeffers Personbegriff und Trinitätslehre in Beziehung zueinander setzt. Andererseits werden die Fundamente von Bonhoeffers Theologie von M. deJonge erneut erörtert, indem er die Bedeutung von Luthers Verständnis der geschichtlichen Gegenwart der Offenbarung für Bonhoeffer nachweist. Ferner findet sich eine Würdigung von Bonhoeffers Lebens- und Sterbenskonzept von B. Klappert. Schließlich gehört zu diesen Arbeiten eine Untersuchung der Rezeption von Bonhoeffers Ethik in der gegenwärtigen Ethik-Diskussion durch M. Hailer. H. Ludwig hat eine Biographie Willi Rotts, des Finkenwalder Studieninspektors, vorgelegt, wodurch die theologische Arbeit im Predigerseminar an Breite und Tiefenschärfe für die Forschung gewinnt.

Wie in den vorangegangenen Bänden galt es »Ergänzungen zu den Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werken« zu veröffentlichen und zu kommentieren. Diesmal handelt es sich um Funde aus der Zeit von Bonhoeffers beiden Aufenthalten in den USA (1930 und 1939), die V. Barnett und C. Green vorlegen. Ergänzend dazu findet sich ein Beitrag zur bislang nur unvollständig belegten und gewürdigten

Studienzeit Bonhoeffers am Union Theological Seminary von C. Green.

In der Rubrik »Texte zur Wirkungsgeschichte« hat H. Pfeifer Eberhard Bethges früheste Darstellung der *Ethik* Bonhoeffers und erste Veröffentlichungen von Texten in der Zeitschrift *Unterwegs* neu ediert.

Zwei Beiträge betreffen Bonhoeffers Zeitgenossenschaft: H. Mootu zieht einen Vergleich zwischen Martin Buber und Bonhoeffer und H. Pfeifer referiert in einer Rezension eine Veröffentlichung zur Moot-Gruppe in Großbritannien, die zwischen 1938 und 1944 Pläne für eine Nachkriegsordnung erarbeitet hat. In einer kurzen Notiz bietet W. Schulz die Richtigstellung einer fehlerhaften räumlichen Zuordnung der Berliner Konfirmandengruppe Bonhoeffers.

Wie immer bildet die Bibliographie der jüngsten Arbeiten zu Bonhoeffer, bearbeitet von R. Wüstenberg und J. Beljin, einen wesentlichen Schwerpunkt dieses Bandes und dürfte vor allem den an der Forschung unmittelbar interessierten Lesern gelegen kommen. Der Bibliographie ist wie in den bisherigen Bänden ein Register beigegeben.

Clifford Green, Boston
Kirsten Busch Nielsen, Kopenhagen
Hans Pfeifer, Düsseldorf
Christiane Tietz, Mainz

Preface

Interest in Dietrich Bonhoeffer is unwaveringly high and widespread. His legacy is many-sided, ranging from books of immediate pastoral appeal to scholarly works with theological and philosophical topics on an extremely sophisticated level. This legacy – partly fragmentary, as in the epoch-making literature of letters and widely-read poetry, and partly composed of carefully elaborated complete texts – continues to attract great interest among very diverse readers. Some see the relevance of this legacy precisely in its manifold, sometimes unfinished, occasionally even contradictory, but nevertheless unmistakably authentic character; others are inclined to undertake a partial reception or even a potential change of meaning.

The complexity of this interest is reflected in this issue of the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Yearbook 4 covering the years 2009/2010 and is evident in the variety of its contributions. The section »Contributions to Bonhoeffer Research« offers a new approach to the discussion of an adequate hermeneutics of Bonhoeffer's theology, in which L. Ohly relates Bonhoeffer's concept of person and the doctrine of the trinity. In another contribution the question of basic principles in Bonhoeffer's theology is newly investigated by M. DeJonge, who establishes proof that Luther's understanding of the presence of revelation in history was important for Bonhoeffer. In addition to this an evaluation of Bonhoeffer's theological and philosophical concept of living and dying is presented by B. Klappert. H. Ludwig has provided a biography of W. Rott who was the inspector of studies in Finkenwalde, and this opens up a field for further research into the theological effort in the Pastoral Seminar (Predigerseminar) and the whole realm of the teaching going on there. And finally M. Hailer presents an investigation of the reception of Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* in contemporary discussions about ethics.

