

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8:1 Chapter 1 conclusions

Tillich (1952:4-6) recalls those years in Germany (1886 to 1933). Two points stand out in Tillich's mind. He recalls his encounter with nature. He had a fascination with history. Tillich was raised in a church manse which left a definite impression upon him. He was the son of a Lutheran pastor. Further the experience of the Holy from Otto's book *Idea of the Holy* helped Tillich to be able to interpret his life, his experiences with nature, and gave him a history of the Holy One. It was these experiences in nature, history, and Otto's concept of the Holy which were determining factors in his own formation of a philosophy of religion (Tillich 1967:28). Otto's work had three clear implications for the *Idea of the Holy* the mystical, sacramental, and aesthetic (ibid:28). Otto's work became part of Tillich's thinking from the beginning. It became like a compass and a constitution to him. The ethical and the national elements became a necessary part of his experience with the divine. Schleiermacher was another religious thinker who left an impression upon Tillich with his emphasis on the mystical. Schleiermacher contributed to both Christian and non-Christian mysticism (ibid:28). It was these early impressions in Germany that Tillich thought perhaps might have accounted for the romanticism in both his feeling and thinking (ibid:24-25). Tillich's initial relationship to nature and the impact of Schelling's Christian philosophy of nature were both from the German years (ibid:24-25).

Church festivals, the sayings and concepts of the Bible worked to create an ecclesiastical background for him (Tillich 1936:41-42). Tillich stood within the Lutheran tradition in Germany (ibid:54 in Carey 2002:4-5). Tillich was raised in a small town in eastern Germany (Tillich 1936:29). The absence of automobiles and a secondary railway created yearnings for adventure within Tillich (ibid:29-30). The yearly vacation to the Baltic Sea with its horizon to infinity created the concept of the infinite for young Paul (ibid:29). The yearly trip to Berlin was another adventure for Paul and the Tillich family. The Tillich family moved to Berlin in 1900. Tillich learned the mysteries of a great city (ibid:29).

The authoritarian nature of German society with its beaucratic structure and strong central government did not sit well with Tillich. The First World War ended this rigid beaucratic system. Post-war Germany became open to democratic principles and allowed for those espousing social revolution (ibid:31). Tillich's home that he grew up in was oppressive both to his religious and political views. Tillich's father was a Lutheran with strong beliefs. Tillich's mother had the outlook of a Calvinist (ibid:31). However, some of Tillich's happiest memories were the long philosophical discussions with his father (ibid:31-32). Tillich had an autonomous spirit. Tillich was accused of being a Neo-Orthodox and a liberal. He was accused as well of being not only a romantic but a revolutionary as well (ibid:33). The balancing of these motives was a lifelong problem for Tillich (ibid:33).

His years in the humanistic Gymnasium gave him a humanistic education. This created an internal conflict for Tillich with the Christian tradition. He learned the Christian tradition at home, and in the church. Religious instruction was given in school. Religious information

was available in history, literature, and philosophy (ibid:34-35). The two temperaments of his parents contributed to his character (Tillich 1966:13-15). He could not decide whether this was just heredity or a recall of his childhood (ibid:14). His childhood experiences at the sea each year contributed to his later thinking. This was true with his essay *The Mass and the Spirit* (ibid:18). His doctrine of the Absolute stated in terms of both ground and abyss originated here with his experiences at the sea (ibid:18). The sea contributed to Tillich's imagination for this thinking. His inspiration for writing is attributed to being among trees and the seaside.

Tillich's Religious Socialism is to be traced to his childhood experiences in Germany. His childhood play with the children of the German aristocracy due to his father's social standing as a Lutheran pastor. These landowners were considered the old nobility (Tillich 1936:8-12). This determined both his 'intellectual and personal destiny' (ibid:12). Tillich attributes his socialistic beliefs as the determiner of both his intellectual and personal destiny (ibid:12). Tillich experienced persecution based on German class warfare.

On the boundary of both reality and imagination would lead to Tillich's movement from a romantic imagination to a philosophic one (ibid:13). Tillich excelled at turning abstract realities into concrete reality (ibid:13). Tillich was marked out for theory rather than practical activity (ibid:17). Tillich had an internal struggle during these early German years for the truth of traditional religion (ibid:17-18). Tillich came to realize religious truth is existential truth (ibid:17-18). Religious truth cannot be separated from practice. These early childhood experiences determined the direction of Tillich's life, thought, and legacy.

Tillich's academic preparation took place during the German years 1905 to 1914. This includes two years of church work. He had a knowledge of the history of philosophy and a basic acquaintance with Fichte and Kant before entering the university (Tillich 1936:35). His study of Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling followed during his university years (ibid:35). Schelling became the object of Tillich's study during the German years. Tillich's doctoral dissertation and his thesis for the degree of Licentiate of Theology were based on Schelling's work (ibid:35). Tillich came to believe that nature mysticism was both 'possible' and 'real' (Tillich 1967:36). His existentialism raised questions that only the Christian message could answer (ibid:36). Existential theology inherited during the German years became predominant in his spiritual life (ibid:36). Tillich received his Protestant theology from his predecessors during the German years (ibid:36). His formative mentors Hegel, Kierkegaard, and Schelling were Lutherans. His teachers were mainly Lutherans. This includes Kahler, Troeltsch, and Von Harnack (Carey 2002:5). The power of the Protestant principle became evident during the German years in the classes of Martin Kahler (Tillich 1948:xiii). Tillich confirms his debt to Kahler for the Pauline-Lutheran idea of justification (Tillich 1936:32). Tillich's understanding of the Old Testament came from Wellhausen and Gunkel, his historical insights into the New Testament to Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* and Bultmann's *Synoptische Tradition* (ibid:33). Jacob Bohme was another figure who Tillich considered the mediator of Lutheran mysticism (ibid:54). Bohme influenced both Schelling, and German Idealism. Schelling influenced both Irrationalism and the nineteenth and twentieth century philosophy of life (ibid:54). Tillich (ibid:36-37) admits the important influence

of Kierkegaard's existentialism on his theological existence. It was Schelling's Positive Philosophy which made possible a 'decisive break from Hegel'. Marx and Nietzsche are two other important influences on Tillich's own life and thinking. His membership in a fraternity during his student years helped him understand the 'meaning of the church existentially, and theoretically' (ibid:37).

Tillich joined the German army as a chaplain during World War I (Tillich 1967:33). It was during these war years (1914-1918) that Tillich would begin his study of art. This would eventuate in a theology of art. It was 'soon after the First World War' that Tillich 'became a Religious Socialist' (Reimer 2004:34). Tillich (1967:39) saw Germany was divided into classes. The industrialized masses viewed the church as an ally of the ruling groups. Tillich saw the collapse of Imperial Germany (ibid:39). Tillich was in sympathy with the social problems of Germany (ibid:39). Tillich was uncertain whether 'the roots' were to be traced to his childhood or inherited from his grandmother in the revolution of 1848 (ibid:39). The ideal and reality were two elements to appear in post World War I Germany. Professional Schools provided practical training. The humanistic faculty of philosophy answered questions of existence by the Logos (Tillich 1936:8). Tillich's postwar German society determined his approach in his teaching career. The curriculum was to include the question of human existence, the Logos, political and religious alliances, and spiritual and social problems. These were the issues to be addressed (ibid:17-22).

Tillich joined the 'Berlin Group' (1920). They were also known as the 'Kairos Circle' (Thomas 2000:14). Tillich (1967:40-41) had turned to the thinking of Karl Marx. Marx saw

philosophy as an attempt to obscure the social contradictions in man's existence (Tillich 1936:62-63). Tillich embraced the prophetic, humanistic, and realistic in Marx. Tillich's No was on the 'calculating, materialistic, and resentful elements' in Marx's analysis, polemics, and propaganda' (Tillich 1967:40-41). The practical aspects of Marx's thought changed Tillich's No into a Yes (ibid:40-41). Tillich developed his doctrine of the kairos during the German years (ibid:57). In 1919, Tillich delivered his famous Berlin lecture on a theology of culture and art. This was given before the Berlin Kant Society (Thomas 2000:14).

Tillich's teaching career from 1919 to 1933 was at German universities. He tried to win a place for theology 'in the totality of knowledge' (Tillich 1936:38). Tillich related religion to 'politics, art, philosophy, depth psychology and sociology' (Tillich 1967:41). It was at the University of Berlin (1919-1924) that Tillich developed his theology of culture (ibid:41). It was at Marburg that Tillich was introduced to existentialism in its twentieth century form (ibid:42). Tillich claims he was led to a new understanding of the relation between philosophy and theology (Tillich 1936:39-40). Tillich experienced the lectures of Martin Heidegger at Marburg (ibid:39-40). Tillich's theology of culture and art and his existential theology were formed during the German years. Tillich taught at Marburg for three semesters beginning in 1924 (Tillich 1952:14). In 1925, Tillich began working on his first volume of his *Systematic Theology* at Marburg (Tillich 1967:42). He was called to Dresden in 1925 (Tillich 1952:14). Tillich served at Dresden from 1925 to 1929. He was 'Professor of the Science of Religion in Dresden and at the same time Professor Honorarius of Theology

in Leipzig' (Tillich 1936:40). It was while at Dresden that Tillich was awarded the honorary doctorate from the University of Halle (Thomas 2000:17). Tillich taught at Leipzig from 1927 to 1929 while serving at Dresden. Tillich was called to the University of Frankfurt in 1929. He lectured at Frankfurt on the boundary between philosophy and theology (Tillich 1967:43). He taught at Frankfurt from 1929 to 1933. Tillich's public lectures and speeches throughout Germany brought him into conflict with the Nazis. Tillich maintains this was long before the year 1933. He was dismissed from his teaching post in Frankfurt in 1933. He and his family left Germany for the United States at the end of 1933 (Tillich 1952:14). Paul Tillich's German years (1886-1933) are necessary to be able to understand Tillich's life, thought, and his German legacy. The knowledge of Tillich during these years is central to a historical understanding. The German years determined Tillich. In chapter 2, the historiography was considered related to our thesis.

