Luther in Printed Marginalia: Reference Notes, Reading and Representations in Swedish Lutheran Prints 1570–1630

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This article investigates reference notes to Luther’s works in Swedish books produced from 1570–1630 and uses this case study to explore the presence and function of reference notes to Luther’s works in Lutheran print during the age of confessionalisation. Building on scholarly work on representations of Luther within Lutheran Culture, early modern reading and printed marginalia, it explores reference notes as a medium for representing and commemorating Luther in print. It is argued that reference notes were a useful tool for translators and publishers to highlight Luther’s authority while simultaneously giving the texts credibility. Reference notes materialised in print the Lutheran wish to create a bond between Luther and the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century reader, as they signalled and verified the spiritual presence of Luther in the printed text and hence enabled the reader to imagine an encounter with the authentic Luther through his texts.

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS

Luther’s collected works; Reference notes; citing; reading; Lutheran culture; representation

In 1577 a Lutheran devotional text written in Swedish was published in Rostock. It was entitled Undervisning om en rätt kristen bön and contained prayers for different occasions. On some pages there were printed reference notes, such as ‘Tom. I Ienen. Fol. 172’, together with information in the heading that revealed that the prayer was originally written by Martin Luther. The reference notes could be found throughout the book and had much in common with today’s footnotes as they gave accurate information on the source of the prayers – nevertheless, it was first during the eighteenth century that the practice of putting the reference at the foot of the page emerged.

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1 Gothus, Undervisning, Jör. Estborn, Evangeliska svenska bönböcker, 190–192; Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi, Vol. 2, 477–478.
2 Tribble, “From the Marginal Note,” 229–244. The practice of using symbols to connect a note to a relevant location in the text has been in use since the Middle Ages. Kwakkel, Books before print, 55–59. On the development of the footnote after print, see Grafton, The Footnote. These symbols did not occur in the devotional Lutheran texts investigated in this article, rather so-called bottom notes or side notes were used, such as a note at the end of a paragraph, often within a larger body of text or at the side of the paragraph.
Hence, 'Tom. I Ienen. Fol. 172' informed the reader that the source was folio 172 in Volume 1 of Luther’s *Collected Works*, the Jena edition.

Devotional texts with quotes from Luther were aimed at parish clergy and wealthy burghers, but they were hardly likely to benefit from the accurate reference notes. Even though Luther’s *Collected Works* were desirable volumes in Lutheran Europe, a publisher and translator could not assume that their audience had them at hand, even less so in peripheral Sweden. The editions of the *Collected Works* were expensive; so expensive that only few parishes could afford a set and they were far beyond the means of most individuals. Hence, checking the notes, or through the notes extending their reading, was not an option for most readers of *Undervisning om en rätt kristen bönn*. Why when were the reference notes there? What purpose did they have, and what can they tell us about Lutheran print around 1600?

The article investigates reference notes to Luther’s work in printed marginalia in Swedish book production between 1570–1630 and uses this case study to explore their presence and function in Lutheran print in the age of confessionalisation. The reference note in *Undervisning om en rätt kristen bönn* was not a peculiar case but an example of a common medium used in Lutheran publications (and others as well) at the turn of the sixteenth century. Since the practice of referring to a source was not compulsory but optional – in contrast to today’s scientific publications – the reference notes reveal much about the desires and visions of Lutheran culture around 1600.

The case study of reference notes to Luther’s writings in Swedish prints has relevance for the wider study of Lutheran culture around 1600 by investigating a yet unexplored medium for representing Luther in print. The investigation expands on scholarly work regarding how Lutherans at the turn of the sixteenth century chose to represent Luther and his texts, where representation refers to visual, textual or graphical presentations of his works, ideas and legacy. During the last decade, scholars have shown that representations of Luther as the main authority became a significant feature of Lutheran culture during the age of confessionalisation. This was reflected in representations of the Reformer as a trustworthy authority. Luther served as an identity-forming figure and constant point of reference, and textual descriptions of him produced an understanding of him as, for example, a humanist, anti-papist, professor, confessor of faith, preacher or hero, and visual representations highlighted him as the ‘the stout doctor’.

