

Ch. 9: From zenith to eclipse

Aber jetzt, wo die Zeiten so ganz anders sind als damals, verkörpert er [Deissmann] für mich als einer der bedeutendsten Theologen seiner Zeit eine Epoche der Forschung, die man nicht in Vergessenheit versinken lassen sollte.¹

9.1. Berlin *Rektorat*: professional life crowning point

Deissmann's significant ongoing contributions and momentum to the ecumenical movement did not remain unrecognised at the Berlin University, which is why Otto Dibelius wrote in a newspaper article.

daß man ihm, dem so manche angelsächsische Universität hohe Ehrungen hat zuteil werden lassen, jetzt das *Rektorat* der größten deutschen Hochschule anvertraut hat, ist die Anerkennung einer bedeutenden Lebensleistung, die weithin mit Genugtuung empfunden werden wird.²

It may appear as if Dibelius seemed to stress primarily Deissmann's 'Lebensleistung' within the developing international ecumenical movement, rather than his academic contributions – particularly from his Heidelberg years. He pointed out that, while Germany's Lutheran Church was occasionally blamed for being 'westlich orientiert', Deissmann had done much in bringing together East and West through his ecumenical tact, international experience and visionary drive. An over-narrow interpretation of Dibelius' article could, indeed, create an impression that Deissmann's philological works were mere preparatory steps towards his 'true calling': ecumenism. However, this would do an injustice to both Deissmann and Dibelius, since the latter linked his colleague's *Rektorat* not only to his ecumenical achievements, but even more firmly to the honorary doctorates he had received from British universities – Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Manchester (see ch. 6.5) and Oxford (see below, ch. 9.1). Of these, at least the first three were awarded solely in recognition of his philological, not for his ecumenical work.

¹ Schweitzer, letter to H. Deissmann, 19.4.1951.

² Dibelius, 'Sonntagsspiegel', *Der Tag*, Berlin, 3.8.1930.

As a matter of fact, his election to the *Rektorat* was not altogether unexpected, since for the past three-and-a-half decades the University had traditionally chosen a *Rektor* from the Theological Faculty about every five years.³ What no one could foresee, however, was that Deissmann would be the last *Rektor* for a long time from that Faculty; not until 1990/91 would another theologian hold the highest administrative position at the Berlin University once again.⁴

The *Rektorat* election was held in the University's *Alte Aula* on Friday 25 July 1930. Entitled to vote were all ordinarius professors from each of the four Faculties, but *Privatdozenten* and *Extraordinarien* were excluded. An overwhelming majority decided in favour of Deissmann, who gained 87 of the 94 cast votes in the final ballot.⁵ To put this into some perspective, while his immediate successor as *Rektor*, the Indologist Heinrich Lüders (1869-1943), received only 58 of 114 votes, the man who succeeded Lüders (see below, ch. 9.1) had with 98 of 116 votes a majority barely 8% smaller than that of Deissmann. However, the latter was understandably pleased with his election and wrote to his older sister Marie Bornschein:

Im Leben eines Universitätsprofessors bedeutet das *Rektorat* eine gewisse Krönung der Berufsarbeit. Ich bin besonders erfreut darüber, dass meine Wahl mit einer ganz aussergewöhnlichen grossen Mehrheit erfolgt ist: mit 87 von 94 Stimmen. Es ist natürlich ein besonderer moralischer Rückhalt für das an Fussangeln nicht ganz arme Berliner *Rektorat*.⁶

That Deissmann interpreted this decisive electoral victory as a sign of the University's moral support seems justifiable, although, in reality, his competition within the Theological Faculty was quite limited. The only other possible contenders were the church historian Hans Lietzmann, and the professor of OT exegesis and Biblical archaeology, Ernst Franz Max Sellin (1867-1946); but neither had the international

³ i.e. K. Holl, 1924/5; R. Seeberg, 1918/9; W.W. Graf von Baudissin, 1912/3; J.W.M. Kaftan, 1906/7; A. von Harnack, 1900/1; O. Pfeleiderer, 1894/5. Theologians prior to that: H.W.P. Kleinert, 1885/6; E. Zeller, 1878/9; C.F.A. Dillmann, 1875/6; I.A. Dorner 1864/5; K.I. Nitzsch, 1848/9; A.D.C. Twisten, 1839/40, 1850/1, 1860/1; G.F.A. Strauss, 1833/4; P.K. Marheineke, 1817/8, 1831/2; F.E.D. Schleiermacher, 1815/6.

⁴ Heinrich Fink (1935-). Since its constitutional changes in 1992 the University is headed by a president (whose term is longer than the *Rektorat*'s one year), who, as of 2006, is the theologian Christoph Marksches (1962-).

⁵ The process normally comprised two stages. In the first instance professors proposed a name of their choice on a slip of paper (GAD received 80 of 92 cast votes), the three names with the highest total were then placed in a second ballot, where the candidate with an absolute majority determined the *Rektor* for that year.

⁶ GAD's letter 31.7.1930. On the same day he wrote to his friend Theodor Wiegand: '... ich [bin] doch sehr über die Tatsache erfreut, dass ich eine ganz ungewöhnliche Mehrheit gefunden habe'. Letter, dated 31.7.1930.

profile that Deissmann enjoyed and, consequently, received a mere three votes each.⁷ Five days after his election he wrote to the University's music director, Max Friedländer (1852-1934), to ask whether he could arrange that 'die "Talismane" aus dem West-östlichen Divan: "Gottes ist der Orient"' might be performed at the *Rektoratübergabe* on 15 October, since its third stanza seemed especially apposite.⁸ Although, for organisational reasons Friedländer was not able to fulfil this special request, Deissmann's choice of this particular poem was symbolic of his own pictism, while the title of Goethe's book in which this poem appeared was to indicate his ecumenical 'Lebensleistung'.

When he wrote to his sister that the *Rektorat* would not be without 'Fussangeln' he could not have known that three months later (11-13 November) he would have to deal with the first of several waves of strong student unrest resulting from the nation's rapidly deteriorating economy, sharply spiralling unemployment and drops in real wages.⁹ The Great Depression had begun on 24 October 1929 with the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange, and Germany was hit particularly hard. The Weimar Republic had been forced to borrow heavily from the US to pay for war reparations and also to provide itself with a semblance of opulence – especially in its capital, Berlin – but now that American banks suddenly began to recall their credits it resulted in a collapse of the nation's banking system and general poverty.

Thus, on 13 November Deissmann issued a written personal appeal to the unruly student body, announcing that he preferred not to involve 'behördliches Eingreifen' to quell their grievances,¹⁰ unless absolutely necessary, and concluded by reasoning: 'Kommilitonen! Es geht um das kostbare Gut unserer akademischen Freiheit. Hilft

⁷ According to the AK the results of these two-stage elections were, in the preliminary round: GAD received 80 votes, Sellin 4, Lietzmann 4, Mahling 1, Becker 2, Weiss 1. In the deciding final round, GAD gained 87, Sellin 3, Lietzmann 3 and Weiss 1.

⁸ i.e. 'Mich verwirren will das Irren; doch du weißt mich zu entwirren. Wenn ich handle, wenn ich dichte, gib du meinem Weg die Richte.' 'Talismane' is one of Goethe's better-known poems. GAD had the first stanza engraved in a feature-beam beneath the veranda of his house 'Anatolia'; the text is still clearly visible.

⁹ In Oct. 1929 registered unemployment in Germany was c. 1.25 mil., when GAD began his Rektorat a year later this figure had climbed to almost 4 mil., and by 1932 to 5.4 mil. Berlin's unemployment rate alone rose from a mere 31,000 in 1929 to more than 700,000 in Apr. 1932.

¹⁰ In a private letter the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung* had suggested to GAD a 'studentische Gesamtvertretung', to which he replied (28.11.1930): 'Es ist mir immer klar gewesen ... dass wir die bestehenden hochschulpolitischen Schwierigkeiten nur durch ein vertrauensvolles Hand in Hand gehen auch mit der Presse bewältigen können ... ich [bin] der Meinung, dass wir diese Frage zunächst einmal durch innerakademische Aussprachen weiterbringen sollten ... Mir scheint nämlich, dass man zunächst an den einzelnen Universitäten, wo die Dinge je nach ihrer Entwicklung oft ganz verschieden liegen, lokale [Studenten] Vertretungen erstreben sollte, die dann auch lokale Besonderheiten haben könnten.'

mir, dass dieses Gut nicht verschleudert werde!’¹¹ This was far more than a call for cooperation through a time of austerity. Since the death of Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929) the Weimar Republic had begun its political decline, and Deissmann made no secret of his deep concern in respect to where the University was heading. On 20 December he gave a short radio talk on the general situation faced by students, in which he took a sympathetic stand in their favour, saying:

... unsere Studenten haben keinen Raum. Das heisst nicht bloss, dass fast überall die äusseren Bedingungen des Studiums zu knapp geworden sind: die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen, die Bücherbeschaffung, die Möglichkeit, Arbeitsplätze in den Hörsälen und Instituten der Hochschulen zu finden. Sondern vor allem, dass für viele Fächer die Zukunftsaussichten geradezu trostlos sind. Unzählige werden nach Ablegung ihrer Prüfungen die offene Tür nicht finden, die offene Tür zu einer Lebensstellung.¹²

However, in this same address he also made the point to register his dismay regarding the way some Universities were increasingly used as a battleground for political ideologies instead of academic advancement.¹³ Indeed, he argued that young people were being mentally harmed by such nationalistic propaganda from primary school on, therefore, he appealed to all students: ‘Bleibt akademische Menschen und werdet immer mehr akademische Menschen ... für den Aufbau einer jenseits der Dschungel sich organisierenden Menschheit’.¹⁴

The initial student demonstrations simmered down within a week, but signalled the beginning of a trying year for the University’s new *Rektor*. On 1 May 1931 Deissmann noted in his diary that sociopolitical commotions (‘Klamauk’) were happening in Berlin, and the next day he observed laconically: ‘kcchende Volkseele’. Riots re-ignited again on 27 June, but this time, with the added indignation of sharply increased student fees, reached such a pitch of anarchy that the University had to be barricaded, guards placed on the roof and the entire building searched. The crisis lasted until 5 July during which time Deissmann imposed firm measures to curb the increasing mob violence by setting up a special security service, authorised to check the student legitimacy of anyone within the University precincts.