8:2 Chapter 2 conclusions

The older historiographical method argued for historical problems ranging from the problem of time, identity, motive, character, and the origin of ideas (Nevins 1938:208). Nevins (ibid:213) thought 'technicalities of logic' referring to induction and deduction an unproductive labor. Causes and effects must be considered by the historian (ibid:214). It is necessary to form a working hypothesis (ibid:215-224). The hypothesis must be governed by three features. The three features are the need for objectivity, the setting aside of bias or prejudice, guarding against oversimplification, and a novel interpretation. The historian must remember the importance of ideas (Gustavson 1955:152-163). Nevins

(1938:241-256) points to past histories such as Hegel's philosophy of history, Darwin's theory of natural selection, and Marx's interpretation of history. Nevins (*ibid*:252) argues for the need for reasoned facts and a historical frame of reference. Insights from other academic disciplines must be used (*ibid*:258). Gottschalk (1963:195) argued for the creation of the totality of the historical fact. Textual criticism was divided into external and internal. The external criticism had to do with the problem of authenticity. Internal criticism had to do with the author's writing style, words, and the problem of credibility. The historical method embodies systematized knowledge, effective method, definite subject matter, and general truths (Garraghan 1946:34-38). History involves the search for sources, appraisal of the materials, and appropriate conclusions drawn from the body of the paper (*ibid*:34).

Von Ranke thought history must be recorded as it happened (*ibid*:47). Von Ranke (1973:39) thought a generalization or principle would surface that would guide the historian. Debates took place as to whether all of the past can or cannot be known (*ibid*:26-54). Von Ranke (*ibid*:50) argued that it is not necessary to know everything to be able to write history. Von Ranke (*ibid*:39) maintained a philosophy can be formed from the principle which has surfaced. Gottschalk (1963:140-141) argued that it is not possible to get to what happened. The historian can only hope for the credible not what happened but as close as we can get to what happened. Garraghan (1946:46-47) argued the goal of the historian is to arrive at what happened. Von Ranke emphasized individual developments (1973:26-27), the relationships between events (*ibid*:40), sequence, and simultaneity (*ibid*:49-50). The particulars of the historical study would support the generalization or principle. The principle will unify an

explain all of the particulars (ibid:40-50). Our second chapter turned from the consideration of the older historical method to historical issues in the writing of contemporary history. Difference of opinion exists as to the definition of contemporary history (Hughes 1997:20). Therbon (1999:93-195) thought history to be in a state of flux, and in an ever changing state. Chaney (1994:14) thought contemporary history is history that is happening at the present time. The problem of objectivity is a contemporary historiographical issue in the writing of history. Latourette (1953:xxi) argued that pure objectivity doesn't exist. The admission of the historian's own subjectiveness is a necessary part of writing history. Jenkins (2003:14) argues that history remains a personal construct of the historian. Another important issue in the writing of history is progress. Diankonoff (1999:196) thought human confidence in a golden era had disappeared. Apetheke (1993:70-74) writes of victimization and exploited peoples. Latin Americans who are both Christians and Marxists struggling for liberation from social injustices and oppression. The ecumenical perspective is so necessary for theology. Duff (1956:255) argues for the importance of the ecumenical movement as a primary concern. Graziano (1999:1510) concurs as to the importance of ecumenism. This is a liberating experience for both individual Christians and churches. Next, the goal of history must be considered as a key issue in contemporary history. Our Christianity is a historic materialist faith which moves to a certain goal (Therbon 1999:31-52). The end of history must be considered as well by the historian. Was the triumph of the liberal democracy the climax and goal of history (Fukuyama 1992:xiii)? Is the final form of world economics capitalism? Turiel (2002:298) argued that this is a moral issue. The role of ideology is of prime importance in the writing of contemporary history. Halliday (1994:58) argues for a historical materialist

approach. Chilote (2000:xi) points out: ‘political science and political economy are deeply influenced by ideology’. Evangelical religion mirrors the views of a liberal democracy and the capitalistic economic system. The contemporary political status will no doubt be challenged (Comaroff 1991:159). Finally, the relationship of church history to world history was considered. Ross (2006:4) refers to ‘the God of all history’. All history both ecclesiastical and secular lies within this all embracing scope (Latourette 1953:1352-1354). Our thesis considered Tillich’s biographical details.

8:3 Chapter 3 conclusions

The Paucks argue that the German years 1886 to 1933 are necessary to understand Tillich’s life, thought, and German legacy. The German years determined the direction the direction of Tillich’s life, thought, and his legacy. Their argument is based on heredity, environment, socialism, the times, the argument from development, the argument from experience, and the argument from the German academic career. The Paucks (1976:2) trace Tillich’s genealogy back to the records of the thirteenth century in middle and eastern Germany. The earliest relatives Johannes and Theodricus studied at the Augustinian monastery St. Noritz Vorden Toren von Naumberg. In 1392, Johannes was a monk. He studied at the University of Prague in 1384. Theodricus was at the University of Leipzig from 1410 onward. Theodricus was a provost, lecturer, and author of two histories (ibid:2-3). In 1630, the Bubonic plague wiped out the entire Tielich family with the exception of two elderly uncles (ibid:3). George Tielich was born in 1624 around the time of Jacob Bohme (ibid:3). George’s younger

brother Paulus died in infancy. George had studied theology at the University of Leipzig in 1648 (Pauck and Pauck 1976:3). His sermons were criticized because of his emphasis on politics (ibid:3). The Tillich family produced manufacturers, monks, and ministers (ibid:3). Tillich's great grandfather Wilhelm Samuel played the flute, clarinet, guitar, and violin. Oskar, Wilhelm's youngest son, was a copper and silver tradesman. Tillich refers to Oskar's wife in his comment on her building barricades in the revolution of 1848 (ibid:3). Johannes Tillich, Paul's father, was a Lutheran pastor, a church administrator, a school inspector, and a superintendent (ibid:3-4). He was a master of both speech and debate. He loved the tension between Greek and Christian thought. He included Paul in this adventure (ibid:4). Johannes played the piano and wrote and composed poems (ibid:4). Tillich's mother, Mathilde Durselen came from a liberal and bourgeois background (ibid:5). Tillich's grandfather Durselen loved Paul. He had a great affection for women which Paul thought that he had inherited (ibid:5).

Tillich grew up in a medieval environment at Schonfliess (ibid:6). Tillich was a critical religious thinker from an early age (ibid:7). His questions caused his sister, Johannes, to doubt her faith. His upbringing was religious in the grammar school. He learned the catechisms, hymns, and Bible stories (ibid:7). Tillich built a model church with a candle in it for the German Christmas (ibid:7). This became his favorite hobby by the time he was fourteen or fifteen (ibid:7). The Paucks (ibid:7-8) argue an 'indelible impression' was created in Tillich's receptive young mind by these Christian symbols. Tillich understood the struggle between the privileged class and the poor from his childhood (ibid:8). He was conscious of the tension between these classes (ibid:8). Tillich had a sense of guilt because of the underprivileged

(ibid:8). Tillich had a friend among the landed nobility by the name of Eckhart von Sydow (Pauck and Pauck 1976:8). These incidents and this friendship made a deep and a lasting impression upon Paul (ibid:8). Von Sydow taught him to play chess and checkers, introduced him to both Darwin and Freud (ibid:8). It was after the First World War that he introduced him to expressionist painting (ibid:8). Tillich had even from an early age an inward drive to conform to socialist principles (ibid:20).

The times for Tillich were Wilhelminian (ibid:9). Kant's work and the German society required submission (Tillich 1966:21-22). Tillich was raised in an era of peace and prosperity (Pauck and Pauck 1976:17). Tillich belonged to a small group which was called Bohemia (Tillich 1966:22). These intellectuals artists, actors, journalists, writers discarded the bourgeois viewpoint (ibid:22).

Tillich's development took place as well in Germany. He was sent to the Humanistic Gymnasium in Kongigsberg-Neumark in 1898 (ibid10). He received a education in the humanities, in Latin, and also Greek (ibid:10). Tillich faced inner turmoil in regard to his questions concerning Christianity (Pauck and Pauck 1976:12). Tillich shared his thoughts and heart with Eric Harder (ibid:12). His confirmation was on March 23, 1902 in his father's church in Berlin (ibid:13). His text was Mt. 11:28 which caused his hearers to ask as to his choice of this passage. In 1903, Tillich's mother died. Tillich read Schwegler's *Geschichte der Philosophie* in his last years at the Gymnasium (ibid:15). Fichte's *Theory of Sciences* helped him interpret the difficult parts of German philosophy (Adams 1965:2-6). The Paucks (1976:15) include philosophical discussions with his father, Johannes, as important in his development.

