

Christoph Ramstein / Christiane Tietz / Philip G. Ziegler (Hg.)

Dietrich Bonhoeffer **in einer globalen Zeit / in a Global Era**

Christlicher Glaube, Zeugnis, Dienst / Christian Faith, Witness, Service



Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie

Herausgegeben von
Christine Axt-Piscalar, David Fergusson und Christiane Tietz

Band 177

Christoph Ramstein / Christiane Tietz /
Philip G. Ziegler (Hg.)

**Dietrich Bonhoeffer
in einer globalen Zeit**

Christlicher Glaube, Zeugnis, Dienst

**Dietrich Bonhoeffer
in a Global Era**

Christian Faith, Witness, Service

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2023 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Robert-Bosch-Breite 10, D-37079 Göttingen,
ein Imprint der Brill-Gruppe (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, Niederlande; Brill USA Inc.,
Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn,
Deutschland; Brill Österreich GmbH, Wien, Österreich)
Koninklijke Brill NV umfasst die Imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh,
Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, V&R unipress und
Wageningen Academic.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen
schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages.

Umschlaggestaltung: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen
Satz: le-tex publishing services, Leipzig

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com
ISSN 2197-3253
ISBN 978-3-647-50054-6

Inhaltsverzeichnis / Table of Contents

Vorwort.....	9
Foreword	13
<i>Christoph Ramstein</i> Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his Relations with Clergy in Basel	15
I. Christlicher Glaube / Christian Faith	
<i>Michael P. DeJonge</i> Once More, Bonhoeffer and Barth on whether the Finite Can Bear the Infinite	39
<i>Rowan Williams</i> Christology, Ethics and Politics: Discourses of Transformation	59
<i>J.P. Dunn</i> Beginning Again at the Beginning: Barth and Bonhoeffer on the Nature of Revelation	75
<i>Christopher J. King</i> How Barthian Was the Early Bonhoeffer? Anthropology and Actualism in <i>Sanctorum Communio</i> Reconsidered	91
<i>Ferdinand Schlingensiepen</i> Was man von einer Bonhoeffer-Biografie verlangen sollte	105
<i>Tobias Schulte</i> Zur Freiheit befreit?! (Gal 5,1). Das Verhältnis von Gnade und Freiheit in der späten Theologie Dietrich Bonhoeffers	121
<i>Edward van 't Slot</i> Zeugnis und Sprung. Bonhoeffer – Kierkegaard – Barth: Über die Rationalität des christlichen Zeugnisses.....	139

Jens Zimmermann

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Theological Anthropology and the Greater Tradition... 155

II. Christliches Zeugnis / Christian Witness

Ulrich H.J. Körtner

Vielfalt und Verbindlichkeit. Christsein in einem pluralistischen Kontext 177

David N. Field

Becoming the Church before the "Othered": Dialoguing with
Dietrich Bonhoeffer on the Identity of the Church in an Age of
Mass Migration 197

John W. de Gruchy

Bonhoeffer Among the "Glorious Company of the Prophets":
Bonhoeffer as Prophetic Theologian 215

Stephen R. Haynes

"The Church is Facing a Dietrich Bonhoeffer Moment": Exploring
Bonhoeffer's American Domestication..... 231

Frits de Lange

Peter Rollins' Religionless Christianity: A Radical Bonhoeffer for a
New Generation? 249

Maike Schult

Über die Grenze der Belastbarkeit. Trauma und Zeugenschaft bei
Dietrich und Karl Bonhoeffer 269

III. Christlicher Dienst / Christian Service

Esther D. Reed

Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Limits of Responsibility in a
Globalizing Era 291

Pascal Bataringaya

Die Wege zur Versöhnung. Die ruandischen Kirchen und die
Arbeit der Versöhnung nach dem Genozid..... 313

Markus Franz

Fluchtlinien der Verantwortung – Theologische
Wirklichkeitshermeneutik und die Herausforderungen geflüchteter
Menschen in einer globalen Welt 331

Steven C. van den Heuvel

Political Ecology and Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Different Interpreting Strategies... 349

Jason Lam

Engaging Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Carl Schmitt in a Contemporary
Chinese Context 367

Karsten Lehmkuhler

„Zynische Wahrheit“? Bonhoeffer und Foucault zur Frage der
Wahrhaftigkeit 389

Amy Marga

The Robust Female Self: Feminist Theology in Dialogue with
Sanctorum Communio 405

Matthew Puffer

Is Bonhoeffer’s analogia relationis still of any use? Anticipating
White and Hardin on Anthropocentrism and Freedom 421

Henning Theißen

Die „sichtbare Gemeinde“ – der „Ort der Schuldkenntnis“.
Ekklesiologische Motive Bonhoeffers in der Kirchlichen
Zeitgeschichte 441

Dominik Weyl

Das Wagnis der Rede. Dietrich Bonhoeffer über die Schuld der
Kirche im Nationalsozialismus 459

Abkürzungen Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke

Abbreviations Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works..... 479

Vorwort

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945) gehört zu den wenigen deutschsprachigen Theologen seiner Zeit, die schon früh Auslandserfahrungen sammelten. Als Student reiste er mit seinem Bruder nach Italien und Nordafrika. Sein Vikariatsjahr verbrachte er in Barcelona. Nach der Habilitation ging er für ein Jahr ans Union Theological Seminary in New York und besuchte von dort aus Kuba. Die Erfahrungen in anderen Ländern weiteten seinen Horizont und prägten sein Denken. Sie waren der Grund für seine Entdeckung der Kirche, für seinen Einsatz gegen Diskriminierung, für seine Offenheit für sozial- und friedensethische Fragen sowie für sein internationales ökumenisches Engagement. Durch seine Auslandsreisen wurde ihm nachhaltig bewusst, dass es auf der ganzen Welt Christenmenschen gibt. Dies wurde ihm Verpflichtung, in der internationalen ökumenischen Bewegung mitzuarbeiten und sich von nationalistischen Konzeptionen des Christseins energisch abzugrenzen. Und es führte ihn zu seiner Friedensethik. Prägnant zeigt dies eine Formulierung Bonhoeffers aus einem Vortrag 1930 in New York:

Es darf nie wieder geschehen, daß ein christliches Volk gegen ein christliches Volk kämpft, Bruder gegen Bruder, da beide einen Vater haben.¹

Schließlich stammten Bonhoeffers wichtigste Vertrauenspersonen in der Zeit der Konspiration aus seinen internationalen ökumenischen Kontexten. Insofern kann mit gewissem Recht gesagt werden, dass Dietrich Bonhoeffer ein globaler Theologe war.

