

On the Lutheran Tradition in Estonia - In Particular on the Social-ethical Suggestions of Alexander von Oettingen

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Abstract: This paper reviews Alexander von Oettingen, a Lutheran theologian from what is now Estonia, and his work, which was widely recognized in the 19th century, and his approach that is still influential today. In the background there is the tension between the religious and the secular sphere in the Christian tradition and the resistance of Martin Luther and the Reformation against the medieval unconvincing overcoming of this tension by the consolidation of the papacy and its claim to power. Since the 16th century, the Lutheran profile has had a formative role in Estonia, both politically and ecclesiastically. And even when Estonia fell politically to the predominantly orthodox tsarist Russia, the orientation towards Luther's theology remained - especially at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), which was important for the tsarist empire and where von Oettingen taught. But in the 19th century, in the German culture that stretched as far as Estonia, Martin Luther and Lutheran theology were considered outdated. In the modern world, many felt they could ignore religion. However, this did not prevent von Oettingen from intensively dealing with the modern secular instrument of statistics based on his Lutheran thinking. As a result, he developed the modern tools of statistical social analysis and presented a much-noticed "moral statistic". In this context, he not only founded the modern discipline of social ethics, but is also regarded as a pioneer of the sociology of religion and empirical social research. Furthermore, the insights gained according to his approach, for example about abortions or suicides, can provide information about the mental or religious orientation of a people. In this respect, his method is still important today, not only for politics and society, but also for the church.

Keywords: Lutheranism, Estonia, Alexander von Oettingen, Social Ethics, Society, Abortion, Suicide

1. Introduction

Estonia is a small country and is not exactly in the center of Europe. Nevertheless, it has a share in the great intellectual movements of history and the present. It owes this to important personalities such as the Lutheran theologian Alexander von Oettingen (1827-1905).

The background to his work is that the Christian tradition is shaped by the tension between the religious and the secular sphere, between church and politics or between the sacred and the profane. But it is also part of Christianity that this tension should be overcome in the Middle Ages by consolidating the papacy and its claim to power, but this did not succeed convincingly.

For Estonia and von Oettingen, on the other hand, it was decisive that Martin Luther and the Reformation opposed the

implausibility of the Christian testimony caused by the Middle Ages. In this way, the Lutheran profile gained political and ecclesiastical importance for Estonia from the 16th century onwards.

But when Reinhold Seeberg in 1909 was looking back on the life of his teacher von Oettingen, who had died four years previously, he characterized him as the "last orthodox Lutheran". [1-3] And this was not meant as a compliment. Rather, from the point of view of the time, it must be understood as an indulgent designation for something hopelessly outdated and obsolete, which, in view of the challenges of modernity, would no longer be of any importance. Such an assessment of Oettingen's Lutheran theology is not only to be found among his students and

ultimately also in Adolf von Harnack. And even in the "Luther Renaissance" that grew up around the same time, Oettingen was not registered as a pioneering theologian. All in all, this has to do with a far-reaching lack of understanding for his theological approach, which had grown on Lutheran soil and was ultimately more modern than the "modern" theologians of the time, such as Seeberg or von Harnack, seemed to understand. And that was obviously due to the fact that Oettingen did not get caught up in historicist details, as was popular in the age of historicism. But rather, from a Lutheran point of view and in a very unique way, he faced the problems and ways of thinking of the then current present at the University of Tartu (Dorpat). And the Lutheran perspective is by no means something new for the University of Tartu, but is embedded in the development of Lutheranism in Estonia and the Baltic States in general. [4].

2. Luther and His "Dear Livonians"

It should be remembered here that Luther had the Baltic region already theologically well in mind as early as 1518. [5] The first signs of the Reformation can also be found there as early as 1521 with the preaching of Andreas Knopken. [6] And on February 1, 1524, Luther can almost euphorically go to write to Spalatin: "The gospel is going on in Livonia and is making good progress, especially among those in Riga whose letter and deputies I recently received. How wonderful is Christ." [7] Moreover, he writes to them, "dear sir and brother," that he "may gladly speak them beatified". [8].

It must be added that the term "Livonia" used here and then customary in Luther's time meant a landscape "at the end of the world", [9] which extended temporal in different forms over the areas of today's Latvia and Estonia. There, as early as 1524, a Protestant union was founded of Tallinn (Reval), Tartu (Dorpat) and Riga. [10]. Finally, the Reformation prevailed "completely and. exclusively in the form of Lutheranism". [11].

Grüner now enumerates that in the period from 1523 to 1540 Luther addressed his "dear Livonians" at least 17 times, mostly with letters and expert opinions. [12] However, the reactions to this are not yet known in every case.

But perhaps the headings of his most important writings can show that he was very fond of writing to the Livonians, although without being able to come to Riga, Reval or Dorpat himself. In 1523 he wrote "To the elected dear friends of God, all Christians in Riga, Reval and Dorpat in Livonia, my dear gentlemen and brothers in Christo". [13] In the same key he headlined in 1524: "Martinus Luther All dear friends in Christo in Riga and Livonia." and adds an interpretation of Psalm 127. [14] And in 1525 he writes "To all dear Christians in Livonia, together with their pastors and preachers". [15].

What moves him in his "Letters", partly in the Pauline style, is "care for the souls of Christians", while here outside the borders of Germany he leaves politics to the "worldly understanding". [16] It may suffice at this point to take note of Grüner's overview of Luther's writings to the Livonians, according to which they contain the core Reformation

questions of grace, justification, the greatness and love of God and the power and miracles of the Lord Christ, but not dogmatically didactic, but particularly true to life with the purpose of edifying the parish. [17].

Even if Martin Luther's Reformation was adopted early on by the German population, [18] the development of Lutheranism was by no means only concentrated on the Germans there. Rather, the tribes of Livonia, which at that time was still part of the German Empire, [19] apparently gladly accepted the gospel, and so Luther's catechism was published in Estonian [20] as early as 1535 and in Latvian in 1586/7. [21] This language difference may indicate that, in addition to Luther's extensive devotion to the Livonians in general, [22] his exclusive correspondence to the Estonian part of Livonia is by all means less. It is almost limited to the letters to the council of the cities of Reval (today Tallinn) and Dorpat (today Tartu) and deals with personnel and administrative issues. [23] In any case, Girgensohn knows how to sum up that Luther not only had "great importance for our church" as the herald of the newly created true word of God, but he also served "our ancestors as a warm personal friend and participated in the fate of the Livonian congregations to the heartiest part". [24].

3. Lutheranism in the Tsarist Empire: Social-ethical Aspects of the Question of Authority

At this point it is not necessary to go into more detail at what times and in what way the rule of the Deutscher Orden, the Russians, the Poles or the Swedes changed over Livonia or Estonia since the 17th century. In any case, one consequence was the strengthening of the Lutheran profile of this region. [25] This did not change when, the Baltic States fell to Russia for around 200 years as a result of the Northern War (1700 to 1721). Rather, the Protestant, Lutheran church system there was initially able to develop unhindered during these years. [26] It was even included in the special tasks that awaited the Baltic areas as now new Russian Baltic provinces in the continent-spanning Russian Empire: namely, they should mediate the "superior" European knowledge and culture - again represented by the Protestant-Lutheran tradition - into the still underdeveloped wide tsarist empire.

