

## ROMANO GUARDINI'S THEOLOGY OF THE HUMAN PERSON

ROBERT A. KRIEG, C.S.C.

*[Editor's note: Guardini believed that to be a person is to enter into I-thou relationships with other human beings and simultaneously to be aware of oneself as a knowing subject. This complex dynamism can easily go awry, however, as occurred in the Third Reich on the one extreme and in Rainer Maria Rilke's individualism on the other. In Guardini's judgment, personal development can unfold properly only when it is nourished and directed by faith in the God of Jesus Christ.]*

ROMANO GUARDINI was summoned to the office of the Third Reich's Minister of Education, Bernhard Rust, in January 1939 and told that he could no longer serve as the University of Berlin's professor of Philosophy of Religion and Catholic Worldview. Rust's explanation: "when the state itself has a worldview, there can be no room for a chair of Catholic *Weltanschauung* at the University."<sup>1</sup> In a "cordial" conversation, Rust proposed various ways by which Guardini might be able to retain his professorship, e.g., by offering courses on Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The meeting ended with Rust's assurance that he would explore Guardini's alternatives. A few days later, the Minister of Education telephoned Guardini and asked him if he would be willing to retire without the academic rank of professor emeritus and also without a pension. The Catholic scholar immediately said yes. When the spring semester began in March, Guardini's courses no longer appeared in the curriculum, and the University's administration said nothing about his dismissal. It was as though the renowned lecturer had never taught at the University of Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

This incident is significant because it discloses the personal character and theology of one of the 20th century's most creative Catholic

ROBERT A. KRIEG, C.S.C., is professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame where he also obtained his Ph.D. degree. He specializes in Christology and in German theology in the 19th and 20th centuries. He is the author of *Karl Adam: Catholicism in German Culture* (Notre Dame, 1992) and *Romano Guardini: A Precursor of Vatican II* (Notre Dame, 1997).

<sup>1</sup> Romano Guardini, *Berichte über mein Leben* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1984) 52. Translations from the German are my own.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 54.

minds.<sup>3</sup> Romano Guardini (1885–1968) was a man of integrity. He displayed unusual honesty and high moral principles in his interactions with friends, students, and church officials as well as with Nazi leaders. Although he did not seek out a confrontation with Bernhard Rust, he did not grovel before the swastika when called to Rust's office. Further, he drew strength from his theology. Guardini was convinced that only through union with the living God can a person become fully individuated. Men and women who seek to remain rooted in God may receive, Guardini held, the wisdom and courage to maintain their personal freedom within authoritarian systems, while at the same time avoiding the pitfall of individualism. In other words, theonomy is essential to human life, while heteronomy and autonomy retard human development.<sup>4</sup> Guardini himself embodied this insight when he quietly refused to play by the Nazi rules and, as a result, was sent into "retirement" at the age of 53.

In addition to the general interest of Guardini's character and thought, however, there are two special reasons for studying his theology at this time. First, October 1998 marks the 75th anniversary of Guardini's inaugural lecture at the University of Berlin and also the 30th anniversary of his death. In memory of these events, the University of Berlin and Berlin's Guardini Stiftung will hold a conference dedicated to Guardini on October 30, 1998.<sup>5</sup> It is fitting that the English-speaking world also remember Guardini at this juncture.

Second, many people are showing a new interest in Guardini's theology. Whereas thousands of North American Catholics discussed Guardini's texts during the 1950s and 60s but set them aside after Vatican II,<sup>6</sup> readers are again returning to his writings. For this reason, publishers are reprinting some of Guardini's texts, for example, *The Art of Praying* (previously entitled *Prayer in Practice*), *Letters from Lake Como*, *The Lord*, *Meditations before Mass*, *The Rosary of Our*

<sup>3</sup> On Guardini's life and thought, see Robert A. Krieg, *Romano Guardini: A Precursor of Vatican II* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1997), see also Robert A. Krieg, ed., *Romano Guardini: Proclaiming the Sacred in a Modern World* (Chicago: Liturgy Training, 1995), Alfons Knoll, *Glaube und Kultur bei Romano Guardini* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993), Arno Schilson, *Perspektiven theologischer Erneuerung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1986), Hanna Barbara Gerl, *Romano Guardini 1885–1968* (Mainz: Grunewald, 1985), Eugen Biser, *Interpretation und Veränderung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1979), Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Romano Guardini: Reform aus der Ursprung* (Munich: Kosel, 1970), of which an English translation by Albert K. Wimmer will soon be published by Ignatius Press.

<sup>4</sup> Guardini uses these categories in *Welt und Person* (Würzburg: Werkbund, 1939), Eng. trans. Stella Lange, *The World and the Person* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1965). Paul Tillich (1885–1965), Guardini's contemporary in Germany, also relied on them, see his *Systematic Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951) 1:83–86.

<sup>5</sup> The conference's main speakers will be Bishops Wolfgang Huber and Karl Lehmann as well as Professors Hanna Barbara Gerl-Falkowitz, Hans Maier, Richard Schroder, and Wieland Schmied.

<sup>6</sup> See Robert A. Krieg, "Romano Guardini's Reception in North America," in Wilhelm Geerlings and Max Scheler, ed., *Kirche sein* (Freiburg: Herder, 1994) 93–110.