¹¹ This Student appeal is dated, 13.11.1930. For a transcript see Appendix 9, a.

¹² GAD’s radio talk was broadcast on, 20.12.1930. For the full text see Appendix 9, b.

¹³ In a *Doktorsjubiläum* address GAD gave for Gustaf Kossina (1858-1931), he said: ‘Gerade während des abgelaufenen Semesters sind durch die unsere Jugend leidenschaftlich erregenden politischen Wirren bei vielen jungen Akademikern die eigentlichsten Aufgaben der Universität in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden’. Dated 2.8.1931.

¹⁴ GAD’s radio talk, 20.12.1930.

One week later, with the University still unsettled and various events cancelled,¹⁵ a subdued Deissmann welcomed 350 foreign students who had come for the summer school program. In his address he acknowledged that they had the misfortune of arriving at a time of ‘historischem Ernst [und] einem Zeitpunkt der Krise’. He felt ‘tief bedrückt’ by the crisis, especially since he himself had enjoyed frequent opportunities in the past, ‘... als Gast an ausländischen Universitäten zu arbeiten. Dankbar darf ich bekennen, wie viel ich ausländischen Gelehrten, ausländischer Wissenschaft und Literatur verdanke’. But it was not only the crisis that saddened him, for he also directed the students’ attention to his close friend Nathan Söderblom, who had died the day before, and now he eulogised him because ‘er gehört seelisch zu dem, was wir hier wollen ... Das Institut dient dem Zwecke, die Völker zusammenzuführen’.¹⁶

The success of Deissmann’s benevolent handling of the student unrest may be questionable, since even a most sympathetic newspaper article stated: ‘er, der bescheidene, vornehme Mann, besaß nicht die Robustheit, die gegen verhetzte Jünglinge not tut’.¹⁷ In contrast, he received a letter from the ‘Arbeitsausschuß der evangelischen Studenten in Berlin’, who wrote to express their gratitude for the ‘gütige und wohlwollende Weise’ in which he had helped them through a most difficult year, and enabled them ‘ein gutes Stück vorwärts gekommen [zu] sein’.¹⁸

Throughout his *Rektorat* Deissmann remained in close consultation with all student bodies of the University and attended numerous formal meetings with their representatives. This enabled him to submit a well-received initiative to the national *Rektorenkonferenz* at Goslar (9-12 October 1931), which then nominated him, ‘mit den in Betracht kommenden studentischen und anderen Stellen in einen vertraulichen Austausch über die bestehenden oder neu sich eröffnenden Möglichkeiten zu treten’.¹⁹

However, during the first few months of his *Rektorat* it was Deissmann’s social prestige that was most notable, for his schedule became crowded with personal invitations from foreign dignitaries and politicians, as well as prominent industrialists and socialites who

¹⁵ e.g. *Dies academicus* (8 July). University sports day (12 July).

¹⁶ Extract from GAD’s address, printed in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ausländer an der Universität Berlin*, 8, 8, 18.8.1930, 64-5.

¹⁷ In an article entitled, ‘Das Gesicht des deutschen Gelehrten’, *8-Uhr Sportsblatt*, 23.8.1932; see further below, n. 88.

¹⁸ The letter is dated 7.10.1931.

¹⁹ *Bericht über das Amtsjahr 1930/31 (121. Rektoratsjahr) erstattet bei der Rektoratsübergabe am 15. Oktober 1931 von Adolf Deißmann*, Berlin, 1931, 12. See also Appendix 9, c.

tried to ingratiate themselves. Thus, on 9 December the *Reichsminister* Julius Curtius (1877-1948) invited him to a breakfast with the former state president of Argentina, Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear (1868-1942); this was followed the next afternoon by another invitation for Deissmann and his wife to meet the Chinese ambassador at a private tea party. Three days later Argentina's consul invited the couple for dinner at the Hotel Adlon; and four days after that came an invitation from the Bolivarian states of Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Panama, for a centenary dinner in commemoration of their liberator, Simón Bolívar (1783-1830). Then arrived various invitations to private *soirées*, including one each from the minister of Venezuela, the ambassador of the USSR, and Admiral Erich Johann Albert Raeder (1876-1960), as well as an invite from the Egyptian consul to a birthday-banquet in honour of King Fuad I (1868-1936).²⁰

After the *Rektoratswechsel* to Heinrich Lüders, on 15 October 1931, Deissmann was elected *Prorektor* and during the course of the former's tenure officially represented him on at least 27 separate days. During the subsequent *Rektorat* of the Jurist Eduard Kohlrausch, Deissmann became *Dekan* of the Theological Faculty, and stood in for the *Rektor* on 26 days between October 1932 and October 1933.²¹

On 23 August 1932 the *8-Uhr Sportsblatt* ran a feature entitled, 'Das Gesicht des deutschen Gelehrten', in which Deissmann was set side by side with the 1931 Nobel laureate for medicine, Otto Warburg (1883-1970), and portrayed as an example of virtuous intellect. It further reported that Deissmann '... heute 65 Jahre alt ist (aber viel jünger wirkt)', and that although he was an 'überzeugter Liberaler ... von der Reinheit seiner Gesinnung legt die unvergeßliche Rede Zeugnis ab, die er am Sarge seines Freundes Friedrich Naumann hielt' (see ch. 6.5). The article went on to claim that within Germany he was 'wohl der Hauptvorkämpfer des ökumenischen Gedankens', and even though he was nearly 66 years old he also enjoyed 'höchstes Ansehen' throughout the 'ganzen Welt'. The panegyric concluded with the pointed message: 'seine Staatstreue, seine politische Einsicht könnte vielen seiner Amtsgenossen ein Vorbild geben'.²²

Three weeks later he received a letter from the professor for systematic theology and theological ethics at the University of Uppsala, Arvid Runestam (1887-1962), inviting

²⁰ For dates of the invitations in this paragraph, see 'Index of archival material cited'.

²¹ Under Lüders: 18.10.1931; 18.1.1932; 15-31.3.1932; 1.5.1932; 24-9.6.1932; 26.9.1932. Under Kohlrausch: 18.1.1933; 10-20.3.1933; 11-17.4.1933; 24-7.4.1933; 7-9.9.1933.

²² 'Das Gesicht des deutschen Gelehrten'.

him to accept an honorary doctorate from the University on 5 November. This was Deissmann's seventh degree *honoris causa*, and proved to be the last conferred in his lifetime.²³ His reply shows that he valued this honour as especially significant: '[ich] betrachte ... die von Uppsala beschlossene Ehrenpromotion als eine ganz besondere Ehrung und Verpflichtung'. Moreover, it was the only such ceremony for which he requested an exclusively designed commemorative ring, at his own cost.²⁴

The high international esteem that Deissmann had attained is further illustrated by two small events, one sparked mainly by Hitler's domestic policy, the other by both his domestic and foreign policies. On the prompting of Bishop Bell, the dean of Chichester, Arthur Stuart Duncan-Jones (1879-1955), flew to Berlin at the end of June 1933 to interview Hitler. Three days before his appointment with the new *Reichskanzler* he visited Deissmann, and although no records exist of their discussions it can safely be assumed that Hitler's recently introduced *Arierparagraph* (see ch. 8.3), and Britain's concern in respect to Nazi interference with the internal workings of the Lutheran Church, formed the substance of their conversation. Yet within hours of Duncan-Jones' meeting with Hitler, Deissmann appears to have met the British dean once more in private at his hotel.²⁵ Three months later, when Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations, Charles Macfarland – who was in Europe at that time to attend a session of the League of Nations and the Conference on Disarmament – also travelled to Berlin to hold discussions with Hitler, 'mainly on church and state relationships',²⁶ and, like Duncan-Jones before him, visited Deissmann immediately afterwards. This is not to say that they expected their colleague to have some kind of indirect influence on Hitler or his regime; but it seems clear that both the American and British envoys still saw Deissmann as a German who had attained a position of privileged trust and sociopolitical insight due to his high-ranking ecumenical profile. As far as is known Deissmann never had any contact with Hitler; had there been, then the former's diary certainly would have recorded it.

²³ On the occasion of the University of Athens' 10th anniversary (3.5.1937) GAD was posthumously awarded an eighth doctorate (philosophy) – four weeks after his death.

²⁴ GAD, letter to Runestam, 28.9.1932. The ring is engraved with nine crosses and leaves and the Swedish abbreviation: 'HEDERDR. THEOL. 19 5/11 32'. It is held privately.