From the social-ethical perspective, however, the church's contribution to this project had its own significance. On the one hand, the Lutheran Christians in Livonia never doubted that they felt committed to the state in which they lived, according to the fourth commandment - even if it was denominationally subject to a different (here orthodox) overall character. On the other hand, being a Christian also meant seeing oneself called upon to resist when state law was transgressed and in the face of orthodox indoctrination. This ecclesiastical and theologically differentiated perspective made it clear, for example - and this was already the case when the German Reich was founded in 1871 - that there could well be an exaggerated cult of a (German) nationality

which, as a Christian, one could escape from simply by leaving one's ancestral homeland. [27].

This sober Lutheran attitude, hardened in the confrontation with the Russian-Orthodox alliance of state and church, demonstrates that Barth's complete identification of Lutheranism with unconditionally state obedient theology and church [28] is refuted solely by the existence and ecclesiastical life and suffering of Baltic Lutheranism.

In a certain sense, the fact also belongs in this context that in the mid-17th century the Lutheran pastor Heinrich Stahl (1600-1657) developed the first Estonian grammar [29] so that the mostly German pastors, in the spirit of Luther, could preach to the Estonian-speaking people in their mother tongue. Stahl thus became the "father" of the written Estonian language. It was a few more decades to 1682 before the Bible was translated into (South) Estonian, again based on Luther's example. It was "a memorable event for Estonian culture" [30] insofar as such a writing of the Estonian language created a bulwark against the later massive absorption and annihilation of Estonian culture into the Russian Empire.

4. The University of Tartu (Dorpat) and the Lutheran Profile

Understandably, the University of Tartu (Dorpat), which was (re)founded in 1802, had to play a special role in the mediation process decreed by the Tsar between the Baltic regions and the eastern provinces of the Russian Empire. In its theological faculty with a strictly denominational Lutheran character, [31] all of the young Protestant theologians were trained for the Russian Empire - from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. [32] Adolf von Harnack, who was born and shaped in Tartu, analyzes that the tsar "ignored every national-Russian concerns and.. at the same time placed complete trust in the loyalty of the Germans in the Baltic Sea provinces". [33] Furthermore, Harnack even says, that Lutheranism had been consolidated by the university in the Baltic countries and had become completely merged with the spirit of the Estonians and Latvians. [34].

It should be pointed out that the theological tradition and piety that was cultivated at this University of Tartu was similar to the Erlangen theology, which was much discussed at the same time in the German-speaking world in the mid-19th century. [35] The reason for such a similarity finds not least in the fact that there was a wide range of exchanges and various suggestions between the explicitly Lutheran theological faculties in Tartu and in Erlangen, which are hardly adequately traced in detail. But, for example, Theodosius Harnack worked in Tartu from 1844-1852 and 1865-1875 and in between from 1853-1866 in Erlangen. [36] The Hofmann student Wilhelm Volck also taught in Tartu from 1862-1898. [37] And vice versa, Oettingen's student, Reinhold Seeberg, taught in Erlangen from 1889-1898 after his academic qualification in Tartu. [38].

5. Alexander von Oettingen as a Baltic Lutheran

Almost parallel to the consolidation of the Lutheran profile of the university, the Russification efforts that had been pushed forward from Moscow since the middle of the 19th century as part of an awakening nationalism had a major impact. They were combined with a pushing towards the Russian Orthodox Church, from which the predominantly Lutheran population and the university suffered considerably. [39] According to reliable biographical reports, Alexander von Oettingen was one of the first men in the country in this resistance and fighting situation in his church. [40] At the same time, however, he was also highly honored as a "Kaiserlich-russischer Wirklicher Staatsrat". [41] As Seeberg reports, he was seen as a "walking apology of (Lutheran) Christianity". [42] His nature was "penetrated and sanctified by the spirit of Christ." [43] And his lectures on "Moralstatistik" regularly attracted a large audience of students from all faculties. [44] His residence on the Tartu "Wallgraben" was dubbed with highly respect the "Vatican". [45].

If one asks about Oettingen's theological fathers, one is first referred back to the University of Tartu, where he first studied philology from 1845-1846 and then theology until 1849. At that time, Theodosius Harnack taught as a practical theologian, Johann Karl Friedrich Keil as an exegete, Friedrich Busch as a church historian and Friedrich Adolf Philippi as a systematist. At that time, Philippi had the strongest influence on the faculty, and thus also on Oettingen.

And Seeberg thinks he can characterize part of Oettingen's work somewhat disparagingly by the fact that he "(renewed) Philippi's attempt to bring the orthodox teaching system as a whole and without deductions closer to the new time, in ongoing internal and external confrontation with the newer and newest dogmatic work". [46].

Perhaps this assessment may have been justified at first, but later Oettingen distanced itself more and more clearly from Philippi. And at the latest in his Dogmatics he rejected in particular the Philippian procedure of including ecclesiastical doctrinal regulations or old dogmatic formulas unchanged in the systematic development itself. [47] Oettingen's aim, on the other hand, was to present the organic connection between the individual dogmas in connection with the Christian's subjective experience of salvation. [48].

Apparently, there was an approach to J. C. K. von Hofmann and the "Erlanger Theology" [49] after Oettingen had passed his candidate exam in 1850. Because together with his brother-in-law Moritz von Engelhardt he not only continued his studies in Berlin and Bonn, where he also studied with Albrecht Ritschl, but also in Erlangen. His habilitation in Tartu then took place in 1854. Then, in 1856, he first became an associate professor and a few months later a full professor of systematic theology. [50].

In retrospect, Seeberg thinks he can state that Oettingen's theology "was finished while he was in the first half of the thirties of his life". [51] If so, it means not a contrast to the fact that Oettingen then was concentrating on ethical and aesthetic issues for almost thirty years of his life.

The impetus for Oettingen to deal with moral statistics came from the national economist and statistician Adolf Wagner, who was appointed to Tartu in 1865. [52] Wagner had been led to the assumption of absolute determinism in his recently published work "Die Gesetzmäßigkeit in den scheinbar willkürlichen menschlichen Handlungen vom Standpunkte der Statistik". [53] However, this position was theologically unacceptable to Oettingen. And so the confrontation with the empirical justification of this determinism thesis drew him deeper and deeper into moral statistical studies. In 1868, after a relatively short time, Oettingen was able to present his own "Moralstatistik" [54] and reprint them in revised form in 1874 and 1882.

6. The "Moralstatistik" as the Basis of Oettingen's Theological Thinking

Pöder is currently trying to emphasize aspects of a theology of the cross more clearly in Oettingen. [55] But that must not lead to overlooking Karl Girgensohn's justified analysis that it was the publication of his "Moralstatistik" that brought Oettingen a "scientific world reputation". [56] His "Christliche Sittenlehre" he developed from this in 1873 was described by Emil Brunner, for example, as the "best ethical achievement of the 19th century". [57] In this respect, the focus in the following should not be placed on Oettingen's remarkable dogmatic achievements, but rather on his social-ethical impulses. However, Oettingen was by no means the first theologian to focus on statistics. For example, Schleiermacher considered it absolutely necessary to use "ecclesiastical statistics" to gain comprehensive "knowledge of the social situation in all the different parts of the Christian church" and therefore he held lectures about this topic often enough. [58].