*Lady*, and *The Spirit of the Liturgy*.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the current trend is rather one-sided. Some publishers are selecting Guardini's devotional works and his critiques of modernity. Furthermore, they are not providing the new printings with introductions that locate specific texts in their original historical situations and in the context of Guardini's overall thought.<sup>8</sup> One such problematic introduction is the one recently written by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger for *The Lord*.<sup>9</sup> The prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith has rightly praised *The Lord* for its focus on the living Christ but neglected to mention that Guardini published *The Lord* in 1937 in an effort to renew Catholics' devotion to Jesus Christ, thereby to offset Nazi propaganda regarding Adolf Hitler as Germany's savior ("*Heilbringer*"). Further, Ratzinger failed to note that the biblical exegesis of *The Lord* is out of date. For example, the Synoptic Gospels are viewed through the lens of John's Gospel. Also, *The Lord* conveys an erroneous view of Judaism. Vatican II and recent papal teachings have clarified that God's covenant with Israel did not end with the coming of Jesus Christ. Advances in biblical studies and theology since mid-century mean that *The Lord* and indeed all of Guardini's texts require thorough introductions, especially in North America where few readers know the history of modern German Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> Because some publishers are currently reprinting Guardini's texts that seemingly support a restorationist agenda and are not giving these texts suitable introductions, they implicitly convey the image of Guardini as a religious conservative who opposed the Church's theological and liturgical renewal and also stood sharply at odds with contemporary society.<sup>11</sup> This portrait

<sup>7</sup> Sophia Institute Press (Manchester, N.H.) has reprinted the texts listed here except the following: *Letters from Lake Como*, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); *The Lord*, trans. Elinor Castendyk Briefs (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1997); *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. Ada Lane (New York: Crossroad, forthcoming). The Katholische Akademie in Bayern (Munich) is currently reprinting all of Guardini's texts in German through the publishing houses Matthias Grünewald and Ferdinand Schöningh.

<sup>8</sup> Sophia Institute has not included adequate introductions in its reprinted texts by Guardini. Louis Dupré wrote a helpful introduction to *Letters from Lake Como*, but neglected to show how Guardini's thought changed between the first letter in 1923 and the ninth and last in 1925. Unfortunately, the English version fails to date each letter.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Ratzinger's introduction to *The Lord* (1997) has also appeared as "Guardini on Christ in Our Century," *Crisis* 14 (June 1996) 14–15. For Ratzinger's other comments on Guardini's writings, see his *A New Song for the Lord*, trans. Martha M. Matesich (New York: Crossroad, 1996) passim; and his "Von der Liturgie zur Christologie," in J. Ratzinger, ed. *Wege zur Wahrheit* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1985) 121–44.

<sup>10</sup> For a balanced, representative collection of texts by Guardini, see *The Essential Guardini*, ed. Heinz R. Kuehn and Victoria Tufano (Chicago: Liturgy Training, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Guardini's thought is not adequately presented in Massimo Borghesi, "Reflection: A New Beginning," *30 Days* 12 (1992) 62–68. A generally accurate portrait of Guardini is provided by Roland Hill, "Spiritual Liberator," *Catholic World Report* 1 (June 1992) 52–55; however, Hill made a couple of factual errors and failed to discuss explicitly Guardini's work of theological renewal in relation to Vatican II.

misrepresents Guardini. For this reason, fresh studies of his life and thought are required at this time.

In fact, Guardini played a key role in the theological and liturgical movements that led to Vatican II.<sup>12</sup> From the start of his career, he collaborated with such great minds as Martin Buber, Martin Heidegger, and Max Scheler. Moreover, by means of his lectures and writings, he influenced many talented people, including Hannah Arendt, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Walter Kasper, Thomas Merton, Giovanni Battista Montini (Pope Paul VI), Flannery O'Connor, Karl Rahner, and Joseph Ratzinger.<sup>13</sup> Guardini's dialogue with modernity was so fruitful that in 1962 Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands awarded him Europe's prestigious Erasmus Prize for his enrichment of "Christian humanism." Guardini did not withdraw from the 20th century but constructively conversed with contemporary thought in order to reinforce its truths and correct its errors.

In order to contribute to an accurate perception of this exceptional theologian, I wish to lay out in this article some aspects of Guardini's multifaceted understanding of personal existence—an understanding that influenced both his actions and also his 70 books and 100 articles.<sup>14</sup> In particular, I focus on his view that to be a human person is to be one who relates to oneself and at the same time enters into mutual relationships with other human beings and God. These two aspects of human life are united, Guardini said, as a person lives in an "I-thou" relationship with God. Each human being, he asserted, is called to discover that "my being an 'I' has come about because God is my 'thou'."<sup>15</sup> This insight is central to Guardini's theological anthropology and is so rich that it deserves elucidation.

I shall attempt to shed light on Guardini's life and thought in four steps. First, a review of his life illustrates his moral stature, most outstandingly his integrity. Second, a discussion of *The World and the Person* explicates his view of the "I-thou" relationship into which God invites each human being. Third, drawing upon Guardini's *Der Heilbringer in Mythos, Offenbarung und Politik*,<sup>16</sup> I summarize his analysis of Adolf Hitler and Nazism as an instance of what can occur when heteronomy is given free rein. Fourth, a look at Guardini's *Rilke's Duino Elegies* reveals his assessment that in his poetry Rainer Maria

<sup>12</sup> Teresa Berger has noted how Guardini depended on women in the liturgical movement, thereby setting the stage for today's issues concerning women as liturgical leaders, see Teresa Berger, "The Classical Liturgical Movement in Germany and Austria Moved by Women?" *Worship* 66 (May 1992) 231–50

<sup>13</sup> See Krieg, *Romano Guardini A Precursor* 192–201 It is likely that Guardini's writings influenced Karol Wojtyła (Pope John Paul II) whose philosophy of the human person is grounded in a phenomenology similar to Guardini's

<sup>14</sup> For Guardini's complete bibliography, see Hans Mercker, *Bibliographie Romano Guardini (1885–1968)* (Paderborn Schöningh, 1978), for an abridged bibliography, see Krieg, *Romano Guardini A Precursor* 257–64

<sup>15</sup> Guardini, *Welt und Person* 112 (English version, *World* 141)

<sup>16</sup> A German title indicates that the text has not been translated into English

Rilke brilliantly expressed the loneliness that afflicts many people but erred in his emphasis upon self-autonomy. In light of these four considerations, I conclude that Romano Guardini was a theologian of personal existence who, to quote Karl Rahner, illuminated "the eternal in human beings" and simultaneously shed light on "the unspeakable mystery that we call God."<sup>17</sup>

#### A MAN OF INTEGRITY

Throughout his life Guardini demonstrated a high degree of integrity.<sup>18</sup> Born on February 17, 1885, in Verona, Italy, he moved during his first year with his parents to Mainz, Germany. He became an excellent student at Mainz's Humanistisches Gymnasium but failed in his study of chemistry at the University of Tübingen in the autumn of 1903. Changing to economics, he fared better in his courses at the Universities of Munich and Berlin. Nevertheless, he soon recognized his lack of enthusiasm for the study of economics, and this admission sparked a personal crisis concerning his career and his Christian faith. In this malaise, Guardini discerned his desire for the priesthood. Changing to theological studies, he excelled at the Universities of Freiburg and Tübingen. He entered the seminary of the diocese of Mainz in 1908 and was ordained a priest on May 28, 1910. He would have been ordained six months earlier, but his ordination was delayed because he told the seminary's rector of his dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church's neo-Scholasticism and with the seminary's authoritarianism. After two years in parishes, he returned to theological studies and earned first his doctorate in theology from the University of Freiburg in 1915 and then the *Habilitation* from the University of Bonn in 1922. In 1923 he accepted the "call" to become the first Catholic theologian at the University of Berlin.

