The complex philosophical theology of Paul Tillich (1886–1965), increasingly studied today, was influenced by thinkers as diverse as Augustine, Luther, Schelling and Heidegger. A Lutheran pastor who served as a military chaplain in the First World War, he was dismissed from his university post at Frankfurt when the Nazis came to power in 1933 and emigrated to the United States, where he continued his distinguished career.

This authoritative Companion provides accessible accounts of the major themes of Tillich's diverse theological writings and draws upon the very best of contemporary Tillich scholarship. Each chapter introduces and evaluates its topic and includes suggestions for further reading. The authors assess Tillich's place in the history of twentieth-century Christian thought, as well as his significance for current constructive theology. Of interest to both students and researchers, this Companion reaffirms Tillich as a major figure in today's theological landscape.

Russell Re Manning is a University Lecturer in Philosophy of Religion at the Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge and Fellow of St Edmund's College, Cambridge. He is author of Theology at the End of Culture: Paul Tillich's Theology of Culture and Art (2005).
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THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO

PAUL TILLICH

Edited by Russell Re Manning
Behold, I am doing a new thing, even now it is springing to light. Do you not perceive it?

(Isaiah 43:18)
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**John Dourley** is Professor Emeritus, Department of Religion, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. His doctoral work was on Tillich and Bonaventure at Fordham University, 1971. Continued interest in Tillich led him into Jungian studies and to becoming a Jungian analyst (Zurich, 1980). He has published on Tillich, Jung and psychology, more recently with ‘Rerooting in the Mother, the Numinosity of the Night’ in The Idea of the Numinous, Contemporary Jungian and Psychoanalytic Perspectives (2006) and ‘Toward a Salvageable Tillich: the Implications of his late Confession of Provincialism’ in Studies in Religion (2004). He will shortly publish on the Jung–White dialogue in the Journal of Analytical Psychology. He is a Catholic priest and a member of the religious order the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

**John F. Haught** is Distinguished Research Professor in the Department of Theology at Georgetown University, USA. His area of specialization is systematic theology, with a particular interest in issues pertaining to science, cosmology, evolution, ecology and religion. He is the author of Christianity and Science (2007), Is Nature Enough? (2006), Deeper than Darwin (2003), God after Darwin, second edn (2007), Science and Religion (1995) and many other books. In 2002 he was the winner of the Owen Garrigan Award in Science and Religion, and in 2004 the Sophia Award for Theological Excellence. In 2003 he testified as an expert witness for the plaintiffs [Kitzmiller et al. v. Dover School Board] against the teaching of ‘intelligent design' in public-school biology classes.

**Martin Leiner** is Professor of Systematic Theology and Ethics at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität in Jena, Germany. He publishes widely in systematic and philosophical theology, including books on the theological reception of Martin Buber's philosophy, the relation between psychology and biblical exegesis, and the theological interpretation of myth. A committee member of the Association Paul Tillich d’Expression Française, he is an editor of the Internationales Jahrbuch für Tillich-Forschung.

**Frederick J. Parrella** is Professor of Theology in the Religious Studies Department of Santa Clara University, USA. In addition to contributing chapters to books, he has edited four volumes, most recently From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations (2006). Paulist Press will publish his book on the theology of the church in 2008. He received the award as the outstanding teacher at Santa Clara University in 1994. He served as President of the North American Paul Tillich Society, and since 1997 he has been its Secretary Treasurer and editor of the Society’s quarterly Bulletin.

**Russell Re Manning** is a University Lecturer in Philosophy of Religion at the Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge, UK, and Fellow of St Edmund’s College, Cambridge. He is the author of Theology at the End of Culture: Paul Tillich’s Theology of Culture and Art (2005). He is currently writing an intellectual history of natural theology and editing the forthcoming Oxford Handbook of Natural Theology with Fraser Watts and John Hedley Brooke. With Rachel Sophia Baard, he is Co-Chair of the American Academy of Religion Group, Tillich: Issues in Theology, Religion, and Culture.
Anne Marie Reijnen is Professor of Systematic Theology at the Faculté Universitaire de Théologie Protestante in Brussels, Belgium, while also teaching at the Institut Catholique de Paris, France. Her publications include a book on the incarnation, *L’Ombre de Dieu sur terre* (1998), and on angels, *L’Ange obstiné* (2000), besides a number of book chapters and scholarly articles on, among other topics, the meaning of ecology for theology and the dialogue between Judaism and Christianity.