In his approach, however, Schleiermacher was only too clearly oriented towards the older, so-called "university statistics" in the sense of Achenwall, [59] which exhausted themselves almost unmathematically in a more or less flowery description of all "national oddities".

On the other hand, thanks to Wagner's suggestion, Oettingen dealt with "modern" numerical or mathematical statistics. That had to be surprising for the time and the allegations of social infertility raised by Max Weber or Ernst Troeltsch against denominational Lutheran theology:[60] Ironically, a consciously Lutheran theologian begins a conversation with modern statistics in which the sociality of people is emphatically addressed. And in doing so, Oettingen not only made use of modern statistical instruments in his ethical work, which was also well respected in statistical science, [61] but he also subjected it to ethical reflection.

In the manner already indicated above, it was also shown here that, contrary to the ideas of the then "modern" liberal theology of Ritschl or Harnack, Oettingen was not concerned with a "symbiosis" of modern - here statistical - thinking with theology, but with maintaining denominational characteristics. And in view of the decisive distinction

between law and gospel for Lutheran theology, this had to mean that he necessarily included statistics in the category of law. And his basic idea was then to open up ways for modern man to deal with the divine law with the help of his own thinking - namely statistics.

In this context, it is Elert [62] who emphasizes Oettingen's merit in using statistics to show modern people the extent of moral derailments and their consequences - or, as Trillhaas says, the "realities of social life" [63] - for the first time. When Oettingen was then publicly accused of not having presented "moral statistics" at all, but rather "immoral statistics", this is justified in a certain sense. [64] In fact, it was his declared intention to ensure that the divine law was taken seriously and understood in its judging or self-judgmental function.

It was precisely this theological context that led him to use statistics to construct his social-ethical system. Furthermore, the statistical way of thinking, which is based on mass processes, led him to perceive all collective and social references to reality with particular urgency. As a result, he was the first within theology and church to address the modern phenomenon of "society (Gesellschaft)". This not only made him the creator of the new concept of "Sozialethik". But at the same time, through his approach, he also establishes his own theological discipline of "Sozialethik". [65] And some voices even appreciate this new discipline of "Sozialethik" in such a way that its reference to the common good gives it an advantage over individual ethics, [66] while others believe that ethics are actually always "Sozialethik". [67].

Be that as it may, this controversy must not allow to forget that Oettingen using the numerical or mathematical statistics in a completely new way to record the phenomenon of the social thus became a significant stimulus for empirical social research and the sociology of religion. [68].

7. Oettingen's "Christliche Sittenlehre": Its Content Suggestions and Its Formal Failure

As already mentioned above, each of the three editions of his moral statistics brought a wide echo in the theological and extra-theological world. On the other hand, his "Christliche Sittenlehre" of 1873 found no corresponding reaction. [69] It undoubtedly brought a wealth of inspiration for many facets of ethics, but apparently its content did not fit into the theological (and political) landscape at the founding of the Wilhelmine Empire. After all, who would e.g. want to hear Oettingen's warnings against the "questionable ethical consequences of the principle of nationality" at the time when national enthusiasm flared up after German unification in 1871, as well as against the "cosmopolitanism" propagated by certain representatives of liberalism? On the other hand, Oettingen obviously knew - not least because of the informations collected in his "Moralstatistik" about regionally occurring immorality - more than e.g. Hofmann

and above all many representatives of the cultural Protestantism that was emerging at the time about evil. And thus he also knew more about conflicts of conscience to which a Christian can be exposed, for example as a result of a "pagan apotheosis of folklore" or as a result of "sinful popular tendencies" and popular immorality. And who at that time in the Deutsches Reich, but also in the other national states, would have liked to consider that for a Christian "it (can) become necessary to escape conflicts of conscience by leaving their homeland"? [70].

However much one may appreciate such insights, which were unpopular at the time but important in terms of content, they do not help to overcome a crucial formal deficiency: Actually, his attempt to build up an ethics on the basis of moral statistical knowledge was unsuccessful. For how should it be epistemological possible to found a Sozialethik "based on experience" with the help of statistics? Because of the nature of the matter, it obviously cannot be possible to "prove" a spiritual interpretation of the world and a Christian way of life with the help of "worldly" data, i.e. data found through statistics, in the strict sense.

However, the epistemological findings of the present also include the fact that this fundamental objection must actually be raised against any interpretation of "worldly" perceptions and facts - whereby at the same time precisely this task for the interpretation of all "worldly" perceptions and facts is one of the indispensable requirements of the coping with life that belongs to everyone.

In this respect, the interpretation of facts is vital. And an ethics that does not want to take off into pure, supramundane speculation will refer to statistical results. This cannot be done in the sense of strict mathematical proofs, as Oettingen initially thought. Nevertheless, there are good reasons to consider statistical results "illustratively" in ethical arguments.

For this reason, despite the formal deficiency that has been presented, the merit of the Lutheran theologian Alexander von Oettingen remains, as the first and only theologian of modern times to have taken up the conversation with statistics and thus also to have laid the foundations for a continuation of this conversation. [71].

8. On the Argument That the Lutheran Heritage Is "Out of Fashion"

Oettingen resigned his teaching position in 1891 after thirtyfive years of teaching in Tartu, during which he had also refused any call for other chairs. [72] However, this was only the beginning of his third creative period. Because his student Reinhold Seeberg, who was now teaching in Erlangen, had been urged by the publisher to write a dogmatics, but due to his youth he did not feel ready for it. On the one hand he therefore recommended his old teacher and on the other hand he was actually able to encourage him to develop systematically his Lutheran theology, which had been tried and tested for almost a generation, in a context. [73].

It took Oettingen around ten years to complete his three-

volume "Lutherische Dogmatik" (1897-1902). Unfortunately, from the point of view of the "modern" theology of the time, which was inclined towards historicism, it then had to appear as hopelessly unmodern. Apparently, such traditional Lutheran dogmatics could not be acceptable for the self-confidence and the unbroken belief in progress of this epoch. And later Karl Girgensohn remarked on this in his later dispute with Oettingen: "The demand for a modern transformation of positive theology, a 'modern positive theology', is such an urgent need for the many young people among us who love the old gospel that we unfortunately have to take the advice of the elderly to steer clear of this dangerous enterprise let, can not follow. For us there can only be a 'modern', i.e. contemporary, positive theology, or none at all." [74].

The consequence of such a transformation had to mean, however, that dogmatics in the Lutheran tradition, which placed the justification of the sinner [75] as *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* and therefore man's sinfulness and need for redemption at the center, [76] could at best be perceived as a disturbance.

The world at that time, which was interested in historical connections, offered enough possibilities to relativize Oettingen's work with the help of historical means by analyzing that in it allegedly "a few Hofmann (and) Frankian thoughts were placed on the old orthodox system and over these. A third layer of Ritschlian suggestions to perceive". Since one always only learns how good and correct the old Lutheran building is, a tiredness spreads in the reader, which then also explains why "the great laborious work that should represent the fruit of a theological life has been given so little attention". [77].

