



Verbundenheit: Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Personalist and Personal Theology of the Future

Verbundenheit: A Teologia Personalista e Pessoal do Futuro de Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Guy Christopher Carter¹

Resumo: O foco deste artigo está no fundamento pessoal de Dietrich Bonhoeffer e no alicerce pessoal e encarnacional de resistência tanto ao mal individual quanto sistêmico, dentro do paradigma pessoal de Deus em Cristo, mas também em conexão firme com aqueles a quem estamos ligados em amor e ação justa. Além disso, aborda o contexto pessoal de Bonhoeffer, incluindo, em particular, seu profundo e inabalável vínculo com sua noiva, Maria von Wedemeyer. As fontes para o estudo incluem *Comunhão Cristã*, *Cartas e Anotações da Prisão* e *Cartas de Amor da Cella 92*, sua correspondência com Maria von Wedemeyer, em grande parte não encontrada em *Cartas e Anotações da Prisão*.

Palavras-chave: Resistência. Cartas de Bonhoeffer. Paradigma pessoal de Deus

Abstract: The focus of this article is on Dietrich Bonhoeffer's grounding in personal value and a personal and incarnational grounding of resistance to both individual and systemic evil in the personal paradigm of God in Christ but also in steadfast connection to those with whom we are bound in love and righteous action. In addition to Bonhoeffer's own context, including in particular his deep and unbroken personal bond with his fiancée, Maria von Wedemeyer. Sources for the study are Bonhoeffer's *Life Together*, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, and *Love Letters from Cell 92*, his correspondence with Maria von Wedemeyer largely not found in LPP.

Keywords: Resistance. Bonhoeffer's letters. Personal paradigm of God.

Introduction

With benefit of hindsight, an advantage not enjoyed by either the *Sicherheitsdienst* or the *Gestapo* charged with investigating the many crimes against the state of which that youngish Lutheran theologian, parson, and member of a prominent family of the German intellectual elite was suspected—'corruption of the armed forces,' conspiracy to overthrow the state, possible espionage, contravention of emigration laws by smuggling Germans of Jewish heritage across the Swiss border, as well as high treason to name just a few, we can see clearly today that in which Dietrich Bonhoeffer was most subversive to the so-called Third Reich. But his real crime against the militarism, racism, xenophobia and vicious cruelty of the Hitler regime was none of the

¹ Doutor. E-mail. drGuychrater@gmail.com



above-mentioned. Though his inquisitors, jailers and executioners, and above all their Master, thought otherwise, and though they convinced themselves so, it was not in any of those involvements per se that the real danger to that evil regime lay. The real threat to the Third Reich lay in the determination of young Christian leaders to live as though the regime would not exist for long. Such was Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his Catholic opposite number and partner in the political resistance, Alfred Delp, Jesuit and Catholic convert from Lutheranism, so very close to Bonhoeffer's theology of 'the view from below.'² They believed in a future that belongs to God and to all of God's children. Their judicial homicides as 'personal prisoners of Adolf Hitler' sounded the death knell of the nightmare regime that was to have lasted a millennium but was instead flattened and defunct in a mere twelve hellish years. It is that same determination to live, to love, to discover and claim meaning and amazing powers of resilience and joy that formed the core of their resistance, of their community with others and the very heart of their faith.

Perhaps we do not need the *Blutzeugen*, the 'blood witnesses' of the Christians of Germany under Hitler to understand these things. Perhaps not, but I submit that we do need Bonhoeffer and his family and the Church that he understood as a living community, a larger family which sustained him, just as he already mentioned, Alfred Delp, who, with many of his Jesuit brothers suffered worse things in Gestapo and SS custody than did Dietrich, except perhaps in those last weeks in Gestapo and SS custody in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse. We need the witness, the horrendous martyrdom of the women of the German resistance and the women of the Confessing Church and of Catholic Action.

I submit that we have needed all of them and that they have guided us just as they did Brother Martin in Alabama and Tennessee in the never-ending struggle for civil rights, and that we do and will need the courage, faith and the resolve to resist evil from a personal and seemingly private core that is very public in its social and political resistance. For, as any Ukrainian will tell you, this is not a spectator sport. In a world in which fascist-type racist and xenophobic regimes are on the rise in Europe, Africa, the Middle and Far East and in the Americas, and in which *women are under attack everywhere*, in a world in which Christianity today as much as under the

² MILLIES, Stephen P. "Bonhoeffer and Delp: The View from Below" in *History (1933-1948), What We Choose to Remember*. Portland, OR: University of Portland Garaventa Center for Catholic Intellectual Life and American Culture, 2011. pp. 113-134.



various branches of the ‘German Christian’ movement is constantly courted, warped and exploited for political ends, in just this hour we need their witness unto death.

I imply in the title of this article that Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a ‘personalist’ theologian. He does fit that profile in some important respects, just as Karol Wojtyła (Saint John Paul II) did, though neither of them wrote ‘personalist manifestos’ and neither were founders per se of movements against slavery, industrial depersonalization and the like. Both were satisfied with the movement along those general lines founded on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Though, like self-proclaimed personalist and ‘non-conformist’ Emanuel Mounier,³ Dietrich was, as his great biographers Eberhard Bethge⁴ and Ferdinand Schlingensiepen⁵ tell us, even within his tight-knit family circle, a prodigy, and in that sense a non-conformist, declaring his intention not only to study theology but to prepare for ordered ministry in a Protestant quasi-state church agnostic brothers criticized as ‘feeble.’ He would, he told them, make it strong, personally!

Young Dietrich was attracted in literature to what might be considered authors not just of the personal life, such as Fontane whom he did read with pleasure, but actually to one French author in particular who was breathing the same air set ablaze by Mounier and his *Personalist Manifesto* together with Jacques Maritain, François Mauriac et al. During the interregnum of the 1920s and ‘30s, Bonhoeffer keeping a lot of Catholic intellectual and spiritual company, another expression of his ‘non-conformity’ perhaps. Georges Bernanos and his fictional biography of an anonymous priest in the countryside of post-WWI France, *Journal d’un Curé de Campagne* | *Diary of a Country Priest*—the only book Dietrich ever dared send his father—is as personalist as it gets, above all else a hymn to both the love and sheer grace of God and to the imperfect love of humanity as the power and light at the heart of the universe. So, if there is in our dossier on Dietrich Bonhoeffer a file marked, ‘Suspected of Personalism,’ then it will be very hard for us to mount a defense for him against that charge.