Freilich, Bonhoeffer war nie in Südamerika, Asien oder Australien-Ozeanien. Auch sind die internationalen Strukturen seiner Zeit nicht mit dem zu vergleichen, was man in unseren Tagen Globalisierung nennt. Nie gekannte weltweite Vernetzungen prägen unsere Ära: das Internet und neue Kommunikationsmethoden, schnellere Transportmöglichkeiten sowie ein weitreichendes ökonomisches und politisches Verwobensein. Der vorliegende Band fragt: Kann Bonhoeffers Theologie auch in unserer so anderen Situation hilfreich sein? Und wenn ja, wie? Die Antworten liegen keineswegs auf der Hand, denn ein unmittelbarer, allzu direkter Schluss von Bonhoeffers Zeit, von den bei ihm bearbeiteten Problemen und Lösungen auf unsere Zeit und unsere Probleme ist nicht möglich. Wir können nicht einfach

1 Englisch Original: „It must never more happen, that a christian people fights against a christian people, brother against brother, since both have one Father.“ (DBW 10, 388).

fragen: Was würde Bonhoeffer dazu sagen? Aber wir können uns durch seine Theologie anregen lassen zu eigenen Problemanalysen und eigenen Lösungsvorschlägen für unsere Zeit.

Der vorliegende Band versammelt Beiträge renommierter Bonhoeffer-Forscher aus der ganzen Welt zu dieser Thematik. Er entstand auf der Grundlage des XII. Internationalen Bonhoeffer-Kongresses, der im Juli 2016 in Basel im Hauptsitz und in Kooperation mit mission 21, dem Evangelischen Missionswerk Basel, stattfand. 1971 wurde der erste internationale Bonhoeffer-Kongress in Kaiserswerth bei Düsseldorf organisiert. Im Kontext dieser ersten Tagung wurde die Internationale Bonhoeffer-Gesellschaft gegründet. Seitdem bereiten alle vier Jahre, irgendwo auf der Welt, mit Vorliebe an einem Ort, an dem Bonhoeffer auch selbst war, Mitglieder der verschiedenen Sektionen der Internationalen Bonhoeffer-Gesellschaft in Zusammenarbeit mit Personen vor Ort einen solchen grossen internationalen Kongress vor.

Beim XII. Internationalen Bonhoeffer-Kongress in Basel kamen 220 Personen aus 23 Ländern zusammen. Im historischen Missionshaus der Basler Mission und unter den alten Bäumen im grossen Park trafen sich Menschen aus allen Teilen dieser Erde und diskutierten fünf Tage lang darüber, wie Bonhoeffers Biographie und Theologie angesichts der Probleme in unserer globalen Welt anregend, korrigierend und wegweisend sein kann. Die Tagung wurde ermöglicht durch die finanzielle Unterstützung der Evangelisch-reformierten Kantonalkirchen von Basel-Stadt, Basel-Land und Solothurn, des Schweizerischen Evangelischen Kirchenbundes (SEK), der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Basel, der Basler Mission, der Fondation oecuménique Oscar Cullmann, verschiedener Sektionen der Internationalen Bonhoeffer-Gesellschaft und weiterer Sponsoren.

Die Relevanz von Bonhoeffers Theologie in unserer globalen Ära entfaltet der Band im Hinblick auf Fragen des christlichen Glaubensvollzugs, des christlichen Zeugnisses in einer pluralen Welt und des christlichen Dienstes angesichts vielfältiger politischer und gesellschaftlicher Herausforderungen. Er dokumentiert die Hauptvorträge der Tagung² sowie eine von den Band-Herausgebenden vorgenommene Auswahl aus den insgesamt 70 Nachmittagsvorträgen. Wir freuen uns, dass der Band in die Reihe *Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie* aufgenommen wurde, und danken dem Verlag für die kompetente Betreuung. Die Zürcher (z. T. ehemaligen) Mitarbeitenden Johanna Breidenbach, Liliane Frei, Susanne Schenker und Manuela Steinemann sowie die Mitarbeitenden Daniel Pedersen and Corey Tuttle aus Aberdeen haben bei der Vorbereitung der Manuskripte zum Satz geholfen. Den Autorinnen und Autoren sind wir für ihre

2 In alphabetischer Reihenfolge sind dies die Beiträge von Pascal Bataringaya, Michael P. DeJonge, Ulrich H.J. Körtner, Christoph Ramstein, Esther Reed und Rowan Williams.

Geduld angesichts der Verzögerung der Drucklegung und für die Aktualisierung
ihrer Beiträge in den vergangenen Monaten herzlich verbunden.

Christoph Ramstein
Christiane Tietz
Philip G. Ziegler

Basel
Zürich
Aberdeen

Foreword

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945) was among the few German-speaking theologians of his time who had experiences abroad from an early age. As a student he travelled with his brother to Italy and North Africa. He spent his year-long vicariate in Barcelona. Following his *Habilitation* he went for a year to Union Theological Seminary in New York and while there also visited Cuba. These experiences in other countries expanded his horizons and shaped his thinking. They provided grounds for his discovery of the church, for his activity against discrimination, for his openness to questions of social ethics and of peace, as well as for his international ecumenical engagement. Through his foreign travels he became aware that there were Christians all over the world. Acknowledging this committed him to cooperate in the international ecumenical movement and vigorously to set himself apart from nationalistic conceptions of Christian existence. Acknowledging this also led to his peace ethic. A statement Bonhoeffer made in a lecture in New York in 1930 demonstrates this concisely:

It must never more happen, that a christian people fights against a christian people, brother against brother, since both have one Father.¹

Finally, the people who proved most important and trustworthy during the time of the conspiracy came from his international ecumenical context. To this extent one can say with some justification that Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a global theologian.