It is only today that it is becoming clear to some that the contemporaries, who were completely fascinated by "modernity" at the time, had not found access to what was decisive in Lutheran theology, namely precisely to the doctrine of justification as the heart of Protestant theology. However, who would want to judge mercilessly here: If, for example, even such theologians as Ernst Troeltsch - who was certainly much more popular than Oettingen at the time - following Dilthey had been blocked in the access to this central teaching and its background of experience, [78] how should smaller lights be able for more understanding?

Oettingen, who was nevertheless highly honored in his Baltic homeland, died on August 7 (20) 1905 [79] after a few days of serious illness. It is surprising that Oettingen's student Reinhold Seeberg, despite his criticism of his teacher and his own theological and ethical commitment to historicism and cultural Protestantism, in retrospect on his life, recommends "to take an example of the inner security in the confession of the old truth, of the high-spirited mood of a pious theologian and in the connection of the theologia crucis with the cosmopolitan mind". His work is not only "a faithful compilation of the heritage of our fathers", but it also inspires "to fight for the future". [80].

And overall, there is much to suggest that Ehlert's assessment of the spirit of Dorpat University is correct, that although the theologians Theodosius Harnack, Moritz von

Engelhardt and Alexander von Oettingen were no longer teaching at the end of the 19th century, but that "their spirit had been still effective and alive". [81].

9. Some Social-ethical Inquiries and Observations with Regard to Today's Estonia

Since, in the Lutheran sense and in the responsibility before God, it can never be a question of transfiguring the past, but rather of dealing with the present and the future, a review of this Lutheran theologian and his social-ethical approach should not be limited to the collection of biographical details. Rather, it may not only be permissible but even necessary to ask a few selected social-ethical questions from a quantitative perspective in relation to the region in which Oettingen once lived, in relation to today's Estonia. While 78.3% of the 1,107,059 inhabitants of Estonia identified themselves as Lutheran in the 1922 census, [82] according to the will and ideological conviction of the communists who ruled Estonia until 1991, religion should no longer exist as a social phenomenon. Either one expected the extinction of all religions or one helped to a large extent by means of sometimes nasty sanctions, which had considerable consequences for the mental structure of the Estonians. According to Kiivit's analysis, it is anchored in the consciousness of the Estonians that for decades "torture and killing, to which millions and millions fell victim, were an inseparable part of the (atheistic) Soviet system". [83].

It is certainly not possible to find unequivocal answers or to prove mathematically how long years of oppression have etched themselves into the souls of Estonians. However, the requirement to demand ultimate accuracy here would only have to result in not attempting an answer at all. In this respect, all that remains is an attempt based on quantitative perspectives and methods to gain an "illustrative" overview through some data, as Alexander von Oettingen would certainly have dared in his time.

And surely changes in a soul's condition may be most evident in a person's dealings with life and death. And first of all, not only for Estonia, it can be said that the worst successes of communist (re)education can be shown by way of example, especially in dealing with unborn life. The protection of life demanded by the Christian tradition, including that of the unborn, was most clearly disregarded here - apparently in favor of a state ideology that promised pleasure and joie de vivre.

Although there are no direct data for Estonia from the 19th century, it is to expect that the numbers for this period are minimal. [84] On the other hand, it must be stated that during the communist era, e.g. for every birth there were almost two abortions. [85] Fortunately, however, the abortion rate as a sign of a bad attitude towards life has fallen significantly after the end of the communist system. Nevertheless, the abortion rates in Estonia significantly exceed those of other European countries and in 2011, with 8,654 abortions per 14,679 births

[86] and thus an abortion rate of 590/1000, it is still almost three times as high as in directly neighboring Finland [87] and 3.6 times as high as in Germany. [88] However, the path out of the deeply rooted, inhuman attitude to life seems to be progressing further. In 2017 in Estonia there were only 5,756 abortions per 13,784 births, which corresponds to an abortion rate of 418/1000, which, however, still means more than three times the abortion rate in Germany. [89-90].

In addition to the problem of abortions, the high suicide rate in Estonia is a cause for thought. It was Oettingen who had already dealt extensively with suicide in his moral statistics. [91] What he can point out as particularly disturbing for that time is the astonishing increase in the suicide rate. [92].

And what he can then state apparently for the period from 1874-1878 about "Our Baltic suicide rate", i.e. also the Estonian one, is a quotient "from about 65 to 1 million inhabitants", i.e. according to current information 6.5/100,000. It was thus "twice as strong as the Finnish and Russian ones." [93] These dates could stand for an Estonian or "Finno-Ugric" peculiarity. [94] However, Oettingen himself refers to the many times higher suicide rate in Denmark, Thuringia and Saxony. [95].

However, the suicide rate in Soviet times is of a completely different magnitude. As shown in Table 1 for 1970, the number of suicides in Estonia is 31.5 per 100,000 inhabitants, almost five times higher than in Oettingen's time. And the rate is about twice as high as in Germany, which could support the "Finno-Ugric" thesis. But the suicide rates for Latvia and Lithuania (28.3 and 25.8 respectively per 100,000 inhabitants) given in Table 1 for 1970 must be held against.

These high rates are more likely to reflect the emotional distress of all Balts during this terrible time of communist occupation.

Table 1. [96-98].

Suicide rates: number of suicides per 100,000 inhabitants				
Selected years	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Germany
1970	31,5	28,3	25,8	16,7
1994	40,7	40,3	45,7	15,8
2011	16,31	21,23	33,38	12,14
2018	14,85	15,57	23,98	10,61

Mehilane now points out that in 1991, during the "Singing Revolution", when Estonia was liberated from communist oppression, the suicide rate there dropped from 33.7 per 100,000 in the early 1980s to 24.3 in 1988/9. [99] On the other hand, the suicide rates rose again at the beginning of the 1990s (Table 1 1994: 40.7/100,000). Some interpret this as a sign that the new conditions compared to the ordering and stabilizing power of the previous system caused for some people a lot of fear (of death). But it could also be the case that many had already entered this period of upheaval mentally mutilated and now had no more creative power.

In any case - as can also be seen from Table 1 - it can be observed that the suicide rates in Estonia have decreased considerably since the turn of the millennium - and not only in Estonia, but also in the entire Baltic region.

If fluctuations of this kind can now be viewed as indicators of the hope from which a people lives in the sense of Oettingen's social-ethical analysis, the fall in the suicide rate [100] since the turn of the millennium, as well as the permanent fall in the abortion rate, could not be seen as proof, but as an encouraging signal of a certain psychological stabilization of the Estonian population. And that would only be welcome from a social-ethical point of view.

With regard to the current relationship between Estonia and Luther, however, this would in no way document a belief in the sense of Luther's doctrine of justification. However, these data could be understood as indications of how good it is for a people when the state is no longer encroaching as it was in communist times and, contrary to the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms, tries to intervene in the souls and world interpretation systems of people and to manipulate them in its own interests.