By highlighting the importance of Luther as the great reformer, Lutherans could form...
a community of memory and confessional identity in times of internal struggle, confessional conflicts and experiences of threats from the Catholic Church as well as Reformed groups. However, Lutheran devotional culture did not settle there but developed ways to commemorate Luther that made him accessible for them on an individual basis, as with Luther relics or grapho-relics. Reference notes, it will be argued, combined these different elements, as they emphasised Luther’s authority and added new ways of presenting and memorialising him, while at the same time offering the reader the imagined experience of reading his original text.

Reference notes to Luther between scholarly practice and Lutheran culture

Printed reference notes to Luther’s works in devotional and polemical publications seem to have been developed in the German-speaking areas and then exported to other parts of Lutheran Europe. For example, in 1565, in his *Wie die Bücher und Schriften des teuern und Seligen Manns Gottes D. Martini Lutheri nützlich zu lessen*, Joachim Mörlin referred to what he considered the especially important works of Luther with references to a volume of the Jena edition of the *Collected Works*. The Swedish reference notes are an adoption of a German Lutheran practice and thereby reflect how this practice spread and was used in non-German Lutheran countries.

Reference notes were, of course, not a sole Lutheran phenomenon but corresponded to established scholarly practices. In the sixteenth century, the use of references was changing, as the marginal gloss was challenged by reformers and humanists advocating the plain text without glosses. Nevertheless, reformers and humanists also started to use marginalia themselves to establish authorised interpretation, as already visible in vernacular Bibles, scholarly work on church history and antiquarianism. With the advent of print it became easier to add a large amount of marginalia to a text. This often consisted of comments or finding devices, but reference notes were also added to the text. The reference notes in Lutheran publications were part of a wider development where references gained importance in light of the confessional conflict and scholarly practices. Thus to collect sources, quote and name them explicitly, and have accurate references became an important tool for authors, translators and publishers in the later half of the sixteenth century as they in the heat of the confessional conflicts wrote the history of their church. For Lutherans, as for Catholics, the use of reference notes to a page or folio demonstrates how it became necessary to make a higher degree of precision to exactly which part of a text another one was related. As such they were tools for a goal-directed reading of professional scholars. Hence, reference notes not only supplied information,

8 Boettcher, “Late-sixteenth Century Lutherans,” 121–141; Klitzsch, *Redaktion und Memoria*; Dingel, *Memoria*; Boettcher, “The Memory of Martin Luther,” 47–69.
9 Roper, “Luther Relics,” 330–353; Rublack, “Grapho-relics,” 144–166.
10 Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 107. See Mörlin, *Wie die Bücher*, A5r (VD16 M 5896).
11 Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, 11–100; Grafton, I, 148–189.
12 Grafton, *The Footnote*, 148–189. On Lutheran history writing around 1600, see Gordon, *Protestant history*; Pohlig, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit*. A higher degree of accuracy in quoting was also used in printed natural history texts, see Habermann, “Praktiken des Zitierens”.
13 Saenger, “Benito Arias Montano”.

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they could, together with layout, typography and other paratextual elements, predispose the reader.

References to Luther appeared in a context that was keen to highlight him as the hero of the Reformation (although authorities other than Luther were also mentioned in reference notes in the same books, foremost Melanchthon or the early Church Fathers). Sweden was not isolated from these developments within Lutheran culture. In fact, representations of Luther in Sweden followed the same pattern but on a smaller scale; no biography of Luther was printed during this time but Lutherans were eager to mention his name and highlight his importance. It is this connection between established scholarly practice and Lutheran representations that form the context in which the references will be analysed.