Admittedly, Bonhoeffer was never in South Africa, Asia, Australia, or Oceania. And the international structures of his own day cannot be compared with what we today call 'globalization'. Unprecedented worldwide networks shape our era: the internet and new methods of communication, accelerated modes of transport, as well as economic and political entanglements that span the globe. This volume asks: can Bonhoeffer's theology be helpful even in so different a situation as ours? And if so, how? The answers are not at all obvious, for it is not possible for us immediately and all-too directly to take up conclusions from Bonhoeffer's time and from the problems and solutions he pursued, and to apply them to our time and problems. We cannot simply ask: What would Bonhoeffer say to this? But challenged by his theology we can be inspired to analyze and to suggest solutions to the problems of our own time.

1 DBWE 10, 417 (= DBW 10, 388). Original in English.

This volume gathers contributions on this topic by renowned Bonhoeffer scholars from around the world. It has its origins in the Twelfth International Bonhoeffer Congress which took place in July 2016 in Basel at the headquarters and with the cooperation of Mission 21, the Evangelische Missionswerk Basel. The First International Bonhoeffer Congress was organized 1971 in Kaiserwerth near Düsseldorf. It was in the context of that first meeting that the International Bonhoeffer Society was established. Every four years since that time, somewhere in the world – preferably somewhere Bonhoeffer himself visited – members of the various sections of the International Bonhoeffer Society have gathered together with local people for this kind of large, international conference.

Two-hundred and twenty people from twenty-three different countries attended the Twelfth International Bonhoeffer Congress in Basel. Over the course of five days participants from all over the world met in the historical premises of the Basel Mission and under the old trees of its large park to discuss how Bonhoeffer's biography and theology could provide stimulation, correction, and even break new ground in relation to the problems of our global world. The meeting was made possible by financial support from the Evangelisch-reformierte Kantonalkirchen of Basel-Stadt, Basel-Land and Solothurn, the Schweizerische Evangelische Kirchenbund (SEK), the Faculty of Theology of Basel University, the Basel Mission, the Fondation oecuménique Oscar Cullmann, various sections of the International Bonhoeffer Society, as well as other sponsors.

The volume explores the relevance of Bonhoeffer's theology for our global era as regards question of the practice of Christian faith, of Christian witness in a pluralistic world, and of Christian service in the face of manifold political and social challenges. It documents the plenary lectures of the conference² as well as a selection of the seventy afternoon paper sessions as made by the editors. We are delighted to see the volume included in the series, *Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie*, and are grateful to the publisher for their able supervision. Many have helped to prepare the manuscript for printing, including our collaborators Johanna Breidenbach, Liliane Frei, Susanne Schenker, and Manuela Steinemann in Zürich, and Daniel Pedersen and Corey Tuttle in Aberdeen. We would like to offer our sincere thanks to the authors for their patience in view of the delays in bringing this to print, and for their willingness to update their contributions in recent months.

Christoph Ramstein
Christiane Tietz
Philip G. Ziegler

Basel
Zürich
Aberdeen

2 These plenary papers include (in alphabetical order) the contributions from Pascal Bataringaya, Michael P. DeJonge, Ulrich H.J. Körtner, Christoph Ramstein, Esther Reed, and Rowan Williams.

Christoph Ramstein

Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his Relations with Clergy in Basel¹

Friday November 17, 1939. Ten weeks after the beginning of the war, the tension was palpable in the border city of Basel, in the immediate vicinity of the Third Reich and France. On the previous day (November 16) the airspace over Basel was twice violated, at 2.15pm, by a German plane.² On the following day (November 18) German air defence missiles exploded in Basel and Riehen, seriously injuring two people.³

On Friday November 17, 1939 the chronicle in the *Basler Jahrbuch* records such normal events as the constituting of the university authorities for the next year, the appointment of a new city gardener and a presentation in the music research society. But it also reports the dropping by a German aircraft of a large parcel of propaganda material destined for France.⁴

The traditional university *Dies academicus* taking place on the same day in St Martin's Church Basel is especially relevant to our topic. The same chronicle summarised as follows:

The vice-chancellor's speech at the *Dies academicus* by *rector magnificus* Prof. Dr. theol. E. Staehelin concerns "The struggle for the Christian foundation of the Swiss Confederation since the federal constitution came into force in 1874". – The Theology Faculty confers an honorary doctorate on George Kennedy Allen Bell, Bishop of Chichester.⁵

How did this conferring of an honorary doctorate on Bishop Bell come about? Because of the war situation he was not able to be present in person. The idea probably

1 The opening speech was delivered in German and translated for publication by Elaine Griffith and Rosemary Selle to whom go many thanks indeed. In what follows these abbreviations are used to identify a range of archival sources on which I draw: FALK = Familien-Archiv Lindt-Koechlin (presently not open to public); FAWV = Familien-Archiv Wilhelm Vischer (presently not open to public); HAUB = Handschriften-Archiv der Universitätsbibliothek Basel; KBA = Karl-Barth-Archiv Basel; StABS = Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt.

2 *Basler Volksblatt*, November 17, 1939, page 3.

3 Cf. the title in the *Basler Nachrichten* of November 20, 1939: "In Basel explodierende deutsche Luftabwehr-Geschosse fordern zwei Schwerverletzte."