10. Conclusion

Remembering Alexander von Oettingen is not only interesting in terms of intellectual history or the history of Estonia or Lutheranism. Rather, it is helpful to take Estonia as an example to recognize that the Lutheran tradition is not identical with willing servitude to authority. A memory of von Oettingen does not only mean an appreciation of the beginnings of social ethics, the sociology of religion or empirical social research. Rather, the statistical knowledge obtained according to his approach, for example about abortions or suicides, cannot be understood as evidence, but as indications of the mental or religious orientation of a people. That is why Oettingen's approach is still of no small importance for politics, society and the church.

References

- [1] Dietzel, Stefan (2013). Reinhold Seeberg als Ethiker des Sozialprotestantismus. Die ‚Christliche Ethik‘ im Kontext ihrer Zeit. Göttingen, 23ff. currently outlines the position of Reinhold Seeberg as a student of Alexander von Oettingen.
- [2] The death notice of the family and the Dorpat faculty can be found as an attachment to the Nordlivländische Zeitung Nr. 173 of the 8. (21.) August 1905. Surprisingly, Gruehn, Werner (1930). Oettingen, in: RGG IV², 654, and Schott, Erdmann, (1960). Oettingen, in: RGG IV³, 1596, and Christophersen, Alf (2003). Oettingen, Alexander Konstantin v., in: RGG VI⁴, 460 gives the year 1906 as the year of death. Böhme, Monika (1971). Die Moralstatistik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Quantifizierung in der Soziologie, dargestellt an den Werken Adolphe Quetelets und Alexander von Oettingens. Köln/Wien, 30 even the year 1903.
- [3] Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, ein baltischer Theologe. In: Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Aus Religion und Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge Vol. 2, Zur Systematischen Theologie. Leipzig, 37.
- [4] On the Christianization of the Baltic, see e.g. Ripke, Justus Nicolaus (1883). Die Einführung der Reformation in den Baltischen Provinzen und Dr. Martin Luther's persönliche Beziehung zu derselben. Riga, 2ff.
- [5] See Luthers reference to "Livonia" in his Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute of 1518. WA 1,571,20 (WA= Luther, Martin (1883ff.). Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Vol. 1ff. Weimar).
- [6] See WA 18,412. According to Ripke, Justus Nicolaus (1883). Die Einführung der Reformation, 9 the authoritative reformatory writings of 1520, i.e. "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des Christlichen standes besserung"(WA 6,404-469), "De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium Martini Lutheri."(WA 6, 497- 573) and "Von der Freyhey eyñß Christen menschen"(WA 7, 20-38), "paved their way to all hearts longing for truth, also in Livonia."
- [7] WABr 3,241,17-20: "Euangelion oritur & procedit in Liuania, presertim apud Rigenses feliciter, quorum literas ac legatum nuper suscepi; Sic mirabilis est Christus." (WABr= Luther, Martin (1930ff.). Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel Vol. 1ff. Weimar).
- [8] WA 12, 147, 7f.; 148, 3.
- [9] WA 12, 148, 3.
- [10] Salumäe, Tiit (1993). Estland, in: Andreas Rössler (Ed.), Protestantische Kirchen in Europa, Stuttgart, 50.
- [11] See Iserloh, Erwin (1985). Die Reformation in Osteuropa, in: Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte ed. by Hubert Jedin, Vol. IV Freiburg, 326.
- [12] Grüner, Viktor (1941). Luthers Livland gewidmete Schriften, in: Luther-Jahrbuch 23, 94ff.
- [13] WA 12, 147-150, especially WA 12, 147, 1-3: "Den Auszerwelten lieben Freunden gottis, allen Christen zu Righe, Revell und Tarbthe ynn Liefeland, meynen lieben herren und brudern ynn Christo".
- [14] WA 15, 360-378, especially WA 15, 360, 1-2: "Martinus Luther Allen lieben freunden ynn Christo zu Rigen und Liffland."
- [15] WA 18, 417-21, especially WA 18, 417, 1-3: "Allen lieben Christen ynn Liefeland sampt yhren Pharhern und predigern." And perhaps it should also be added here that Luther was also willing to write the preface to a commentary on the Apocalypse that had been given to him by reliable Livonians (see WA 26, 123, 5).
- [16] Grüner, Viktor (1941). Luthers Livland gewidmete Schriften, in: Luther-Jahrbuch 23, 117.
- [17] Grüner, Viktor (1941). Luthers Livland gewidmete Schriften, in: Luther-Jahrbuch 23, 118. For a more detailed description of the reformatory upheaval in Livonia, see e.g. Helmsing, J. Th. (1868). Die Reformationsgeschichte Livlands in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt, Riga.
- [18] For further details of the adoption of the Reformation in Livonia and in the Baltic see, e.g. Seraphim, Ernst (1906). Geschichte von Livland Vol. 1, Gotha, 173-222. See as well Ripke, Justus Nicolaus (1883). Die Einführung der Reformation in den Baltischen Provinzen und Dr. Martin Luther's persönliche Beziehung zu derselben. Riga with reports on the Reformation in Riga "and Livonia (in the narrower sense)" (7ff.), in Dorpat (17ff.), in Reval "and Ehstland" (21ff.), on Oesel and Wiek (38f.) and in Kurland (39ff.).