²⁵ So the AK; no further details are available, but see Appendix 9, d.

²⁶ Although Macfarland says more about Hitler's isolationist policies, claiming: 'He has no foreign policy; it is all negative ... Hitler had a good case before the world regarding the Versailles Treaty, but he himself is partly, if not entirely, to blame for its loss. He has a one-track mind, which is the cause of both his success and his failure.' 163-7.

It is safe to say, therefore, that Deissmann's international profile reached its zenith during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Within the short space of less than four years he had toured America, presented the Haskell Lectures at Oberlin, was twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, held the *Rektorat* at Germany's most prestigious University, acted as *Prorektor* for a further two years, obtained no less than three honorary doctorates from three different countries – USA (Wooster, 22 April 1929); England (Oxford, 27 June 1929) and Sweden (Uppsala 5 November 1932) – and had been acclaimed by some of the media as an outstanding representative of what was best in the German academic world.

9.2. Retirement, and 70th birthday honours

Due to a newly introduced law in January 1935 the retirement age for professors was set at 65; thus, along with six of his colleagues in the Theological Faculty,²⁷ on 31 March Deissmann was 'officially' *entpflichtet* from his professorial chair, although he did not receive a *Lehrverbot* and was, therefore, permitted to continue teaching until his successor Johannes Behm (1883-1948) – member of both the Nazi-friendly and anti-Semitic *Deutsche Christen* and the NSDAP – could replace him at the beginning of the winter semester.²⁸

Deissmann's lecture plan for the winter semester 1935/6 shows that he had no intention of giving up teaching at that stage.²⁹ His attitude towards retirement is also borne out by a private letter he wrote as *Rektor* five years earlier to the German philologist Karl Strecker (1861-1945), in which he congratulated him on his 70th birthday, but made it clear that he expected him to continue in both his research and teaching.

Wir sind auch der Zuversicht, dass der biblische Tag,³⁰ den Sie feiern, für Sie zugleich der Beginn einer neuen Arbeitsperiode ist, – so, wie der märkische Bauer nach der Bergung seiner Ernte sofort den Acker wieder unter den Pflug nimmt für die Wintersaat. Zu einem gesegneten

²⁷ Bertholet, Lütgert, Sellin. C. Schmidt, and Stuhlfauth; significantly, the first three had also co-signed with GAD the protest letter (2.11.1934) against Reinhold Seeberg's Gutachten; compare with n. 37 below, see also ch. 1.4.

²⁸ See H. Ludwig, 'Die Berliner Theologische Fakultät 1933 bis 1945', *Die Berliner Universität in der NS-Zeit*, 1, C. Jahr, ed., Stuttgart, 2005, 107. For an overview that spans 31 years of GAD's general teaching programs, see Appendix 9, e.

²⁹ See Appendix 9, e.

³⁰ An allusion to Ps. 90:10.

Weiterwirken als Forscher und Lehrer schenke Ihnen Gott der Herr noch manchen gesunden Arbeitstag!³¹

But on Sunday evening 2 June 1935, after spending the afternoon uncharacteristically at the Faculty, he wrote into his diary: ‘Rektor bittet mich im WS 35/36 nicht zu lesen’.³² On the unpaginated back pages of this same diary, however, and directly below his lecture plan for the current winter semester, he jotted down another sentence: ‘Diese Vorlesungen wurden auf Veranlassung des Rektors Krüger (Tier-Anatome) gestrichen’. Throughout Deissmann’s 38 annual *Amtskalender* are scattered 143 references to *Rektoren*, yet only 15 times does he name them, and with the exception of Krüger’s ‘Tier-Anatome’ he connects not a single one with their personal *Sachgebiet*, and here it is plainly used in a condescending sense.³³ Gertrud Frischmuth, one of Deissmann’s most devoted students, later frankly wrote that this afternoon meeting resulted in an ‘unter recht unerfreulichen Begleitumständen erfolgten Zur-Ruhe-Setzung’.³⁴ While it is not possible to reconstruct with accuracy what was said, or why their encounter turned out to be so unpleasant for Deissmann, we are not entirely left without a clue.

Deissmann had shown an increasingly transparent disillusionment with Germany’s political and socioreligious trends (see ch. 6.4),³⁵ and in 1933 was one of ten theologians who signed a declaration against Hitler’s *Arierparagraph* (see ch. 8.3). This, at a time when Jewish and pro-Jewish academics were being driven from Berlin’s Friedrich-Wilhelms University *en masse*.³⁶ Then, towards the latter part of 1934 relations soured considerably between Deissmann and the Faculty *Dekan*, Erich

³¹ GAD, letter to Strecker, 1.9.1931.

³² The AK places GAD and Krüger there between 3 and 6 pm: whether anyone else was present is not known.

³³ Krüger was a member of the NSDAP and after 1940 also of the SS. In a letter of complaint to the Kultusminister the personal advisor to the Ministerialpräsident wrote: ‘Einer der geläufigsten Angriffe während der Kampfzeit war es, wenn man uns vorwarf, wir hätten keine Köpfe. Wenn jetzt, nachdem das Unberechtigte dieses Angriffes längst erwiesen ist, diese Vorwürfe wieder laut werden, so nehmen wir sie ernster, wenn sie, wie im vorliegenden Fall [i.e. Krüger] durch schlechte Personalpolitik von uns selbst verschuldet sind. Seit Beginn des Sommersemesters 1935 sind wir diesen Angriffen bezüglich des Rektors der Berliner Universität ausgesetzt und müssen sie, da sie sich gegen einen Parteigenossen richten, zurückweisen, obwohl wir ihre Berechtigung in diesem Falle selbst anerkennen müssen. Es ist bekannt und unbestreitbar, dass der Rektor Professor Krüger den Anforderungen, die die Berliner Universität berechtigt und verpflichtet ist, an den Führer der Universität zu stellen, nicht entspricht.’ Wolter, letter to Ministerialpräsident, 27.11.1935. See also M. Grüttner, *Biographisches Lexikon zur nationalsozialistischen Wissenschaftspolitik*, Heidelberg, 2004, 101.

³⁴ Frischmuth, 7.

³⁵ See also GAD’s letter, 17.3.1933.

³⁶ Between 1933 and 1936 a total of 242 of the University’s 746 *Hochschullehrer* were dismissed. M. Grüttner/ S. Kinas, ‘Die Vertreibung von Wissenschaftlern aus deutschen Universitäten 1933-1945’, *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, 55, 2007, 123-87.

Seeberg. The latter's father, Reinhold Seeberg (see ch. 2.4), had managed to publish a *Gutachten* in favour of the *Arierparagraph*, ostensibly in behalf of the entire Faculty, even though Deissmann and five other Faculty members had voted against it. Subsequently these six wrote the following letter of protest to the *Dekan*:

Die Veröffentlichung der Fakultätsvoten zu dem Gutachten des Herrn Koll. Reinh. Seeberg durch Herrn D. Witte empfinden wir als einen den Pflichten der Kollegialität widersprechenden Vertrauensbruch. Wir werden künftighin Fakultätssitzungen erst dann wieder besuchen, wenn uns Garantien gegen ähnliche Vorkommnisse geboten werden.³⁷

Erich Seeberg was evidently incensed and wrote a letter to the dissidents in which he requested that they had better let the matter rest, or he would consider it necessary 'die ganze Angelegenheit dem Minister zur Entscheidung zu unterbreiten'.³⁸

It can, therefore, be assumed that Deissmann's meeting with the *Rektor* on the 2nd of June revolved around two main topics. The fact that the former had lost support of the *Dekan* on account of his opposition to the Faculty's move towards *Nationalsozialismus*,³⁹ and the Minister's appointment of Johannes Behm as Deissmann's *Nachfolger*. For instead of someone more broad-minded, like Martin Dibelius,⁴⁰ his successor was going to be a Nazi member in complete opposition to what Deissmann had stood for.

Seventeen months later, on the occasion of Deissmann's 70th birthday held on Saturday 7 November 1936 at the 'Ratswein Keller' in Schöneberg (Berlin), Martin Dibelius had organised an anthology of greetings from congratulants worldwide, and in his presentation speech – as if to remind him of a better time – nostalgically reminisced: '... was waren das für Zeiten in Heidelberg ...'.⁴¹

All in all, 282 individuals (including a few corporate bodies) from 17 countries contributed to this unique 'Glückwunsbuch';⁴² many seized the opportunity to include lengthy letters expressing gratitude and veneration, a number of them with strikingly

³⁷ Protest letter to E. Seeberg, 2.11.1934. The letter is signed by Bertholet, GAD, Lietzmann, Sellin, Lütgert and Schmitz. compare with n. 27 above.

³⁸ E. Seeberg, letter to six professors, 8.11.1934.

³⁹ 'Witte und Stolzenburg bauten die Berliner Fakultät in eine NS/DC-Einrichtung um ... Lütgert klagte: „Unsere Fakultät ist völlig zerrüttet ... die beiden Seebergs treiben mit einer durch das Alter abgestuften Fahrgeschwindigkeit eine Politik des Opportunismus.“' Ludwig, 108. These radical changes were due to the Nazi ideology of *Gleichschaltung*, a totalitarian process enacted within the first months of Hitler's chancellorship to enforce centralised control over all aspects of society.

⁴⁰ GAD had hoped for Martin Dibelius: see ch. 5, n. 189; ch. 8, n. 210. Other names put forward were Rudolf Bultmann or Gerhard Kittel. Ludwig, 107.