4 Freyvogel, *Chronik*, 214. The dropping of propaganda material indicates another violation of the airspace of Basel.

5 Freyvogel, *Chronik*, 214.

came from Adolf Freudenberg, a Christian theologian with Jewish background who had emigrated from Germany and was living near Geneva. On October 5, 1939 Freudenberg wrote as a postscript to a letter to Karl Barth:

I enclose a copy of a circular letter by the Bishop of Chichester to the German refugee clergy following the British declaration of war. Have we talked about whether an honorary Basel doctorate might be possible for this splendid man? He is *the* driving force behind all lively ecumenical thinking in England. He works tirelessly for the refugees from Germany.⁶

Two days earlier, Freudenberg had made a similar suggestion to the Basel New Testament scholar Karl Ludwig Schmidt, who had also emigrated from Germany. He was Dean of the Theology Faculty in 1939.⁷ Both Schmidt and Barth took up the suggestion and made the necessary preparations. Barth took on the task of writing the eulogy. In a letter to Barth dated November 3, 1939, Schmidt set out his idea of how Bell should be honoured:

The eulogy should, I think, focus on the following: authority on Anglicanism ... ; supporter of the ecumenical movement as the author of the official English report on Stockholm 1925; outstanding member of the three Anglo-German theological conferences ... ; and last but not least, custodian of the non-Aryan theologians trained in Basel and of non-Aryan theologians from the Third Reich in general. With his assistance, all of them found a refuge in England.⁸

Later in the letter we find Schmidt's closing words on this subject: "The more I think about the matter, the more attractive I find it as a useful sign in these useless times."⁹

The details were discussed and the necessary decisions taken at the meeting of the Theology Faculty on November 11, 1939. The minutes stress that the decision was unanimous. There was some discussion of a "remark of a more political nature"¹⁰ but

6 Letter Adolf Freudenberg to Karl Barth, October 5, 1939, KBA 9339.533.

7 Cf. the comment in the letter of Karl Ludwig Schmidt to Karl Barth in KBA 9339.574. Schmidt (1891–1956), co-founder of form criticism, was professor of New Testament in Giessen, Jena and Bonn. As an SPD party member he lost his job as professor in 1933 and emigrated to Switzerland the following year to work as an ordinary professor at the University of Basel from 1935–1953.

8 KBA 9339.574.

9 KBA 9339.574.

10 The full text in German is: "5. Herr Kollege Barth stellt den eingehend begründeten Antrag, den Lordbischof von Chichester G.K.A. Bell am Dies academicus zum Dr. theol. h.c. zu ernennen. Es wird betont, dass man grundsätzlich nicht jemanden unseren Doktor geben solle, der ihn schon von einer anderen Universität besitze (NB: Der Bischof von Chichester ist D.D. von Glasgow),

this was eventually abandoned. Unfortunately I have not been able to reconstruct the contents of the remark.

The tribute to Bishop George Bell – the only person awarded an honorary doctorate in Basel on this occasion - read by Dean Karl Ludwig Schmidt ran as follows:

He has significantly promoted understanding and deep respect for the distinctive spirit of the Anglican Church both in his home country and elsewhere by means of his account of the life and work of the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson as well as other writings.

He has played a leading role over two decades in the encounters between representatives of the various churches; time and again he has offered inspiration and support in the common theological work and reflection; in this way he has made an outstanding contribution to the spiritual unifying of the Christian churches.

He has devoted himself vigorously and courageously to the churches of the European mainland in the great moral conflicts they have faced in recent years; he has done whatever he could, warmheartedly and with skilful hands, to provide for many Christians and preachers of Jewish blood expelled from their country.¹¹

Awarding an honorary doctorate to a declared friend of the Confessing Church who was at the same time a declared opponent of National Socialism¹² at a place so

dass aber im vorliegenden Falle eine Ausnahme berechtigt sei. Daraufhin wird die beantragte Ehrendoktorierung einstimmig beschlossen. Der Antragsteller legt den deutschen Text des noch ins Lateinische zu übersetzenden Elogiums vor, der wiederum einstimmig angenommen wird. Eine an sich richtige und wichtige Bemerkung mehr politischer Art ist vom Antragsteller erwogen, aber dann von ihm selbst unterdrückt worden. Von einer Seite wird befürwortet, diese Bemerkung doch wieder einzusetzen. Einstimmig wird aber dann beschlossen, es bei dem vorliegenden Text des Proömiums zu belassen und alles Weitere der Berichterstattung in der Presse zu überlassen. Zum Schluss wird besonders unterstrichen, dass und wie der Bischof von Chichester seine anglikanisch-theologische und ökumenisch-christliche Einstellung in der schnellen und wirksamen Fürsorge für aus dem Dritten Reich abgedrängte nichtarische Theologen, von denen eine ganze Anzahl zuletzt in Basel studiert haben, bewährt habe." *Protokolle der Theologischen Fakultät* in StABS, Universitätsarchiv O 2b (volume 1924–1946), meeting of November 11, 1939, pages 296–297. An interesting comment on page 293 of the same volume highlights the evacuation of this volume to a safe place at the beginning of World War II. It was given back to the Theological Faculty on March 6, 1941. This means that the minutes of November 11, 1939 were rewritten for this volume from the first draft.

11 KBA 9239.187.

12 Cf. the foreword of Bishop George Bell in F. Hildebrandt, *Pastor Niemöller and his Creed* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1939). Note Bell's comment on page 16: "Thus National Socialism implicitly contradicted the First Commandment, as Niemöller and his friends were quick to perceive."

close to the Third Reich just ten weeks after the beginning of the war was a risky venture. It was a small but a courageous signal.¹³

Bishop Bell sent letters of thanks to Basel. On December 8, 1939 he wrote to Alphons Koechlin:

I was surprised and delighted by the honour which Basel University has conferred upon me. The Theological Faculty of Basel has an eminence in the whole world altogether of its own; to be associated with Basel in this most honourable way is to have a relationship of which any man might be proud. I am exceedingly proud that it should have been paid to me at this very time, and in the midst of war.¹⁴

Soon afterwards, Bishop Bell also wrote to Karl Barth (on December 19, 1939), thanking him effusively for the words of the eulogy: “Those words were most generous and kind, and I do thank you enormously for them.”¹⁵

This did not however prevent Barth, in a letter to Bishop Bell on January 28, 1940, from sharply criticising the illusory attempts by Bell and others in Britain and in the ecumenical movement to propose peace negotiations with Nazi Germany: “Dear bishop”, he wrote, “I think you are too much an honest man, too much a British Gentleman and thus unable to understand the phaenomenon Hitler. ... realise, that you have to deal with a kind of madman, an appearance, which would never be possible in Britain. But which is a monstreous and indubitable reality in poor Middle-Europe.”¹⁶

We now turn to Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his relations with clergy in Basel. The circle is quite a small one, and I begin with *Alphons Koechlin* (1885–1965).¹⁷ Koechlin came from a respected and prosperous upper-class family in Basel, with connections in Alsace and Geneva. His father was, at that time, a well-known Basel industrialist,¹⁸ national councillor and senior divisional commander. Possibly under the influence of his mother’s early death, Koechlin made up his mind to

13 In the same Basel newspapers that reported the Honorary Doctorate for Bell one can read about speculations on Hitler’s war plans against the UK: e.g. “Kampf gegen England bis zum Siege” (*National-Zeitung*, November 18, 1939, morning edition, page 1).