- [19] Girgensohn, Josef (1927). *Die Ostseeprovinzen*, Leipzig/Berlin, 15.
- [20] The oldest book in Estonian is considered to be the Wanradt-Koell-Katechismus of 1535. See Rebane, Liia (2018). LVCREC – VENVS – IV-DITT. Tallinner Bucheinbände zu Beginn der frühen Neuzeit. Buchbinder, Einwirkungen und Verzerrungen. Helsinki, 131ff.
- [21] Helmsing, J. Th. (1868). *Die Reformationsgeschichte Livlands in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt*, Riga, 76.
- [22] Of the 17 writings by Luther to Livonia listed by Grüner, eight letters, most of them relating to administration or personnel, go to Riga or relate to Riga affairs (WABr 3,513/ WABr 5,124/ WABr 5,142/ WABr 5,677f./ WABr 6,166/ WABr 6,169/ WABr 8,134/ WABr 9,220).
- [23] See the five letters: WABr 6,88/ WABr 12,302/ WABr 6,499/ WABr 6,346/ WABr 6, 33.
- [24] Girgensohn, Josef (1917). *Aus der Reformationszeit Alt-Livlands*, Mitau, 16.
- [25] Köhler, Karl Franz (1866). *Die lutherische Kirche in den russischen Ostseeprovinzen*, Leipzig, 8ff.
- [26] Kahle, Wilhelm (1982). *Lutherische Begegnungen im Ostseeraum*, Gütersloh, 48f.
- [27] Oettingen, Alexander von (1873). *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage. Zweiter Teil: Die Christliche Sittenlehre*, Erlangen, 682.
- [28] Barth, Karl (1945). *Eine Schweizer Stimme 1938 bis 1945*, Zürich, 113.
- [29] Stahlen, M. Henrico (1637). *Anführung zu der Esthnischen Sprach*. Revall (ND Tartu 2000²).
- [30] Paul, Toomas (1994). *Die Geschichte der estnischen Bibelübersetzung I Teil (XVI-XIX Jahrhundert)*. Tartu, 14. In the northern dialect, the New Testament was published in 1715 (16).
- [31] Girgensohn, Karl (1918). *Die Theologische Fakultät*, in: Semel Hugo (Ed.) (1918). *Die Universität Dorpat (1802-1918)*, Dorpat, 39-50, especially 39.41.
- [32] Kahle, Wilhelm (1982). *Lutherische Begegnungen im Ostseeraum*, Gütersloh, 172f.
- [33] Harnack, Adolf von (1916). *Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit*, Giessen, 366.
- [34] Harnack, Adolf von (1916). *Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit*, Giessen, 365. However, the descriptions by Bernewitz, (Alexander Hans)(1920). *Die Evangelische Kirche in baltische Landen*, in: Rendtorff, Franz (Ed.) (1920). *Die evangelische Diaspora*, Leipzig, 34-41, especially 39 speak against this - probably only for a certain transitional period.
- [35] Pawlas, Andreas (1990). *Zu den Einflüssen Erlanger Theologie auf das Baltische Luthertum: Alexander von Oettingens Nähe und Distanz zur Theologie J. C. K. von Hofmanns*. *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 59/ 1990, 199-214.
- [36] Merz, Georg (1959). Harnack, Theodosius, in RGG III³, 79f.
- [37] Köberle, Adolf (1908). Volck, Wilhelm: In: *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. 20³, Leipzig, 730-733.
- [38] Dietzel, Stefan (2013). Reinhold Seeberg als Ethiker des Sozialprotestantismus. *Die 'Christliche Ethik' im Kontext ihrer Zeit*. Göttingen, 37ff.
- [39] Frey, Johannes (1910). Dorpat, Universität, in: RGG II¹, 130ff., see further Bernewitz, (Alexander Hans)(1920). *Die Evangelische Kirche in baltische Landen*, in: Rendtorff, Franz (Ed.) (1920). *Die evangelische Diaspora*, Leipzig, 35.
- [40] Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 57f. For more recent work on Oettingen's theology, see e.g. Pöder, Thomas-Andreas (2016). *Solidarische Toleranz. Kreuzestheologie und Sozialethik bei Alexander von Oettingen*, Göttingen.
- [41] Hasselblatt, Arnold & Otto, Gustav (1889). *Album academicum der Kaiserlichen Universität Dorpat*, Dorpat, 355.
- [42] Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 57.
- [43] Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 44f.; see also the reference to his piety Schrenck, Erich von (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, in: *Deutscher Verein in Livland* (Ed.)(1909). *Aus baltischer Geistesarbeit. Reden und Aufsätze*, Riga, 34-40, 38.
- [44] Schrenck, Erich von (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 37 states that the number of listeners sometimes rose to 800.
- [45] Hauptmann, Peter (1982). Dorpat, in: Müller, Gerd a.o. (Ed.) (1982). *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* Vol. IX, Berlin/New York, 161.
- [46] Seeberg, Reinhold (1903). *Die Kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine Einführung in die religiösen, theologischen und kirchlichen Fragen der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 287. Much more disrespectfully and with considerably less understanding Krimmer, Heiko (1973). *Empirie und Normativität. Die Ethik Alexander von Oettingens (Moralstatistik, 3. Aufl. 1882)* Diss. Hamburg, 32f., reproaches Oettingen that he simply reproduces old thoughts "without really considering his own time". And ultimately, he accuses him of having "outdated theology," whatever that means.
- [47] Oettingen, Alexander von (1897). *Lutherische Dogmatik* Vol. I, München, 458. Further differences to Philippi are to be discovered with him, above all with regard to the "Lehre von der Heilsanbahnung" (ibid. 630), "Lehre vom Urstand des Menschen" (Oettingen, Alexander von (1900). *Lutherische Dogmatik* Vol. II/1, München 1900, 397), "Angelologie" (ibid., 17), "Chiliasmus" (Oettingen, Alexander von (1902). *Lutherische Dogmatik* Vol. II/2, München, 701), "Doxologie" (ibid., 732) and in a relative appreciation of realistic conceptions of the sacraments (ibid., 401).
- [48] Oettingen, Alexander von (1897). *Lutherische Dogmatik* Vol. I, München, 452f.
- [49] More precisely see Pawlas, Andreas (1990). *Zu den Einflüssen*, 199ff.
- [50] Schrenck, Erich von (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 34; further see Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 34; see too Frey, Johannes (1905). *Die Theologische Fakultät der Kais. Universität Dorpat* Jurjew 1802-1903, Reval, 188f.