Jean Richard is Professor Emeritus at Université Laval, Quebec, Canada. He is, with André Gounelle, co-director of the *Œuvres de Paul Tillich* in French translation. He has published a number of book chapters and scholarly articles on theology and the philosophy of religion, especially on Tillich, in such journals as *Laval théologique et philosophique, Science et esprit, Études théologiques et religieuses, Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses*.

Werner Schüßler is Professor of Philosophy in the Theology Faculty at the University of Trier, Germany. He has written extensively on Paul Tillich, including (with Erdmann Sturm) *Paul Tillich: Leben-Werk-Wirkung* (2007), ‘Was uns unbedingt angeht.’ *Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie Paul Tillichs*, second edn (2004) and *Paul Tillich* (1997). He is co-editor of the *Tillich-Studien* series (eighteen volumes published to date) and an editor of the *Internationales Jahrbuch für die Tillich-Forschung* (two volumes to date). He has also written on Karl Jaspers and Peter Wust.

William Schweiker is Professor of Theological Ethics at the University of Chicago, USA. He is the author of several books, including *Theological Ethics and Global Dynamics: In the Time of Many Worlds* (2004) and *Responsibility and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge University Press, 1995). He is also the editor of and a contributor to seven volumes, including *The Blackwell Companion to Religious Ethics* (2005), and co-editor and contributor to *Humanity Before God: Contemporary Faces of Jewish, Christian and Islamic Ethics* (2006). He is currently finishing a book with David Klemm entitled *Religion and the Human Future: An Essay on Theological Humanism*.

Mary Ann Stenger is Professor of Humanities at the University of Louisville, USA. She specializes in Christian thought and culture, with interests in philosophy of religion, feminism and pluralism. In addition to numerous book chapters and journal articles, she co-authored with Ronald H. Stone *Dialogues of Paul Tillich* (2002). She currently serves as chairperson of the *Tillich Collected Works Project*.

Ronald H. Stone retired from the John Witherspoon Chair of Christian Ethics of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, USA, in 2003. He continues to serve as Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. He has written eighteen books on Christian social thought, including *Prophetic Realism* (2005), edited with Robert L. Stivers *Resistance and Theological Ethics* (2004), and with Mary Ann Stenger *Dialogues of Paul Tillich* (2002), and *John Wesley’s Life and Ethics* (2001). He is active in the North American Paul Tillich Society, serving as President in 1983 and vice-President in 1996, and is currently on the editorial board of the *Tillich Collected Works Project*. 
Erdmann Sturm is Professor at the Institute for Evangelical Theology and Evangelical Theology Faculty at the University of Münster, Germany. He has written numerous articles on various aspects of Tillich's thought and has edited several of Tillich's unpublished lectures for publication, including *Dogmatik-Vorlesung (Dresden 1925–1927)* (2005), *Berliner Vorlesungen (1919–1920)* (2001) and *Vorlesung über Hegel (Frankfurt 1931/32)* (1995). He co-edits the LIT Verlag series *Tillich-Studien* and is an editor of the *Internationales Jahrbuch für Tillich-Forschung*.


Who still reads Paul Tillich today? Widely acknowledged as one of the ‘giants’ of twentieth-century theology and as someone who changed the way modern men (and women) think and talk about God, Tillich is nonetheless the most neglected of the great theologians of recent times. Clearly a compelling, even charismatic, personality, Tillich’s personal impact was profound, and he was lauded at his death as something of a theological celebrity. Hailed as a prophet of the ‘death of God theology’ and bowdlerized by John Robinson’s *Honest to God*, Tillich became, for a time at least, the theologian of choice for a new generation attempting to radicalize theology in the revolutionary white heat of the 1960s. Labelled an ‘existentialist theologian’, Tillich’s reputation soared as the theologian of a new reformation in which the dogmatism of creeds is replaced by the ‘courage to be’ and supernaturalist notions of God are set aside in the pursuit of the ‘God above God’. Taken in such a light, Tillich’s theology – like so much teenage existentialism – seems hopelessly naïve and frankly embarrassing. It was no surprise that as the spirit of the 1960s waned, Tillich, along with polka-dot mini-skirts, would become unfashionable.