During his career, Guardini's faithfulness to his "inner authority,"<sup>19</sup> as he called it, brought him into conflict with ecclesiastical officials and with his academic peers. Besides teaching in Berlin, he also served as the spiritual leader of Quickborn, the Catholic youth association whose national center was the castle at Rothenfels-am-Main near Würzburg.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Rahner, "Festvortrag," in Karl Forster, ed., *Akademische Feier zum 80. Geburtstag von Romano Guardini* (Würzburg: Echter, 1965) 17-35, at 30; Rahner, "Thinker and Christian: Obituary of Romano Guardini," in his *Opportunities for Faith*, trans. Edward Quinn (New York: Seabury, 1975) 127-131, at 128. Also see Rahner, *I Remember*, trans. Harvey Egan (New York: Crossroad, 1985) 73-75. Karl Rahner first met Guardini in 1920 when he made a retreat conducted by Guardini at Burg Rothenfels. Rahner assumed Guardini's academic chair at the University of Munich in 1963, upon Guardini's retirement and with his encouragement.

<sup>18</sup> For fuller biographies, see Krieg, *Romano Guardini: A Precursor*; Gerl, *Romano Guardini*; Hans Mercker, "Vorlesungen und Schriften Guardinis in seiner Berliner Zeit," in *Guardini Weiterdenken*, ed. Hermann Josef Schuster (Berlin: Guardini Stiftung, 1993) 78-106.

<sup>19</sup> Guardini, *Berichte* 117-18.

He gave spiritual and theological guidance to thousands of young Germans through Quickborn and its journal, *Die Schildgenossen*. Beginning in the 1920s, he appealed to the young because of his existentialism, his liturgical innovations (such as facing the congregation as he presided at Mass), and his insistence that young men and women reside together at Burg Rothenfels for retreats and educational conferences. These actions, however, raised suspicion among many German bishops who wanted Quickborn to be formally accountable to the hierarchy. Guardini angered the bishops by holding that Quickborn should remain free of direct ecclesiastical control. In 1945 Guardini observed that for 25 years he had depended in his ministry on the laity's support, and he added: "In fact, the official church has stood with distrust at a distance from me for a long time, if not in relation to all of my endeavors, at least in relation to Rothenfels. Those in positions of ecclesiastical authority have given me no help of any kind and until recently had drawn me into nothing."<sup>20</sup> By the end of World War II, Guardini had begun to gain the trust of members of the institutional Church, and he was asked by the German bishops to serve on their new liturgical commission. Moreover, Pope Pius XII named Guardini a papal prelate in 1952, and Pope Paul VI wanted to name him to the College of Cardinals in 1965, an honor that Guardini declined.

Guardini's writings were unconventional within the academy. He refused to delve into narrow doctrinal topics and rejected the neo-Scholasticism that church officials and most Catholic theologians took for granted during the period from Vatican I to Vatican II. Also, he had no interest in becoming a specialist in one scholarly area but took a phenomenological approach to a wide range of topics. As a result of his unusual scholarship, he never participated in a Faculty of Theology. At the University of Berlin, he was the professor of Philosophy of Religion and Catholic Worldview from 1923 till 1939 without membership in an academic department.<sup>21</sup> He held the same ambiguous status at the University of Tübingen, where he was the professor of Philosophy of Religion and Christian Worldview from 1945 till 1947. Finally, he held the chair of Philosophy of Religion and the Christian Worldview within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Munich from 1948 to 1963. Also, since he did not belong to a Faculty of Theology, he was not permitted to direct doctoral dissertations. Guardini felt like an outsider in the academy, even though he was invited into Germany's top intellectual circles. Fortunately, he eventually received formal recognition for his scholarship with such honors as the German Book Publishers' Peace Prize (1952), the German government's Medal of Distin-

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 116.

<sup>21</sup> Because the University of Berlin lacked a Faculty of Catholic Theology, Guardini was formally appointed to the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Breslau, with the agreement that he would remain permanently at the University of Berlin as a guest professor (Guardini, *Berichte* 37).

guished Service (1959), and Munich's Golden Medal of Honor (1965). He died in Munich at the age of 83.<sup>22</sup>

That Guardini came into conflict with the Third Reich is not surprising, given his independent spirit and moral stature. In hindsight it can be seen that the Minister of Education dismissed Guardini from his professorship at what became the midpoint of his career. Having taught at Berlin for 16 years, he went on after the war to teach at Tübingen and then at Munich for a total of 18 years. During his "retirement" from 1939 until 1945, Guardini wrote the texts that he had drafted but never completed while he was busy at the University of Berlin and at Burg Rothenfels. One of these texts is *The World and the Person*.

#### ON PERSONAL EXISTENCE AS THEONOMY

*The World and the Person* is not a single book but three essays: "The World," "The Person," and "Providence." (In the English translation, the third essay appears as a unit within the essay "The Person.") As Guardini explained in his preface, the three essays are united by a single insight into the character of human life: "Fundamentally, there is one idea that shall be examined: that a human being does not exist as a self-enclosed block of reality or a self-sufficient individual who takes shape solely out of inner resources; rather a human being exists also in relation to that which comes to him or her from without."<sup>23</sup> In order to illustrate Guardini's governing idea I will now discuss his essay "The Person."<sup>24</sup>

According to Guardini, the Jewish-Christian tradition has generated two notions or models of person. One model presents a person as a "knowing and acting subject."<sup>25</sup> Personal existence is characterized in part by the ability to relate to oneself as an "I." A person is an individual who knows both the exhilaration and the burden of standing alone, making decisions, and bearing their consequences. But by itself this notion does not fully express the complexity of what it is to be a person. It must be complemented by the model of person as a social being. In this view, being a person entails "I-thou" relationships; to be

<sup>22</sup> Guardini is buried in the Oratorians' cemetery at Munich's St. Lawrence Church. At his request, his memorial stone reads: "Believing in Jesus Christ and his Church and trusting in his merciful judgment."