- [51] Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 51. Linnenbrink, Günter (1969). Die „Sozialethische Weltansicht“ Alexander von Oettingens. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte evangelischer Sozialethik, in: Wendland Heinz-Dietrich (Ed.) (1969). Sozialethik im Umbruch der Gesellschaft, Göttingen, 183, is here certainly shifting the emphasis if he sees this alone as the reason for the later relatively low response to Oettingen's dogmatics, that is, that the "complete theologian" did not deal with the theological currents of the late 19th century. Against this the debate of Oettingen with Albrecht Ritschl and partly also with Adolf von Harnack, which runs through the entire dogmatics, should only be mentioned as an example. Even if, as Schrenck, Erich von (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 36 certainly rightly remarks, a complete "assimilation" of the latest "modern" theological thoughts may be missing in Oettingen, this has to do with the fact that Oettingen resisted a self-abandonment of the Lutheran theology to historicism and liberalism. In this sense, the conversation with his student Reinhold Seeberg is to be understood, in which Oettingen, following Mephistopheles' wellknown saying, warned him against the "hidden poison" in theology (See Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 50).
- [52] On this influential figure, who certainly did not find church commitment as a "Christian Socialist" without his relationship with Oettingen, see Stucken, R. (1961). Wagner, Adolph, in: HdSW Vol. 11, 470ff.
- [53] 2 Parts, Hamburg 1864.
- [54] Oettingen, Alexander von (1868). Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage. 1. Teil: Die Moralstatistik, Erlangen. (2. Edition: Oettingen, Alexander von (1874). Die Moralstatistik in ihrer Bedeutung für eine christliche Sozialethik. Erlangen. 3. Edition: Oettingen, Alexander von (1882). Die Moralstatistik in ihrer Bedeutung für eine christliche Sozialethik. Erlangen).
- [55] Pöder, Thomas-Andreas (2016). Solidarische Toleranz, 30ff.
- [56] Girgensohn, Karl (1918). Die Theologische Fakultät, in: Semel, Hugo (Ed.) (1918). Die Universität Dorpat (1802-1918), Dorpat, 39-50, 44. See similar Schrenck, Erich von (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 36; but see also from the abundance of positive appraisals of his approach, e.g. Titius, (Arthur) (1930). Moralstatistik, in: RGG IV², 207; see Titius, (Arthur) (1910). Ethik, in: RGG II¹, p. 667; or see Gass, W(ilhelm) (1887). Geschichte der christlichen Ethik, Vol. II/II Berlin, 255ff.
- [57] Brunner, Emil (1939). Das Gebot und die Ordnungen, Zürich, 4. Edition, 92.
- [58] Schleiermacher, Friedrich (1811/1830). Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums zum Behuf einleitender Vorlesungen entworfen, Berlin, in: Schleiermacher, Friedrich (1843). Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämtliche Werke, Zur Theologie Vol. I Berlin, 75. 90ff. (§195; §§232ff.); see also the reference to Schleiermacher's lectures of 1830/31 with Schneider, J(ohannes) (1931). Statistik, Kirchliche, in: RGG V², 766.
- [59] Achenwall, Gottfried (1749). Abriss der neuesten Staatswissenschaften der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche und Republicken. Göttingen. On Schleiermacher's reference to the older statistical term see also Daiber, Karl-Fritz (1986). Empirische Sozialforschung, in: Fahlbusch, Erwin a.o. (Editor). Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon (3rd Edition), 1023. The outdated statistical term is also still used in the theology of Oettingen's contemporaries. See e.g. Rothe, Richard (1867/71). Theologische Ethik, 5 volumes 1867/71, Vol. IV, XIV.
- [60] Troeltsch, Ernst (1965). Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen. Reprint Aalen, 597ff.; see Weber, Max (1920). Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I, Tübingen, 28; see as well Wünsch, Georg (1921). Der Zusammenbruch des Luthertums als Sozialgestaltung, Tübingen. See also recently Pannenberg, Wolfhart (1983). Anthropologie aus theologischer Perspektive, Göttingen, 12.
- [61] See e.g. not only Tönnies, F(erdinand) (1925). Moralstatistik, in: Elster, Ludwig, Weber, Adolf & Wieser, Friedrich (Ed.). Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft Vol. 6⁴ Jena, 639; but also Zahn, F(riedrich) (1926). Statistik (Allgemeines), in: Elster, Ludwig, Weber, Adolf & Wieser, Friedrich (Ed.). Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften Vol. 7⁴ Jena, 871.
- [62] Elert, Werner (1949). Das christliche Ethos. Grundlinien der lutherischen Ethik. Tübingen, 205.
- [63] Trillhaas, Wolfgang (1970). Ethik, Berlin 3. Edition, 346.
- [64] Oettingen himself refers to these objections of his opponents, specifically in: Oettingen, Alexander von (1873). Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage. Zweiter Teil: Die Christliche Sittenlehre, Erlangen, 19.
- [65] See e.g. Honecker, Martin (1975). Sozialethik, in: ESTL², 2351; Honecker, Martin (1987). Sozialethik, in: ESTL³, 3192; see Schweitzer, W(olfgang) (1962). Sozialethik, in: RGG VI³, 161; See Walther, Christian (1967). Theologie und Gesellschaft. Ortsbestimmung der evangelischen Sozialethik, Zürich/ Stuttgart, 29; see Gremmels, Christian (1982). Sozialethik, Deutsches Pfarrerberblatt 82, 16.
- [66] See e.g. Utz, Artur F. (1964). Sozialethik. Mit internationaler Bibliografie. 1. Teil: Die Prinzipien der Gesellschaftslehre, Heidelberg/ Löwen 2. Edition, 87f.
- [67] See the contradiction of Körtner, Ulrich H. J. (1999). Evangelische Sozialethik, Göttingen, 43 against this view in Herms, Eilert (1991). Gesellschaft gestalten. Beiträge zur evangelischen Sozialethik, Tübingen, XII.
- [68] See e.g. Daiber, Karl-Fritz (1987). Religionssoziologie, in: ESTL³, 2976f.; see Fürstenberg Friedrich & Mörtz Ingo (1979). Religionssoziologie, in: König, René (Ed.) (1979). Handbuch der empirischen Sozialforschung, Vol. 14²: Religion, Bildung, Medizin. Stuttgart, 2; see Kretschmar, G(erald) (1975). Die Kirche in ihrer sozialen Gestalt, in: Ammer, Heinrich a.o. (Ed.) (1975). Handbuch der Praktischen Theologie, Vol. 1, Berlin, 69; see Matthes, Joachim (1969). Kirche und Gesellschaft. Einführung in die Religionssoziologie Vol. 2, Reinbek b. Hamburg, 42; see Maus, H(einz) (1973). Zur Vorgeschichte der empirischen Sozialforschung, in: König, René (Ed.) (1979), Handbuch der empirischen Sozialforschung, Vol. 1³, Stuttgart, 31.; see Rössler, Dietrich (1986). Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie, Berlin/ New York, 93; see Savramis, Demosthenes (1977). Religionssoziologie. Eine Einführung. Bonn 2. Edition, 26.
- [69] Reinhold Seeberg, from his perspective caught by the "modern" and exciting point of view of historicism, even thinks: "The 'attempt at a social ethics on an empirical basis' did not succeed. You can study that in the >Christlichen Sittenlehre< 1873". (Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 53).