In recent years, however, a number of scholars have rediscovered Tillich, only to find that his impact on late twentieth-century theology has been more profound than expected. Once one returns to Tillich’s actual writings – and in particular his pre-emigration German writings – without the presuppositions of reading an existentialist theology, a new and more complicated Tillich emerges, one whose influence has been as pervasive as it has been subtle. While no ‘school’ took his name, Tillich’s ideas and terminology have, as it were, leaked out into the wider theological atmosphere, and it is constantly surprising just how much of Tillich’s thought can be found lurking, often unacknowledged, in the background of a diverse range of debates. More than any concrete proposals, it is perhaps the example of Tillich’s primary conviction that
theology must be done in dialogue – with culture, the arts, the sciences, religious traditions – and his unflinching commitment to the ‘both/and’ character of such engagement that have proved to be his most enduring legacy to contemporary theology. At a time when theonomous critical thinking is being pressed upon by a militantly atheistic science and culture on the one side and the equally strident forms of religious fundamentalism on the other, Tillich’s call for a theology of correlation is once again urgently relevant.

This Cambridge Companion aims to respond to this situation by presenting the full range of Tillich’s thought in accessible, yet nonetheless challenging, essays. The authors are drawn from a wide spectrum of positions, reflecting the renewed interest in Tillich’s theology at the beginning of the twenty-first century. While different authors have adopted different approaches, all share the common conviction that Tillich’s thinking is profoundly suggestive for us today as we continue the risky enterprise of theological reflection. They aim both to introduce Tillich to those who are not familiar with his writings and to provoke those who are to take a fresh look.

The book is divided into three parts reflecting three foci of Tillich’s thought: systematic theology, theology of culture and theology in dialogue.

In the first part, Werner Schüßler traces Tillich’s life and the development of his thought, and Oswald Bayer considers Tillich as a systematic theologian, focusing in particular on his methodology and his fundamental assumptions. The following three chapters reflect the Trinitarian structure of Tillich’s systematic theology: Martin Leiner considers the various ways in which Tillich approached the question of God, Anne Marie Reijnen engages with Tillich’s Christology and Frederick J. Parrella presents Tillich’s theology of the concrete spirit. In her chapter, Mary Ann Stenger turns to Tillich’s seminal writings about religion and faith, while Erdmann Sturm closes the section with a chapter considering Tillich’s sermons.

The second part engages with Tillich’s proposals for and writings in the theology of culture. In the first chapter, Jean Richard considers Tillich’s analyses of the spiritual situation of his own times, while in the next William Schweiker takes up the future of Tillich’s project in the call for a new form of theological humanism. The following four chapters treat different aspects within Tillich’s theology of culture: Russell Re Manning discusses Tillich’s engagement with art, Christian Danz reconstructs Tillich’s philosophy, Mark Lewis Taylor considers Tillich as an ethicist and Ronald H. Stone reviews Tillich’s political engagements.
The third part places Tillich’s thought into a variety of different dialogues characteristic of contemporary theology. John F. Haught presents Tillich’s approach to the dialogue between theology and the natural sciences, while John Dourley considers the particular example of Tillich’s engagement with psychology. Marc Boss brings Tillich into the interreligious dialogue, through a reconstruction of his engagements with Japanese Buddhism as a paradigmatic illustration of his approach. Rachel Sophia Baard tackles the often provocative dialogue between feminist theologians and Tillich, while John Thatamanil’s final chapter brings postmodern theology into dialogue with Tillich.

Paul Tillich perceptively characterized his own life and thought in terms of a series of boundaries. For Tillich, theology is to be done, as it were, from the inside looking out: within the theological circle and in the midst of the cultural situation. The theologian has a duty to speak to his contemporaries as contemporaries, not just to the ‘cultured despisers of religion’ but also to its most enthusiastic defenders. For Tillich, the theological vocation is – and must be – a risk. At the same time, it is precisely in taking this risk that the theologian may bring to light something of the fundamental mystery: the mystery of ‘an actuality of meaning, indeed, the ultimate and most profound actuality of meaning that convulses everything and builds everything anew’ (OITC, 25).
Acknowledgements

This Companion is a joint work, and I am immensely grateful to all the contributors, both for the timely delivery of their chapters and the patient manner in which they indulged their editor!