14 Raina, *Churchman*, 221. Cf. the German translation in Lindt (ed.), *Briefwechsel*, 383.

15 KBA 9339.634.

16 KBA 9240.11.

17 Rennstich, *Koechlin*, 236–7; Kocher, *Koechlin*, (without page numbers); Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 17–21; Lindt, *Reformation*, 183–6; Dentan, *Nachgeben*, 43–57, 147–55; Vogelsanger, *Rede*, 233–9; StABS, Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte Koechlin-Thurneysen Alphons; Printed CV and funeral speech (Leichenrede) Alphons Koechlin in StABS LA 1965 Mai 8; FALK with an impressive amount of yet unresearched material.

18 Koechlins father Carl was one of the top managers of the international chemical company J. R. Geigy, one of the predecessors of Novartis.

become a theologian and pastor. After his schooldays at the Humanist Gymnasium in Basel, he studied Theology in Lausanne, Basel and Marburg. This was followed by lengthy stays in Paris, Oxford and Edinburgh. Koechlin was always aware of “a strong inner affinity with Britain and its way of living and thinking”.¹⁹ After returning to Switzerland he spent 11 years as pastor of the small town of Stein am Rhein, Schaffhausen. In 1921 he was called to Basel for a double task. He became “early preacher” at St Martin’s Church in the city centre (with no further pastoral responsibilities)²⁰ and took up the office of secretary of the executive board (*Kirchenrat*) of the Reformed Church of Basel.

Koechlin assumed increasing responsibilities in the leadership of church, ecumenical matters and mission. From 1933 to 1954 he led the Reformed Church of Basel as president of the executive. His formative influence was such that this period became known as the “Koechlin era.” From 1935 he was on the board of the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (SEK), from 1941 its president. In this function he was the most important Protestant church politician in Switzerland from the war year 1941 into the 1950s. His bold and candid letters to the Swiss Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) and the senior official in the refugee crisis of August 1942 and again in 1944 raising his voice for the Jews of Hungary are especially memorable.²¹

Koechlin’s ecumenical activities covered three decades, during which he took on a wide variety of tasks and assumed countless functions. It all began with a personal encounter with the pioneer of ecumenism John R. Mott,²² “who, step by step, drew him into the worldwide responsibility of the Christian church”.²³ This meant in concrete terms, from 1923, working in the world federation of the YMCA, as whose vice-president Koechlin was elected in 1926. He contributed as an interpreter to the success of the World Conference on Life and Work initiated and chaired by the Swedish Archbishop Nathan Söderblom in Stockholm in 1925. Following the conference he published a report commissioned by the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches. And naturally he attended the important ecumenical

19 Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 18.

20 This was no regular pastorate. Koechlin had no duties of religious education or pastoral counseling. His main duty was the early sermon in the St. Martins Church in Basel at 8am.

21 Dentan, *Nachgeben*, 147–52.

22 Koechlins comment in his speech in the Zurich Pfarrverein of 1932 (*Probleme und Möglichkeiten der oekumenischen Bewegung*) probably has the background of Koechlins first meetings with John R. Mott: “Ich bin in diese Bewegung gewissermassen hineingeworfen worden und eher veranlagt, Schritt für Schritt den praktisch zu verantwortenden Weg vorwärts zu suchen, als primär von theologischen Erwägungen und Voraussetzungen aus zu gehen.” (FALK, no signature) It seems to me that this comment marks a distance to Karl Barth’s way of theological thinking.

23 StABS LA 1965 Mai 8, page 5.

meetings in Fanö in 1934, Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937, Amsterdam in 1948 and Evanston in 1954.

From 1923 Koechlin also belonged to the committee of the Basel Mission, whose president he became in 1936. He steered the Mission through the highly demanding war years. Koechlin is known justifiably as a “pioneer of ecumenism”²⁴ and “one of the architects of the World Council of Churches.”²⁵ In 1954 he resigned all his church and ecumenical offices, with the exception of the presidency of Interchurch Aid and the Basel Mission.

In the 1930s and 40s the parsonage next to St Martin’s Church Basel, where Koechlin and his wife lived with their two sons and two daughters,²⁶ became a hub of ecumenism. “The leaders of Swiss Protestantism and the ecumenical movement came and went here over the years.”²⁷ This hospitality was also offered in the 1930s to Karl Barth’s German students, who came regularly for meals and reported on the situation in Germany.²⁸

The relationship between Bonhoeffer and Koechlin was grounded in that each was part of the ecumenical network in general, and that both were part of the closer network of Bishop Bell in particular. There was regular correspondence between Bell and Koechlin. Their published correspondence begins on June 14, 1933 following a visit by Koechlin to Chichester,²⁹ and consists of altogether 187 items. The bulk of

24 StABS, Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte Koechlin-Thurneysen Alphons (*Basler Volksblatt* of May 12, 1990).