- [70] Oettingen, Alexander von (1873). *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage. Zweiter Teil: Die Christliche Sittenlehre*, Erlangen, 681.
- [71] See for initial suggestions by Pawlas, Andreas (1991). *Statistik und Ethik. Zur Problematik der Integration statistischer Aussagen in der Ethik, dargestellt an der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsethik Alexander von Oettingens*. Frankfurt/M./ Bern/ New York/ Paris.
- [72] Gruehn, Werner (1927). Dorpat: II. Universität, in: RGG I², 1992; see also the reference to Oettingen's call to Erlangen in 1856 in: Frey, Johannes (1905). *Die Theologische Fakultät*, 189.
- [73] See the personal report in Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 54.
- [74] Girgensohn, Karl (1904). *Noch ein Wort zur Forderung einer modernen positiven Theologie. Mitteilungen und Nachrichten für die evangelische Kirche in Russland*, 465.
- [75] As far as the core of Luther's theology is concerned, Brunner, Emil (1939). 62 note 16, emphasizes Oettingen with regard to Luther's central understanding of his doctrine of justification, alongside Theodosius Harnack over all the other Lutherans of the 19th century.
- [76] So it wasn't like Ratschow, Carl Heinz (1985). *Rechtfertigung. Diakritisches Prinzip des Christentums im Verhältnis zu anderen Religionen*, in: EZW Texte X/1985, 2, claims that Martin Kähler was the last systematist in Germany in 1883 who tried to include "justification as the all-determining basic article of theological thinking". He didn't consider Oettingen.
- [77] See Seeberg, Reinhold (1909). Alexander von Oettingen, 55f. See also a similar analysis in Gruehn, Werner (1930). Oettingen, in: RGG IV, 2. Edition, 654.
- [78] See the analysis by Fischer, Hermann (1984). *Die Ambivalenz der Moderne. Zu Troeltschs Verhältnisbestimmung von Reformation und Neuzeit*. In: Renz, Horst & Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm (Ed.) (1984), *Troeltsch Studien*, Vol. 3, Protestantismus und Neuzeit, Gütersloh, 72ff.
- [79] It is to read in the death notice of the family in: *Nordlivländische Zeitung* Nr. 173 of the 8. (21.) August 1905: "Last night at 12 o'clock" Oettingen "fell asleep (died) gently after a short illness".
- [80] Seeberg, Reinhold (1905). Alexander von Oettingen, *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten für die ev. Kirche in Russland*, Vol. 61, 481-503, 502.
- [81] Ehlert, Thomas (2018). Traugott Hahn (1875-1919). *Leben, Wirken, Martyrium, Spiritualität und Theologie*. Erlangen, 31f. with reference to Thomsen, Erik (1954). *Traugott Hahn. Ein Märtyrer der baltischen Kirche*, Giessen und Basel, 25.
- [82] Eesti Statistika 1924, Kuukiri nr. 3, S. 12f.. Currently, the Estonian Church states: "About 11% of Estonian population are members of the EELC." (<https://eelk.ee/en/our-church/> on 26.2.2022) and The Lutheran World Federation estimated 172,000 Lutheran church members in Estonia in 2011, see *Lutheran World Information* No. 01/2011, 9.
- [83] Kiivit, Jaan (1991). *Rückkehr aus dem Schweigen. Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Estlands. Gedanken über die Aufgaben von morgen*. In: *Lutherische Kirche in der Welt. Jahrbuch des Martin-Luther-Bundes Folge 38*, Erlangen, 107.
- [84] Oettingen does not provide any figures here, but a trend can be discerned: if Estonia is still included in the German cultural area at the time and Prussia is regarded as representative here, Oettingen, Alexander von (1868). *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage. 1. Teil: Die Moralstatistik*, Erlangen, p. *121* Tab. 137 registers for the years 1862-65 for the whole of Prussia between 14 and 39 abortions. Based on the well over 600,000 births (from his Tab 95 p. *80* there are about 640,000 births on average for 1844-1853), which would probably be expected in the time, there could be determined an abortion rate (abortions to number of births) that would not even be in the tenths per thousand range.
- [85] In 1970 there were 40,663 abortions per 21,552 births, which corresponds to an abortion rate of 1890/1000 (1971: 42,256 abortions per 22,118 births, abortion rate: 1910/1000. 1972: 42,309 abortions per 21,757 births, abortion rate: 1940/1000). See https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/Lepetatud_tabelid_Rahvastik.Arhiv_Rahvastikusundmused.%20Arhiiv/RV174/table/tableViewLayout2 on 23.2.2022 bzw. https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/rahvastik_rahvastikunaitajad-ja-koosseis_demograafilised-pehinaitaajad/RV030/table/tableViewLayout2 on 22.02.2022.
- [86] See https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/Lepetatud_tabelid_Rahvastik.Arhiv_Rahvastikusundmused.%20Arhiiv/RV174/table/tableViewLayout2 on 23.2.2022 bzw. https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/rahvastik_rahvastikunaitajad-ja-koosseis_demograafilised-pehinaitaajad/RV030/table/tableViewLayout2 on 22.02.2022.
- [87] Haagensen, Klaus Munch (Ed.) (2013). *Nordic Statistical Yearbook 2013 Vol 51*, Copenhagen, 42 gives slightly less than 200 abortions per 1000 live births in Finland in 2011.
- [88] In 2011 there were 108,867 abortions per 662,685 live births in Germany and thus an abortion rate of 0.164= 164 abortions per 1000 live births. See <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/232/umfrage/anzahl-der-schwangerschaftsabbrueche-in-deutschland/> on 15.3.2022 and <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/161831/umfrage/gegenueberstellung-von-geburten-und-todesfaellen-in-deutschland/> on 15.3.2022.
- [89] Furthermore, in Estonia in 2018 there were 5,590 abortions per 14,367 births, abortion rate: 0.389. 2019: 5514 abortions per 14,099 births, abortion rate: 0.391. See https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/Lepetatud_tabelid_Rahvastik.Arhiv_Rahvastikusundmused.%20Arhiiv/RV174/table/tableViewLayout2 on 23.2.2022 bzw. https://andmed.stat.ee/en/stat/rahvastik_rahvastikunaitajad-ja-koosseis_demograafilised-pehinaitaajad/RV030/table/tableViewLayout2 on 22.02.2022.
- [90] In 2017 there were 101,209 abortions per 784,901 live births in Germany and thus an abortion rate of 0.129= 129 abortions per 1000 live births. (2018: 100,986 in 787,523 live births: abortion rate 0.128/ 2019: 100,893 in 778,090 live births: abortion rate: 0.130). See <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/232/umfrage/anzahl-der-schwangerschaftsabbrueche-in-deutschland/> on 15.3.2022 und <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/161831/umfrage/gegenueberstellung-von-geburten-und-todesfaellen-in-deutschland/> on 15.3.2022.

- [91] Oettingen, Alexander von (1868). *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage*. 1. Teil: Die Moralstatistik, Erlangen, 906-943 (2. Edition 1874: 689-732/ 3. Edition 1882: 737-785). See as well Oettingen, Alexander von (1881). *Ueber akuten und chronischen Selbstmord. Ein Zeitbild*. Dorpat/ Fellin.
- [92] Oettingen, Alexander von (1868). *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Sozialethik auf empirischer Grundlage*. 1. Teil: Die Moralstatistik, Erlangen, 909 (2. Edition: 695).
- [93] Oettingen, Alexander von (1881). *Ueber akuten und chronischen Selbstmord*, 13.
- [94] This thesis takes up the fact that for a long time the suicide rates in the Finno-Ugric peoples were very high. See e.g. the dates for the year 2000 of the world health organisation, in: <https://apps.who.int/gho/data/node.main.MHSUICIDE?lang=en> on 5.4.2022: the suicide rate of Hungary (33.4 per 100,000), of Finland (24.3 per 100,000) and of Estonia (29.1 per 100,000).
- [95] Oettingen, Alexander von (1881). *Ueber akuten und chronischen Selbstmord*, 65 notes a suicide rate for Denmark of 25.5/100,000, for Thuringia of 30.5/100,000 and for Saxony of 33.4/100,000 for the period from 1874 to 1878.
- [96] Data for 1970 for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania see Statistikaamet (Ed.) (1998). *Eesti, Läti ja Leedu demograafiakogumik*, Demographic data collection of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania 1996, Tallinn, 52 ff.; Data for 1970 and 1994 Germany see https://www.theologische-links.de/downloads/tabellen/selbstmorde_deutschland.html on 17.3.2022 and <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Querschnitt/Demografischer-Wandel/textbaustein-taser-blau-bevoelkerungszahl.html?nn=238640> on 16.3.2022 (1970: 13,046/78.100.000=16,7/ 1994: 12,718/80,400.000= 15,8).
- [97] Data for 1994 for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania see Nordic Statistical Secretariat (Ed.) (1996). *Yearbook of Nordic Statistics 1996 Vol 34*, Århus, 326.
- [98] Data for 2011 and 2018 see <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00122> on 16.3.2022.
- [99] Mehilane, L (embit) (1996). *Mental Health Care Reforms in the Baltic states*, Tartu, 26.
- [100] Perhaps the similar development of the murder rate in Estonia could also be added to this overview of figures. This rate fell from 4.73 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 2011 to 2.26 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018. However, it must not be concealed that this rate is still more than eight times (0.54 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 2011) or more than five times (0.4 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018) as high as in Germany. See <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00146/default/table?lang=de> on 14.03.2022.