³ MOUNIER, Emmanuel, [*Manifeste au service du personalisme.*] *A Personalist Manifesto ... Translated ... by Monks of St. John's Abbey.* London: Longmans, 1938

⁴ BETHGE, Eberhard. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian, Christian, Man for His Times; a Biography*, ed. Victoria Barnett. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.

⁵ SCHLINGENSIEPEN, Ferdinand. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906-1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance.* London: T & T Clark, 2010. Bonhoeffer biography as a genre is voluminous, international, rapidly multiplying and uneven in scope and quality. See my “A Bibliography of Bonhoeffer Biography Part I: Five Decades at a Glance,” *Seminary Ridge Review* Vol. 15/1 (Autumn 2012): 92-113; “A Bibliography of Bonhoeffer Biography Part II: Biographical Treatment through the Creative Arts and Devotional Biographies,” *Seminary Ridge Review* Vol. 16/1 (Autumn 2013): 37-66.



Sources

In my not limited reading of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, I would hazard the claim that his written work in all genres, postcards included, is shot through with his utter conviction that that hallowed German word pair, *verbunden* and *Verbundenheit*, ‘bound together,’ as in love and friendship of course, and ‘the unbreakable and blessed tie that binds,’ describe the very power of God in the world. Personal and professional correspondence presents a rich store of this referencing of the bond between writer and intended recipient.

It has been said that German theology is organized on the principles of light industry, more like Miele than Krupp, but organized to maximize quality output, nonetheless. The amount and variety of Bonhoeffer’s correspondence with his colleagues and loved ones was, as far as most knew, rather sparse at the beginning of widespread interest in his life and work in the 1950s and ‘60s, especially for those dependent on English and other foreign language editions and anthologies other than German. The mere six small volumes of his collected works caused consternation on the part of many German academic theologians as to what all the fuss about Bonhoeffer was about. My faculty mentor at the now defunct Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel, the late Gerhard Ruhbach, asked me about this in 1984 at the outset of my archival research on the Bethel Confession of 1933/34. I answered that it was not just the witness of Bonhoeffer’s life and his martyrdom, but also the impact of his writings that caused such interest. With no intended sarcasm, Prof. Ruhbach, replied, “Yes, what there is of it!” Major and hugely prolific German theologians such as Jürgen Moltmann, of whom a little more later, at first never cited him, until he realized the limitations of Barthian theology. This attitude of many may have changed a bit with the publication of Bethge’s first American enlarged edition of *Letters and Papers from Prison*, coming out twenty years after the first English editions by Collins and Macmillan.⁶

It would finally be the monumental cooperative efforts of the united German Bonhoeffer Committees in the BRD and the GDR,⁷ working with Chr. Kaiser Verlag in Munich and Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, and the Bonhoeffer Society English Language Section

⁶ BETHGE, Eberhard, ed. New York: Macmillan, 1972. “This new, greatly expanded version, while omitting nothing found in the earlier edition, shifts the emphasis of earlier editions on Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s theological reflections to the private sphere of his life.”

⁷ Federal Republic of Germany, abbreviated ‘FRG’ (Bundesrepublik Deutschland, BRD, ‘West Germany’) and German Democratic Republic, abbreviated ‘GDR’ (Deutsche Demokratische Republik, DDR, ‘East Germany’).



working with Fortress Press in Minneapolis, that would vastly expand the amount of previously unedited correspondence not published in the six-volume collected works.⁸ I doubt that anyone who is aware of the sheer mass of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's works in seventeen volumes today would make the mistake of asking what all he fuss is about. Today Dietrich Bonhoeffer is, by any measure, one of the most widely read theologians of the 20th and 21st Centuries throughout the Christian *Oikumene*, Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox, Western and Eastern and across all cultures and linguistic groups. The German critical edition⁹ and the English scholarly edition¹⁰ have given access to better editions and translations of works such as Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* (DBW/DBWE 6), and particularly to personal and professional correspondence in virtually all of the volumes including Bd./Vol. 17 with index and previously unpublished correspondence.

Had Dietrich Bonhoeffer lived in the 16th Century, he would surely have been a member of the Brethren of the Common Life, that active confraternity of educators, both clerics and lay, dedicated to the renewal of church and society through education, prayer and spiritual discipline. The earliest of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's works that commends itself to us as a statement about that 'common life,' and therefore about the personal-social dynamic in Christianity, is a little book by the same name, *Gemeinsames Leben*, rendered in English to sound like a marriage manual, *Life Together*.¹¹ Published in the year the Finkenwalde community was dispersed and the seminary itself was closed, Bonhoeffer's produced his *Nachfolge* | *Discipleship*. This widely read book was what the Jesuits call, *collatio*, a spiritual résumé of his spiritual conferences to the seminarians by means of a commentary on the Sermon on the Mount as its focus with a scathing Kierkegaardian critique of what Bonhoeffer saw as a particularly Lutheran attempt to empty the Gospel of its power by perverting the teaching of Saint Paul and Martin Luther on God's free grace, costly to attain for us by Christ and costly to keep through radical love, into a kind of bourgeois *cheap grace*.¹² That highly thematized argument aside, we will focus instead on the earlier spiritual conferences

⁸ BETHGE, Eberhard, GLENTØJ, Jørgen, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Gesammelte Schriften*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1964-75.

⁹ BETHGE, Eberhard and others, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke* (DBW), 17 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus), 1986-99.

¹⁰ GREEN, Clifford J., exec. editor, FLOYD, Wayne Whitson, BARNETT, Victoria, J., successive general eds. and others, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works English Edition* (DBWE), 17 vols., Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996-2014).

¹¹ MÜLLER, Ludwig Gerhard, SCHÖNHERR, Albrecht, DBW Bd. 5:15-172; KELLY, Geoffrey, ed., BLOESCH, Daniel W. and BURTNES, James H., DBWE Vol. 5:1-118. DBW/DBWE 5 also includes Bonhoeffer's commentary on the Psalms.