<sup>23</sup> Guardini, *Welt 2* (English version, *World* viii).

<sup>24</sup> On Guardini's theological anthropology, see Knoll, *Glaube und Kultur* 338-73; Gunda Böning, "Strukturen der Freiheit," in Arno Schilson, ed., *Konservativ mit Blick nach vorn* (Würzburg: Echter, 1994) 49-68; Schilson, *Perspektiven theologischer Erneuerung* 158-96; Jörg Splett, "Zum Person-Begriff Romano Guardinis," in *Christliche Weltanschauung*, ed. Walter Seidel (Würzburg: Echter, 1985) 80-109; Heinz Robert Schlette, *Aporie und Glaube* (Munich: Kösel, 1970) 247-87; Ursula Berning-Baldeaux, *Person und Bildung im Denken Romano Guardinis* (Würzburg: Echter, 1968); Helmut Kuhn, "Romano Guardini: Christian Existence," *Philosophy Today* 4 (1960) 158-71.

<sup>25</sup> Guardini, *Welt* 105 (English 127).

a person is to respect another man or woman as a "thou" or "you," not as an "it." In Guardini's words, "When I regard another individual as an 'I,' I open up and 'disclose' myself [to him or her]. But the relation remains incomplete if the same movement does not proceed from the other side so that the other person permits me to become his or her 'you'."<sup>26</sup>

Had Guardini stopped his reflections at this point, he would have strengthened secular humanism and neglected what he perceived to be the existential source and goal of human life, namely God. He would have left his readers vulnerable to what he perceived to be the dangers of heteronomy and autonomy. Heteronomy places the authority for one's life outside oneself—for example, in another human being, an ideology, an institution, or government. Autonomy locates the authority for one's life in oneself—for example, in a rationalistic or Promethean sense of self. Warning against these alternatives, Guardini enriched Christian humanism by asserting that personal existence must be governed by theonomy. Each woman or man should recognize God as the only absolute authority for human life, and in turn the living God will set each human being free to become a whole person, one who is an "I" within "I-thou" relationships.

Guardini extended his reflections on personal existence to our understanding of God by means of three ideas. First, God is the only authentic person, and human persons are analogues of God.<sup>27</sup> God is, in some sense, both a knowing subject and also a social being within the divine life itself. In Guardini's words, "From all eternity God is the prime reality and ultimate mystery, who also communicates this reality."<sup>28</sup> Second, the triune God freely chose to communicate God's self outwardly, and this divine word fashioned and now sustains the created order. The "I-thou" relationship that exists between God and the divine word has opened itself to include creation, especially human beings. In other words, creation possesses within itself, in a derivative manner, the character of the "you" or "thou" to whom God speaks as an "I." In particular, God beckons each human being to the awareness that "I exist only in relation to God."<sup>29</sup> The dialogue between God and each person occurs within every human life. In Guardini's words, "A human being is both one who is intended to hear the word that God speaks to the world and also one who answers this word."<sup>30</sup> Third, human beings enter into an "I-thou" relationship with God through their union with Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit. As Divine Word, Christ is the mediator between God and creation, and each human being is called upon to undergo a conversion to Christ. Paradigmatic of this radical change is the transformation of St. Paul who realized that he could not be united with God solely on the basis of the Law but

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 105 (English 128).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 125 (English 156).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 109 (English 135).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 112 (English 141).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 113-14 (English 141).



needed to become united with Christ. As Paul declared, "If anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation" (2 Corinthians 5:17).

Guardini's reflections on personal existence prompt two observations. First, *The World and the Person* probably appeared when it did, in 1939, because of the Third Reich's decision to dismiss Guardini from his professorship. As he himself noted, he wrote most of his texts in response to specific situations in which he found himself.<sup>31</sup> Having been treated unjustly, Guardini spoke to the issue of the value of each human being. *The World and the Person* accentuates the sacred dignity and freedom of all human beings. In his own words, "'Person' means that I can be possessed in my self-existence by no external authority, for I belong to myself."<sup>32</sup> The political implications of this statement were not lost upon Germans as the Nazi government tightened its grip on German society during the first months of World War II.

Secondly, Guardini had no desire to formulate a complete theory of personal existence similar to Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* (1927). Hence, he never expanded *The World and the Person* into a fuller text. Rather, he was intent upon helping his readers move to greater intimacy with God. He pursued this goal by means of two strategies. He wrote texts on the liturgy and prayer—two activities which directly foster theonomy. He also engaged in a critical dialogue with contemporary thought and culture. In these studies, he highlighted those truths that strengthen theonomy and, at the same time, criticized those ideas that promoted tendencies toward heteronomy or autonomy.

Since I wish to exhibit Guardini's constructive conversation with modernity, I now examine his analysis of the Third Reich and then proceed to consider his interpretation of Rilke's *Duino Elegies*.

#### HITLER AND HETERONOMY

Guardini initially conveyed his views on the Third Reich in three texts written before 1940. He implicitly rejected Hitler's National Socialism in his essay "Der Heiland" (1935), in which he differentiated between the pagan savior-figures in German mythology—to which the Nazis appealed—and the Christian messiah, Jesus Christ.<sup>33</sup> He reinforced his position by sketching a biblical portrait of Jesus Christ in *The Lord* (1937). As already noted, the book's implicit claim is that the God revealed in the Lord Jesus is human life's only absolute authority. It is noteworthy that this collection of "meditations" immediately appealed to tens of thousands of Germans, for whom it served as a well-spring of spiritual and moral nourishment.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Guardini wrote

<sup>31</sup> See Guardini, "Warum so viele Bücher?" (1955) in his *Stationen und Rückblicke* (Würzburg: Echter, 1965) 30.