Tillich studied at the University of Berlin under Deltizsch in 1904 (ibid:16). Tillich had come across Schelling's works in a bookstore in Friedrichstrasse. The Paucks (ibid:16) attribute this to 'one day, by chance and destiny' (ibid:16). Tillich studied at the University of Halle from 1905 to 1907. He came under the influence of Martin Kahler (Carey 2002:3). He received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1910 from the University of Breslau. In 1912, he received his Licentiate of Theology from the University of Halle. He wrote a dissertation for each degree based on Schelling's work (ibid:3). Earlier, Tillich went to Tubingen in the summer of 1905 (Pauck and Pauck 1976:17). He came under the pietistic thought of August Hermann Francke at Halle. A second tradition of the rationalism of Christian Wolff and the Enlightenment was to be found at Halle as well (ibid:19). Tillich was influenced as well by Fritz Medicus a lecturer at Halle in philosophy (ibid:19). German classical philosophy was mediated to Tillich by Medicus (ibid:20). Tillich's theological education was received during the German years. His lines of thought were developed during his years as a student (ibid:28-33). Tillich had two theological exams to pass to be ordained (ibid:28-29). Tillich began his pastoral work on January 1, 1909. In the spring of 1909, Tillich passed his first theological exam. In the fall of 1909, Tillich returned to Berlin to complete his practical theological training. He entered the Domstift a training school for preachers. Tillich remained here for one year. Tillich graduated from the Domstift (ibid:29-35). The Paucks (ibid:34) thought that Tillich's father had made the connection for his son to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Breslau. It was on December 16, 1911 that Tillich took his final theological exam for the degree Licentiate of Theology at Halle. In 1912, he was qualified to

teach theology on the university level. July 27, 1912 saw Tillich passing his final church board exam. Tillich was ordained in his father's church in Berlin on August 18, 1912 (Pauck and Pauck 1976:35). Tillich had to write a *Habilitationsschrift* a qualifying thesis to be able to teach in Germany on the university level (ibid:36-37). Tillich was a German educated theological scholar and clergyman. His academic and pastoral training was from German universities, and the German standards for ministerial ordination, and university lecturing. Tillich's development took place during the German years.

It was on September 28, 1914 that Tillich married Margarethe Karla Mathilda Maria Wever (ibid:38). Soon Tillich enlisted as a chaplain in the German army (ibid:45). Art became an escape for Tillich during the war. He became interested in studying art and 'the history of painting' (ibid:47). He brought art books in a military bookstore. Tillich immersed himself in the study of art to deal with the ugliness and destruction of war all around him (ibid:47). It was during the war that Tillich became aware of the need for the socialist motif in politics (Ratschow 1980:21). Ratschow argues that it was obvious that Tillich traced his ideas concerning religious socialism back to his war experiences. Tillich's socialist ideas appeared soon after the war (ibid:21).

The Paucks argue that Tillich's German academic career was a determiner of his life, thought, and legacy. Tillich combined Freud's psychoanalysis, Cezanne's expressionism, and Marx's socialism into his Christian apologetic theology (ibid:59). It was during his German years that Tillich developed his 1919 lecture 'On the Idea of a Theology of Culture' (ibid:64). Tillich spoke at a Continental conference for religious socialists in September 1919

(ibid:70). Tillich belonged to the socialist 'Kairos Circle' (ibid:70). Tillich divorced Grethi on February 22, 1921 (Pauck and Pauck 1976:81). He married Hannah Werner on March 22, 1924 (ibid:86). Tillich's experience at Marburg drove him in the direction of political, cultural, and existential theological interests. The majority of the students at Marburg were Barthians (ibid:95). Tillich's political and cultural interests were not permitted at Marburg. Marburg was a stark contrast to Berlin (ibid:95). Tillich began the formulation of his systematic theology at Marburg (ibid:95). Bultmann and Heidegger were at Marburg at the same time (ibid:95). In 1925, the Tillichs moved to Dresden. Tillich taught at Dresden from 1925 to 1929. He taught as well at Leipzig at the same time from the winter semester of 1927-28 on. This was by appointment from the theological faculty (Ratschow 1980:24). It was at Dresden that Tillich received the honorary Doctor of Theology degree from the University of Halle (Pauck and Pauck 1976:102). In March 1929, Tillich resigned from Dresden. The Dresden school had failed to receive accreditation (ibid:112). In June of 1929, Tillich accepted a call to the University of Frankfurt. At the same time, Tillich gave his inaugural lecture on 'Philosophy and Destiny' (ibid:112-113). Tillich became active with other philosophers and social scientists in the 'Frankfurt School'. Tillich was active as well in the German political scene (Carey 2002:3). Tillich was dismissed from his position at the University of Frankfurt on April 13, 1933 (ibid:3). Tillich was the only theologian teaching on the university faculty. He was a Christian scholar teaching in a secular university setting (Pauck and Pauck 1976:118). In July 1932, Nazi storm troopers and Nazi students 'beat up left-wing and Jewish students' (ibid:127). The Paucks (ibid:127) add: 'In 1932, Tillich was dean of the

philosophical faculty'. Tillich demanded the expulsion of the Nazi students (ibid:127). Tillich's German academic career came to an end in 1933. The Paucks argue that Tillich had developed his theology of culture and art at Berlin. He developed his existential theology, and started his *Systematic Theology* at Marburg. His political and cultural views were not permitted at Marburg. Tillich's years at Dresden and Leipzig led to his Frankfurt years. Tillich's name had appeared in April 13, German newspapers in 1933 within the group of 'left-wing intellectuals, members of the Communist or Socialist Parties' (ibid:130). Tillich's German academic years had determined the direction of his life, thought, and legacy. Tillich's German years (1886-1933) are necessary to understand his life, thought, and legacy

8:4 Chapter 4 conclusions

Tillich admits his intellectual development and career was formed during his German years (1886-1933). Tillich explored the relationship of philosophy and theology at the University of Frankfurt. His professional career was the suitable background to undertake this endeavor. Tillich had a new understanding of the relation of philosophy and theology to each other. This was because of the 'Existential Philosophy' in Germany (Tillich 1936:39-40). Tillich's view of the 'conception of the scientific relation of both' has helped us to understand his Frankfurt years (1929-1933) (ibid:38). Tillich distinguished between a philosophical theology and a kerygmatic theology (1948:83-84). Kerygmatic theology reproduces the content of the Christian message in an orderly and systematic way. Reference is not made to philosophy. Kerygma is the New Testament word for message. Philosophical theology is based on the

kerygma. Philosophical theology tries to explain the kerygma in terms of its close interrelation with philosophy (ibid:83-84). The unity of both types of theology is the theological ideal. Theological faculties need a representative of each type of theology on its faculty. Tillich calls philosophical theology by the names of apologetics, speculative theology, and Christian philosophy of religion. Tillich writes of philosophy it ‘tries to understand being itself and the categories and structures common to all kinds of beings’ (ibid:86). This must occur before it can attempt ‘a description of the world in unity with all kinds of scientific and non-scientific experience’ (ibid:86). Tillich’s theology was formed during the German years. The separation of philosophy from theology and theology from philosophy is impossible. Philosophy shows the kerygmatic and theological character which is the task of theology. Theology’s task is to discern being which gives ‘ultimate concern’ (ibid:87). Philosophy asks the questions. Theology supplies the answers (ibid:87).

The Frankfurt years for Tillich carry with them ‘the relationship between philosophy and theology’ (ibid:83). Tillich’s theological views were formed during the German years. Horton (1952:45) visited Frankfurt shortly after Tillich had left in 1933. Horton (ibid:45) found that critics of Tillich’s at Frankfurt charged him with deserting his job as a philosopher of religion. They claimed his teaching was only concerned with art, economics, politics, and general culture. The Frankfurt years can be understood as well from Tillich’s boundary or border-line concept. This boundary concept explains how Tillich’s ideas developed in Germany. Tillich admits his ‘personal and intellectual development’ took place during the German years (Tillich 1966:13). His experiences in Germany during those years consisted

of 'alternative possibilities of existence' (ibid:13). Tillich (ibid:13) writes that the early experiences in Germany 'determined both my destiny and my work' (ibid:13). Paul Tillich's German years (1886-1933) are necessary to understand his life, thought, legacy. Tillich found Schelling's Christian metaphysical thought did not achieve the desired unity between philosophy and theology that he had hoped for (Tillich 1936:35). Tillich's concept of the abyss was not included (ibid:35). Tillich's Christian philosophy of religion was born. This resulted for Tillich in the union of philosophy and theology. Tillich's philosophy of religion expressed in philosophical terms the concept of the abyss and 'the idea of justification a limitation of philosophy' (ibid:36). Tillich gave a critical analysis of Neo-Kantianism, the philosophy of values, and phenomenology (ibid:36-37). Tillich was attracted to Nietzsche's philosophy of life (ibid:36-37). Tillich came to depend on Schelling's Christian philosophy of life. Tillich's Christian philosophy of history became sociologically and politically oriented due to the German revolution of 1918 (ibid:37). Tillich discarded historical relativism because of the effects of World War I on Germany. Tillich's new Christian philosophy of history was the history of religious socialism (ibid:38). Secondly, Tillich sought to show the unity of another dimension between philosophy and theology at Frankfurt. This was the unity of religion and culture. Culture's substance is religion. Religion's form is culture (ibid:50). Culture included politics, art, depth psychology, and sociology (Tillich 1966:7).