I have had the pleasure of discussing this book and the ideas that lie behind it with members of the three leading scholarly societies dedicated to the academic study of Tillich’s thought – the North American Paul Tillich Society (and the AAR Group that it sponsors, Tillich: Issues in Theology, Religion and Culture), Die Deutsche Paul-Tillich-Gesellschaft, and L’Association Paul Tillich d’expression française. I would particularly like to thank Rob James for all his behind-the-scenes advice and friendship.

In Cambridge, I have been much assisted by some able translation work; my thanks are due to Alexandra Wörn, David Leech and Liz Disley. In addition, I have greatly benefited from discussion on Tillich and the prospects for theology of culture more generally with Douglas Hedley, Fraser Watts, Chris Insole, Louise Hickman, Liz Gulliford, Vittorio Montemaggi and, of course, my students.

Finally, I would like to thank Kate Brett at Cambridge University Press, not only for commissioning the book in the first place, but also for her editorial guidance and gentle persuasion.

This book is dedicated to Francesca, companion of my life.
Chronology – a brief outline of Tillich’s life and times

1886 20 August, Paul Tillich born in Starzeddel, Germany [now Starosiedle, Poland], where his father, Johannes Tillich, was a Lutheran minister

1900 Family moves to Berlin

1903 Death of Mathilde Tillich, Paul’s mother

1904 Begins theological studies at Berlin. Continues his studies in Tübingen and Halle, where he is heavily influenced by Martin Kähler

1909 Takes up first appointment as substitute minister in Lichtenrade; Tillich’s earliest sermons date from this time

1910 Awarded PhD in Philosophy at Breslau for his dissertation ‘The Construction of the History of Religions in Schelling’s Positive Philosophy’

1911 First exhibition of Der Blaue Reiter, group of Expressionist artists; Wassily Kandinsky publishes Concerning the Spiritual in Art

1912 April: awarded PhD in Theology at Halle for his dissertation ‘Mysticism and Guilt-Consciousness in Schelling’s Philosophical Development’

     August: ordained Lutheran minister in Berlin; appointed assistant minister in Berlin-Moabit, leading to sustained contact with the urban poor

1914 September: marries Greti Wever

     October: volunteers as army chaplain

1915 Experiences horrors of First World War first-hand, including the battle of Verdun, precipitating a nervous breakdown

1916 Delivers his inaugural lecture at Halle

1917 Rudolf Otto publishes The Idea of the Holy

1918 End of First World War, abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II and establishment of Weimar Republic; Tillich returns to Berlin
xx  Chronology

1919  Forms ‘kairos circle’ of religious socialists
      January: death of Rosa Luxemburg
      April: delivers programmatic lecture ‘On the Idea of a Theology of Culture’

1921  Divorces Greti Wever

1922  Karl Barth publishes second edition of The Epistle to the Romans

1923  Publishes first major work, The System of the Sciences, dedicated to Ernst Troeltsch

1924  March: marries Hannah Werner
      Appointed Professor for Systematic Theology at Marburg, where he befriends Rudolf Otto and encounters Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Heidegger
      Delivers formative lecture ‘Justification and Doubt’ at Gießen, in which he applies the doctrine of justification to the intellectual life
      Thomas Mann publishes The Magic Mountain

1925  Lectures on ‘Dogmatics’ under the epigraph ‘Theologie muss Angriff sein’ (‘Theology must go on the offensive’)
      Appointed Professor of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the Dresden Institute of Technology

1926  Publishes The Religious Situation, in which he applies the principles of theology of culture

1927  Appointed Honorary Professor for Philosophy of Religion and Philosophy of Culture at Leipzig
      Martin Heidegger publishes Being and Time

1929  Appointed Professor of Philosophy at Frankfurt am Main, where he enjoys fruitful collaboration with Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno and lectures on the philosophy of history, philosophy of religion, Schelling and Idealism, ethics and the history of philosophy; joins Social Democratic Party