<sup>32</sup> Guardini, *Welt* 93 (English 114).

<sup>33</sup> Guardini, "Der Heiland," *Die Schildgenossen* 14 (1935) 97–116.

<sup>34</sup> For personal remembrances of Guardini's pastoral leadership of students in Berlin

*Welt und Person* (1939) with its criticism of heteronomy and specifically Hitler's regime. In late 1945, however, Guardini moved beyond the subtlety of these three earlier texts and explicitly analyzed the Third Reich in *Der Heilbringer in Mythos, Offenbarung und Politik*, a short book which I will briefly summarize.

The German people had permitted heteronomy to displace theonomy during the twelve years of the Third Reich. Why had they allowed this tyranny to come about? Since the human subconscious operates on the basis of images, symbols, and myths, it is continually applying imaginative constructs to the everyday world in order to uncover the meaning of situations, events, and human interactions. Insofar as these images, symbols, and myths help people make sense of their lives, they influence their ideas, decisions, and actions. Carl Jung was correct, Guardini averred, when he maintained that the human psyche's "kernel of meaning," as expressed in human beings' collective unconscious, is so primary in human cognition that it has not diminished after the Enlightenment.<sup>35</sup> Even though 20th-century men and women may have moved to a historical consciousness and empirical approaches to the natural world and society, they still depend upon images, symbols, and myths in their search for life's meaning. Hence, they often view their political leaders through their mostly unconscious, collective images of savior-figures. While some of these imaginative constructs are beneficial, others are destructive. Indeed, some elements of the unconscious can unleash the human psyche's sub-human, "demonic" forces, with the result that ordinary people will harm their vulnerable neighbors or, at least, watch passively as state officials inflict suffering upon men, women, and children.

In Guardini's judgment, Hitler gained control over the subconscious of the German people. He allured people's imaginations into his ideology of "blood and race" and then manipulated German citizens into acting as his pawns.<sup>36</sup> In particular, he cultivated the image of himself as Germany's *Heilbringer*, its bearer of God's favor. Giving himself the title *Führer*, he claimed absolute competence concerning politics, military strategy, science, economics, as well as art and music. He even assumed the role of the "messenger of God," the mediator between God and the "Arian race." He insisted, for example, that new buildings include the inscription, "For everything, we thank our *Führer*." Also, the *Führer* transferred to himself the images that Christians apply to Jesus Christ. For instance, the Nazi Party distributed pictures of Hitler standing among children and looking down at them in a paternal

---

during the Third Reich, see Heinz R. Kuehn, "Fires in the Night 1920–1950," in Krieg, Romano Guardini: *Proclaiming the Sacred* 1–14, and also Regina Kuehn, "Romano Guardini in Berlin," *ibid.* 87–91.

<sup>35</sup> Guardini, *Der Heilbringer in Mythos, Offenbarung und Politik* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1979) 47.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 62.

manner; it directed people to hang a photograph of Hitler in their homes in the place usually reserved for a cross or a portrait of Christ. The Party erected altar-like tables in parks on which were placed flowers surrounding a picture of the *Führer*. The "German Christians" in at least one Protestant church placed a photograph of Hitler on their church's altar. In the schools, children were required to pray with "small hands folded, small heads bowed, thinking within on the *Führer*, who gives us work and bread, who delivers us from all need." In short, Hitler and the Nazi Party commanded many Germans to direct their religious sentiments from Christ to the *Führer*.<sup>37</sup> As Guardini observed, "The new myth of the earthly savior was intended to eliminate Christ and his salvation and bind human beings to this world. Whoever believed in this earthly savior [Hitler] no longer had the possibility of resisting the grip that seized them. They were given over—with body and soul, with spirit and will, with everything which they were and did—to the power which controlled Germany."<sup>38</sup>

Guardini's reflection in 1945 on the Third Reich is not wholly unique. It has points of similarity with other studies of Hitler's mastery of German's myths, symbols, and rituals.<sup>39</sup> However, *Der Heilbringer in Mythos, Offenbarung und Politik* has contributed to discussions of Nazism especially because of its theological perspective. Human life unravels when a relative authority is given the recognition that belongs solely to the one absolute authority, the God of Jesus Christ. If human beings are to become full persons, they must claim their "inner authority" which is anchored in God. Guardini developed this insight even further. He gave a public lecture in 1945 in which he praised the martyrs of the "White Rose" for having the courage as early as 1943 to raise Germans' awareness of the Third Reich's violations of human rights on the eastern front and to call for an end to the war.<sup>40</sup> Further, he urged Germans in 1952 to assume their moral responsibility for the Holocaust and to make financial reparations to the Jewish people. He reasoned that Germans would renew their dignity as persons by acting on behalf of Jews.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, in postwar writings such as *The End of the Modern World* (1950) and in *Power and Responsibility* (1951), he warned against the abuse of the power increasingly available through new technologies.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 68–71.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 74.

<sup>39</sup> See Heinz Hürten, *Deutsche Katholiken 1918–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1992) 299–314; Fritz Stern, *Dreams and Delusions* (New York: Knopf, 1987) 119–91; Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Vintage, 1975) 422–24.

<sup>40</sup> At the University of Tübingen on November 4, 1945, Guardini extolled the martyrs of the "White Rose" for accepting the "weight" of personal existence; see Guardini, *Die Waage des Daseins* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1946). On the White Rose, see Hermann Vinke, *The Short Life of Sophie Scholl*, trans. Hedwig Pachter (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

<sup>41</sup> Guardini, "Verantwortung: Gedanken zur jüdischen Frage," *Hochland* 44 (1952) 481–93.

What happened in the Third Reich is, Guardini held, an instance of a phenomenon that faces all human beings. The German people diminished the quality of their personal existence as they lived under Hitler's tyranny. Such is the price that men and women pay when they succumb to authoritarian rule. As people relinquish their personal freedom, decision making, and responsibility, they lessen their ability to live as knowing subjects and as social beings. However, heteronomy is not the only threat to personal development; autonomy, too, constricts the human potential to become a whole person.<sup>42</sup> Emphasis upon the self to the exclusion of other human beings and God also erodes the character of personal existence. Guardini perceived this tendency even earlier, in the Weimar Republic. In particular, he detected an exaggerated individualism in the writings of Rainer Maria Rilke whom German youth held in high esteem during the 1920s.