⁴¹ See Appendix 9, f.

⁴² *Adolf Deißmann, zum 7. November 1936*; held privately. See Appendix 9, f.

artistic embellishments. The impressive register was made up of 189 congratulants from Germany, 17 from Britain, 14 from Sweden, twelve each from Finland and the USA, ten from Switzerland, five from Greece, three each from Austria, Holland, Hungary, Norway and Poland, two from both Bulgaria and Rumania, and one each from Australia, Denmark and France. Not unexpectedly, the principal subscribers were mainly academics, theologians and pastors, but included four archbishops (Thyatira, Uppsala, Warsaw, York), two editors, the Greek minister of education and the arts, a publishing house, and the German *Arneeoberpfarrer*.

George Simpson Duncan (1884-1965), professor of Biblical criticism at the University of St Andrews, asked the rhetorical question in his letter: 'Is there any theologian of your generation who has so many friends and well-wishers in lands outside his own?'⁴³

Another praised his part in the archaeology of Ephesus and wrote:

Sie waren nicht nur mein Lehrer in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, sondern förderten auch meine archäologische Arbeit. Sie weckten ... die Sehnsucht nach Ephesus in mir und bahnten mir den Weg dorthin ... Wir haben Sie nötig! Wir alle wünschen, dass Sie uns jüngere Generation noch lange führen und Vorbild bleiben und einen neuen Aufstieg unserer Fakultät miterleben möchten.⁴⁴

It was a moving plea that Deissmann should continue to use his considerable influence and help revive the Theological Faculty's halcyon days. Yet five months later he died at his home in Wünsdorf.

9.3. 'Have pia anima'⁴⁵

The radical changes at the University, in particular at 'his' Faculty, had a deleterious effect on Deissmann. He continued to be active in the preparations for the second World Conferences for 'Life and Work' at Oxford (12-26 July 1937) and for 'Faith and Order' at Edinburgh (3-18 August); and while his diary shows that he was planning to

⁴³ The letter is dated 25.7.1936.

⁴⁴ The writer, Friedrich Gorke, was director of the Seminar für Christliche Archäologie und Kirchliche Kunst since 1934. For a complete transcript of this and three other sample letters see Appendix 9, g (I-IV).

⁴⁵ This Latin formula occurs ten times in GAD's AK; i.e. H.H. Wendt (24.4.1916), E. Troeltsch (1.2.1923), N. Söderblom (12.7.1931), C. Becker (10.2.1933), F. Mahling (18.5.1933), E.R. Schumann (11.4.1934), E. v. Dobschütz (20.5.1934), N. Bares (1.3.1935), P. Schubrig (7.11.1935) and T. Wiegand (19.12.1936). Upon his own death GAD's eldest son, Ernst, entered this same formula into the AK (the only entry not made by GAD himself): ADOLF DEIBMANN † "HAVE PIA ANIMA!" Although the formula was of some significance to GAD himself, its occurrence in the AK appears to be at random; for in the c. 90 other cases where GAD recorded the death of someone (even close relatives and friends) he typically marked it only with a cross after the name. This included his grandmother, uncle, Heinrici, Moulton, B. Weiss, Naumann and Harnack.

participate at both occasions, his life ended three months beforehand (5 April 1937). In his last book, *Una Sancta*, he still presented an image of positive ecumenism: ‘Das Ökumenische ist heute so aktuell wie möglich ... die Una Sancta ist Gegenwartslosung und ist Gegenwartsaufgabe, die nicht wir angepackt haben, sondern die uns angepackt hat’.⁴⁶ But those who knew him personally during those trying years remembered him as a deeply troubled man. Thus, Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze wrote in his obituary of Deissmann:

Ein Mann wie Deißmann hat genug darunter gelitten, daß ihm das alte Professorenrecht, die Vorlesungen auch über die Alters- und Amtsgrenze fortzuführen, entzogen wurde. Und ein Einfluß auf das Geschehen in der Sphäre von Wissenschaft und Kultur war ihm ja auch nicht mehr möglich.⁴⁷

As early as 1921 Deissmann had asked the question: ‘Steht die Menschheit im Begriff, die letzten Methoden ihrer Selbstvernichtung zu entdecken? Wetterleuchtet bereits Harmageddon?’⁴⁸ And a little over a decade later his lifelong optimistic belief in the innate goodness of mankind was showing unmistakable signs of wearing thin as the inevitability of yet another large-scale war became increasingly apparent.⁴⁹

Gertrud Frischmuth related the story of a young student who visited Deissmann in October 1933 to seek his advice in respect to the increasingly stifling effect Germany’s *Nationalsozialismus* had on the Lutheran Church.

Er fand ihn [Deissmann], dessen äußeres und inneres Wesen sonst vollendete Ruhe und Würde waren, seltsam bewegt und erschüttert. Seine Gestalt war von Leid und Gram gezeichnet. Er, dem man die hohen Sechziger nicht angesehen hatte – kein Silberfaden durchzog das tiefdunkle Haar – war, in wenigen Monaten um Jahre gealtert. Was er in dieser Stunde äußerte, waren tiefe Befürchtungen, war die klare Vorausschau kommender Katastrophen ...

‘Was dann kam’, wrote Frischmuth, ‘war schwerstes Herzensleid für Adolf Deissmann. Über seiner bisher so ungebeugt gebliebenen Gestalt lag fortan oft genug der leise

⁴⁶ *Una Sancta*, 30.

⁴⁷ Siegmund-Schultze, *ChrW*, 20.3.1937, 334. For two further obituaries see also Appendix 9, h (I-II).

⁴⁸ *Ev.Wbr.*, Aug. 1921, 244.

⁴⁹ e.g. On 30.6.1934 Hitler had some 200 potential opponents murdered (‘Röhm-Putsch, or ‘Nacht der langen Messer’). By 16.3.1935 he introduced compulsory military service to expand his army to 36 divisions, in direct contravention to the Versailles Treaty (Art. 160). One year later (7.3.1936) Hitler ordered German troops into the demilitarised Saarland, and on 26.8.1936 announced his Vierjahresplan in the Reichstag, in which he declared openly that the German army and the national economy were to be ready for war within four years. (GAD noted the first three events in the AK, but was in Switzerland on 26.8.1936). GAD had mooted the possibility of such a war in *Ev.Wbr.*, 29.5.1919, 3-9.

Schatten einer schwermütigen Trauer'.⁵⁰ To some degree this melancholia can even be detected in *Una Sancta*, in spite of the fact that he wrote it 'zum Geleit in das ökumenische Jahr 1937'; for although it includes a section that he entitled, 'Die ökumenische Weltlage', this consists of a mere 200 words, is lacklustre and backward-rather than forward-looking.⁵¹

Hitler's *Nationalsozialismus* tolerated no alternative opinions, especially if these involved links with foreign countries. This put Deissmann into a precarious position, since his ecumenical profile could readily be interpreted as unpatriotic, or even traitorous. To counteract this, he kept right out of church politics during his last years; and although he maintained his political 'wait and see' approach (see ch. 6.4) he gave an outward appearance of practical cooperation with the State-approved church authorities, even under *Reichsbischof* Ludwig Müller. Predictably, many interpreted Deissmann's difficult position as a sign of spinelessness, which is why Siegmund-Schultze explained in his obituary:

In den letzten Jahren hielt er sich von dem innerdeutschen Kirchenkonflikt fern und stand mit seinen Anschauungen zwischen den Bewegungen und Parteien, hielt sich aber praktisch an die jeweils bestehende offizielle Kirchenleitung oder an das kirchliche Auslandsamt, das zur Zeit des Reichsbischofs Müller eingesetzt, sich durch alle folgenden Wandlungen erhalten hat. Manche Vorwürfe sind ihm wegen dieser Haltung gemacht worden, über die er auch im letzten Jahr noch mit uns tiefbedrückt gesprochen hat. Wir haben verstanden, daß er seine große internationale Autorität, die für die ökumenische Sache so viel wert ist, nicht durch einen Kampf gegen die derzeitigen Kirchenbehörden aufs Spiel setzen wollte.⁵²

Adolf Deissmann died at Wünsdorf quite suddenly of a coronary thrombosis during the early hours of Monday morning 5 April 1937. One newspaper reported: 'Der bekannte Theologe der Berliner Universität Geh. Konsistorialrat Prof. D. Dr. Adolf Deißmann ist nach kurzem Unwohlsein in der Nacht zum Montag in seiner Wohnung in Wünsdorf bei Berlin im 71. Lebensjahr gestorben'.⁵³ His son, Gerhard Deissmann, further explained in a private letter to the present writer:

Damals gab es noch keine Notarzwagen mit sofortigem Transport in ein Krankenhaus, nur der aus Berlin herbeigerufene Hausarzt und ein Wünsdorfer Arzt waren schnell zur Stelle und leisteten Hilfe, so gut sie

⁵⁰ Frischmuth, 2, 18.

⁵¹ *Una Sancta*, 29-30.

⁵² Siegmund-Schultze, *ChrW*, 20.3.1937, 334.