As in previous issues of the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Yearbook, »Additions to the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works« are here published with appropriate commentary. This time a collection of inscriptions found in book dedications made during Bonhoeffer's visits to the States are edited by C. Green. V. Barnett edits and comments on the formerly unpublished passages from Bonhoeffer's diary of his

second visit to New York in 1939. In addition to this C. Green wrote an introduction and interpretation concerning Bonhoeffer's time on a postdoctoral fellowship at Union Theological Seminary in 1930-31.

In the section »Documents on the History of Bonhoeffer's Impact«, H. Pfeifer publishes E. Bethge's earliest presentation of Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* in the journal *Unterwegs* (On the Way), and a list of the very first publications of Bonhoeffer's up to then unedited texts, which were printed in the same journal.

Two contributions concern Bonhoeffer's contemporaries: H. Mottu draws a parallel between Martin Buber and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and H. Pfeifer reviews the publication of the Moot Papers, which contain the minutes of a planning committee on a New Order after World War II, organized by Joe Oldham in Great Britain between 1938 and 1944. In a short notice W. Schulz corrects the erroneous locality of Bonhoeffer's class of confirmands in Berlin.

As in prior issues of the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Yearbook, a Bibliography of recent Bonhoeffer publications provides an essential resource for ongoing research. It was prepared by R. Wüstenberg and J. Beljin. The editors hope that this will be an asset for ongoing Bonhoeffer scholarship. Finally, an index completes the Bibliography.

Clifford Green, Boston
Kirsten Busch Nielsen, Copenhagen
Hans Pfeifer, Düsseldorf
Christiane Tietz, Mainz

I.

Ergänzungen zu den Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werken
Additions to the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works

Dietrich Bonhoeffer
Two Bonhoeffer Inscriptions
at Union Theological Seminary¹

1. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Franz Hildebrandt² in
»Akt und Sein«, Berlin, after mid-September 1931³*

»Und daraus soll nun ein Katechismus⁴ werden!?!«⁵

1. Edited by Clifford J. Green. See also the article in this volume: Commentary: Three Bonhoeffer Inscriptions at Union Theological Seminary Library, 142-147.
2. Inscription in ink written at the top of the front cover of the first edition of »Akt und Sein«. The Burke Library Archive at Union Theological Seminary, New York, purchased the volume in 2008 from the daughter of Franz Hildebrandt, Esther Shreeve. – *DBW assignment (DBW-Zuordnung)*: DBW 11/1/9a.
3. »Akt und Sein« was published by Bertelsmann-Verlag, Gütersloh, in September, 1931. On 16 September Bonhoeffer mailed a copy to Paul Althaus who had recommended the volume to Adolf Schlatter and Wilhelm Lütgert, general editors of the series »Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie«. See the cover letter DBW 11, 23-24. As Holger Roggelin discovered in 2005, Lütgert had written the report recommending to the faculty the acceptance of the Habilitationsschrift (cf. DBWE 10, 210-214; DBJ/DBY 3, 66-71). (In the same package to Althaus Bonhoeffer also included a copy of »Sanctorum Communio« which had been published in 1930.)
4. After his return from the year at Union Theological Seminary, Bonhoeffer had written a catechism together with Franz Hildebrandt in the summer of 1931; see DBW 11, 228-237.
5. For a similar sentiment about »Akt und Sein«, see Bonhoeffer's letter to Erwin Sutz, his Swiss friend from Union Seminary days: DBW 11, 63.

2. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer to President Henry Sloan Coffin*⁶ in
»Nachfolge«, after November 1937, likely summer 1939⁷

»Herrn Präsident H. S. Coffin in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit und Verehrung. Dietrich Bonhoeffer«.

6. This inscription in ink appears on a recto leaf inside the front cover of a first edition of »Nachfolge«. It was found in the open stacks of Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, when a collection of archival papers and memorabilia were assembled for the visit to the seminary, in May 2009, of the scientist Friedrich Bonhoeffer, Dietrich Bonhoeffer's nephew and son of his brother Karl Friedrich. This volume is now housed in the rare books of the Burke Library Special Collections.
7. While it is possible that Bonhoeffer mailed a copy to President Coffin when the book was first published, it is probably more likely that he brought some copies with him on his summer 1939 visit. – *DBW assignment (DBW-Zuordnung)*: DBW 15/I/129a.