#### RILKE AND AUTONOMY

Guardini's study of Rilke's *Duino Elegies* was the fruit of approximately 50 years of reading, reflection, and discussion.<sup>43</sup> During the early 1900s, Guardini, along with many young Germans, read the poetry and stories of Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), and during the 1920s he discussed Rilke's works with the youth at Burg Rothenfels.<sup>44</sup> In the 1930s he lectured at the University of Berlin on the *Duino Elegies* (which Rilke crafted between 1912 and 1923), and in 1938 he wrote an essay on the first of the ten poems, just before writing *The World and the Person*.<sup>45</sup> Subsequently, Guardini treated Rilke's writings in his lectures at the Universities of Tübingen and Munich and published essays on the second, eighth, and ninth poems.<sup>46</sup> He completed his manuscript on all ten elegies in 1953. Even then he admitted that he had not fully plumbed the depths of the *Elegies*, for "one interpretation of these poems cannot claim to be the last word on them."<sup>47</sup> Here I review Guardini's comments only on the *First Elegy*.

Rilke's *First Elegy* consists of seven sections.<sup>48</sup> Verses 1–7 express

<sup>42</sup> The key to Guardini's method is his understanding of the inherent oppositions that produce the creative tensions in human life and thought, see Guardini, *Der Gegensatz* (Mainz Grunewald, 1985) The original text appeared in 1925, the 1985 edition includes a fine explanation of Guardini's philosophy of "Gegensatz" Hanna Barbara Gerl, "Nachwort Leben in ausgehaltener Spannung" 217–35

<sup>43</sup> See Gerl, *Romano Guardini* 349

<sup>44</sup> See Johannes Binkowski, *Jugend als Wegbereiter* (Stuttgart Konrad Theiss, 1981) 184, Franz Henrich, *Die Bünde der katholischen Jugendbewegung* (Munich Kosel, 1968)

<sup>45</sup> Guardini, "Zu R M Rilkes Erster Elegie," *Die Schuldgenossen* 17 (1938) 170

<sup>46</sup> See Schuster, *Guardini Weiterdenken* 273–85, Gerl, *Romano Guardini* 332

<sup>47</sup> Guardini, *Rainer Maria Rilkes Deutung des Daseins* (Mainz Grunewald, 1996) 11, see English version *Rilke's Duino Elegies*, trans K G Knight (Chicago Henry Regnery, 1961) 9

<sup>48</sup> See Rainer Maria Rilke, *Duino Elegies and the Sonnets to Orpheus*, trans A Poulin, Jr (Boston Houghton Mifflin, 1977) 4–11

the poet's desire to communicate with an "angel." Verses 8–25 insist, however, that the yearning for intimacy is foolish since all interpersonal communication ultimately fails. Hence each human being must adopt an asceticism that will bring her "inner" life into union with the "outer" world. Verses 26–35 observe that the cosmos wants to be taken somehow into each human being's "inner world." Verses 36–53 present the poet's pessimism about love: one person cannot truly give to and receive from another person but, in the name of love, must renounce the desire for reciprocity in love. Verses 54–68 assert that the "saints" are those who "have listened" to the universe and have brought the external world somehow into themselves. Verses 69–85 proposes that people cut their bonds to other persons and even to their individual identities—"throwing out even your own name like a broken toy" (v. 75). Verses 86–95 conclude that the honest person will deliberately deny the search for meaning and love.

According to Guardini, Rilke's *First Elegy* conveys three themes. First, it declares that love is not possible; "I-thou" relationships cannot succeed. In Guardini's words, Rilke held that the likelihood "of a love in which one person would really feel at home with another person is as rare as someone feeling truly at home in a foreign country."<sup>49</sup> The poem conveys the futility of the yearning for intimacy: "Ah, who can we turn to, then? . . . Maybe what's left for us is some tree on a hillside we can look at day after day" (vv. 9, 13–15).

This skepticism leads to a second theme: it is senseless to believe in God. In a person's self-isolation, she may be inclined to make an act of religious faith. Yet God does not exist. Although the *First Elegy* speaks of angels, it makes clear that angels are not truly transcendent. Rilke's angels possess the fullness of finite existence and, as a result, they are "terrifying" for us (v. 7). In Rilke's view, "angels exists at a height beyond human experience . . . Thus angels represent a reality beyond the boundary of earthly existence."<sup>50</sup> Yet Rilke's angels cannot respond to the human desire for communion because they themselves are finite. It is pointless, therefore, for a person to cry out to the angels for help. "So I control myself and choke back the lure of my dark cry" (v. 8).

The poem's third theme emerges out of the first and the second. Since "I-thou" relationships fail and since God does not exist, each man and woman should admit that life makes no sense and that love is an illusion. In short, the most basic human act should be the renunciation of the search for meaning and intimacy. Each person should live "not giving the meaning of a human future to roses and other things that promise so much" (vv. 71–72). Or, as Guardini's restates the idea, "Admit that your arms remain empty and embrace the emptiness. Then, insert this emptiness into the universe, into that space which enters into us when we breath." What is to be gained by such an

<sup>49</sup> Guardini, *Rainer Maria Rilkes* 32 (English version, *Rilke's Duino Elegies* 25).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 28 (English 21).

act? If a person accepts her loneliness, she may paradoxically give meaning to her life and indeed to the cosmos. To quote Guardini again, "By the fact that your heart welcomes the emptiness, you give the outer world the [spiritual] character of your inner world."<sup>51</sup> By relinquishing the desire for union, a person can attain an existential depth that enriches the universe. This outlook prompts Rilke to ask whether it is not "time our loving freed us from the one we love and we, trembling, endured: as the arrow endures the string, and in that gathering momentum becomes more than itself" (vv. 50–53).