¹² DBW/DBWE 4, KUSKE, Martin, and TÖDT, Ilse, eds., GREEN, Barbara, and KRAUSS, Reinhard, trans.



contained in *Life Together* for our look into the profoundly personal public theology of Brother Dietrich, the basis for his present engagement and future hope.

The largest single body of Bonhoeffer's correspondence is found in DBW/DBWE, Bd./Vol. 8, *Widerstand und Ergebung | Letters and Papers from Prison* (LPP)¹³ is of paramount importance in understanding the personal and personalist core of Bonhoeffer's theology and witness. We will focus particularly on his essay, "After Ten Years,"¹⁴ and on what is still considered by some to be his enigmatic poem, "Von guten Mächten,"¹⁵ This poem is sung as a hymn in Germany traditionally to the first musical setting of it ever attempted, that of Otto Abel in 1959.¹⁵ In English, prior to the publication of DBWE, it was conventionally known as "By Gracious Powers," and sung to various hymn tunes, none of them the one by Abel, though its meter is well-suited for English singing. Perhaps Abel's tune is a little dark for Anglo-American tastes. Regardless of how the poem is recited or sung, I submit that it can be heard and can be seen as transparent, and as a clear summary of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's rootedness in family, in human community, in the Church.

Alongside *LPP*, and for that matter alongside and distinct from the entire 17-volumes of Bonhoeffer's works in both the critical and the scholarly editions there stands another major source of correspondence of the most deeply personal sort. These are writings which, in normal times would have remained private, but which because they were written during very evil times constitute an heroic act of faith and of resistance, the *Love Letters*. These words on paper were

¹³ GREMMELS, Christian, BETHGE, Eberhard and Renate, TÖDT, Ilse, eds. DBW Bd. 8; DE GRUCHY, John W., ed. DBWE Vol. 8

¹⁴ "Rechenschaft an der Wende zum Jahr 1943. Nach zehn Jahren," DBW 8:19-39 | "An Account at the Turn of the Year 1942-1943. After Ten Years," DBWE 8:37-39. The seminal essay by SULLIVAN, Dale L., "After Ten Years': Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Epideictic Exhortation to Responsible Action," in *Journal of Communication and Religion* 26 (2003): 28-50, is expanded on by BARNETT, Victoria J. in her volume *After Ten Years. Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Our Times*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015. Barnett seeks to provide the historical and social context of exactly what the German people were enduring, from the Allied air war to the defeats on the Eastern Front and the ongoing Nazi reign of terror.

¹⁵ ABEL, Otto, "Von Guten Mächten, treu und still umgeben" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_Abel | <https://www.google.com/search?tbm=vid&xsrf=AB5stBg7w0hiRsVVw0bRSAYb0yavVOVjyg:1691194730268&q=otto+abel+von+guten+m%C3%A4chten&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi-0ZKpn8SAAxUjYkEHTzpDxMQ8ccDegQIEhAJ&biw=1350&bih=602&dpr=1#fpstate=ive&vld=cid:33c06788,vid:50i27dbalvQ> I have always found the Abel setting deeply moving ever since I first sang it at Vespers with the Bethges and with Martin Kuske, our GDR hosts, the Wagners, in the chapel of the United Protestant Retreat Center at Hirschluch bei Storkow, east of Berlin, site of the 4th International Bonhoeffer Committee Conference in June 1984. It was also to Abel's setting that this hymn was sung many times each year in my parish in Hameln in the years of German reunification during which I was associate pastor there, Münsterkirche Sankt-Bonifatii, and not just because I selected it. Quite appropriately, and long before my arrival, it had become traditional to sing it at the liturgy each *Sylvester*, New Year's Eve.



exchanged between a man and a woman deeply in love and daring to plan a future together in the face of the darkest hour in history. These are the letters exchanged between Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maria von Wedemeyer, a couple planning a future, engaged to be married.¹⁶ As such they rightfully enjoy a existence bound separately from Dietrich's other correspondence, for though, as he counselled the young Brethren at Finkenwalde, it is well to bring others into our meditation, and though these prayers and thoughts do bring others into their communication with each other, they remain the chronicle of two hearts and minds striving to become one.

Life Together—Personal Life in Public Community

By 1936 Dietrich Bonhoeffer was placed under *Redeverbot*, that is, he was forbidden to speak in public, after his provocative radio broadcast on 'The Concept of the Leader (*Führer*) and the Younger Generation' immediately following Hitler's rise to power in 1933 as well as other writings, sermons and public addresses not pleasing to Nazi ears. In 1935 The Council of Brethren (*Bruderrat*) of the non-territorial Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche* = BK) decided to place this illegal preacher and teacher at the head of its equally illegal finishing school for theological students who were candidates for ordination the 'Preachers Seminary' (*Predigerseminar*) at Finkenwalde on the East Prussian estate of the descendants of Baron Otto von Bismark, near Stettin/Szczecin. This little institute continued until it was finally closed and shuttered in 1937. A general mobilization was going on as Nazi Germany annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia and prepared, with its Soviet ally, for the invasion and evisceration of Poland beginning in September 1939. Not a few of Bonhoeffer's students from those years died in action in 'Case White,' the Polish campaign and in 'Operation Barbarossa,' the German invasion of Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine beginning in June 1941.

This type of Preacher's Seminary is known today in some of the Territorial Protestant Churches of Germany (*Evangelische Landeskirchen*), such as the 'purely Lutheran' one in which I served, Hannover, as a *Kandidatenkonvikt*, a component in the theological education of the clergy, as opposed to pure academics, in some cases in the middle or at the end of a two-year pastoral internship (*Vikariat*). The Finkenwaldians, including one Eberhard Bethge, were involved in

¹⁶ BISMARCK, Ruth Alice von, and KABITZ, Ulrich, eds., *Brautbriefe Zelle 92. Dietrich Bonhoeffer Mari von Wedemeyer 1943-1945*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992; BROWNJOHN, John, trans., *Love Letters from Cell 92: The Correspondence between Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maria von Wedemeyer, 1943-45*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1995.



pastoral work broadly construed, but in a kind of semi-rural team internship (*Sammelvikariat*). These senior seminarians who had voluntarily sacrificed a secure ministerial future, and for that matter a secure life, for service in the nearly underground BK, were deployed as catechists and supply preachers throughout the immediate district and points beyond. Already beyond the *Græcum* and *Hebraicum*, some were involved in further theological studies.