Notes at the Conclusion of Bonhoeffer's 1939 American Diary

Introduction by Victoria J. Barnett

The notes on the following pages are from pages 21-25 of Bethge's typewritten transcript of Bonhoeffer's New York diary (NL, A 50,1). They were not included in DBW 15, but the editors of the English translation have chosen to include them in DBWE 15 because they are clearly Bonhoeffer's reading notes for his essay »Protestantism without Reformation« (DBW 15/II/6). It is also interesting to compare these notes and observations with Bonhoeffer's reading notes and papers from his previous stay at Union Theological Seminary in 1930-31.¹

Bonhoeffer refers to these readings throughout »Protestantism without Reformation«, but particularly in its final pages. Indeed, when the diary and the essay are read in conjunction with one another, it becomes clear that »Protestantism without Reformation« was a work in progress, written quickly as an attempt »to organize and write down his observations«.² In his essay, as in these reading notes, Bonhoeffer drew connections between the insights into the German church that he had gained from the years of the *Kirchenkampf* and the insights and impressions of his second brief encounter with the American church scene. In 1939 he had a new and, in some respects, less critical perspective on how the U.S. denominational structure had affected the church-state relationship, theology, and social witness in U.S. churches.

This new openness can be explained by the fact that Bonhoeffer was truly at a turning point. In his biography of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Eberhard Bethge observed that Bonhoeffer's brief 1939 sojourn in New York was marked by »his own experience of existential

1. See DBWE 10, 411-476 (= DBW 10, 381-449) and Appendix 2 of that volume, »Bonhoeffer's Courses at Union Theological Seminary«, DBWE 10, 643-645 (= DBJ/DBY 3, 48-51).
2. DB-ER 659.

insecurity«. ³ The course of the *Kirchenkampf* had left him profoundly disappointed in the failures of German church leadership, even in the Confessing Church. He was well aware that Europe was on the brink of war, and he knew that he personally was on the cusp of the transition to political resistance against the leaders of his nation. He arrived in New York with the knowledge that he might well become a refugee, and for that reason his reflections on the U.S. churches as the product of religious refugees are deeply personal. Yet Bonhoeffer's appreciation for the resulting tolerance and compassion of U.S. Christianity was ambivalent. He believed that in fleeing, the refugee had abandoned the fight for the truth back home, and his words about this may well have been an admonition to himself that he needed to return to Germany: »For the Christian refugees, the renunciation of the fight to the end for the truth remains a most troubling and life-long issue. Only the deep sincerity and unlimited scope of compassion and the right to asylum in his country of refuge can be convincing in Christian terms. His yearning to decide for the truth against its distortion remains unfulfilled and must remain so.« ⁴

Bonhoeffer was changing his mind about many things in the United States. It is striking, then, that most of these reading notes refer to the series in »The Christian Century« titled »How My Mind has Changed in This Decade«. ⁵ Appearing for the first time in 1929, the series invited prominent theologians, church leaders, and other leaders in the religious world to comment on how the decade that had passed had influenced their own theology. The 1939 series included 34 essays by a wide range of authors, including James Luther Adams, Karl Barth (Barth's 2-part contribution appeared on September 13 and 20, 1939 – too late for Bonhoeffer to have read it), Georgia Harkness (the only woman), and the prominent pacifist A. J. Muste.

In these notes Bonhoeffer cites eight essays from the 1939 series: the essays by Edward Ames, Walter Horton, E. Stanley Jones, Edwin Lewis, Reinhold Niebuhr, Willard Sperry, George C. Stewart, and

3. Ibid., 658.

4. From the forthcoming DBWE translation of »Protestantism without Reformation« (= DBW 15, 443).

5. Edited by a Disciple of Christ clergyman, Charles Clayton Morrison, »The Christian Century« was established in 1900 (it actually emerged from a previous weekly titled »The Christian Oracle«) as a non-denominational weekly paper.

Henry Wieman. At the conclusion there are also references to works by George Herbert Betts, Henry Sloane Coffin, Josiah Strong, and Thomas Huxley. It is unclear whether Bonhoeffer read other essays in the series (it is interesting that he doesn't comment on Muste's antiwar essay, »The True International«, which appeared in the May 24 issue), but the common themes addressed in these eight essays include the tension between liberalism and orthodoxy, the theological and philosophical movements that were shaping the U.S. church scene, and the role of the church in the world. It would seem, then, that Bonhoeffer had his topic – an examination of the differences between the churches of the Reformation and the churches that had not undergone a Reformation – clearly in mind, and selected his readings accordingly.