25 Rennstich, *Koechlin*, 237: “K. gehört zu den Baumeistern des ÖRK ...”

26 Ruth Lindt-Koechlin, the youngest of the four children of Alphons Koechlin and his wife Emilie Koechlin-Thurneysen, characterizes her parents in this way: “Mein Vater war Pfarrer und stand in leitender Stellung in der kantonalen und schweizerischen evangelischen Kirche, sowie Mission und Ökumene. Verantwortungs- und Pflichtgefühl, Selbstdisziplin und Weite bestimmten seine Autorität in Familie und Beruf. Er lebte eine tolerante, unaufdringliche Glaubenshaltung, die für mich nie beengend wurde, aber bis heute prägend blieb. Erst später wurde mir bewusst, wie belastend und anspruchsvoll die Verantwortung unseres Vaters in den 30er- und Kriegsjahren war, die er in vorsichtiger Schweigsamkeit durchstand. Meine Mutter war eine warmherzige Frau und hatte viel Humor und Phantasie. Sie bestimmte den Familienalltag und bot meinen drei älteren Geschwistern und mir ein harmonisches Zuhause.” (FALK, printed CV and funeral speeches Ruth Lindt-Koechlin, 2015, page 5) Cf Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 18. “Während des Krieges war Basel die Drehscheibe der internationalen Ökumene.” (StABS, Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte, *Basler Volksblatt* May 12, 1990). This had to do with the unique combination of Koechlin, Barth, Schmidt, Staehelin, Vischer, Thurneysen, Lüthi and others working in Basel during World War II.

27 FALK, remark of Ruth Lindt-Koechlin in a documentation about her parents, no signature.

28 FALK, remark of Ruth Lindt-Koechlin.

29 Koechlin remarks on his visit in Chichester in June 1933 (Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 24): “... wurde ich von dem mir damals noch nicht näher bekannten Bischof in seinem schönen mittelalterlichen ‚Palace‘ gastfreundlich empfangen. Ich fand in ihm einen überaus aufmerksamen, verständnisvollen Zuhörer. Ganz erstaunlich bleibt mir aber heute noch, wie er, obwohl er damals die Ereignisse noch kaum

this (177 items) dates from the years 1933 to 1940. The dominant topics were the *Kirchenkampf* in Germany and the ecumenical movement. Koechlin provided Bell with important information on the Confessing Church. In a letter of April 19, 1940, Bell called him “a very wise and far-seeing man”.³⁰ The church historian Andreas Lindt, a son-in-law of Koechlin and editor of the letter collection, summarised the importance of the relationship as follows:

Koechlin’s and Bell’s lively exchange of letters in the years 1933–1939 reveals to us today how information on German events and developments travelled from Basel to England, and how from Chichester and Basel the ecumenical movement was mobilised.³¹

Or to put it briefly: Koechlin was probably at least as important as Bonhoeffer for Bishop Bell’s ecumenical information network concerning the church struggle in Germany.³²

Dietrich Bonhoeffer visited the Koechlin parsonage several times for talks,³³ and Koechlin played a central role in the highly risky and complex “Operation 7”. The reconstruction by the Berlin historian Winfried Meyer³⁴ leaves no room for doubt that without the energy, risk-taking and discretion of Alphons Koechlin this rescue operation, which enabled 14 Jewish people to migrate to Switzerland and thus to survive, would not have been possible.

In Switzerland, Koechlin was quite simply the person responsible for ensuring that the flight of those departing under the pretext of being *Abwehr* (German military intelligence) agents for operations in Latin America was successful. The

verfolgt hatte, intuitiv erfasste, um was es letztlich ging, ...” Both Koechlin and Bell were present at the important Life and Work Conference in Stockholm 1925.

30 Raina, *Churchman*, 223; Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 387.

31 Lindt, *Reformation*, 185.

32 DBWE 13, 80–8, 115 (= DBW 13, 74 and 13, 109) display the network character in an episode concerning an essay in the magazine *The Round Table*. Koechlin replaced Bonhoeffer in writing about the church struggle in Germany. The essay was finally published in March 1934 with additional comments by Bishop Bell.

33 FALK, no signature: notes in Koechlins calendars March 5, 1941 (“10h Bonhöffer”) and March 7, 1941 (“Mittagessen Bonhöffer/Siegmund”). Cf DBWE 16, 167 and 681 (= DBW 16, 159 and 718) (concerning March 1941); DBWE 16, 411, 414 and 683 (= DBW 16, 403, 407 and 720) (concerning August 1941). I don’t think that Bonhoeffer stayed overnight at the Koechlins home. DBWE 16, 352–53 (= DBW 16, 351–52) (Letter Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Alphons Koechlin, August 26 1942) is a written recommendation for Bonhoeffer’s brother-in-law Hans von Dohnanyi. It is open to discussion if Dohnanyi really met in person with Koechlin. FAWV in one of the guestbooks shows, that Bonhoeffer stayed at the house of Wilhelm Vischer from March 3 to 7, 1941.

34 W. Meyer, *Unternehmen Sieben. Eine Rettungsaktion für vom Holocaust Bedrohte aus dem Amt Ausland/Abwehr im Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Anton Hain 1993).

petition on behalf of Charlotte Friedenthal and two other people, written at the end of October 1941 by Wilhelm Rott at Bonhoeffer's recommendation, was addressed to Koechlin.³⁵ The provision of a first residence permit for Charlotte Friedenthal can be attributed to tireless efforts by Barth and Koechlin.³⁶ The latter did, it is true, refuse the personal receipt of 100,000 American dollars, but he immediately ensured that this huge sum was deposited with a bank in Basel. This money comprised the deposit demanded by the Swiss authorities and served to ensure the livelihood of the refugees in Switzerland. However, dealing with such a huge sum which came effectively from German *Abwehr* funds was a high-risk venture for Koechlin at this time. The matter was looked into closely after the war, in the year 1946, by the Swiss prosecuting authorities.³⁷ Both Charlotte Friedenthal, the first to arrive in Basel on September 5, 1942, and the others who had been rescued and arrived on September 30, 1942 at the Baden train station in Basel made their way to Koechlin as soon as they reached Switzerland.³⁸

Alphons Koechlin was not the only Basel clergyman in contact with Dietrich Bonhoeffer. We now turn to *Eduard Thurneysen* (1888–1974)³⁹ and *Wilhelm Vischer* (1895–1988),⁴⁰ whose biographies have striking similarities. Like Koechlin, both of them came from well-established Basel families. Their fathers were both pastors in eastern Switzerland when they were born, and both spent most of their childhood and youth in Basel.⁴¹ Both were influenced by early encounters with Christoph Blumhardt the Younger (1842–1919): Vischer as a child, Thurneysen as an adolescent. In 1926, Thurneysen published a study of Blumhardt, a personal copy of which was part of Bonhoeffer's estate.⁴² Both Vischer and Thurneysen studied theology in Marburg and Basel (Vischer also in Lausanne),⁴³ though in

35 Meyer, *Unternehmen*, 77; Cf. the letter of Wilhelm Rott to Alphons Koechlin (DBWE 16, 230–233 (= DBW 16, 217–220)); Cf. Lindt, *Briefwechsel*, 20–21 about the crucial role of Koechlin in the “Unternehmen Sieben.”