As they were to discover to their great shock and frustration in *Studiendirektor* Bonhoeffer, they would also be involved in doing what seemed to them like *nothing* at first, meditation and contemplative-intercessory prayer. The community of ordained Finkenwalde alumni, who were constantly passing through the little campus on their way to and from BK congregations, or one step ahead of the *Gestapo*, was known as *Das Bruderhaus*, ‘the Brothers’ House.’ They had learned that all that ‘doing nothing’ was what sustained their disciplined focus and their hope.

Gemeinsames Leben | Life Together is a book of spiritual counsel based on spiritual conferences given from 1935 to 1937, to those in Bonhoeffer’s charge. His *Nachfolge | Discipleship*, published in 1937,¹⁷ was, as stated, as systematic collation of *Gemeinsames Leben | Life Together*. To appreciate Bonhoeffer’s theological personalism as integral to his vision for the Church and to the personal spirituality he was determined to inculcate in these young pastors, and as a key to how he himself was able to withstand the storm that was about to break upon him, we will concentrate on what I consider to be the three central chapters, ‘The Day Together,’ ‘The Day Alone,’ ‘Service.’¹⁸

The Day Together

Any who have lived in daily organized Christian community will recognize the rhythms of the day in common, dictated both by necessity and by that ‘liturgy of the hours’ that divides the day by common prayer. In an interesting departure from the usual way of marking the hours common to both Judaism and Early Christian monasticism, from sunset to sunset, Bonhoeffer writes that the day in common begins and ends with the dawn. There is no dead space in that day, whether waking or sleeping. He calls on the community to reclaim the common gift of the dawn, of the new day, perhaps by at least trying to imagine the premodern fear of darkness and the common joy that came with the new day.

¹⁷ DBW/DBWE 4, ed John D. Godsey and Geoffrey B. Kelly, eds.

¹⁸ DBW/DBWE 5:35/48-64/80, 65/81-76/92, 77/93-92/107, respectively.



Scripture and the Psalter in Common. The new day is not merely life under the sun, but rather life under the Word of God, especially the Psalms. What some may not know is that Bonhoeffer, who with his friend Franz Hildebrandt chose the Lutheran ordination option within the United Church of Prussia, had at his fingertips a Lutheran liturgical *Agende*, which even if underutilized did contain them, as the revised version does today, nearly the full array of the Catholic Liturgy of the Hours. It is for this very good reason that Dietrich's little Psalms commentary, *Die Psalmen. Das Gebetbuch der Bibel | Psalms. The Prayer Book of the Bible*, published in the same DBW/DBWE 5. Spiritual Director Bonhoeffer tells us that praying together means praying on the basis of the Word of God. In the case of the Psalter, it means that if not I then someone else in the community, in fact perhaps that someone else praying right next to me or across from me in choir, may hear a particular verse or phrase in a way that I cannot, at least at the moment. This then makes the Psalter indeed not only the prayer book but in fact *the* prayer of the whole community, with prayers of petition and intercession, praise, thanksgiving and even malediction toward the power of evil offered by the community as a whole.

Music in the Day Together. It would of course be impossible to exaggerate the importance of music in the Bonhoeffer family and in Dietrich's own personal development. The Finkenwalde experience was guaranteed to be a musical one. The Psalter, when transformed through song into Psalmody, compounds the power of those prayers with the *unitive* strength of music made by many together. The seminary Rector carries this line of thought to its logical and I think very German conclusion in his reflection on congregational singing. Namely, except for polyphonic chorales rehearsed by the choir to the exacting standards of a competent cantor, *in church there is to be unison singing only*. When I first read this proscription in my old translation of *Life Together*, I remember being taken aback. I think that Bonhoeffer is simply reinforcing a long established German tabu against extempore anything, and particularly in church hymnody, a great deal of it based on the Psalms.

I think this because of personally receiving reproof on more than one occasion during my ministry in the Hanoverian Church in both smaller worship services, Vespers for example, and at pastoral retreats when I decided to provide a *cantus firmus* to accompany the melody—which I thought was a very Bonhoefferian idea since he likens this to God as the ground of our being. This was appreciated about as much as whistling in public in Northern Germany. I mention this so that we do not read too much into Bonhoeffer's prohibition, glad as I am to be a very active



member of a fine Latin American church choir in which improvisation is more the rule than the exception. He was simply reinforcing a commonly held idea about decorum in worship.

His comment about practicing singing throughout the week, not just in worship or ‘singing the Office’ as might be said, is very interesting and resonates absolutely with my own experience. Bonhoeffer describes a *magnification of joy* which happens the more one sings together. Music practice is anything but simply a rehearsal. It is an act of faith, hope and love culminating in joy. “The more we sing the more joy we will derive from it. But above all, the more concentration and discipline and joy we put into our singing the richer will be the blessing that will come to the whole life of the community singing together.”¹⁹ In the midst of a world about to burst into flames, not accidentally but through arson, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, his community of nascent pastors and the Church for whose service they were being prepared sang and sang.

Extemporaneous Prayer, Mealtimes, Conversations. Amid the structure of Biblical prayer and disciplined singing there is living together, relatively extemporaneous, regulated by hunger and mealtimes. Bonhoeffer taught his charges to use this time to pray freely for those not present, for those known to be in terrible need and deprivation, especially pastors and congregations of the BK. The SS and SD had learned, some say from their Soviet mentors who helped with design concepts for the KZ-system, that it was important to release concentration camp inmates on furlough or indefinite leave among the general population. This instilled terror. Intercessory prayer lists were kept based on these information sources. The seminarians themselves, working in parish communities not yet infected by the ‘German Christians,’ soon began to carry in their hearts lists of ordinary laity as all pastors do. These lists included those not directly affected by state persecution but simply by life in the raw, by illness, injury and heartbreak, and soon enough in the very near future by war. All of these were gathered and spoken over the breaking of bread. Praying freely out loud in front of others did not come naturally to most of the candidates, but if they were to lead their people as a family of the People of God, to gather their prayers naturally and with empathy, they would need to learn, for they would soon be called to serve just such families of real men, women and children. It is recalled that the Rector had to take the lead most days.²⁰

¹⁹ DBW/DBWE 5:53/68.