⁵³ *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, 5.4.1937. For an obituary that describes GAD's funeral, see Appendix 9, h (1).

konnten. Alles ging erschreckend schnell, wenige Tage nach dem Anfall von Herzschwäche ist der Vater ruhig eingeschlafen.⁵⁴

The funeral⁵⁵ took place on Thursday afternoon 8 April 1937 at Wünsdorf, and in accordance with Deissmann's wishes he was buried in the village cemetery, where his gravesite and tombstone are maintained to this day. After his death the Berliner Stadtbibliothek purchased a sizeable part of his private Wünsdorf library,⁵⁶ but most of the remaining books, correspondence and lexicographical work was subsequently lost (see ch. 2.6). The private collection of books he kept at the Theological Faculty was purchased in 1939 by the Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung and bequeathed to the University of Uppsala in what appears to have been a politically motivated gesture.⁵⁷

Fourteen years after Deissmann's death Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) wrote to his widow Henriette: 'Wir verstehen, dass Ihr Mann an gebrochenem Herzen starb'.⁵⁸ Schweitzer evidently understood something of the mental anguish Deissmann had endured during his last years, as a champion of international 'Friedens- und

⁵⁴ Letter, dated 27.7.2002.

⁵⁵ For a detailed newspaper account of the service, see Appendix 9, h (I).

⁵⁶ 'Ein großer Teil der Bibliothek und der umfangreiche Nachlaß des Berliner Bibelwissenschaftlers und Rektors der Berliner Universität Adolf Deißmann (1866-1937) wurde in den Jahren 1937/38 erworben. Er bestand zu dieser Zeit aus 1520 Bdn, 879 Broschüren, 145 Kästen und 140 Konvoluten. Da dieses umfangreiche Material nicht verlagert wurde, geriet es in die Umlagerungen der Nachkriegszeit, wobei die Ordnung zerstört wurde. In den letzten Jahren wurde der gesamte noch vorhandene Bestand vollständig neu geordnet. In ihm befinden sich zahlreiche Druckschriften, auch solche aus den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jhs. Die nur noch geringen Reste der Privatbibliothek sind zunächst gesichert und sollen im Anschluß an den Nachlaß wieder aufgestellt werden.' Krause/Raabe, 236. In 1939 the Auswärtiges Amt bought another 21 boxes of books from Henriette Deissmann and presented them to the Uppsala University. See Lietzmann, letter to Fridrichsen, 26.5.1939, and Fridrichsen, letter to Lietzmann, 10.8.1939, in Aland, 1097, 1113. Some other material, such as 16 diverse editions of Pasor's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, has also survived in a private collection. See further, *SD*, 12. See also Nottmeier, 'Ein unbekannter Brief', 123-5.

⁵⁷ A letter (dated 26.7.1937) from the Kultusministerium to Arnold Stolzenburg (1887-1966), Dekan of the Berlin Theological Faculty and active NSDAP member, states: 'Angesichts der begreiflichen Verstimmung schwedischer Wissenschaftskreise über das Verbot des Nobelpreises für Wissenschaft wäre zu erwägen, ob man nicht eine freundschaftliche Geste dorthin machen sollte, z. B. Schenkung der Bibliothek von Professor Deißmann für das neutestamentliche Seminar in Uppsala.' For a transcript of three letters in reference to this, see Appendix 9, i (I-III).

⁵⁸ Schweitzer's letter, 19.4.1951, see also epigraph to this chapter. In private correspondence with this author Gerhard Deissmann wrote: 'Henriette Deissmann hat ihren Mann noch 18 Jahre überlebt, in Wünsdorf (bis 1945), vorübergehend in Berlin (beim Sohn Ernst), dann in Westfahlen (bei der Tochter Henriette) und schließlich für lange Jahre in ihrer geliebten Vaterstadt Hamburg, wo sie 82 jähig 1955 verstarb. Besonders die Monate April bis Juni 1945, als russische Besatzer Wünsdorfs sie aus dem Hause Anatolia in eine Notunterkunft im Dorfe vertrieben, waren wirklich der Tiefpunkt ihres Lebens, in der ihr ältester Sohn Ernst sich in treuer Aufopferung von Berlin aus um sie kümmerte. Z. T. gegen russischen Widerstand gelang es ihm, mit dem Fahrrad (!) nach Wünsdorf zu fahren, um ihr beizustehen und dann bald den Umzug nach Berlin zu organisieren.' See also ch. 2, n. 187.

Verständigungsbestrebungen’,⁵⁹ at a time when all such efforts generated from within Germany itself were being systematically undermined. Thus, in 1937 the German government refused to endorse passports for delegates who wanted to attend the ecumenical conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh (see above, ch. 9.3).⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the message from the Oxford Conference that conveyed their consolidated ecumenical support for German Christians came too late for Deissmann. But it serves to reflect some of his (and others’) personal distress at that time, for the Conference members had resolved to send a deputation to Germany ‘to affirm that their [i.e. Germany’s] sufferings have become the suffering of the whole Christian Church ...’.⁶¹

These accounts by Siegmund-Schultze, Frischmuth and Schweitzer all agree in their depiction of Deissmann as someone whose consistently positive *Weltanschauung* had sustained him throughout WWI and the subsequent Great Depression, but who finally died a very despondent man with regard to world peace. He once wrote: ‘Ich hätte den Krieg [WWI] innerlich nicht ertragen, wenn ich mich nicht an dem Gedanken der Una Sancta hätte halten können ...’;⁶² but during his final years it was precisely this ecclesiastical utopianism that was being systematically eroded in his homeland.

9.4. Obscurity

Schweitzer’s 1951 tribute that Deissmann personified an era of academic research ‘... [das] man nicht in Vergessenheit versinken lassen sollte’, suggests that the life and works of his colleague were already widely forgotten by that time. Indeed, in April 1959 Emil Bock verified that this was the case:

In Adolf Deißmann ist dann aber um die Jahrhundertwende zugunsten der griechischen Bibel ein einzigartiger Anwalt hervorgetreten. Leider ist seine Stimme fast ungehört verhallt, und als zwei Jahrzehnte seit seinem Tode vergangen waren, geriet er bereits in Vergessenheit.⁶³

⁵⁹ W. Hadorn, in *Ev.Wbr.*, 30.11.1918, 6. See also ch. 8.4.

⁶⁰ E.E. Aubrey, ‘The Oxford Conference, 1937’, *JR*, 17, 4, 1937, 381-3. Aubrey added the following observation (383): ‘Germany was represented by an Old Catholic Church delegate and by two delegates (Bishop Melle and Rev. Paul Schmidt) from the Federation of Protestant Free Churches. The latter, incidentally, created an embarrassing situation by that staunch support of the Nazi program under which these minority groups work in freedom.’ See also Frischmuth, 2.

⁶¹ Aubrey, 389.

⁶² *Ev.Wbr.*, Oct./Nov. 1921, 282.

⁶³ Bock, 36.

However, on the whole, it is not altogether surprising that the names of once world-renowned and celebrated individuals could become forgotten so soon after their death, especially when new world leaders, new human achievements and new scientific discoveries shift the focus of both the scholastic and popular imagination on to those of the next generation. Deissmann's slide into relative obscurity happened not only with respect to his pioneering work in Greek philology (see chs. 1-3), and the unique position he attained within the archaeological history of Ephesus (see ch. 5), but even with his extraordinary international *Verständigungsarbeit* (see chs. 7-8), first through his bulletins and subsequently through the ecumenical movement. The causes for this decline in the remembrance of what he had achieved are varied, but broadly converge in a tragic cumulation of the effects of WWI and WWII, momentous postwar events, and subsequent historical revisionism.

By 1917 Deissmann had, according to his own estimate, already lost about 100 of his students in the war, among them 'eine Auslese der Begabtesten und Hoffnungsvollsten',⁶⁴ it bears noting that this figure did not include former students from his Heidelberg years, when his academic productivity was at its peak. Yet from that period at least two are known to have carried on his work in postclassical Greek: Jean Rouffiac and Gottfried Thieme,⁶⁵ yet both fell in the war. It can safely be inferred, therefore, that Deissmann lost most, if not all, of his *Nachwuchs* in that specialist field of academic research that had initially made him world-renowned.⁶⁶ However, he had, in fact, long before the war allowed an excellent opportunity to pass that would have tied his name more prominently and firmly to NT lexicography than his philological trilogy was able to do (see ch. 1.7). But although he once admitted to his friend James Moulton, in respect to the lexicon: 'ich hatte mir sonst zu viel aufgeladen',⁶⁷ publicly he tended to shift the blame for its non-completion squarely on the war: '... das Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament [wurde] vorzeitig erwürgt durch die Elendsfaust dieses schlimmen Äon'.⁶⁸

Deissmann's own death occurred eight months into Hitler's second *Vierjahresplan*; and within two-and-a-half years the world had descended into a second global war that

⁶⁴ *Ev.Wbr.*, 9.3.1917, 1; see ch. 8, n. 53. Compare with ch. 2, n. 190, and ch. 4, n. 74.

⁶⁵ See ch. 2, n. 190.

⁶⁶ See Appendix 9, j.