Tillich (1967:43) admits: 'Frankfurt was the most modern and liberal university in Germany, but it had no theological faculty. So it was quite natural that my lectures moved on the boundary line between philosophy and theology'. Tillich (1936:40) was 'Professor Ordinarius of Philosophy in Frankfurt-on-the-Main'. His former teacher Fritz Medicus wrote an article in the leading Swiss newspaper on Tillich. He claimed Tillich's appointment to Scheler's chair heralded a new philosophical era. Tillich had transformed Schelling theory into 'meaning for a responsible way of life' (Pauck and Pauck 1976:113). Tillich was to teach social education. His lectures and seminars emphasised 'social ethics, historical action and political direction'. Tillich gave a greater emphasis to this than to metaphysical thinkers (ibid:113). Ratschow (1980:24) argues for Tillich's 'systematic science of culture' during the German university years. Theology is 'part of the science of religion' (ibid:24). The Frankfurt years were the most rewarding of his university years in Germany (Pauck and Pauck 1976:114). Tillich became well known throughout Germany as a result of his position at the University of Frankfurt (ibid:120).

Tillich's Frankfurt years were overshadowed by National Socialism (ibid:122). Tillich had helped Max Horkheimer obtain a position at the University of Frankfurt (Dorrien 2003:487). Horkheimer was the director of the *Institut fur Sozialforschung*. This became known as the Frankfurt School (ibid:487). Donnelly (2003:2) argues for Tillich's religious and Marxist thought being formed during the German years. Guy Hammond, Terry O'Keeffe, Richard Quinney, Ronald Stone, and John Stumme argue for the 'fusing of religious and Marxist thought in the early Tillich' (ibid:2). Tillich's public speaking at Frankfurt brought him into

conflict with the growing Nazi movement in Germany (Thomas 1963:14). Thomas (2000:43) argues Tillich was convinced of the need for religious socialism for Germany. Tillich's book *The Socialist Decision* contained his political theology and his commitment to 'socialist politics' (ibid:43). It was an attack on Nazism (ibid:43).

Tillich's Frankfurt years were characterized by political turmoil and economic turbulence. The Great Depression was felt in Germany by the middle of 1930/ The German democratic government was coming apart (Duiker and Spielvogel 2007:646-649). Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933 (ibid:687). In March 1933, Hitler became dictator of all of Germany (ibid:687). It was during the years in Frankfurt that Tillich wrote *The Socialist Decision* (Stumme 1977:xxiii). The Treaty of Versailles (1919) laid heavy war reparations on Germany (Duiker and Spielvogel 2007:644). The Dawes Plan of 1924 was drawn up by an international commission. This made war reparation payments dependent on Germany's ability to pay (ibid:646-647). The Americans made heavy investments in Europe. This created European prosperity during the years 1924 to 1929. In 1928, American investors called the loans in made to Germany. This was so investments could be made in the New York stock market. The October 1929 stock market crash made it necessary for American investors to withdraw even more money loaned to Germany (ibid:647). Stumme (1977:xxiii) writes: 'Historical events foreclosed any genuine socialist decision'. Carey (2002:4) adds the concluding note: 'Tillich was dismissed by the Nazis from his position at the University of Frankfurt on April 13, 1933, and in December of the same year he and his family came to America'. Tillich's German years had determined the direction of his life, thought, and his

legacy. The German years (1886-1933) are to understand Tillich.

8:5 Chapter 5 conclusions

Martin (1963:7) 'sets forth the major facts of Tillich's life and seeks to explain what incidents and experiences of his personal historical destiny have been of basic importance in molding his thought, as well as the crucial intellectual influences upon it'. Tillich had a working knowledge of Fichte and Kant before entering university. At university, he studied Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling. Tillich's concentration was focused on Schelling's Christian philosophy of religion (ibid:17). Marx, and Kierkegaard were intellectual influences on Tillich (ibid:21). Marx's doctrine of economic materialism confirmed Kierkegaard's doctrine of self-alienation (Tillich 1936:65). The Tillichs family moved to Berlin in 1900. This helped Paul Tillich to understand the necessity of the big city for 'the critical side of intellectual and artistic life' (Tillich 1936:6 in Martin 1963:16). Tillich gained from 'personal experience' of both the political and social movements in Berlin (ibid:6 in ibid:16). Tillich's doctoral dissertation and his dissertation for the Licentiate of Theology were both written on the work of Friedrich Schelling (Tillich 1952:10 in ibid:17). Martin claims that for Tillich: 'Kierkegaard and Heidegger remain his philosophic heroes'. Tillich (1936:31-33) admits these intellectual influences on his life during the German years. Martin Kahler, and Wilhelm Lutigert of Halle were important teachers to Tillich as a student of Protestant theology. Tillich was given insight by Kahler into the Pauline-Lutheran idea of justification. Tillich parted company with the theologians of Halle. He was not interested in the 'new supranaturalism' which he viewed as Barth's theology. Tillich (ibid:31-36) names Wellhausen and Gunkel for further insight into the Old Testament.

Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* for 'historical insights into the New Testament'.

Tillich acknowledges as well Bultmann's *Synoptische Tradition*.

World War I was a determining factor in Tillich becoming a religious socialist (Martin 1963:20). Tillich became one of the founders of German religious socialism (ibid:20).

Tillich's *The Religious Situation* became 'a revolt against the spirit of capitalist society' (Niebuhr 1956:10). Tillich's doctrine of the *kairos* was formed during the German years (Tillich 1936:57-58 in Martin 1963:20). Feuerbach thought the 'true sense of theology is anthropology' (Feuerbach 1989:xvii in Crocket 2001:108). Tillich's (1977:13-15) *The Socialist Decision* includes anthropology. Tillich's *The Socialist Decision* appealed to the German people to accept socialism rather than Nazism (Stumme 1977:xxii). Tillich wanted the question of Marxism to Christianity to be an open question (ibid:xxvi).

Marx was another scholar of whom Tillich was interested in (Carey 2002:3). Carey (ibid:23) affirms Tillich's debt to Marx. This is evidenced by 'Tillich's early writings on socialism, his sympathy for the social critiques of religion, and his efforts to promulgate a religious-socialist movement in Germany' (ibid:23). Tillich (1936:63) admitted his debt to Marx. Tillich added that Marx's influence was dialectical combining a Yes and a No. The prophetic, humanistic, and the realistic formed the Yes. The materialistic of Marx's analysis polemics, and propaganda formed the No (Martin 1963:22). Carey (2002:29-32) argues that Tillich saw in Marx the voice of the Old Testament prophets,

Marx's view of justice, his historical approach with the need for decision and involvement, and the Marxian criticism of oppressive ideologies to the human situation. The No for Tillich would be Marx's failure to distinguish the divine from the human ecclesiastical expressions, and his interpretation of history was too utopian.

Tillich became interested in painting during his time as a chaplain in World War I (Pauck and Pauck 1976:51 in Palmer 1984:3). This was a form of relaxation and escape within the context of the horrors of World War I (Tillich 1966:27-28 in *ibid*:3). His last furlough of the war saw Tillich visiting the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. Boticelli's 'Madonna with singing angels,' had an enormous impact on him. His experience as a German chaplain from 1914 to 1918 during World War I turned Tillich both to the thinking of Karl Marx, religious socialism, and art. Tillich (1952:13) related religion to art. Later, revolutionary art came into the picture. This was when Tillich was a Privatdozent at the University of Berlin from 1919 to 1924. Tillich developed his theology of culture and art during the German years (*ibid*:13).

Freud was another intellectual influence on Tillich during the German years. Tillich had been introduced to Freud by Eckart von Sydow (Pauck and Pauck 1976:75). Tillich had been interested in Freud since 1919 (*ibid*:223). Tillich (1967:41) lectured on the relation of religion to depth psychology. This was when Tillich was teaching at the University of Berlin (*ibid*:41). Cooper (2006:21) argues for Tillich's concept of the demonic being drawn from Freud and Marx's social demons. Freud's psychological bondage of the will reflected demonic activity (*ibid*:21). Tillich's existentialism and Freud's psychoanalysis shared a common bond

a revolt against the philosophy of consciousness (ibid:66). Both existentialism and psychoanalysis were concerned with man's estrangement (ibid:66). These two intellectual movements existentialism and psychoanalysis were important in Tillich's formation during the German years (Armbruster 1967:15). Freud confirmed Tillich's existential theology.

Martin (1963:18) argues for Heidegger's influence on Tillich. Tillich (1936:40 in ibid:19) called Heidegger's influence 'upon his thinking of a prime order of magnitude'. The presence of existential philosophy in Germany gave Tillich a new understanding of the relationship between philosophy and theology. Tillich admits to having experienced Martin Heidegger's lectures during his years at Marburg (1924-1925) (Tillich 1936:39). Martin points to another intellectual influence that of Edward Husserl on Tillich (Martin 1963:19). Husserl's doctrine confirmed what he had learned from both Kant and Fichte (ibid:19) Husserl's *Logische Untersuchungen* was a powerful force for refuting positivism.