²⁰ KELLY, Geoffrey B., ed. DBWE 5:15, n. 13, citing BETHGE, Eberhard. *Bekennen und Widerstehen. Aufsätze—Reden—Gespräche*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1984. p.163.



The Day Alone

The liturgical day, extending from dawn to dusk according to Bonhoeffer, includes not only common prayer, meals in common and work, whether with or for others, whether on rising, engaging in that exotic practice of ‘meditation’ introduced by the Rector, or, unsettling as in Psalm 91:6, the psychological encounter with “a thing moving in darkness . . . a mishap and a demon of noonday.”²¹ ‘Accidie,’ one of the seven deadly sins, defined sometimes as spiritual apathy, or as the feeling that the things of heaven just are not worth the effort was surely accompanied by the feeling of deep anxiety, or terror at the pit of the stomach, because of constant life under the regime which dealt with opposition through slow terror, surveillance and instant violence where called for. Surely in his spiritual conferences that were distilled into this section, Dietrich was looking ahead toward his own arrest, perhaps multiple incarcerations and interrogations as did many if not all of the seminarians. That is, under the special circumstances of their time and place, they were already living alone, and yet were in community.

The Rector gives repeated stern warnings about confusing community with togetherness, about seeking to live in religious community because one cannot stand to be alone. The result of this kind of confusion will be spiritual shipwreck for the self-deluded individual and disturbance, even chaos for the community. Conversely, he says, those who cannot stand living in community should be careful about living in isolation. In community, with the set structure of the day, with the common focus on the Word of God and the work of ministry, with the utter sameness of the common life, some who are naturally gregarious find this intolerable. And others, ‘self-actualized’ solitary individuals who are however not ‘loners,’ do well. The root meaning of ‘monk,’ *monachus*, is after all, ‘one who lives alone.’

We see Bonhoeffer formulating these couplets which will reappear in Discipleship. For example,

Whoever cannot be alone, should beware of community.

Whoever cannot stand being in community should beware of being alone.

²¹ *The Orthodox Study Bible*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson with Saint Athanasius Academy, 2008. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Noonday_Demon



Genuine speech comes out of silence, and genuine silence comes out of speech.

On the subject of silence in religious community, Bonhoeffer turns to Ernest Hello, a popular Catholic spiritual writer and advocate of renewal in the Catholic Church along with figures such as Karl Adam and Romano Guardini. But the Rector had grown up with an appreciation of both silence and speech, and, as he says, the integral connection between the two. For, in the home of Karl Bonhoeffer and Klara von Hasse Bonhoeffer, not only was politeness and decorum observed, and seniority in allowing the one more senior to propose topics of conversation and not contrariwise, but also being caught in the act of uttering a ‘hollow phrase’ was dreaded by the Bonhoeffer children. No exaggerations beyond known facts, and certainly no histrionics were allowed. *Nicht übertreiben!* ‘Don’t exaggerate!’ is still a parental byword in German child raising today. Speech and the power of speech, made more powerful by silence, is to be understood and respected.

Measured silence is filled with measured content, with a narrative and prayerful reading of Scripture, with prayers of praise, repentance and intercession for others. Under the general canopy of meditation, over and above these elements in the Liturgy of the Hours or of the Eucharist, the solitary in community is to come face-to-face with the Word of Scripture and with the Gospel, to include all those for whom we intend to pray and also those who may occur to us, friends or enemies. Distracted thoughts are to be transformed into prayer. Being alone in this way, one is not alone, neither in the time of quiet, sheltered meditation, nor in the time of trial. Silence, measured speech and the day alone defy the screams of **the** masses, inebriated with the blood lust of the tyrant, and the drumbeat of war being heard daily in Germany at that time.

Service

“No sooner are people together than they begin to observe, judge, and classify each other. Hus, even as Christian community is in the process of being formed, an invisible, often unknown, yet terrible life-and-death struggle commences.”²² How true and how familiar to pastors of Christians serving in politics, Lutheran for example, without a crystal-clear hierarchy for conflict resolution, as is imagined to be in lace but only partly so in Catholicism. The result of such

²² DBW/DBWE 5:77/93



‘observation, judgement and classification’ is sabotage of the ministry and mission of a Christian community, whether it be a parish congregation or other arm of the Church. Service of Christ whether in worship, in instruction, in outreach to the neighbor in need or even in pastoral care and counseling can grind to a halt. Superimpose on a normal Christian community setting the terror of a totalitarian state bent ultimately on replacing Christianity with neo-paganism to support its nationalist-racist agenda, and we see how important it is to maintain the peace of the community at all costs, up to and including inviting troublemakers to leave.

This natural tendency to judge others and to rank ourselves among them amounts to what Bonhoeffer calls ‘self-justification,’ that is relying on the idea that God grades on a curve rather than on the sheer mercy and grace of God toward me, a sinner. I may not be contributing to the mission of the community, whether that is feeding the hungry, housing and clothing the destitute, reforming the structures that create poverty, rescuing women and children from human bondage, but, *comparatively speaking*, perhaps I am not so bad, not so much a sinner after all if, like a good political liberal, I at least *think and say* that I am in favor of such action. For, after all, what are all the others doing? The end result is that no works of mercy or righteousness get done and that I, the comparatively good person, am left in my sins.

Here the discipline of silence in ‘the day alone’ comes into its own as true service, so that God can actually be worshipped and *served* in the service of others. As the Vespers introit versicle at Psalm 141:3 intones “O Lord, guard the door of my lips that my mouth may declare Thy praise!” here is work for each and every member of the community, from the highly gifted to those who might be judged by the state as leading ‘lives unworthy of life,’ or ‘useless eaters’ to quote those mottos from Hitler’s euthanasia program ‘T4.’ The requirement is to serve God in Christian community with a guarded mouth and ears open to the Word of God, but also listening to each other, with hearing and sight attuned to the needs of the least among us in community and in society. Service creates the future that belongs to God and realizes hope in that future. Thus prepared, inwardly and outwardly, we may then enter into those means of grace, of restoring the sinner to wholeness through Confession and Forgiveness and feeding that wholeness and restored communion with Christ and each other in the Lord’s Supper, the Holy Eucharist, themes that will be taken up extensively in *Nachfolge* | Discipleship, but which cannot be covered here.