⁶⁷ GAD, card to Moulton, 2.3.1910. See also ch. 2.7

⁶⁸ *Ev.Wbr.*, Oct./Nov. 1921, 275. See also ch. 2.6.

resulted in a chaotic Europe and a crushed German nation. Then, within a decade after the war, came the discovery near the Dead Sea of a ‘great glut of material – a bonanza that far exceeded the wildest dreams of scholars’.⁶⁹ The first texts were published in 1955 in a volume entitled *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, Vol. 1: Qumran Cave 1*, and completely eclipsed Deissmann’s already fading sociolinguistic work, in that it ‘revolutionised study of the Bible, early Judaism, and early Christianity’.⁷⁰ It has been observed that

The 1930s witnessed a reaction against the approach to the Greek of the NT of which Deissmann was the foremost representative.⁷¹ The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the following decade implicitly appeared to confirm the correctness of this reaction against ‘Deissmannism’; for they have encouraged researchers to give much greater weight to the Jewish background of the NT writings, especially the Gospels.⁷²

Thus, by 1960 ‘the scrolls had become an entire subdiscipline of ancient history, and a “proper” publication now had to include vast analyses, large syntheses, and detailed assessments placing every fragment in its place in the history of Judaism, Christianity, and humankind’.⁷³

Within this context there arose another contributing factor in the English speaking world to why Deissmann’s name and *Wirken* was becoming obscure: the publications of Nigel Turner (1916-), who asserted: ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls provide some clues for Pauline terminology (e.g., *flesh* and *spirit*), and for words like *sin* and *temptation*, and they indicate the local Palestinian origin of Johannine ideas ...’.⁷⁴ Already in 1955 Turner had published an initial article, in which he began a long campaign to revive the 19th century notion of Biblical Greek,⁷⁵ and thereby to discredit Deissmann’s philological discoveries, in effect, reasoning that ‘... many are finding their way back to the Bible as a living book and perhaps are pondering afresh the old question of a “Holy

⁶⁹ M. Wise, et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: a new translation*, Rydalmerc, 1997 (1996), 5.

⁷⁰ Wise, 7.

⁷¹ For a survey on this topic, see J. Ros, *De studie van het Bijbelgrieksch van Hugo Grotius tot Adolf Deissmann*, Nimwegen, 1940.

⁷² Horsley, ‘The inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament’, *NovT*, 34, 2, 1992, 163-4. See also Lorimer, 330; on the term ‘Deissmannism’, see ch. 1, n. 89.

⁷³ Wise, 7. Although publication of the *DJD* volumes stagnated for a long time, they have now been brought to completion under the remarkable general editorship of E. Tov.

⁷⁴ N. Turner, ‘Modern issues in biblical studies: philology in New Testament studies’, *ET*, 71, 4, 1960, 107.

⁷⁵ Turner, ‘The unique character of Biblical Greek’, *VT*, 5, 1955, 13. But see Horsley, ‘The fiction of “Jewish Greek”’, *New Documents*, 5, 5-40.

Ghost language”’.⁷⁶ Deissmann was no longer there to answer Turner’s claims, and those of his students who once might have been able to do so had long before perished in the war; already in 1919 Deissmann had mourned this loss, writing: ‘die Mitarbeiter haben zu einem guten Teile die Werkstatt verlassen’.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding these factors, Deissmann was never entirely forgotten, for on the 25th anniversary of his death, Kurt Aland (1915-94) paid tribute to him in a newspaper article, and stressed: ‘Adolf Deißmann als Persönlichkeit ist unwiederholbar, er kann nicht nachgeahmt werden’.⁷⁸ In June that same year the small village of Langenscheid organised a commemorative service at their old *Pfarrhaus*, where Deissmann was born, unveiling a large bronze plaque with a relief of Deissmann’s profile and the embossed text:

D. Adolf Deissmann Professor der Theologie Forscher und Lehrer fuer Neues Testament Freund seiner Studenten in Herborn, Heidelberg und Berlin Foerderer der oekumenischen Bewegung der Kirchen geboren als nassauischer Pfarrerssohn in diesem Hause am 7. November 1866 gestorben in Wuensdorf bei Berlin am 5. April 1937 gedenket an eure Lehrer, die euch das Wort Gottes gesagt haben. Hebr. 13. 7.⁷⁹

Four years later, on the centenary of Deissmann’s birth, Otto Dibelius, the first Bishop of the *Evangelische Kirche* in Berlin-Brandenburg, wrote: ‘An seinem 100. Geburtstag, dem 7. November 1966, erneuert die theologische Wissenschaft und die evangelische Kirche ihren Dank für das, was uns in diesem Manne geschenkt war’.⁸⁰ And a few days later the Hamburg Pastor, Theodor Lescow, published a commemorative newspaper column in which he revealingly pointed out that, although the mainstream had forgotten Deissmann, his works had maintained their relevance:

Der Journalismus hat sich der Archäologie angenommen und durch eine Reihe glänzend geschriebener Romane und Berichte breiten Kreisen an dieser Faszination Anteil gegeben. Doch wer von denen, die sich an diesen Büchern begeistern, hat etwas von Adolf Deißmann gehört? Dabei hat er schon vor 60 Jahren ein Buch veröffentlicht, das Epoche gemacht hat und

⁷⁶ Turner, in MHT, vol. 3, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Syntax*, N. Turner. ed., Edinburgh, 1963. 9. This quotation comes from Turner’s most influential book, *Syntax*, not from Moulton’s *Grammar*. Turner’s work gained credibility because of the association with Moulton’s name, even though he was diametrically opposed to the latter’s views. See Horsley, ‘The Syntax volume of Moulton’s *Grammar*’, *New Documents*, 5, 49-65.

⁷⁷ ‘Die deutsche Theologie und die Einheit der Kirche’, 356. For a fuller extract see Appendix 9, j.

⁷⁸ K. Aland, ‘In Christus Jesus. Zum 25. Todestag von Adolf Deißmann’, *Berliner Sonntagsblatt*, 15, 5.4.1962, 6.

⁷⁹ Today the plaque (see Fig. 12) is mounted on the renovated stone wall to the right of the *Pfarrhaus* gate. For a fuller account of the commemorative unveiling service (with a slightly altered plaque text), see Appendix 9, k.

⁸⁰ Dibelius, ‘Vorkämpfer des Jahrhunderts der Ökumene’.

bis heute Gültigkeit besitzt. Das Buch heißt „Licht vom Osten“. Und es ist nicht nur ein Buch von immenser Gelchrsamkeit, sondern auch eines, das man lesen kann.⁸¹

Moreover, a former student, Professor Günther Harder, in conjunction with Deissmann's youngest son Dr. phil. Gerhard Deissmann, published a commemorative booklet about Deissmann that comprises some useful biographical and bibliographical material, as well as a selection of letter and book extracts.⁸²

Despite these well-meaning attempts at keeping Deissmann's memory alive, by the early 1980s few scholars were familiar with his name.⁸³ In 1989 G.H.R. Horsley published an essay in which he drew renewed attention to Deissmann's philological work on postclassical Greek and warned: 'In discounting so heavily the linguistic contribution of the likes of Deissmann NT philology is in danger of turning in on itself'.⁸⁴ A revival of interest in Deissmann occurred during the 1990s,⁸⁵ although the precise trigger for this is unclear. However, it was Horsley who in 1991 first established contact with Dr. Gerhard Deissmann, drew specific attention to the family's private collection and pointed to the fact that important archival material in relation to Deissmann also existed outside Germany.⁸⁶

9.5. Epilogue to an anachronistic life

Behind his public persona Deissmann himself was a rather shy romantic who always felt somewhat chronologically displaced, for 'in der unmittelbaren Gegenwart war er nicht so völlig zuhause wie in der urchristlichen Vergangenheit und in der

⁸¹ T. Lescow, '„Hast Dich schön benommen!“ „Licht vom Osten“ – Adolf Deißmann entdeckte das Alltagsleben der Antike', *Berliner Sonntagsblatt*, 46, 13.11. 1966, 12-13.

⁸² Harder/ Deissmann; see ch. 1, n. 1.

⁸³ See E. Plümacher, 'Deißmann, Adolf (1866-1937)', *TRE*, 8, 1981, 406-8; also Graf (see above, ch. 6, n. 148), both specifically pointed to the GAD Nac 1lass at the ZLB (for which, see ch. 2, n. 58, ch. 7, n. 23, and above, n. 61). Also Besier, *Krieg – Frieden – Abrüstung*, 1982, passim; Besier, *Quellen- und Arbeitsbuch*, 1984, passim. Horsley seems to be the first to highlight GAD's contributions from a non-theological perspective, see *New Documents*, 1, 1981, 13, 20.

⁸⁴ Horsley, 'The fiction of "Jewish Greek"', *New Documents*, 5, 39.

⁸⁵ e.g. K.-W. Tröger, 'Adolf Deißmann - ein Protagonist für das theologische Studium der Religionen und für die ökumenische Bewegung', *Wiss.Z.HU.Berlin*, 1992, 4, 111-7. H. Happe, 'Wünsdorf, Seestraße 16. Haus „Anatolia“', 1 and 2. *Märkische Allgemeine*, 19.6.1993, 10 and 23.6.1993, 10; in the latter she suggests that GAD's house be heritage-listed and a commemorative plaque be erected. Since reunification the house has now passed out of the family's hands. Also, Beuys, 1994 (see above, ch. 8, n. 118); Krause/ Raabe, 1995 (see above, ch. 2, n. 58). For more recent work in respect to GAD, see ch. 8, n. 2.

⁸⁶ Horsley, 'The origin and scope', passim.