Nature and Schelling played a great part in Tillich's life, thought, and legacy. Tillich (1952:4-5) developed in Germany a romanticism to nature. He communed with nature daily in his early years. In his later years, every year for several months was spent at the seashore. Secondly, his romantic relationship to nature is accounted for by the impact of German poetic literature with its expression full of nature mysticism. Thirdly, Tillich explains his romanticism to nature on the basis of his Lutheran background. Nature mysticism was both possible and real. Tillich's romanticism to nature meant as well a special relationship to history. His growing up in towns where every stone is centuries old (ibid:5). Schelling's Christian

philosophy of religion had a great emotional impact upon Tillich. Tillich's (1936:7) acknowledges Schelling's influence on him. Schelling's work would become the subject of both Tillich's dissertations (Tillich 1966:47). Jacob Bohme was another theological influence on Tillich. Tillich considered Bohme the mediator of Lutheran mysticism (ibid:75). It was through Bohme that Lutheran mysticism influenced Schelling, German Idealism, and Tillich. Tillich's concepts of both ground and abyss are derived from Bohme (Adams 1965:32).

Tillich (1922:447 in Kegley and Bretall 1952:27) spoke 'of his "spiritual comradeship" with Barth and Gogarten'. Horton (1952:28) argues for labeling Tillich as progressive theologian . Tillich rejected both Barth and Hirsch who opposed socialism (Tillich 1966:76). Adams (1965:19) argues that Tillich: 'radically criticized Barthianism'.

Hegel is another intellectual thinker to consider as to whether he exerted an intellectual influence on Tillich. Leibrecht (1972:25), Wheat (1970:102), Clayton (1980:132-133), Carey (2002:14), argue for Hegel's influence on Tillich. Thomas (1963:11) argued for Tillich's admission of acquaintance with Hegel in the university. Stumme (1977:xviii) argued that Tillich planned to return to Hegelian sources 'of the Marxist dialectic and to reconstruct social theory on this basis'. Tillich (1977:80) viewed Hegel's effort 'to establish a philosophical foundation for positive Christianity, especially his ambiguous Christology, was the most important expression of the alliance of the bourgeoisie and feudalism'. Tillich (1952:11) confirms a 'decisive break' from Hegel because of his encounter with Schelling's second period , especially with his so-called "positive philosophy." Here lies the philosophically decisive break with Hegel, and the beginning of that movement which is today

Existentialism'. This made possible Tillich's decisive break from Hegel's philosophy.

Niebuhr (ibid:217) argues for the uniqueness of Tillich's *Systematic Theology* the first volume. It is a very rigorous work with 'all the disciplines of culture'. Secondly, it is to be distinguished from Hegel's and Kant's natural theology. Tillich gives 'a fuller appreciation of the limits of reason'. Niebuhr is referring to Tillich's first volume of his theology. Another intellectual influence on Tillich was Nietzsche. Tillich (1966:56) was attracted to Nietzsche's 'philosophy of life'. Nietzsche's thought was acceptable to Tillich because it was rooted in Schelling.

Diamond (1967:244) and Novak (1992:159) argue for the influence of Buber on Tillich. Novak (ibid:159) emphasises an incident in Germany at 'a conference of religious Socialists'. Tillich wanted to replace the word God but Buber replied 'Aber Gott ist ein Urwort (God is a primordial word!)' (ibid:159). Tillich (1936:46-47) recalls this incident. Buber was another stimulus to Tillich's thinking on the language of the gospel.

Troeltsch was another influence on Tillich. He drove Tillich to develop a new Christian philosophy of history. Tillich's Christian philosophy of history was a philosophy of the history religious socialism (Tillich 1966:54-55). Siegfried (1952:68-69) argues for Troeltsch as a liberal theologian. Tillich, by way of contrast, carried out 'a radical criticism of culture'. Troeltsch sought political and social reform. Tillich represented liberal theology but he represented something more magnificent the splendor of religious socialism based on Marxism (ibid:70-71). Troeltsch helped Tillich define his Christian philosophy of history.

Horton (1952:27) argues for Tillich's debt to Luther. Siegfried (1952:81) points out similarities between Luther and Tillich. These being human nature as 'finite freedom' and

‘the relativity of all social orders’. Luther’s ‘justification by faith’ was Tillich’s ‘the “New Being” in Jesus as the Christ’ (Thomas 1963:94). Carey (2002:9) saw four areas of ‘genuine affinities between Luther and Tillich’. Carey (ibid:9-20) lists these as theological method, the concept of God, the human condition and the concept of justification. These similarities fit within Tillich’s political and existential theology.

Ratschow argues that Tillich in his writings ‘was able to transcend the problems of his time’ (ibid:135). Ratschow (1980:34) writes that Tillich ‘transcended the questions of the time toward their solution’. Tillich (1952:13-14) argued in terms of environment and social forces rather than personality or his ability to make value judgments. Ratschow (1980:34) argued that Tillich’s apologetic theology was ‘strictly for his time’. Ratschow (ibid:8) does argue for Tillich as one who fulfills the Great man theory. Martin (1963:25) concludes: ‘The major outlines of his thought seem to have been fairly well fixed long before he left Germany’. Tillich’s German years (1886-1933) show the many influences upon him. The German years are necessary to be to understand Tillich’s life, thought, and legacy. Our thesis turns now to the conclusions from Tillich’s legacy from his years in Germany.

8:6 Chapter 6 conclusions

Tillich’s German years (1886-1933) have been ignored. Tillich’s legacy to us is European, Continental, and German (Horton 1952:27). Tillich was able to relate the present to the future (ibid:32). Tillich’s discernment of the hand of God ‘was not in social democracy but socialism (ibid:32). Tillich and the religious socialists related the Kingdom of God to politics (ibid:33). Clayton (1980:6) argues that Tillich wrote for his own generation and for his own time. Clayton (ibid:6) argues that Tillich’s theological system is obsolete. Richards (1995:44)

wants to sum up Tillich's German legacy in two words '*spirit and community*'. Reference is made to Tillich's lecture given in Berlin *On The Idea of a Theology of Culture* (ibid:44). Tillich's theology of culture was his life long interest and work (Ratschow 1980:24). Ratschow (ibid:24) argues for the importance of the German years (1886-1933) to be seen as a unity. Richards (1995:45) points to Tillich's writings from the German years as part of his German legacy. These writings are *The System of the Sciences* (1923), *The Religious Situation* (1926), *Mass and Spirit* (1922), and *Kirche und Kultur* (1924) Richards (ibid:45) adds: 'systematic studies on religious socialism'. Tillich's early writings are part of his German legacy. Ratschow (1980:23) points to Tillich's *The Religious Situation* and *The Socialist Decision*. Tillich's *The Religious Situation* argues against the bourgeois capitalist society. This society is presented 'in science, technics, and economy' (ibid:23). *The Socialist Decision* 'concentrated upon the threatening "fatal destiny of the European peoples," and it has become completely a "beliefful realism" ' (ibid:23).

John Carey (2002:39) points to Tillich's legacy in politics and history. Carey argues with Tillich's early works in mind on these two subjects. Tillich's insight in both politics and history is part of our current theological interest. Carey (ibid:39) has in mind 'the ramifications of liberation theology and of the meaning of history'. Carey (ibid:41) argues for Tillich and his associates as Religious Socialists. They had a continual quarrel with the Social Democratic Party (ibid:41). Tillich repeatedly wrote of the weaknesses and strengths of socialism 'in the 1920s and early 1930s' (ibid:41). Capitalism made the appeal to German unification 'around supernaturalism' (ibid:42). Tillich broke with Hirsch over his endorsing

the Nazi movement and its call for a “New Germany” ‘ (ibid:42). Carey (ibid:43) held that Tillich’s writings were ‘ dated and of interest only to historians’. Carey points out similarities between Tillich’s situation and our own situation. He (ibid:43) argues for three insights ‘we live in a polarized society, we try to cope with the breakdown of old mythologies and we now hear appeals for violent and/or nonviolent revolution’. Further Tillich’s work argues for caution of any ‘utopianism of the left’ ‘and any form of totalitarianism of the left as well as the right’ (ibid:43). Carey (ibid:44) adds that Tillich has left a legacy in terms of his ‘serious grappling with Marxism’. Carey (ibid:46) argues for Tillich’s further legacy in that his early writings were devoted to ‘the meaning of history’ (ibid:46). Tillich’s work provides a ‘major alternative to Pannenberg’s work’ (ibid:46). Carey (ibid:47) argues that Tillich ‘is not interested as much in historical knowledge as...historical consciousness, the awareness of one’s fate in history, and of being so penetrated by the forces of history as to discern the creative significance of the present moment’. Tillich (1938:106 in ibid:47) writes: ‘Since the only entrance to the interpretation of history is historical action, there is no serious grappling with the problem of history which has not been born out of the necessity for coming to a present historical decision’.

Tillich’s (1964:87) German legacy is in part Schelling’s Christian philosophy of religion. Carey (2002:14) writes of Tillich’s contribution to twentieth-century theology with his concept of God and his debt to ‘Fredrich Schelling’. Tillich’s (1936:54) Lutheran mysticism mediated by Jakob Bohme is also part of Tillich’s German legacy. The ideas of Bohme would enable Protestant theology to ‘penetrate the ontological implications of the Christian symbols’ (Adams

1965:32). Bohme's thought is to be found in Tillich (ibid:201).