Prison: Personal Letters from a Depersonalized Environment

On arriving with my family in late August of 1989 to take up duties in a district of the Church of Hannover in a still-divided Germany. I was welcomed and warmly engaged in conversation by several colleagues. One who knew of my interest and work in the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer asked me two questions about Bonhoeffer that had bothered him for years, both related to themes that emerge in the Prison Letters. First, my new brother pastor wanted to know what in the world Bonhoeffer meant by ‘religion-less Christianity.’ It would have been easier to answer that question with the excellent dissertation on that subject from the Bolivarian University of Venezuela by a brilliant young theologian there who has written the clearest explication yet of the apprehension of the Gospel requiring no a priori religious disposition.²³ His other question was about those ‘wonderfully hidden’ powers within us Bonhoeffer wrote about in his New Year’s hymn, *Von guten Mächten*, not a terribly Lutheran proposition in his ears. What did he mean by that?

In Alexander Döblin’s *Berlin Alexanderplatz*,²⁴ the derelict protagonist, Franz Biberkopf, sings the praises of Tegel Prison, known to every drunk, petty thief, sex worker, wife beater, rapist and murderer, as well as many a shell-shocked war veteran in the city of Berlin in the 1920s. Franz Biberkopf salutes Tegel as he leaves *ber*, his mother and mistress, a bit of both, his shelter from a world that never made much sense before the war, and now made no sense at all. At that very moment in history, not fiction, somebody might have been scribbling, “In a hundred years, this will all be over,” on the wall up in Cell 92, a graffito in which a later resident would find both irony and comfort. By the time Dietrich Bonhoeffer was incarcerated there, part of the city jail, his part, had become a home to political and military prisoners. It had also become his pastoral *Dienstsitz*. During and following air raids in particular, the prison staff were grateful for Pastor Bonhoeffer’s help with his terrified fellow prisoners.

‘After Ten Years’: Following his arrest on 5th April 1943, Bonhoeffer’s prison letters begin with an essay, suitable for duplicating and circulation among the congregations and clergy of the *BK* and perhaps members of the Kreisau Circle of political resistance, to which Alfred Delp, SJ, also belonged, his own arrest occurring on 28th July 1944 after the failed *Valleyrie* of the previous

²³ JESÚS VELASCO, Rainaldo. *El Cristianismo a-religioso desde la Teología de Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Desarrollo hermenéutico*. Editorial Académica Española. Caracas | Saarbücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2006. p. 146 .

²⁴ DÖBLIN; Alfred, *Berlin Alexanderplatz. Die Geschichte des Franz Biberkopf*. Dresden: Martin Secker, 1931.



July 20th. Bonhoeffer takes stock of the entire decade following Hitler's rise to power in 1933. In taking stock of the past, his thoughts of the future come to the fore. Here is my selection of aphorisms gleaned from that testament of his spirit;

'No ground under our feet ... Who stands firm?': "Who stands firm? Only the one whose ultimate standard is not his reason, his principles, conscience, freedom, or virtue; only the one who is prepared to sacrifice all of these when, in faith and in relationship with God alone, he is called to obedient and responsible action."²⁵

'On Civil Courage': "[Civil courage] can grow only from the free responsibility of the free man ... Only today are Germans beginning to discover what free responsibility means. It is founded in a God who calls for the free venture of faith to responsible action and who promises forgiveness and consolation to the one who on account of such action becomes a sinner."²⁶

'On Success': "Talk of going down heroically in the face of unavoidable defeat is basically non-heroic because it does not dare look into the future. The ultimately responsible question is not how I extricate myself heroically from a situation, but how a coming generation is to go on living . . . the younger generation will always have the surest sense whether an action is done merely in terms of principle or from living responsibility, for it is their future that is at stake."²⁷

'On Stupidity': ". . . it becomes apparent that every strong upsurge of power in the public sphere, be it of a political or a religious nature, infects a large part of humankind with stupidity."²⁸

'Contempt for humanity?': "Whoever despises another human being will never be able to make anything of him. Nothing of what we despise in another is itself foreign to us."²⁹

'Immanent Justice': "The world *is*, in fact, so ordered that the fundamental honoring of life's basic laws and rights at the same time best serves self-preservation and that these laws tolerate a very brief, singular, and, in the individual case, necessary trespass against them."³⁰

'God's action in history': "In ... faith all fear of the future should be overcome ... I believe that God has no timeless fate, but waits for and responds to sincere prayer and responsible actions."³¹

²⁵ DBW/DBWE 8:23/40.

²⁶ DBW/DBWE 8:24/41.

²⁷ DBW/DBWE 8:25-26/42.

²⁸ DBW/DBWE 8:27/43.

²⁹ DBW/DBWE 8:29/45.

³⁰ DBW/DBWE 8:30/46.

³¹ DBW/DBWE 8:31/46.



‘Trust’: “... contrary to all the ambiguities in which our acts and lives must exist, we have learned to trust without reserve.”

‘The Sense of quality’: “We are in the midst of a process that levels every rank of society. But we are also at the hour of a new sense of nobility being born that binds together a circle of human beings drawn from all existing social classes.”³²

‘Sympathy’: “Christians are called to action and sympathy not through their own firsthand experiences but by the immediate experience of their brothers, for whose sake Christ suffered.”³³

‘On Suffering’: “Christ suffered in freedom, in solitude, in the shadow, and in dishonor, in body and in spirit. Since then, many Christians have suffered with him,”³⁴

‘Present and Future’: “To think and to act with an eye on the coming generation and to be ready to move on without fear and worry—that is the course that has, in practice, been forced upon us. To hold it courageously is not easy, but necessary.”³⁵

‘Optimism’: “In its essence, optimism is not a way of looking at the present situation, but a power of life a power of hope when others resign, a power to hold our heads high when all seems to have come to naught, a power to tolerate setbacks, a power that never abandons the future to the opponent, but lays claim to it.”³⁶

‘Peril and Death’: “It is not external circumstances, but we ourselves who shall make of our death what it can be, a death consented to freely and voluntarily.”³⁷

‘Are we still of any use?’: “We have been silent witnesses of evil deeds. We have become cunning and learned in the arts of obfuscation and equivocal speech . . . Will our inner strength to resist what has been forced on us have remained strong enough, and our honesty with ourselves blunt enough, to find our way back to simplicity and honesty?”³⁸

‘The View from Below’: “It remains an experience of incomparable value that we have for once learned to see the great events of world history from below, from the perspective of the

³² DBW/DBWE 8:32,33/47,48.