Bonhoeffer concluded »Protestantism without Reformation« with the sentence: »The decisive task today is the conversation between the Protestantism without Reformation and the churches of the Reformation.«⁶ These reading notes reveal Bonhoeffer's brief but intensive attempt, in the summer of 1939, to carry on that conversation.

6. From the forthcoming DBWE translation of »Protestantism without Reformation« (= DBW 15, 460).

Edition
Notes at the conclusion of
Bonhoeffer's 1939 American diary⁷

Kirche als religiöse Provinz (philosophisch-kulturell)
als Mittel zum Zweck (Volks [...] Moralleben, für Befriedigung der
religiösen Bedürfnisse zur Harmonie der Existenz,
like science, art.
church submerged into the world
Religion, Kirche, Privatsache, Privatvergnügen.
Church as an invention for forgiveness of sins
Waste of the word and the sacraments.

Outstanding:
Problems of [...] continental theology
 Doctrine and heresy.

1. Confession and damnation
2. The Church
3. The powers ordained by God
6. Christ and anti-christ⁸
 Christlike life
4. Christian life, the meaning of suffering
5. Church and synod.

7. Throughout these reading notes Bonhoeffer alternated between English and German. Ellipses [...] indicate passages that were apparently not transcribed (they were probably illegible in the original manuscript). There are several instances where titles and names are incorrectly transcribed; the corrections are given in the notes. Underlined passages are also underlined in the NL transcript. The editor thanks Clifford J. Green for his help with transcription and bibliographic queries. – *DBW assignment (DBW-Zuordnung)*: 15/I/137a. Edited by Victoria J. Barnett.
8. The numbered sequence here, which is out of order, replicates what is in the typescript.

1924: Jesus Christ and the Human Question.¹⁰

Aufgrund der Philosophie Pringle-Patterson's¹¹: The idea of God in the light of recent Philosophers.

1934: Christian manifesto¹²

Durch Bibelstudium zur Erkenntnis der Selbständigkeit des biblischen Offenbarungsglaubens.

Willard L. Sperry: Professor Prakt. Theologie Harvard University.

Jan. 18, 1939: How my mind has changed in this decade.

Generalübersicht. Erster Aufsatz.

Ältere Generation. Anfang mit »What would Jesus do?« (Marles M. Sheldon).¹³ Direkte Ethik. Infrage gestellt durch Tolstoi und Nietzsche (engl. Sprecher für N. war H. W. Garrod »The religion of all good men«, 1906¹⁴) Zusammenhang von Dogmatik und Ethik. Wendung zur Gottesfrage. »American life has been, until most recently, optimistic, once-born ... Our once-born America is changing before our eyes.«¹⁵ Im [...] Sinn L. G. Tyrells Formulierung:

9. Lewis subsequently published »The Philosophy of the Christian Revelation«, New York 1940, so his essay in »The Christian Century« seems to anticipate that book.
10. E. Lewis, Jesus Christ and the Human Quest: Suggestions toward a Philosophy of the Person and Work of Christ, New York 1924.
11. The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophers, by Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison (not Patterson as in the typescript), was the publication of the 1911-13 Gifford Lectures.
12. E. Lewis, A Christian Manifesto, Nashville 1934, a critique of liberal theology.
13. »Marles« is a transcription error; the reference is to Charles M. Sheldon, In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do?, Chicago 1897.
14. H. W. Garrod, The Religion of All Good Men, and other Studies in Christian Ethics, New York 1906.
15. This is from Sperry's essay; William James used the term »once-born« to describe the kind of faith »which looks on all things and sees that they are good«; W. James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, in: James, Writings 1902-1910, New York 1987, 85.

»Christian religion is an ultimate optimism upon a provisional pessimism.«¹⁶ Buße: provisional pessimism.

Henry Nelson Wieman: Professor Religious Philosophy, Chicago

Jan. 25, 1939: Growth of religion.¹⁷

»Some blind spots removed.«¹⁸

Er sieht klarer:

1. Symbole christlich.

2. Sünde: jedes Ideal, das sich über die konkrete Situation stellt.

Therefore – he who makes ideals supreme over his life, no matter how loftily and no matter how perfectly he may live up to them, is sinning.

3. grace. The grace of God is the good word God puts into each concrete situation over and above all that man can do or plan or even imagine. Wegen unserer Ideale empfangen wir die Gnade Gottes nicht.