This review of Guardini's literary analysis of the *First Elegy* provides a basis for appreciating his evaluation of Rilke's work.<sup>52</sup> On the one hand, Guardini knew the loneliness of which Rilke spoke. He struggled throughout his life with introversion and depression. Also, he possessed an exceptional mastery of the German language, and therefore he valued the poet's exquisite use of words. For these reasons, Guardini declared that "[t]hese poems express the experiences and ideas of perhaps the most distinguished German poet of late modernity."<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, he judged that Rilke's poems miss what Christian faith has revealed about human life. Guardini declared that Rilke's "view of love is ultimately false" because, contrary to Rilke's understanding, "to love means to love someone."<sup>54</sup> The Jewish-Christian tradition attests that a human being matures into the fullness of life as she loves another human person and God. To quote Guardini, "A human being who is no longer one of the foci in the ellipse of an 'I-thou' relationship has become detached from authentic human life. Such a man or woman experiences an inner vacuum that affects every aspect of the person's life, even the person's relation to things, the future, and . . . God."<sup>55</sup>

Rilke's writings manifest, Guardini said, a philosophy of life that has appealed to many people since the Enlightenment. That philosophy values self-autonomy above all else. Such individualism rests either upon a belief in the sufficiency of human reason or upon a Promethean will to power. In either case, the outlook is self-isolating and hence ultimately destructive of the person. Why? In Guardini's judgment, a human being eventually grows tired of standing alone, and when fatigue sets in, the individual soon submits to domination by another human being or an institution. In short, autonomy eventually collapses into heteronomy. For example, the Weimar Republic disintegrated into

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid* 33 (English 25)

<sup>52</sup> For recent instances of a constructive dialogue between Christian faith and world literature, see Hans Kung, "Thomas Mann und die Frage der Gnade" (1989), in Karl Josef Kuschel, ed., *Hans Kung Denkwege* (Munich Piper, 1992) 261–69, Walter Jens, Hans Kung, and Karl Josef Kuschel, ed., *Theologie und Literatur* (Munich Kindler, 1986), Walter Jens and Hans Kung, *Literature and Religion*, trans. Peter Heinegg (New York Paragon, 1991)

<sup>53</sup> Guardini, *Rainer Maria Rilkes* 11 (English 9)

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* 46 (English 36)

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid* 46–47 (English 37)

the Third Reich. Referring to this swing from individualism to totalitarianism, Guardini said at the end of his study on the elegies that "with the emergence of the modern world persons asserted their autonomy. . . . They declared themselves to be the lords of their lives and, as such, also the lords of life in general, and they eventually grew tired of this burden. But instead of returning to their authentic selves, they abandoned themselves. That is, they renounced God and also the authority of God's representatives, and they gave themselves over to totalitarian rule."<sup>56</sup> Guardini concluded with the observation that Rilke—who abhorred authoritarianism—had ironically contributed to the rise of the Third Reich because he had urged Germans to value autonomy above all else.

Autonomy is not, therefore, the way to individuation. But heteronomy is also not the answer, as Guardini showed in his analysis of the Third Reich. How then should one proceed? Each person must seek union with God. What is involved in this intimacy? Guardini held that theonomy is a way of life undertaken within the Church, which itself is called by God to be a community that safeguards and strengthens the distinct, yet interconnected dimensions of a person's life. When the Church is true to itself, it nurtures women and men as they become both knowing subjects and social beings. To put it another way, Guardini rejected Søren Kierkegaard's view that theonomy requires a wholly private act of faith. Although he drew on Kierkegaard's thought, he could not accept the Danish philosopher's devaluation of Christian belief's communal aspect.<sup>57</sup> Guardini maintained that "a person goes to the Father only through Christ, and one sees Christ properly only within the space of the Church as oriented by the Holy Spirit." But he immediately added, "Of course, the Church is not identical with a single part of the hierarchy, or with a particular theological school, or with a conventional way of doing things. It is much more than this; beyond every individual part, there opens the experience of the Church's totality and essence."<sup>58</sup> In sum, if human beings intend to become whole persons, they must participate in the community of believers.

#### A THEOLOGIAN OF PERSONAL EXISTENCE

Romano Guardini made an observation about human life at the start of his career that anticipated the struggle of Germans during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. In 1922, in lectures published as *The Church and the Catholic*, Guardini pointed out that a person's life is healthiest when it unfolds within an appropriate tension or polarity between the individual and the community. Warning against "Communism and the totalitarian state at the one extreme and indi-

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 374–75 (English 305).

<sup>57</sup> See Guardini, "Der Ausgangspunkt der Denkbewegung Søren Kierkegaards," *Hochland* 24 (1927) 12–33.

<sup>58</sup> Guardini, *Berichte* 117.

vidualism or even anarchy at the other extreme," the young theologian said that we develop as persons when we participate in communities in which we can realize ourselves both as subjects and also as social beings. In his own words, "Human life is simultaneously individual and communal. These aspects are not separated but exist side by side. Indeed, the communal element exists already as an abiding predisposition in the individual person, and the individual element is already contained in a community. This interconnectedness occurs without hurting the relative independence of both aspects of human life."<sup>59</sup>

Although this observation appeared in *The Church and the Catholic* almost two decades before the writings we have been considering, it anticipated these writings. In fact, it may have been the seed from which these later texts sprang. Moreover, Guardini's understanding of personal existence was further elaborated in *The End of the Modern World* (1950) and *Power and Responsibility* (1951). For instance, he devoted at least one third of the former to a discussion of being a person. He noted that " 'person' properly means one who exists in relationship with God; one who is inviolate in dignity; one who is irreplaceable in his or her responsibilities; and one who today is emerging with a spiritual decisiveness not previously possible."<sup>60</sup> Further, he proposed that reflections on the notion of person are an excellent point for dialogue between the Christian faith and modernity.<sup>61</sup>

Until the end of his life, Guardini worked on his ideas about being a person. This persistence is evident in his posthumously published *Die Existenz des Christen* (1976). Giving one quarter of this 518-page volume to his reflections on the human person, Guardini observed that "a 'person' is a multifaceted phenomenon."<sup>62</sup> Further, he stated that a person is "[n]ot a thing, not a trait, not a degree of completion, but a mode [of existence]. . . . A mode [of existence], that is, how the human being is what she is. That the person not only exists, but possesses herself therein; that she not only causes what she does but is herself in a singular way; is herself in a singular way [which is] oriented beyond herself."<sup>63</sup> In light of statements of this sort, it is accurate to say that Guardini's reflections on the character of personal existence, which originated during his crisis of 1905, persisted for well over six decades.