³³ DBW/DBWE 8:34/49.

³⁴ DBW/DBWE 8:35/50.

³⁵ DBW/DBWE 8:36/50.

³⁶ DBW/DBWE 8:36/50-51.

³⁷ DBW/DBWE 8:37/51.

³⁸ DBW/DBWE 8:38/52.



outcasts, he suspects, the maltreated, the powerless, the oppressed and reviled, in short from the perspective of the suffering.”³⁹

There is a single theme running through all of these thoughts, with sharpening clarity of focus toward that final point, the ‘view from below’ (a phrase he may have picked up from Gogarten⁴⁰). Though we may hear shades of the now familiar *Carpe diem!*, Bonhoeffer’s exhortation is in fact the opposite to that of the resigned Epicurean-Stoic Horace.⁴¹ It is rather to freely allow oneself, individually and in community, to be seized for the sake of a future seen and embraced ‘from below,’ from the perspective of Christ and the Cross.

By Powers of Good (‘By Gracious Powers’) and the Love Letters

This poem for New Year 1945, was included in his last extant letter to his fiancée, Maria von Wedemeyer, written from the SS Prison in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse and dated 19th December 1944, though it is supposed by the editors that other letters were written during this period, with only those sent to Eberhard Bethge surviving.⁴² Together with a letter to his mother, on 28th December 1944, and another to both parents on 17th January 1945,⁴³ count as his last preserved writings. Because of the fact that it was originally published separately, as a poem Eberhard Bethge had received, as he indeed had, but it was not written to Bethge or even primarily to his family but rather to a single reader. Bethge, the first editor of Bonhoeffer’s prison correspondence, had not received *Von guten Mächten* directly from the poet, but rather from the recipient, Fräulein von Wedemeyer. This fact was neither known nor truly grasped by most of those who first read the poem or heard or sang the hymn in the 1950s and 1960s. It was read rather as a stand-alone and somewhat enigmatic paean to virtue. As usual, context is everything.

³⁹ DBW/DBWE 8:39/52.

⁴⁰ CARTER, Guy C. “‘Dietrich Bonhoeffer,’ ‘Friedrich Gogarten,’” in CAREY, Patrick W., and LIENHARD, Joseph T., eds. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Theologians*, ed. Patrick W. Carey & Joseph T. Lienhard (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).

⁴¹ HORATIO, “*Carpe diem quam minimum credula postero*” (‘Pluck the day and its enjoyments while you still can’), *Odes*, I.11, in context, “Be wise, and mix the wine since time is short: limit that far-reaching hope. The envious moment is flying now, now, while we are speaking. Seize the day late in the hours that come as little faith as you can.” See also <https://www.cooneyclassics.org/blog/carpe-diem-odes-111-horace>.

⁴² *Brautbriefe / Love Letters*, pp. 208-210/268-271.

⁴³ DBW/DBWE 8:609-611/551-553



The dual—*not* multiple—audience of *By Gracious Powers*’ needs to be born in mind. Dietrich writes these lines in longhand in the SS prison, where conditions are not at all as good as he tells Maria. The writer intended these words primarily for her, so that she will feel surrounded by powers of good, by powers of grace. In what or in whom did these powers inhere? By what or whom was she to feel herself surrounded so that she would not, as he writes to her, “lose heart.” The powers are found of course in the two large families which have already been united through the love of their two children. The poem is written also for that united family which conceivably might not survive the war, given the Nazi practice of *Sippenhaftung*, arrest and punishment of the entire immediate family and the extended family as determined by edict.

These powers of good, of humanity, of faith, of the personal life under a depersonalizing reign of terror, are hidden (*verborgen*). The state which denies personhood as a matter of course cannot comprehend this bond of love, this shining of the light of the love of God in a darkness that cannot comprehend it (John 1:4-5), leaving the real resistance to evil arrayed on the field of spiritual battle in plain sight. This is the great company of witnesses to whom Maria now belongs, by whom she is surrounded, with whom she will triumph, including her Dietrich.

By Gracious Powers is not only the terminus, but much more the capstone of a tender and passionate communion of two hearts and minds in, if not the absolute worst of circumstances—for there were good angels who made their communication possible, particularly among the prison administration and staff at Tegel and even the SS at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse—then under circumstances which would have left others numb from despair and dread. Against that, not only out of romantic devotion but as a way for them both to live, they wrote. While at Tegel, there was always the possibility that she would be able to see him, to deliver food and laundry parcels or mail (to the censors) and to pick up laundry, as well as for visits. It strikes me as odd that he wrote only three poems to her during this period, but Dietrich’s fear of the dreaded ‘hollow phrase’ and of boring Maria through repetition of the same love verses may have restrained his pen. “*Vergangenheit*/The Past”⁴⁴ is Dietrich’s poignantly intense reflection in early June 1944 on her presence after a scheduled visit. Maria is now receding into the past of memory, fading away. He writes in panic, in anger at the regime.

⁴⁴ *Brautbriefe/Love Letters*: 192-194 / 248-252.



By the time of the writing of “*Jona /Jonah*,”⁴⁵ 5 October 1944, which Dietrich also sent directly to Maria, his brother Klaus Bonhoeffer and his brother-in-law, Rüdiger Schleicher, had been arrested and, as in fact happened. The same fate awaited his friend and normal recipient of his prison writings, Eberhard Bethge. In this respect, Maria’s role changed slightly to make up for that. The *Love Letters* as a whole still constitute an act of hope not only in the future but also in *their* future. The years and months had trained them to participate in that future on a higher plane, by joining hearts where their hands could no longer touch.