4. Living Christ.

»It is the working of a process of history which used that human personality (Jesus)

»the growth of a community« – die durch alle Gruppen der Kulturen, Ideale, Gesetze hindurchbricht. Das is the living Christ.

5. The Church

»a new way of living.« Kirche muß eine gewisse Kontinuität haben.

»Darum Zeremonie und Lehre«, aber sie ändern. »It is the way of life that is important.«

6. The otherness of God.

»God alone is concrete in his working.« »Man must work abstractly.« Gott reist durch alle Menschenbilder hindurch.

Besondere Wertung des Apostels Paulus.

Die Wendung für Wieman kam »durch Erkenntnis der Sünde« (!)

16. The quotation is by the Irish Jesuit scholar G. Tyrrell, Christianity at the Cross-Roads, London/New York 1910, 69. The actual phrase there is »a proximate pessimism but an ultimate optimism«.

17. H. N. Wieman/W. Horton, The Growth of Religion, Chicago 1938.

18. This was the title of Wieman's essay in »The Christian Century«.

(Sünde = Nicht-Konkretheit) (Vergötzung des Konkreten, der Geschichte. Immanentismus: Ideologie der »konkreten Situation.«

»Growth of religion«¹⁹ – 1938

»Theistic naturalism« – God is »growth of living connections of values in the universe« or »unlimited growth«. Darum höher als alle Ideen, Lehren etc. Romantischer Naturalismus. Schleiermacher. Ablehnung der Personhaftigkeit Gottes, der persönlichen Unsterblichkeit.

Immanentismus als Geschichtsphilosophie.

Christentum: der werdende Gott und die werdende Geschichte!

Reinhold Niebuhr

26. IV. 39: »The year that shook my world«²⁰

Ausgangspunkt: Liberalismus. Glaube an die Güte der Menschen, sei es in naturalistisch-romantischem oder in rational-idealistischem Sinne. Optimismus.

Positiva des Liberalismus:

die Befreiung der exakten Wissenschaften

die Religion

die Anwendung der historischen Methode auf die Bibel

Dagegen: Das Kreuz ist das Ende der Geschichte.

Liberalismus vergaß, das d. »spirit of man can find a home neither in nature nor in reason, but only in God.

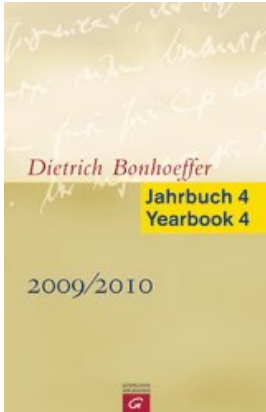
Das politische Ende des Liberalismus ist »München.«²¹

19. Wieman's book »The Growth of Religion«.

20. R. Niebuhr, Ten Years That Shook My World, in: The Christian Century, April 26, 1939.

21. This is a reference to the 1938 Munich agreement between Nazi Germany and the governments of France, Italy and Great Britain, in which those governments agreed to the German annexation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia for the sake of preserving the European peace. It was criticized even at the time as an act of appeasement and a betrayal of democratic values.

UNVERKÄUFLICHE LESEPROBE



Victoria J. Barnett, Sabine Bobert, Ernst Feil, Clifford J. Green, Christian Gremmels, John W. de Gruchy, Wolfgang Huber, Wolf Krötke, Frits de Lange, Henry Mottu, Kirsten Busch Nielsen, Hans Pfeifer, Christoph Strohm, Christiane Tietz

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- Neueste Forschungen zu zentralen theologischen und historischen Themen rund um Dietrich Bonhoeffer und sein Werk

Das Interesse an Dietrich Bonhoeffer ist unverändert groß. Das liegt zweifellos an seinem besonderen Lebensweg, aber auch an der Vielfältigkeit und dem Facettenreichtum seiner Texte. Leicht ist man versucht, Aspekte seines Denkens zu isolieren und den geschichtlichen wie biografischen Kontext seiner Überlegungen zu ignorieren. Das Dietrich Bonhoeffer Jahrbuch hilft dabei, dieser Versuchung nicht zu erliegen, indem es neueste sorgfältige Forschungen zu zentralen theologischen und historischen Themen sowie Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte Bonhoeffers versammelt. Außerdem ergänzt es mit neuen Textfunden und -editionen die Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke und bietet eine Bibliografie der Neuerscheinungen zu Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Insgesamt ist es für alle, die über Bonhoeffer wissenschaftlich arbeiten, unverzichtbar.

 [Der Titel im Katalog](#)