The Protestant principle is also part of the German legacy from Tillich (Ratschow 1980:27). Siegfried (1952:80-83) argues for the Protestant principle as part of Tillich's legacy. Tillich's work has a definite Protestant character. Siegfried names grace, 'the unity of regeneration, judgment, and justification', and the kairos. The kairos is a divine manifestation from which political and social transformation will occur. Tillich related the Protestant principle to the Protestant character. He 'follows Luther's intuition of the relativity of all social orders. But he applies his principle also to the feudal-paternalistic order, which Luther thought to be valid for his time and beyond' (ibid:81). Tillich 'applies it to the bourgeois-capitalistic order, which he criticizes in the name of religious socialism' (ibid:81). Another question to be considered in the light of the Protestant principle is Tillich's demand for a theonomy transcending autonomy and heteronomy. Siegfried considers the Protestant churches in the light of this principle (ibid:82). Siegfried (ibid:82) argues that according to Tillich the future of the Protestant churches is their need for a 'theological openness' to 'the theoretical problems of the present situation'. The need for an 'ethical openness toward the social problems of today in contrast to the attempt to identify the Christian message with a special political or economic structure' (ibid:82). Tillich (1936:54-55) confirms his Protestant principle from the German years. He claims to belong to Lutheranism by his birth, his education, his religious experience, and theological reflection. Secondly, Tillich claims not to have stood on the borders of either Lutheranism or Calvinism. His religion remains Lutheran. His philosophical thinking expressed the substance of Lutheranism. This is expressed in the

Lutheran mysticism of Jakob Bohme. The Protestant principle originated in Tillich's own subjective context. Tillich (1964:68) widens the Protestant principle defining it in terms of 'the Protestant understanding of man and his predicament'. Tillich relates the Protestant principle to his existential theology of man's predicament. Carey (2002:15-16) argues that Luther's theme 'God alone is God' is Tillich's 'concept of the "Protestant Principle" '.

Carey (ibid:15-16) argues: 'Tillich felt that Protestantism is a corrective principle to Roman Catholic claims for the church, Orthodox claims for church councils, and Protestant fundamentalist claims for the unique authority of Scripture'. The Protestant principle was part of the Tillichian legacy from the German years.

Tillich's philosophy of religion becomes part of his German legacy (Siegfried 1952:75). This was expressed in Tillich's work *Religiose Verwirklichung* (ibid:75). Tillich argues for 'a normative idea of religion from a comparison of the sacramental, the mystical, and the prophetic types of religion' (ibid:76). Tillich gives a synthesis of them within Christianity. Tillich considers this 'the criterion of every religious reality' (ibid:76). The history of religion is interpreted by Tillich as the development of 'these types' (ibid:76). Siegfried (ibid:76) argues that Tillich arrives at a Christian synthesis (ibid:76). Siegfried (ibid:76-77) concludes that Tillich has shown a concept that fits all 'religions and quasi religions' which compete with Christianity. Tillich (1923:149 in Adams 1965:185) viewed philosophy of religion and theology as standing in tension with each other. Adams (ibid:87) argues: 'philosophy of religion and theology are two elements in a cultural science of religion'. Tillich's philosophy of religion formed during the German years had a 'tripartite classification' (ibid:187). The division is

‘philosophy of meaning, intellectual history, and the normative system—theology’.

Schelling’s Christian philosophy of religion was drawn into the abyss (Tillich 1936:35).

World War I was disastrous for Tillich and the German people. Schelling’s Christian philosophy was unable to bring about the unity between theology and philosophy.

If a reunion of philosophy and theology was to be achieved then justice would need to be done to the abyss. Tillich’s Christian philosophy of religion came into being to satisfy this need (ibid:35).

Religious Socialism was part of Tillich’s German legacy. Tillich (1936:19) writes:

‘Only in the last year of the war, and in the months of collapse and revolution did the political backgrounds of the World War, the interrelation between Capitalism and Imperialism, the crisis of bourgeois society, the class cleavage, and so forth, become visible to me’. Carey (2002:23) argues for Marx’s influence on Tillich. Tillich (1936:188) argued that the removal of class conflict by a proletariat revolution would end in a ‘static-vegetative final state’.

Tillich (1977:161) viewed the proletariat as the factor to bring transformation of history and mankind. Tillich added a religious aspect to his socialism (Siegfried 1952:70-71). Tillich’s German legacy includes a religious socialism that sought to cure the ills of his time a capitalist economy and a political liberal democracy. Adams (1965:214) argues that Tillich asserted that ‘the Marxist revolt against capitalist society represented a justifiable revolt’. It would result in ‘a wider participation of men in the satisfactions of security and creativity’ (ibid:214).

Tillich was well aware of the concept of Marxist ideology (Siegfried 1952:71). Carey (2002:23) argued for Tillich’s recognition of Marxian truth that religion was an ideology of the privileged.

The churches are ‘yoked to the present social order’. Tillich (1972:410-411) argued a: ‘great synthesis is the turning point for many of the actual problems of today, including world revolution and the East-West conflict...a world-historical movement which has directly or indirectly influenced our whole century’. Tillich (1936:63 in Carey 2002:32) acknowledged his legacy from Marx. Carey (ibid:33) adds that Marx’s thinking did not allow for Tillich’s kairos and his religious socialist thinking. Tillich (1988:126) argues that Marx’s view of man saw clearly his ‘dehumanization’ and the need for ‘real humanism’. Tillich (ibid:126) explains: ‘Both show Marx is concerned with the loss of salvation of the “person” in the technical society as he experienced it’. Runyon (1984:277) states that Tillich, and ‘Religious Socialism was squelched soon after the Nazi victory’. Bonhoeffer (1965:108f in Carey 1984:277-278) adds that the world did not want a religious orientation. Heiman (1952:312) argues that Tillich acknowledged the ‘central importance in his development which he himself attributes to the doctrine of religious socialism’. Taylor (1991:21) claims that Tillich’s legacy of religious has affected our modern world. Tillich’s socialist vision has been realized in Latin America. Taylor (ibid:21) continues: ‘Other theologians working in close contact with alienated and oppressed groups also dwell on this creative tension. James Cone and Cornel West do so in connection with the aspirations of Afro-American groups...and a number of North Atlantic theologians, male and female, who say Yes and No by sifting through the Western Marxisms of Lukacs, Gramsci, Goldman or Habermas’.

Tillich’s doctrine of the kairos was also part of Tillich’s legacy from the German years (1886-1933). The kairos is the ‘fulfilled time’. The moment that is both ‘creation and

fate' (Tillich 1936 :129 in Adams 1965:203). Tillich expected a new social, political, and economic order for Germany (Runyon 1984:274-275). Ratschow (1980:22) argues that Tillich's conviction of the kairos died out from 1926 on. Heiman (1952:313) argues for the distinction between kairos and kairoi. The turning points of history would be the one great kairos. This center of history sheds light on the whole of history and its parts. Thus the kairos gives meaningfulness to both the whole of history and the parts of history. History without this center would be a 'meaningless irrelevant sequence of facts, as it appeared to the classical philosophers' (ibid:313). The kairos must be understood 'in universal terms' (ibid:313).

Tillich developed a new concept of belief-ful realism during the German years. This becomes part of Tillich's legacy from the German years. Belief-ful realism is 'a total attitude toward reality' (Niebuhr 1956:13). Tillich (1956:86) argues: 'The revolt against the spirit of capitalist society has been least ambiguously expressed in painting since the beginning of the century'. Tillich (ibid:90) continues: 'The extent to which this protest was historically justified became apparent....A realism has suddenly appeared in art....which one may possibly speak of as the beginnings of a *belief-ful realism*'.

Tillich's theology of culture is part of his German legacy. Tillich delivered this lecture in Berlin in 1919 (Siegfried 1952:68). Baumgarten (1993:149) argues for his theology of culture as part of his German legacy. Oden (1964:20) concurs with Baumgarten's view. Wettstein (1984:113) argues that Tillich's theology of culture has 'exerted a particularly pervasive influence on American religious studies'. Tillich 'opened generations

of his students to an awareness of the depth and extensiveness of the cultural setting that that shapes as well as receives or rejects theological address' (ibid:113). Boulding argues that it has nothing to do with Tillich but the interest in culture is to be accounted for by 'the rise of science' (ibid:313). Wettstein (ibid:114-115) argues that Tillich's theology of culture is not relevant because our society is fragmented. Wettstein (ibid:115) sees the contemporary problem of 'religious substance fragmented into pluralism'. Tillich's theology of culture finds itself in a technological culture (ibid:132). It cannot be left in the hands of 'technologists' and 'technological rationales' (ibid:132). Carey (2002:92-93) argues that the emergence of pluralism 'has recast Tillich's world'. Pluralism carries with it the acknowledgment of relativism. The view that there is more than one way to look at something has become part of contemporary theology.

Tillich's legacy has to deal with Postmodernism. Professor Carey (2002:97) writes: 'Postmodernism maintains that reality is undecidable and the world is no particular way at all. It is now clear that older thought systems were expressed through political ideologies... that aesthetic, literary, and theological opinions are in fact simply culturally conditioned statements of personal judgment'. Carey (ibid:97-98) points out the common ground between Tillich and the Postmodernists. They 'both criticize misleading...pronouncements' 'in religious traditions' (ibid:97). Further they both expose the arrogance of groups who claim to know the will of God, both agree that religious groups reflect both their geographical region, and also the middle class, both reveal both the biases and assumptions that have formed our 'intellectual, political, and social life' (ibid:97-98). Postmodernism may move us to 'support the voices of

disadvantaged or pressed peoples' (ibid:100). Tillich provides a corrective to Postmodernist thought with his recognition that people live by 'faith, trust, passions, and symbols' (ibid:100).