If his theology of the future belongs to eschatology, then Bonhoeffer’s eschatology is of a piece with his Christology, which is to say, Lutheran, immanent, and profoundly incarnational and eucharistic. The ‘gracious powers,’ the ‘ground under our feet’ are found not in an apocalyptic end-time, in that ‘100 years when this will all be over,’ somewhere perhaps beyond totalitarian nightmares which seem to grow like mushrooms, but rather here and now, in what he would not have ventured to say, but which I will the *original righteousness* of humanity created in the image of God and in the community of that humanity, the Church. He is closer to Rome than even to Wittenberg, and perhaps closer to Byzantium still. Though Bonhoeffer did not write a ‘theology of the future,’ one who did launch his career with his *Theology of Hope*, the Barthian and Reformed theologian, Jürgen Moltmann, did eventually turn to Bonhoeffer after decades of grounding his ‘theology of hope’ strictly in the Calvinist expiation of sin on the cross and the eschaton, the divine transcendence and the end of history, not *in* the historical present, not in the personal.⁴⁶

References

- BARNETT, Victoria J. *After Ten Years. Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Our Times*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015.
- BETHGE, Eberhard. *Bekennen und Widerstehen. Aufsätze—Reden—Gespräche*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1984. Pp. 159-77.

⁴⁵ *Brautbriefe/Love Letters*: 205 /265

⁴⁶ MOLTSMANN, Jürgen. *Theologie der Hoffnung. Untersuchungen zur Begründung und zu den Konsequenzen einer christlichen Eschatologie*. 14. Auflage. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 2005 | *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*. London: SCM, 1967;

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C3%BCrgen_Moltmann#cite_note-postbarthian.com-5. See also

CHAPMAN, G. Clark. “Hope and the Ethics of Formation: Moltmann as an Interpreter of Bonhoeffer.” *Studies in Religion*, 12/4. Fall 1983: 449-460.



- BETHGE, Eberhard. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian, Christian, Man for His Times; a Biography*, ed. Victoria Barnett. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- BISMARCK, Ruth Alice von, and KABITZ, Ulrich (Eds.), *Brautbriefe Zelle 92. Dietrich Bonhoeffer Mari von Wedemeyer 1943-1945*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992; BROWNJOHN, John, trans., *Love Letters from Cell 92: The Correspondence between Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maria von Wedemeyer, 1943-45*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1995.
- BONHOEFFER, Dietrich. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke*. BETHGE, Eberhard, MÜLLER, Gerhard Ludwig, SCHÖNHERR, Albrecht, REUTER, Hans-Richard, et al. eds. 17 Bände. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1986-1999.
- _____. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*. GREEN, Clifford, FLOYD, Wayne Whitson, BARNETT, Victoria J., et al eds. 17 volumes. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996-2014.
- _____. *Gesammelte Schriften*. 6 Bände. BETHGE, Eberhard, and GLENTØJ, Jørgen, eds. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1965-1974.
- _____. *Letters and Papers from Prison*. 1st American enlarged edition. BETHGE, Eberhard, ed. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
- _____. *Nachfolge. DBW 4*. KUSKE, Martin, and TÖDT, Ilse, eds. | *Discipleship*, . *DBWE 4*. GODSEY, John D., and KELLY, Geoffrey B. eds., GREEN, Barbara, and KRAUSS, Reinhard, trans.
- _____. *Die Psalmen. Das Gebetbuch der Bibel*, ed. MÜLLER, Gerhard Ludwig and SCHÖNHERR, Albrecht. *DBW 5*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1987. Pp. 107-75 | *Psalms. The Prayer Book of the Bible. DBWE 5*. Ed. KELLY, Geoffrey B.; trans. BURTNESSE, James H. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996. Pp. 141-218.
- _____. *Widerstand und Ergebung*. GREMMELS, Christian, BETHGE, Eberhard and Renate, TÖDT, Ilse, eds. *DBW 8* | *Letters and Papers from Prison*. DE GRUCHY, John W., ed. *DBWE 8*.
- CARTER, Guy C. “A Bibliography of Bonhoeffer Biography Part I: Five Decades at a Glance,” *Seminary Ridge Review* Vol. 15/1 (Autumn 2012): 92-113; “A Bibliography of Bonhoeffer Biography Part II: Biographical Treatment through the Creative Arts and Devotional Biographies,” *Seminary Ridge Review* Vol. 16/1 (Autumn 2013): 37-66.



- _____. “Dietrich Bonhoeffer,” “Friedrich Gogarten,” in CAREY, Patrick W., and LIENHARD, Joseph T., eds. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Theologians*, ed. Patrick W. Carey & Joseph T. Lienhard (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).
- CHAPMAN, G. Clark. “Hope and the Ethics of Formation: Moltmann as an Interpreter of Bonhoeffer.” *Studies in Religion*, 12/4. Fall 1983: 449-460.
- DÖBLIN, Alfred. Berlin Alexanderplatz. Die Geschichte des Franz Biberkopf. Dresden: Martin Secker, 1931.
- JESÚS VELASCO, Rainaldo. *El Cristianismo a-religioso desde la Teología de Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Desarrollo hermenéutico*. Editorial Académica Española. Caracas | Saarbücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2006.
- MILLIES, Stephen P. “Bonhoeffer and Delp: The View from Below” in *History (1933-1948), What We Choose to Remember*. Portland, OR: University of Portland Garaventa Center for Catholic Intellectual Life and American Culture, 2011. pp. 113-134.
- MOLTMANN, Jürgen. *Theologie der Hoffnung. Untersuchungen zur Begründung und zu den Konsequenzen einer christlichen Eschatologie. 14. Auflage*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 2005 | *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*. London: SCM, 1967.
- MOUNIER, Emmanuel, [Manifeste au service du personnalisme.] *A Personalist Manifesto*. trans. by Monks of St. John's Abbey. London: Longmans, 1938.
- SCHLINGENSIEPEN, Ferdinand. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906-1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance*. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- SULLIVAN, Dale L., “‘After Ten Years’: Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s Epideictic Exhortation to Responsible Action,” in *Journal of Communication and Religion* 26 (2003): 28-50.