1933  January: Adolf Hitler appointed Chancellor
      April: suspended from Chair because of the publication of his anti-Nazi The Socialist Decision and his positive stance towards Jewish students
      May: The Socialist Decision is publicly burnt in Frankfurt
      November: arrives in New York at the invitation of Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary (whose faculty took a 5 per cent pay cut to fund Tillich’s salary) and Columbia University

1934  Delivers his first lecture in English – his accent is so bad that few understand a word
The Barmen Declaration is issued by the ‘Confessing Church’
1936 Chairman of relief organization ‘Self-help for German Émigrés’; publishes autobiography, On the Boundary
1937 Picasso’s Guernica first exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition
1939 Outbreak of Second World War
1940 Appointed Professor of Philosophical Theology at Union
1942 Delivers first of 109 radio broadcasts ‘to my German friends’
1944 Appointed Chairman of the Council for a Democratic Germany
1945 Atomic bombs dropped on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki
1948 First return trip to Germany, including meeting with Karl Barth in Basle
Publishes The Protestant Era, along with first volume of sermons, The Shaking of the Foundations; two more collections follow: The New Being (1955) and The Eternal Now (1962)
1951 Publishes first volume of Systematic Theology: Reason and Revelation and Being and God
1952 Publishes The Courage to Be
1953 Delivers Gifford Lectures at University of Aberdeen
1955 Retires from Union to take up University Professorship at Harvard; lectures widely across the United States on a broad range of theological, philosophical and ethical topics
1957 Second volume of Systematic Theology: Existence and Christ
1959 Publishes Theology of Culture; appears on front cover of Time magazine
1960 Visits Japan
1962 Appointed John Nuveen Professor of Theology at Chicago, where he co-teaches a seminar on the history of religions with Mircea Eliade; awarded the Peace Prize of the German Publishers’ Association in Frankfurt
1963 Travels to Israel, where he meets Martin Buber, third volume of Systematic Theology: Life and Spirit and History and the Kingdom of God; John A. T. Robinson publishes Honest to God
1965 11 October: delivers last public lecture, ‘The Significance of the History of Religions for the Systematic Theologian’
22 October: dies in hospital from heart attack
1966 Tillich’s ashes are re-interred in the Paul Tillich Park, New Harmony, Indiana
### Abbreviations

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### Abbreviations

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A NOTE ABOUT READING TILLICH

Tillich wrote in a wide variety of contexts and for many different audiences. His publications include his famous three-volume Systematic Theology, individual monographs and journal articles on a wide range of topics in theology, philosophy and cultural critique; articles in newspapers and religious and political magazines; reviews; university lectures and public presentations; sermons; autobiography; letters; and travel journals. He also wrote and published in two languages, often revising earlier German works for their later publication in English translation. The majority of his output consists of self-contained, short, occasional pieces; and yet there is a remarkable systematic consistency throughout his work.

The accepted scholarly edition of Tillich’s work is the fourteen-volume German-language Gesammelte Werke (GW), edited by Renate Albrecht, and its series of supplements, Ergänzungs- und Nachlassbände zu den Gesammelten Werken von Paul Tillich (ENGW) (fifteen volumes to date). While well produced, this is not always entirely reliable, with some texts originally written by Tillich in German but first published in English re-translated into German for the GW. There is currently no collected works in English (although a project has recently been initiated by the North American Paul Tillich Society). Between 1987 and 1992 de Gruyter published a selection of Tillich’s major shorter works in their original languages, arranged thematically in six volumes, as Main Works/Hauptwerke (MW/HW).

Many of Tillich’s works are available in their original editions, while some have been recently re-issued. The majority – with some significant exceptions – of Tillich’s major German-language works have been translated into English. One important text as yet unavailable in English (a French translation has been produced) is the series of lectures on dogmatics that was to have been published under the title Die Gestalt der religiöse Erkenntnis in 1930. Archival research continues to reveal more unpublished material, especially from Tillich’s pre-emigration time, that will be of significant future interest.

There are two editions of Tillich’s major work, Systematic Theology, published by Chicago University Press from 1951 to 1963 and in London by Nisbet from 1953 to 1964, which was re-issued by SCM Press in 1978 and again by XPRESS REPRINTS in 1997. Annoyingly, the pagination differs between the two editions. References here are to the SCM Press edition.