Tillich's 'knowledge and appreciation of art' begins with his service in World War I as an army chaplain. He sought relief in art from the ugliness of war (Adams 1965:66). Tillich devoted his time 'to the study of art' (ibid:66). This grew to a 'a systematic study of the history of art' (ibid:66). A philosophical and theological interpretation of the art would follow. Ratschow (1980:21) adds: 'This sequence-especially this birth of a concept is still Schelling'. Tillich's theology of art grew out of his experience in the German army as a chaplain in World War I. The art piece would be 'cultural as to form and religious as to substance' (Tillich 1936:49 in Adams 1965:68). Tillich comes full circle to his idea of living on the border 'between religion and culture' (ibid:68). Adams (ibid:68) argues: 'From this border Tillich early developed his theology of culture and art. The outlines of his theology of culture were set forth in his 1919 lecture "Ueber die Idee einer Theologie der Kultur," the first work he published after the First World War'. Later, Tillich saw 'the revolt against the spirit of capitalist society...expressed in painting since the beginning of the century' (Tillich 1956:86). Tillich's theology of culture was also a theology of art. This is part of Tillich's legacy from the German years.

Tillich's existential theology is part of his German legacy. Tillich (1964:76) argues that the history of existentialism goes back to a century before 'to the decade of the 1840's'. It was formulated by Schelling, Kierkegaard, and Marx (ibid:76). Tillich (ibid:76) continues: 'In the next generation' it was seen in Nietzsche and Dilthey. The roots of existentialism go back

to Bohme' (ibid:76). Further Tillich traces existentialism back to Schelling's 1841-1842 lecture at the University of Berlin (ibid:77). Re Manning (2005:60) argues that Tillich's existential theology points to Schelling. Tillich considered Schelling the 'founder of existentialism' (ibid:60). Tillich considered existentialism the fulfillment of German Idealism (ibid:60). Scharlemann argues just the opposite that Tillich's existentialism was due to the impact of Heidegger from 1925 on (ibid:60). The 'question of being' occupied 'a more central position' in Tillich's thought (ibid:60). Thomas (2000:60) argues for the influence of Heidegger on Tillich. Thomas (ibid:60) writes: 'there can be no doubt that this is where we see the significant influence of Heidegger's existentialism on his theological development'. Adams (1965:22) argues: 'Kierkegaard is, of course, the principal ancestor of contemporary existential philosophy'. Kierkegaard's interest was the individual's confrontation with reality. Tillich shared this concern. Tillich had the additional metaphysical concern in Schelling (ibid:22).

Tillich's systematic theology was begun in Marburg in 1925 (Tillich 1967:42). Siegfried (1952:77-79) argues for Tillich's *Systematic Theology* as part of Tillich's German legacy. Niebuhr (1952:217) writes: 'Paul Tillich's *magnum opus*, of which unfortunately only the first volume is available at the time this analysis of his work is attempted, will undoubtedly become a landmark in the history of modern theology for two reasons'.

Niebuhr (ibid:217) continues:

First, his ontological speculations are more rigorous and include all of the disciplines of culture more imaginatively than anything which has been done in the realm of philosophy

of religion or natural theology in our day or in many decades. Secondly, it distinguishes itself from the natural theology inspired by Hegel and Kant in the past two centuries by a fuller appreciation of the limits of reason in penetrating to the ultimate mystery or in comprehending the mystery of human existence. There is therefore a larger place for the kerygmatic dimension of theology than in all recent theologies which sought to accommodate the Christian Gospel within the limits of ontological speculations. Tillich's method is always to press ontological questions until it is proved that metaphysics points beyond its own speculations to a dimension of reality in which the Biblical assertions and affirmations about God's "mighty act," revelation as apprehended by faith, become relevant and meaningful.

Correlation is a Tillichian concept that is part of the German legacy. Clayton (1980:16) argues correlation is more than just existentialism raising questions which theology will answer. Ratschow (1980;30) argues for 'constant alternations or correlations' in Tillich. Ratschow (ibid:30) writes of these alternations or correlations: 'Culture and religion, there is society and history, the individual and religion, the individual and the masses, technics and culture, and art and faith'. Tillich worked the correlations into a 'schema' which comes from Schelling (ibid:30).

Tillich's contemporary historical view is his embrace of ecumenism which is so important for theology. Horton (1952:28) writes: 'Tillich makes it very clear that he has never completely repudiated liberalism, either in the economic-political sense or in the theological sense. For liberal theology's contribution to Biblical and historical criticism he remains grateful, while turning against the humanistic pride of certain idealistic doctrines'. Tillich was able to relate the present to the future (ibid:32). Tillich's relevant contemporary historical legacy included the transformation of the social order in politics, and economics (Ratschow 1980:23). Tillich related our historic materialistic faith to the Kingdom of God. All history lies

within the divine order (Ratschow 1980:23-36). Tillich (1968:481-482) saw clearly the importance of an ideology.

Tillich's German legacy updated includes an awareness of Tillich's activities in 1917 (Ratschow 1980:17). Three letters were found in Hirsch's estate from Tillich (ibid:39). A brief outline of systematic theology from a 1913 manuscript (ibid:38). A number of Tillich's early German works are now available. Tillich's 1929 *Religiose Verwirklichung* expresses Tillich's philosophy of religion (Siegfried 1952:75). The Paul Tillich Archives are at Andover—Harvard Theological Library (Carey 2002:117). Carey (ibid:124) concludes: 'I finished my perusals of the Harvard archives with the distinct impression that most everything of consequence that Tillich had to say as a theologian has found its way into print'. The Paul Tillich Archives at Marburg contains materials 'roughly a European counterpart to the Paul Tillich Archives at Harvard' (ibid:127). Carey (ibid:127) continues: 'Most Tillich's original manuscripts are in fact at Harvard; one project of Marburg archive has been to obtain copies of those Harvard manuscripts. Even the originals of most of Tillich's early German writings are at Harvard but they have been copied on microfilm and are now available in Marburg as well'. Marburg 'is stronger on Tillich's early writings and lectures (that is, prior to 1933)'.

Carey names three books dealing with 'Tillich's life and thought' (ibid:134). The first work is Gerhard Wehr's *Paul Tillich*. Further, a *Main Works/Hauptwerke* is now available in a six volume condensed version of the out of print 'fourteen-volume *Gesammelte Werke*' (ibid:128). Wehr's book is 'a semi-popular treatment in paper back' (ibid:134). It has 'many photographs of various other people and scenes in Germany and America' (ibid:134). The

‘main themes...are treated in twenty-two pages and the story of how the *Gesammelte Werke* came into being is told in four pages’ (ibid:134). Wehr tells Tillich’s life story without referring ‘to the Hannah Tillich controversy ‘ (ibid:134). This is beyond the scope of our present thesis. A second German work is *Ein Lebensbild in Dokumenten: Briefe, Tagebuch—Auszüge, Berichte*. Tillich’s life is divided into various periods (ibid:134). The third work is Professor Carl Heinz Ratschow’s work *Paul Tillich* (ibid:135). This work was translated by Robert Scharlemann. It was published in 1980 by the North American Paul Tillich Society.

Tillich’s 1913 systematic theology manuscript appears in Scharf’s *The Paradoxical Breakthrough of Revelation* (ibid:137). Further Erdmann Sturm has done considerable editing on Tillich’s ‘pre-World War I writings’ (ibid:137). Carey (137) points out Sturm’s editing ‘of the *Ergänzungs- und Nachlassbande* two volumes entitled *Religion, Kultur, Gesellschaft: unveröffentliche Texte aus der deutschen Zeit (1908-1913)*’. Carey (ibid:137) adds: ‘Sturm’s work has exposed both German- and English speaking scholars to a whole corpus of Tillich’s earlier work in philosophy and culture’. Sturm has done work on Tillich’s early sermons as a young vicar. This includes his war sermons as an chaplain (ibid:137-138). Our thesis turns to chapter 7 conclusions.

8:7 Chapter 7 conclusions

A lack of consensus exists on the American perspective on Paul Tillich. This confusion and conflict leads to a misinterpretation and misunderstanding in the historical perspective on Tillich. James Luther Adams argues that the German years (1886-1933) are necessary to understand Tillich’s life, thought, and legacy. It was here during the German years that Tillich’s

theology of art was formed (Adams 1965:65-66). This Adams argues is necessary to understand Tillich's thought and some of his categories (ibid:65-66). The religious significance of Rilke's poetry was full of metaphysical substance for Tillich (ibid:67) It was during the German years that Tillich's 'basic categories' for his philosophy of religion and theology of culture were formed (ibid:68). Adams work is a thematic presentation. Nevertheless, Adams argues that Tillich's German years are necessary to understand his life, thought, and legacy. Adams bases his arguments on Tillich's early writings *Masse und Geist* (1922), *Das System der Wissenschaften* (1923), and *Religiöse Verwirklichung* (1929) (ibid:20,22,33,42). Tillich set forth his theology of culture and art during the German years (ibid:65-68).