36 Meyer, *Unternehmen*, 80.

37 Meyer, *Unternehmen*, 303, 329–35.

38 Meyer, *Unternehmen* 304, 314. Koechlin had the obligation to guarantee the financial support of the refugees. Meyer, *Unternehmen*, 306. He even supported some of the group to find a possibility to work. For details see Meyer, *Unternehmen*, 331, 333.

39 Wesseling, *Thurneysen*, 1555–69; Kuhn, *Thurneysen*, (without page numbers); Bohren, *Prophezie*, 1–260; Hoch, *Reformation*, 199–203; StABS, Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte Thurneysen Eduard.

40 Felber, *Vischer*, 1493–504; Aerne, *Vischer*, (without page numbers); Felber, *Ausleger*, 1–145; StABS, Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte Vischer, Wilhelm; FAWV with an amount of yet unresearched material.

41 Vischers father Eberhard (1865–1946) soon moved back to Basel with his family to become lecturer and later professor of Church History and New Testament at the University of Basel.

42 Meyer, *Nachlass*, 233.

43 It's worth noticing that Vischer studied at the same universities as Koechlin.

different periods. In my opinion, each of them remains a rarity in academia: Thurneysen for choosing ordained ministry and eschewing an academic career despite opportunities, and Vischer for his radically Christological interpretation of the Old Testament, evident in his two-volume major work “Das Christuszeugnis des Alten Testaments” (1934/1942).⁴⁴ Alongside his parish ministry, Thurneysen worked from 1929 at the Theology Faculty in Basel, initially as a lecturer and then from 1941 as an associate professor for Practical Theology “with special attention to homiletics”. Vischer took unusual academic paths to a lectureship in Bethel in 1928, where his work was prevented in 1933 by National Socialist activities. After the war, he was a Professor of Old Testament in Montpellier from 1947. Both he and Thurneysen worked as clergy in Basel before and during the Second World War, Thurneysen from 1927 at the *Münster* and Vischer from 1936 at *St. Jakobskirche*.

Twice, in letters written in 1941 and 1942, Bonhoeffer names Eduard Thurneysen and Wilhelm Vischer in one breath. These letters document his personal and warm relationship with these two pastors in Basel. Bonhoeffer’s letter to Barth on May 30, 1941 says: “If you can take the opportunity to greet Vischer and Thurneysen from me, I would be very grateful. I cannot give more letters to my friend,⁴⁵ but I think of Basel in great gratitude.”⁴⁶ A remark by Charlotte von Kirschbaum in a letter to Bonhoeffer on May 17, 1942 in connection with organising a visit for Bonhoeffer in Basel is revealing: “It should be possible to stay overnight with Thurneysens or Vischers – we no longer have a guest bed unfortunately.”⁴⁷

What are the connections between Bonhoeffer and Thurneysen? To a much greater extent than we realise today, Eduard Thurneysen was regarded at that time (and seen too by Bonhoeffer)⁴⁸ as one of the founding fathers of dialectic theology. Bonhoeffer’s estate included three publications by Thurneysen⁴⁹ and,

44 In FAWV (letter collection, no signature) there is an array of documents concerning the genesis of Vischers main work *Christuszeugnis*. In the contract of November 1, 1934 between Vischer and the publishing house Christian Kaiser we learn, that the original intention were three volumes. There are also several letters of Albert Lempp to Wilhelm Vischer that indicate that the publication of the second volume will not be possible in Germany. Karl Barth in a letter to Wilhelm Vischer (August 6, 1941) strongly recommends the Evangelische Verlag Zürich-Zollikon for the publication of the second volume.

45 Functioning as courier.

46 DBWE 16, 190–191 (= DBW 16, 182–183); Cf DBWE 16, 278–279 (= DBW 16, 269).

47 DBWE 16, 281 (= DBW 16, 272). I was fortunate to discover in one of Vischers guestbooks in FAWV (no signature, without page number) an entry with Bonhoeffers own handwriting which confirms that he stayed at Vischers parsonage from March 3 to 7, 1941.

48 The comparison drawn by Bonhoeffer in a letter to Erwin Sutz of October 8, 1931 is relevant in this context: “Seit ich gestern Gogarten gehört habe – ... – fehlt mir nur noch Thurneysen aus der Reihe der Olympischen.” DBWE 11, 49 (= DBW 11, 27).

49 The three publications are according to Meyer, *Nachlass*, 199 (*Das Wort Gottes und die Kirche*); 204 (*Suchet Gott, so werdet ihr leben!*); 233 (*Christoph Blumhardt*). There are several references also

moreover, Thurneysen's name was on the frontispiece of the first edition of one of Bonhoeffer's best known works. His "Life Together" was published in 1939 in the series *Theologische Existenz heute*, edited by Thurneysen.⁵⁰ As late as 1942, Bonhoeffer wanted books by Barth, Vischer and Thurneysen for a lending library he was planning.⁵¹ His appreciation of Thurneysen is evident, though I have not been able to discover a deep influence on Bonhoeffer.⁵²