Moreover, Guardini's concern for what it means to be a person is a unifying theme in his writings, as a brief review shows. *Die Offenbarung* (1940) highlights God's self-disclosure in history, especially in

<sup>59</sup> Guardini, *Vom Sinn der Kirche* (Mainz Grunewald, 1990) 41, see also his *The Church and the Catholic* and *The Spirit of Catholicism*, trans Ada Lane (New York Sheed and Ward, 1935) 40

<sup>60</sup> Guardini, *Das Ende der Neuzeit* (Mainz Grunewald, 1989) 57, see also his *The End of the Modern World*, trans Joseph Theman and Herbert Burke (New York Sheed and Ward) 83–84

<sup>61</sup> Guardini, *The End of the Modern World* 120–33

<sup>62</sup> Guardini, *Die Existenz des Christen* (Munich Schöningh, 1977) 460

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid* 465



Jesus Christ, and the importance of our self-involved response to God's initiative. Guardini's books on the writings of St. Paul and St. John delve into the mystery of Jesus Christ as the absolutely unique Savior. *The Lord* and *The Humanity of Christ* (1958) seek to identify the divine-human person who mediates the "I-thou" between the triune God and every human being. *The Church and the Catholic* and *The Church of the Lord* (1965) explain that the Church should be the community which witnesses to God's communication in Jesus Christ by strengthening each of its members to enter more fully into the "I-thou" relationship between God and the human family in Jesus Christ. *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (1918) and *The Way of the Cross of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ* (1919) clarify the nature of worship on the one hand, and the dynamics of private prayer and popular devotions on the other hand. Guardini's literary studies of the works of Dante, Dostoyevsky, Hölderlin, Rilke, and many others illumine how these great writers understood personal existence. *Gottes Werkleute: Briefe über Selbstbildung* (1921) and *The Virtues* (1963) describe the personal traits for which each human being should aspire in the Holy Spirit. The books on Socrates, Augustine, Anselm, Bonaventure, and Pascal shed light on the pursuit of truth that totally engaged the minds and hearts of those brilliant men. The concern for being a whole person also runs through Guardini's writings on the future of Europe, the psychology of Sigmund Freud, and modern art. The point is clear: Romano Guardini was a theologian of personal existence.

In this perspective, it is evident that Guardini contributed to 20th-century thought as he brought about a creative dialogue between the Jewish-Christian tradition and modernity. This conversation occurred in *The World and the Person*, for here Guardini made use of ideas from Martin Buber, Franz Ebner, Theodor Haecker, Martin Heidegger, and Max Scheler, and he simultaneously mined the wisdom of the Bible and the spiritual writers. The same synthesis is evident in Guardini's many, wide-ranging investigations, some of which I have already discussed. What characterizes all of them is Guardini's commitment to learn by means of a respectful exchange between the Church and the modern world.<sup>64</sup>

Guardini spoke during his last years about his efforts to promote a constructive conversation between Christian faith and contemporary thought. On his 70th birthday, he observed that Christian belief should bring about "a methodical encounter between faith and the world," in which "faith should speak and give answers" while at the same time "the world should pose questions to the faith and be illumined by that faith."<sup>65</sup> On his 80th birthday, he reiterated this con-

<sup>64</sup> See Hans Mercker, *Christliche Weltanschauung als Problem* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1988).

<sup>65</sup> Guardini, "'Europa' und 'Christliche Weltanschauung,'" in *Stationen und Rückblicke* 20-21.

viction when he said that "on the basis of Christian faith there should open a view of the world, a glimpse of its essence, an assessment of its values, that is otherwise not possible." Yet, modernity should enrich the Church's understanding of the Christian faith, for "from the world and its problems questions are posed to revelation which bring an otherwise silent content to speech. In this ever new, changing encounter, there is attained a fruitful illumination of Christian existence."<sup>66</sup> In this statement, Guardini has accurately described the process by which he himself came to his insights concerning human life.

Guardini's understanding of the human person is not of course without its shortcomings. One of these limitations is that he offered no explicit guidance on how Christians should promote the coming of God's kingdom by means of their work and sociopolitical activities. In other words, he remained silent on the Church's ways of enriching the common good in secular societies.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, he shed light on primary facets of being a person. One measure of the quality of Guardini's reflections on personal existence is the way in which they strengthened his integrity. In this regard, his character manifested itself in 1939 when the Third Reich stripped him of his professional roles at the University of Berlin and at Burg Rothenfels. Although Guardini did not explicitly criticize Nazism in public, he conveyed his opposition by his lack of support for Hitler's worldview, policies, and actions. Nazi leaders saw that Guardini threatened the fascist state simply because he did not endorse it. More specifically, he jeopardized the Nazi government because of the congruence in his life between what he professed as a Christian and how he actually lived. For this reason, the Minister of Education removed Guardini from the public arena, thereby making him a nonperson. In this quiet confrontation, Guardini attested to the value of his ideas on the human person, some of which he summed up when he wrote:

The person is that fact which again and again elicits wonder. From a linguistic perspective, a person is the most self-evident of all facts. To understand that I am I is for me something that is purely and simply self-evident. This fact imparts its character to every other element of a situation. But, at the same time, it is enigmatic and inexhaustible that I am I, that I cannot be forced out of myself, not even by the most powerful enemy, but only by myself, and not entirely even by me, that I cannot be replaced, even by the noblest person; that I am a center of existence, for I exist. You, too, exist [as a person] as do those who are far away and all the lights which are brought forth on this globe of mystery as it turns in the spirit.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Guardini, "Wahrheit und Ironie," in Forster, ed., *Akademische Feier* 43.

<sup>67</sup> See Krieg, *Romano Guardini: A Precursor* 66–69, 133–36; Thomas Ruster, *Die verlorene Nutzlichkeit der Religion* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1994) 183–97.

<sup>68</sup> Guardini, *Welt* 100 (English 119).