Tillich's concept of meaning and the associated disciplines are 'a theory of the principle of meaning', 'a theory of the material of meaning—philosophy of history and typology of cultural creations', and 'a theory of the norm of meaning' (ibid:113). This is to be seen in terms of Tillich as 'the culture-theologian' (ibid:113).

Tillich was dependent on Schelling's Christian philosophy and theology (ibid:131-132). Runyon (1984:272) argues for the similarity between Tillich's and Schelling's thought. Leibrecht (1959:6) confirmed Tillich's theology to be metaphysical. Marty (1984:732) acknowledged Tillich's theology to be from Schelling. Adams (1965:32,52,153) argues that it is also derived from Bohme. The disciplines belonging to Tillich's philosophy of religion are 'philosophy of meaning, intellectual history, and the normative system—theology' (ibid:187). Tillich's Christian philosophy of religion includes 'history of religions to theology', and 'the normative and systematic presentation of the concrete realization of the concept of religion'

(ibid:187). Adams (ibid:187) argues that Tillich's: 'philosophy of religion and theology are two elements in a cultural science of religion'. Adams (ibid:187-188) continues:

They may never properly be separated entirely. Every theology is dependent upon the concept of the essence of religion already presupposed. Every philosophy of religion is in the end dependent upon the normative concept of religion. And both are dependent upon the comprehension of the socio-historical material.

Leibrecht (1959:7) argues that Tillich's criticism was of the bourgeois capitalism. He desired a new social order that would allow all 'the opportunity to work creatively, each in his own life, in the spirit of artists'. Religious socialism was Tillich's political theology during the German years (ibid:10-11). Leibrecht (ibid:7) is mistaken when he passes Tillich's socialism off as creativity and romanticism. Leibrecht's pattern is to deny and then to affirm Tillich's religious socialism. Runyon (1984:277) confirms that Tillich was a religious socialist. Tillich's thought was based on the Marxist analysis of Capitalism (ibid:275). Carey (2002:47) confirms Tillich was also a political theologian.

It was during the German years that Tillich began his *Systematic Theology* (Tillich 1952: 14). Adams (1965:12) saw in Tillich words that came 'very near to expressing the sentiments of the existential philosopher Heidegger'. Adams (ibid:17) argues that Tillich's method was 'a constant interplay between reality as immediately experienced and reality as...historically inherited'. Adams brings out both the importance of the German years and as well Tillich's historical ancestors. Adams (ibid:22) writes of 'the intellectual ancestry of these ideas'. Adams (ibid:22) lists Kierkegaard, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, Marx, and Jacob Bohme. Tillich's concept of meaning was also used by the existential school (ibid:56).

Adams lists ‘Heidegger and Jaspers, Barth and Brunner’. This concept was also used by thinkers of ‘the idealistic and Neo-Kantian tradition’ (ibid:56). Adams (ibid:56-57) includes in this category ‘Dilthey, Bretano, Rickert, Windelband, Eucken, Troeltsch, Hartmann, Husserl’, ‘and among writers like Oswald Spengler and Theodor Lessing’. Tillich (1919: 31 in Adams 1965:71) shows familiarity with Nietzsche concept of ‘the creative’. Tillich’s concept of autonomy had historical ancestors. Adams (ibid:53) writes: ‘Kant, Rothe, and Troeltsch are the principal figures who contribute to this typology of authority’.

Adams lists the major concepts that were formed in Germany during Tillich’s German years (1886-1933). These are ‘the present’ (ibid:18), ‘decision’ (ibid:23), ‘fate’ (ibid:27), ‘depth’ (ibid:28), ‘*ultimate* depth of history’ (ibid:31), ‘form (*Gestalt*) of grace’ (Tillich 1929: 15 in ibid:36), ‘metaphysical concept of the “human boundary-situation” ’ (ibid:36), and ‘the *Unconditioned*’ (ibid:41). Adams (ibid:41) adds of ‘the concept of the *Unconditioned* and its corollaries, the ideas of “the form of grace” and the *Kairos*’. Two additional concepts are ‘*self-sufficient finitude*’, and ‘*secularism*’ (ibid:50). ‘*Demonry*’ includes both the ‘destructive and creative elements’ (ibid:51). *Demonry* is to be found both in secularism and also in religion (ibid:51). Adams (ibid:56) lists *meaning* as well within the Tillichean ideas.

Tillich had sought to win a place for theology within the totality of knowledge and also the other sciences during the German years (ibid:120-121). Tillich ‘adopts and adapts a general pattern proposed by Fichte’ (ibid:124). It was during the German years that Tillich’s religious socialism was developed earlier and apart from the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research (O’Keeffe 1984:81).

Adams, Leibrecht, Runyon, Carey, and O’Keeffe argue that the German years (1886-1933)

are necessary to understand Tillich’s life, thought, and legacy.

8:8 Judged By The Standards of Historiography

Tillich realized a liberal democracy and capitalism was a temporary state of flux. Tillich was able to project a vision of the future based on his concept of the kairos. The kairos, a special moment in history, would bring about a new social world order. Tillich admitted the subjectiveness of his own context. Tillich realized progress is achieved objectively through a political and social purpose. He was a contributor to the ecumenical perspective which is so important for theology. He viewed the destination of history to be world transformation of society including the West. Tillich deemed this necessary for the fulfillment of the Kingdom God. Tillich refuted the liberal democracy and economic capitalism of his day with his Marxian analysis of the German bourgeois society. Tillich’s Christianity was the historic materialistic faith. Tillich’s ideology consisted of religious socialism with a vision of the future. Tillich called into question the social order of his day. Religious socialism was the necessary social order that post World War I Germany needed. Thus Tillich realized the importance of his own historical, religious and political context with the rise of Hitler, Nazism, and National Socialism in Germany. Tillich viewed those outside the church as manifesting a greater display of works and grace than those inside the church. Tillich saw church history against and within the background of world history. Tillich judged by the standards of historiography in the writing of contemporary history and church history is far from outdated. Tillich remains relevant even though he was a product of his German years from 1886 to 1933.

8.9 Concluding Comment(s)

8:9:1 The Ontological Question

The ‘ontological question is’ : ‘what is being itself’ (Tillich 1951:163). This question has been discussed throughout the thesis. The importance of this question deserves some concluding remarks. Tillich names four levels of ‘ontological concepts’ (ibid:164). These are the ‘basic ontological structure which is the implicit condition of the ontological question’, ‘the elements’ constituting ‘the ontological structure’, ‘characteristics of being’, and ‘the categories of being and knowing’ (ibid:164). The ‘basic ontological structure ‘contains’ the subject-object structure of being’ (ibid:164). This involves a ‘self-world structure’ (ibid:164). Progression continues to the ‘second level of ontological analysis’ which deals with the elements of the structure of being (ibid:165). Tillich points out three pairs of elements that form the ontological structure. These are ‘individuality and universality’, ‘dynamics and form’, ‘freedom and destiny’. The first element is the power of being (ibid:165). The second element of dynamics and form points to ‘the belongingness of being’ (ibid:165). Being is seen as ‘a part of a universe of being’ (ibid:165). The characteristics of ontological being express two things. These are being’s power to exist and essential, and existential being. The categories are the forms of both thought and being (ibid:165). Tillich (ibid:164)) makes a very important statement: ‘But the arena of ontological discussion is not the theological arena, although the theologian must be familiar in it’. The existential analysis of the human situation correlates with the theological. Tillich’s theological method of correlation calls for an existential analysis of the human situation. The existential problem is given a theological answer from the Christian

faith. The sources of systematic theology are the Bible, Church history, and religion, and culture. The theological answer can be formed as well from our experience. The norm of theology is a value judgment in relationship to the content of the Christian faith (ibid:28-34).

8:9:2 Paul Tillich's German Years (1886-1933)

The German years (1886-1933) are necessary to understand Paul Tillich's life, thought, and his German legacy. The German years determined the direction of Paul Tillich's life, his thinking, and his legacy. Tillich's own chronology and autobiographies, the Pauck's biography, the Frankfurt years (1929-1933), the influences on Tillich's life during the German years, his German legacy, and scholars such as Adams, Leibrecht, Runyon, Carey, O'Keeffe, and Irwin argue for the affirmation of our hypothesis.

9.0 New Knowledge

Paul Tillich is allowed to tell his own story through the harmonization of his own autobiographical accounts. The primary and secondary sources throughout the thesis are allowed to speak for themselves. The thesis uses the qualitative method of research methodology. The qualitative research method makes use of the inductive approach to the study. The quotations which are rather lengthy if need be are given analysis and explanation as the argument is advanced. The exegesis of the qualitative research method using the inductive approach lifts the ideas out of the study. The meaning comes from the sources rather than from a preconceived idea. The thesis using the qualitative research method with its inductive approach has established the importance of Paul Tillich's German years (1886-1933).

The new knowledge contributed to studies on Tillich is that Tillich's life was determined in Germany during the German years. This is because of his ever increasing commitment to religious socialism. His thinking was formed during the German years because of the numerous influences upon him. Tillich has left us a definite German legacy from the years (1886-1933). Tillich was a product of his German background. Paul Tillich was a German. He received German academic training in German universities. The thesis demonstrates the development of his thought during the German years. He was ordained to the Christian ministry based on German ministerial standards. The new knowledge from our research findings shows Tillich's life was determined in Germany, his thinking formed, and a definite legacy bequeathed to us from the German years (1886-1933).