This is different in the case of Wilhelm Vischer. We may assume that his radically Christological interpretation of the Old Testament took hold on Bonhoeffer. The personal relations between Bonhoeffer and Vischer had many facets and lasted many years. Their relationship was doubly evident in the year 1933. On the one hand in Bonhoeffer's published version of the Berlin lectures "Creation and Fall",⁵³ and on the other hand when the two met in person during the work on the Bethel Confession. Both Bonhoeffer and Vischer however withdrew from this work because of changes to the text that they found unacceptable.⁵⁴ A Finkenwalde Bible study by Bonhoeffer on King David in October 1935 shows traces of his preoccupation with the first volume of Vischer's opus magnum.⁵⁵ Otto Dudzus and Jürgen Henkys get to the heart of the matter, that Bonhoeffer at that time was influenced by Vischer's *Christuszeugnis*.⁵⁶ On June 11, 1936, Vischer was banned from speaking publicly throughout the German Reich. Nonetheless, he afterwards gave several talks in Germany, for instance in Berlin, Tübingen and Detmold. A remark Bonhoeffer makes in a letter to Eberhard Bethge just over a month after the speaking ban (July 23, 1936) is relevant here: Bonhoeffer considered asking Vischer to stand in

in Bonhoeffer *Referat über historische und pneumatische Schriftauslegung* of 1925 to Thurneysen's *Schrift und Offenbarung* of 1924 (DBWE 9, 285–287, 288–292, 293–294, 295, 296–297, 298–299 (= DBW 9, 305–308, 310–314, 316, 318, 320, 322); cf. also DBWE 12, 330–331 (= DBW 12, 314)).

50 Cf. DBWE 5,6 (= DBW 5, 9).

51 DBWE 16, 287 (= DBW 16, 278).

52 Perhaps there are decent references in Bonhoeffer's Finkenwalde Lecture on Counseling 1935/36 (DBWE 14, 560, 566–567 (= DBW 14, 555, 562)) to Thurneysen's understanding of *Rechtfertigung*.

53 There are two references in Bonhoeffer's published version of the Lectures – to Vischer's *Das Alte Testament als Gottes Wort* (DBWE 3, 35 (= DBW 3, 33)) and to Vischer's *Der Gott Abrahams* (DBWE 3, 77 (= DBW 3, 71)).

54 Vischer's dispensation from teaching at Bethel and the work of Bonhoeffer and Vischer for the Bethel Confession are complex matters that require careful consideration. For an introduction to the subject consult: Michaelis, G., *Der Fall Vischer: Ein Kapitel des Kirchenkampfes* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag 1994). Cf. DBWE 12, 416–421, 509–510 (= DBW 12, 402–6, 503–4). There is a highly interesting four page document of 1958 by Wilhelm Vischer in the FAWV (letter collection, no signature) that gives Vischer's own version of his last year at Bethel and his transition back to Switzerland.

55 DBWE 14, 870–871 (= DBW 14, 878).

56 DBWE 14, 1009–1010 (= DBW 14, 1034).

for him in Finkenwalde for a week.⁵⁷ This great appreciation of Vischer shines out once again in connection with Bonhoeffer's travels to Switzerland in the war years 1941/42.⁵⁸ Bonhoeffer seriously considered engaging Vischer – as well as Barth and de Quervain – as the author of a Christmas booklet in 1941 for the Confessing Church on the subject of "History and Eschatology".⁵⁹ The correspondence with Ernst Wolf and Karl Barth makes clear that during his stay in Switzerland in spring 1942 Bonhoeffer was busy reading the just-published second volume of Vischer's *Christuszeugnis*.⁶⁰ Bonhoeffer's estate also includes his personal copy of Vischer's early work *Der Prediger Salomo* (Munich, 1926).⁶¹

There is one further pastor to include, a clergyman well known beyond Basel. Shortly before and during the Second World War he was often named together with Thurneysen and Vischer. His name is *Walter Lüthi* (1901–1982).⁶² He was at that time pastor at the Oecolampadius Church in Basel. In his famous biography of Barth for the years 1936–1946, when Thurneysen, Vischer and Lüthi were all working concurrently in Basel, Eberhard Busch rightly refers to the "triad of outstanding

57 "Ich werde also am 18. [August] hier schliessen müssen, vielleicht lasse ich noch Dehn oder Vischer für die letzte Woche kommen. Mal sehen. Nur ein Plan." DBWE 14, 223–224 (= DBW 14, 204–5). Cf. the interesting report of Eberhard Bethge in his letter from Finkenwalde (March 17, 1937): "Gegen Ende des letzten Semesters besuchte uns W. Vischer auf seiner Fahrt von Ostpreussen nach Basel. Wir haben einen ganzen Abend mit ihm zugebracht und uns viel von ihm sagen lassen." *Die Finkenwalder Rundbriefe*, Gütersloh 2013, 328.

58 It remains a mystery to me that no one was able so far to locate traces of Bonhoeffer trips to Switzerland during the Second World War in archives of Swiss military, police or secret services. Bonhoeffer was travelling in the context of the German Abwehr! Nonetheless we have to note that at the present time not all the relevant material in Switzerland is freely accessible. This is what the expert on the topic, Hans Rudolf Fuhrer, told me during the preparation of my speech. Cf. Fuhrer, H.R., *Spionage gegen die Schweiz: Die geheimen deutschen Nachrichtendienste gegen die Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945* (Frauenfeld: Huber Presseverlage 1982).

59 DBWE 16, 221, 684 (= DBW 16, 207, 721).

60 Letter Ernst Wolf to Dietrich Bonhoeffer (March 16, 1942): "Wenn Sie es noch nicht wissen sollten: von Vischer, Christuszeugnis ist Band II erschienen ..." DBWE 16, 259 (= DBW 16, 247); Letter Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Ernst Wolf (March 24, 1942): "Könnten Sie mir behilflich sein, den II. Band von Vischer zu kriegen?" DBWE 16, 261 (= DBW 16, 249); Letter Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Karl Barth (May 13, 1942) reports his reading close to Lake Geneva: "... ausserdem etwas in Vischers 2. Band zu lesen" DBWE 16, 276–277 (= DBW 16, 267); Cf also the letter Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Ernst Wolf (September 13, 1942) DBWE 16, 358–359 (= DBW 16, 357).

61 Meyer, *Nachlass*, 178.

62 Brütsch, *Lüthi*, 915–26; Kocher, *Lüthi*, (without page numbers); Oechslen, *Resonanz*, 7–27; Lüthi, *Wichtigste*, 168–73; StABS Sammlung biographischer Zeitungsausschnitte, Lüthi Walter; Sallmann, *Erweckung*, 1–21.