ökumenischen Zukunft'.⁸⁷ This is certainly reflected in his frequently nostalgic language in relation to early Christianity and the Middle East, or in his utopian drive for a 'Una Sancta'. He had attained quasi-celebrity status internationally, particularly among educated Protestant Christians, yet it was his striking character that impressed those who knew him privately, for he was 'immer mit einer gewissen unnahbaren Feierlichkeit umgeben',⁸⁸ and according to George Bell, 'it is the personality ... which his friends will chiefly miss'.⁸⁹ Although Deissmann sometimes tended to be finicky and headstrong,⁹⁰ he cultivated a normally even temper and good sense of humour, and radiated an all-round positive outlook on life. He was a passionate peacemaker, whether on an individual or international scale, and a successful mediator who lived by the 'golden rule', as Gertrud Frischmuth pointed out.

„Alles nun, was ihr wollt, daß euch die Leute tun sollen, das tuet ihr ihnen auch" (Matth. 7,12). Daß dieser Satz Maß und Norm für alles Christsein sei ... daß er verbindlich sei für das Zusammenleben des Ich mit dem Du, in der Familie, in den weiteren umfassenderen Gemeinschaften, ja, daß er verbindlich sei für das Zusammenleben der Völker, dies zu lehren und zu verkünden ist Adolf Deissmann ein Leben lang nicht müde geworden.⁹¹

This is probably why he made friends easily -- even under difficult circumstances -- and maintained his friendships loyally by keeping up with an astonishing amount of private correspondence.

During his 27-year tenure at Berlin Deissmann had very little private time for leisure and relaxation,⁹² but whenever he could he liked to retreat into his large fruit and vegetable garden, quietly concealed behind his house 'Anatolia',⁹³ which was itself

⁸⁷ Bock, 45. See also Appendix 9, l.

⁸⁸ Harder/ Deissmann, 5. Further to GAD's personality also below, 9.5; ch. 6, n. 52, and Appendix 9, k.

⁸⁹ Bell, 'Obituary Prof. Deissmann', see Appendix 9, h (II).

⁹⁰ e.g. there are many overly-detailed train timetables in his AK; re. headstrong, see e.g. ch. 2, n. 169.

⁹¹ Frischmuth, 13.

⁹² e.g. see ch. 2.5 and ch. 7.1.

⁹³ Three years after GAD and his family moved to Berlin, a colleague mentioned that a small weekend-house was for sale at Seestraße 16 in Wünsdorf, about one hour's train ride south of Berlin. GAD first set eyes on the house on 15.7.1911 and was immediately captivated by its bucolic charm, nestled among what he somewhat hyperbolically described as a 'Kiefernwald'. A week later he took his wife Henriette to view the property, and on 17.8.1911 they signed a contract to renovate and extend the existing building into a functional holiday house. The family moved in on 5.7.1912, and GAD shifted his private study there one week after. Several years later the Deissmanns also acquired an adjacent empty block -- the 'Kriessen' -- on which they built a small log cabin for their son Paul and his wife Ingeborg. Here GAD set up a playground, including a bocce field and air-rifle range. Between June and Aug. 1933 'Anatolia' was thoroughly rebuilt and enlarged, in preparation for retirement, and on 19.3.1934 GAD and Henriette moved out of their rented flat at Prinzregentenstr. 6 (Berlin) and into 'Anatolia'. See also Happe, above, n. 85; also ch. 2, n. 138, and for Henriette's eviction in Apr. 1945, by the Russians, see ch. 2.6. and Appendix 2, h.

sheltered by a fragrant spinney of pine trees. He was extremely fond of this garden – watered by a private bore – and frequently drew proud attention to it in his bulletins⁹⁴ or correspondence, with words such as: ‘Mein lieber Moulton, mehrere Wochen habe ich so gut wie nicht geschrieben, meine Hände sind hart von Gartenarbeit und Holzspalten, meine Augen voll Sägemehl ...’.⁹⁵ He worked hard to transform its ‘märkischer Sandboden’ into an idyllic retreat where he could withdraw for relaxation or contemplation, and in the midst of the war once wrote to Söderblom:

Ich bin jetzt bis Ende September in unserm Sommerheim [i.e. ‘Anatolia’] und arbeite dort auch viel mit der Hand. Aber ob ich nun die Axt oder den Spaten oder die Gießkanne in der Hand habe, meine Gedanken weilen fast unausgesetzt bei der gegenwärtigen Lage der Christenheit ...⁹⁶



Figure 10: The Deissmann family in front of their house ‘Anatolia’ (Summer 1935 or 1936).⁹⁷

⁹⁴ e.g. *Pr.WL*, 14,6,1916, 1; *Ev.Wbr.*, 16,4,1917, 1-2; 24,5,1918, 1.

⁹⁵ GAD, letter to Moulton, 26.8.1912. The letter’s date shows that all this work was done during the summer holiday, less than eight weeks after the family had moved into the house. Between 1916 and 1937 the AK makes frequent reference to GAD’s gardening activities.

⁹⁶ GAD, letter to Söderblom, 24.7.1918.

⁹⁷ From left to right: GAD, Paul, Henriette jr. with son Reinhard, Ernst’s wife Gisela, Henriette sr. with Henriette jr.’s second son Helmut, Gerhard (Theodor Wiegand’s grandson) with his mother Liselotte, Ernst with adopted son Peter (see ch. 8, n. 112), Gerhard. Absent are Henriette jr.’s husband, Prof. Paul Niederhoff (1890-1954), and Liselotte’s husband, Werner Wiegand (1900-45).

Deissmann's vineyard was planted with specially introduced muscatel vines from Palestine,⁹⁸ although his son Gerhard remembers that despite their naturally sweet flavours, these often tasted unpleasantly sour for lack of sun. However, Deissmann's pride and joy were his homegrown fruit and vegetables, and on occasions he presented friends or relatives with an arrangement of such produce, depending on the season.⁹⁹

As for his professional persona, there exists probably not a more sensitive and informative contemporary description than that written by Emil Bock, who not only studied under Deissmann, but on 23 July 1921 also completed his theology licentiate under him. Although the following is a very sizable citation its inclusion here is justified by its exceptional content.

Man kann nicht sagen, dass er seine Hörer durch geistreichen oder mitreißenden Vortrag gefesselt hätte. Ganze Welten trennten seine Art von der intellektuell-geistsprühenden Beredsamkeit eines Harnack und der elementar-eruptiven Rednerwucht eines Troeltsch. Eher hatten seine Vorlesungen, die er fast durchweg wörtlich aus Heften ablas, etwas Monotones. Sie waren auch nicht reich an Gedanken, kreisten vielmehr um einige wenige Grundideen, die ihm für die drei ersten Evangelien, das Johannesevangelium und für die Paulusbriefe als Schlüssel dienten. Dennoch war sein Sprechen wie das Wegziehen des Vorhangs vor einer Welt, in die man nunmehr staunend hineinahnte.

Die Formulierungen, die Deißmann seinen Gedanken gab, waren sämtlich genau abgewogen und von einem ans Feierlich-Sakrale grenzenden künstlerischen Formbewußtsein, wie denn auch schon in der Verbeugung, mit der er jede Vorlesung begann, und in der langsamen Art zu sprechen – er hatte eine bestimmte Art, bei jedem halben Satz einmal über die Brille hinweg in seine Zuhörerschaft hineinzublicken – etwas Eigenartig-Gravitätisches lag.

Eigentlich wirkte Deißmann, trotz der hessischen Dialektfärbung seines Sprechens, nicht wie ein Mitteleuropäer. Bis in seine äußere Erscheinung, die einerseits durch den tiefbraunen Glanz seiner Augen und seinen schwarzen Vollbart, andererseits durch seine immer etwas feierlich langsamen Bewegungen charakterisiert war, machte er den Eindruck eines griechischen Patriarchen. Verstärkt wurde das dadurch, daß er in seinen Darlegungen immer wieder Bemerkungen, Motive und Nuancen hineinverwob, die auf seine Reisen nach Kleinasien und Palästina zurückgingen. Ich konnte mich dem Gefühl nicht verschließen, daß es die Welt des griechischen, östlichen Christentums sein müsse, der Boden des ersten Urchristentums, die

⁹⁸ Bock, 45.

⁹⁹ e.g. for an 80th birthday of a colleague he wrote: 'Einige Früchte aus unserem märkischen Garten in Wünsdorf mögen Ihnen an ihrem schwachen Teil den Feiertag zu einem Erntefest gestalten helfen'. GAD, letter to Friedländer, 11.10.1932.

Geburtsstätte des Neuen Testaments, was sich so rätselhaft-substantiell durch das Sprechen und Wesen dieses Mannes kundtat.¹⁰⁰

9.6. Conclusion

Although Deissmann had produced his highest academic achievements at Heidelberg before 1908, it was in Berlin where his professional career reached its zenith, and that within the four years between 1929 and 1932. During that relatively short period he toured America, was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, became *Rektor* of the Berlin University, and received further honorary doctorates: from America, England and Sweden. Yet while these crowning achievements were partly influenced by the ecumenical prominence he had gained after the war, none of this would have been possible were it not for his fundamental philological work at Heidelberg; for it was this that had launched him into the international arena and later – as Martin Dibelius correctly observed – underpinned his election to the *Rektorat* of the Berlin University.

However, Deissmann lived the last four years of his life under the bane of the Nazis' *Gleichschaltung* policy, and the circumstances of his retirement in 1935 reflect some of the inner distress and disillusionment this was causing him. The First World War had already claimed a very large number of his students so that no one was left to carry on his philological work. His personal hope, that his former student and ecumenical colleague Martin Dibelius would be his successor as ordinarius, was not realised, due to the – at least partly political – appointment of Johannes Behm. Finally, Deissmann saw the Faculty where he had invested more than a quarter-century of his life, systematically being broken up for ideological reasons. So much of what he had worked for throughout his life had been taken away from him before his death, which goes a long way to explain why some of his friends wrote that he had died of a 'broken heart'.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Bock, 36-7.

¹⁰¹ e.g. Frischmuth, 2, and Schweitzer's letter, 19.4.1951.

General conclusion



Figure 11
The Deissmann family at the back door of their house 'Anatolia', 1934.
From left to right: Gerhard, Paul, Henriette jr, Liselotte, GAD, Henriette sr, Ernst

General conclusion

It is true that, in the historical investigation of any great personality of the past, the investigator is bound to come to the limits of his knowledge.¹

Adolf Deissmann's lifespan coincided with Germany's long struggle for sociopolitical reform, from deeply entrenched 18th century authoritarianism to 20th century liberal-democratic modernity and, therefore, covered an epoch of almost continuous social anxiety within his country. He grew up during the unification-age of Bismarck (1862-90), lived through Kaiser Wilhelm's militaristic reign (1888-1918) and the subsequent socioeconomic 'roller-coaster' of the Weimar Republic (1919-33), and in retirement experienced the first four years of Hitler's dictatorship with the concomitant rise of Nazi totalitarianism (1933-45). Yet out of all this Deissmann emerges as an atypical humanitarian internationalist, quite distinct from his compatriots. But since he was a many-faceted man who cannot be 'pigeonholed' without distortion – and no rounded evaluation of his many achievements has existed hitherto – his leading role in certain areas of the 20th century's historical and intellectual development has been widely underestimated or misunderstood by post-WWII scholarship.

The goal of this study has been to reassess Deissmann's contribution in the areas of postclassical Greek philology as it bears on NT scholarship, and the archaeological excavations of Ephesus. It also evaluates his own sociopolitical development and interwar social, cultural and ecumenical conciliation efforts on an international level. The thesis has shown that his work in most of these spheres was rapidly forgotten after his death. The main reasons for this were

i) that he had no students left after the war who kept active the memory of his philological achievements and mediated these contributions to the next student generation;

and ii) the effects of the upheaval that engulfed Germany, Europe and the world from the late 1930s. Deissmann's consignment to oblivion was not unique, especially

¹ GAD, *Selly Oak lectures*, 18

because of the effect of WWI, but seventy years after his death it is now time for a balanced assessment, and for a due acknowledgement of his diverse – and, indeed, pioneering – contributions.

The thesis presented here has argued that Deissmann considerably advanced human knowledge in various fields of scholarly inquiry, but that his significance has been overlooked for too long. As a result, the memory of his high-level achievements and original contributions in a broad range of areas has become almost erased; what little remembrance remains tends to be distorted. This has affected not only our understanding of one aspect of the history of classical scholarship, but also of 20th century socioreligious German history, the archaeological history of Ephesus, and the history of the international ecumenical movement.

Part One of this dissertation demonstrated that Deissmann was the first to apply systematically the inscriptions and papyri to contextualise and illuminate the nature of the Greek of the NT. By this means he helped to bring about a distinct shift in thinking among researchers of the postclassical period. If he initially overstated his case in some respects, that is a reflection of his being an enthusiast who was well ahead of others; and in any case, he modified his stance with the passing of time.

- **Chapter 1** highlights the fact that he wrote *Bibelstudien*, *Neue Bibelstudien* and *Licht von Osten* as a Greek philological trilogy, and with it conclusively established that the language of the NT was a part of the broader *koine*, thus placing it more effectively within its historical setting.
- **Chapter 2** shows that Deissmann planned and was well under way to producing a completely original NT lexicon based on his philological and lexicographical methodology that included the heavy use of inscriptions and papyri as illustrative material.
- **Chapter 3** draws attention to the recognition Deissmann received as an authority on postclassical Greek philology; and how his attempt to bridge the gulf that existed between theology and classical philology was stymied by bureaucratic decisions in Heidelberg, and later by his workload and other preoccupations in Berlin.

Part Two explores and reveals how significant Deissmann's role was in the revival of the archaeological work at Ephesus through the Austrian Archaeological Institute. It shows why the two study tours he made to the Middle East in 1906 and 1909 were

fundamental to his later engagement in the salvaging of Ephesus, and that it was his high international standing, gained primarily through his philological work and subsequent international *Verständigungsarbeit*, that gave him *entrée* to influential American and German funding agencies, which made the excavations possible.

- **Chapter 4** provides a sketched reconstruction of Deissmann's philological (1906) and theological (1909) study tours, and argues that these formed a watershed in both his academic and personal life, with the first journey resulting in *Licht vom Osten* and the second in *Paulus*.
- **Chapter 5** details Deissmann's international awareness- and fundraising efforts on behalf of the archaeological excavation at Ephesus between 1926 and 1935, as well as his practical involvement during the first four seasons, and demonstrates that the Austrians fully recognised the unique significance of his role in this.

Part Three considers Deissmann's political engagement within Germany, as well as his conciliatory and ecumenical involvements internationally, and whether it is in fact correct to call him an ecumenist. The conclusion reached by the material assessed in these chapters is that he was not typical of German ecumenists, but sought through the movement to find an effective ecclesiastical and spiritual way ahead for Christians within their own traditions.

- **Chapter 6** investigates Deissmann's political side: his involvement with and withdrawal from Christian *Sozialdemokratie*, and his friendship with Friedrich Naumann. It contends that, despite his initial high regard for the nation's leadership during WWI, he began to distance himself from its official policies early in the war.
- **Chapter 7** presents an analysis of Deissmann's *Evangelischer Wochenbrief* and its translated version, *Protestant Weekly Letter*. It concludes that he did not write these bulletins as war propaganda, but rather as an idiosyncratic (but certainly not eccentric) forum to provide a broad point of connection for *Völkerverständigung*.
- **Chapter 8** examines some of Deissmann's underlying Christian and ethical beliefs. It demonstrates that he was influenced by Quakerism, opposed anti-Semitism and German war-theology; and advances the proposition that – in spite of his leading role within the international ecumenical movement – he was, in a strict sense, not a 'true' ecumenist.
- **Chapter 9** mentions some of the high points in Deissmann's life, and shows that the

reasons for his slide into relative obscurity were primarily circumstantial, although his own personality may have been a contributory factor to some degree.

This dissertation has established that Deissmann should not be characterised narrowly or merely as ‘a theologian’, nor, indeed, as an ecumenist, for the range of his achievements is striking. He

- revolutionised thinking among NT specialists about the nature of postclassical Greek, and was taken seriously by classical philologists, both within Germany and abroad
- was in the vanguard of support for Naumann’s social reforms within Germany
- acted as sole editor and producer of a distinctive reconciliation bulletin which circulated internationally during the war and immediate postwar years
- became the acknowledged ‘Wiedererwecker’ of the archaeology of Ephesus
- bridged the religiopolitical, postwar gap between Germany and the USA
- presided as *Rektor* over Germany’s most prestigious University
- maintained an internationally eminent position within the ecumenical movement.

Had Deissmann lived even a few years longer he would eventually have run foul of the Nazis, for since his public stance against Hitler’s *Arierparagraph* he was definitely a marked man, as suggested by his enforced *Ruhestand*. In spite of this, he maintained his endeavours for peace through his ongoing *Verständigungsarbeit* and played an active role in the preparatory work for the ecumenical conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh, although Germany barred its expected delegates from participating.

Adolf Deissmann was not an academic theoriser but he was an intellectual pragmatist. He was not a freethinker but he was a man highly independent in his thinking. He was not a pacifist but he was a passionate peacemaker. He was not a devout Lutheran but he was a pietistic believer in a Pauline Christ-mysticism. He was not a nationalistic *Bildungsbürger* but he was a patriotic *Gebildeter*. He was not a calculating ecumenist but he was an altruistic latitudinarian who was driven by Christ’s prayer ‘that they all may be one’.

Chronological list of Deissmann's published material

I am aware of a number of written contributions from Deissmann in journals, newspapers and other publications, to which he has made passing reference in his letters to colleagues, or occasionally in his published material, but for which I have not been able to confirm all the usual citation details, and some others lack too much basic information to make their inclusion here useful. Thus, while every effort has been made to provide a much more comprehensive list of his writings than has been available until now, it does not claim to be complete or consistent in every detail. Although various pieces were printed unchanged in more than one publication, in each case only one of these will be given here. Of his books, only the first editions are listed; and except for his more seminal works translations are not included.

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- 1895, *Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*, Marburg
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Berlin UArch.	Germany
DAI	Germany
EZA	Germany
GStA	Germany
Heidelberg Stdt.Arch.	Germany
Heidelberg UBibl.	Germany
Herborn Stdt.Arch.	Germany
Hessen EKZA	Germany
Karlsruhe GArch.	Germany
Koblenz BArch.	Germany
Lambeth Libr.	England
Manchester UArch.	England
Marburg St.Arch.	Germany
München St.Bibl.	Germany
Sydney Nicholson Museum	Australia
Norwegian Nobel Institute	Norway
ÖAI	Austria
Rockefeller FArch.	USA
Tübingen UArch.	Germany
Uppsala UBibl.	Sweden
Geneva WCC Archive	Switzerland
Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre	England
ZLB	Germany
Privately held material	Germany

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