Swedish book production and confessional conflicts

The production of books in Swedish during the period 1570–1630 was characterised by confessional tensions. In that sense, it resembled publishing patterns in other parts of Lutheran Europe. Editions were probably small, with only 400–600 copies made in most cases. The readership of the devotional and polemical literature comprised mainly Lutheran clergymen, but also wealthy burghers, hence the purpose of the publications was to consolidate and reinforce Lutheran confessional identity and strengthen common values.

In the German book market, four types of Luther’s texts appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century: ’some of his catechetical–homiletical works, first prints of previous unpublished texts, Luther florilegia and, reprints of certain individual texts which were assigned new meaning in the context of political or controversial theological debates’. A large-scale publication of Luther’s texts in new editions did not take place; however, access to his work was ensured through the mastodon project to collect and edit his texts in the Collected Works. The Swedish translations followed the same publication pattern producing mainly catechetical–homiletical works, the Luther florilegia, and texts that were used as tools in the confessionalisation process. It is in these texts that reference notes to Luther’s works can be found.

During the period 1570–1630 Sweden experienced a process of confessionalisation, where different confessional truth claims clashed and were negotiated. The process

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14 For example, Vägen till salighet, Några synnerliga bevis, Bevis och Svar på bevisbok. Melanchthon and the Church Fathers are represented as writers supporting Luther’s texts, and Luther’s authority as an interpreter of the true faith.
15 The only biographical text about Luther printed in Swedish during the period was ’Parentatio Lutheri: thet är, en christselig predican om salig doctore Martino Luthero’, printed in Gothus, Een märklig Predican. A new edition was published in 1628, see Arosiandrinus, Parentatio Lutheri. On the German source text, see Pohlig, ”Luthers Thesenanschlag,” 501–506.
16 Weber, ”The End of the Reformation in Sweden”.
17 Czaika, Elisabet Vasa; Czaika David Chytræus; Weber, ”Buch und Konfessionskonflikt,” 111–130.
18 Neddermeyer, Von der Handschrift, 127–133, 390–395; Hansson, ”Afsatt på svenska”, 220–225.
19 Lehmann, ”Pious Middle Classes,” 52–61.
20 On the purpose of Lutheran devotional literature in German, see Kaufmann, Das Ende der Reformation, 184–185; Leppin, Antichrist und Jüngster Tag, 35–38; Pettegree, The Book, 222–224.
21 Translated from: Kaufmann, Konfession und Kultur, 68. On Luther in print after his death, see also Dingel, ”Strukturen der Lutherrezeption,” 32–50, Koch, ”Lutherflorilegien,” 105–117; Kolb, Martin Luther.
22 On confessionalisation in Sweden, see Czaika David Chytræus, 57–69; Lund, ”Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism,” 429–444; Berntson, ”Skara stift,” 19–42. Older instructive works on the period are Montgomerty, Värjostånd och lärostånd; Strömberg-Back, Lagen, rätten, läraren.
can roughly be described as follows. A Lutheran church ordinance had been introduced in 1571 but was questioned during the reign of Johan III (1537–1592). Through his marriage to the Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon (1526–1583), the king had strong connections to Catholic Europe and tried to find a middle way between the Lutheran and Catholic confessions, as clearly expressed in the new liturgical order that he tried to introduce. This was met with strong resistance from the Lutheran clergy, which grew even stronger after his son Sigismund (1566–1632) ascended the Swedish throne in 1592. Before his coronation in 1594, Sigismund, who had been raised a Catholic and reigned as king of Poland since 1587, was forced by a Swedish Diet to promise to uphold the Lutheran faith. His uncle Duke Charles convened a church synod in Uppsala in 1593, which confirmed the Augsburg confession as the norm for the Swedish church. However, Sigismund was deposed by a Diet held in Stockholm in 1599, and the following year Charles was elected king of Sweden and crowned as Charles IX (1550–1611). His reign was characterised by conflicts and constant doubts as to whether the king with his reformed sympathies was to be regarded as a true Lutheran. The transformation of Sweden into a Lutheran confessional state was completed under his son Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632). The oath that the king swore at his coronation in 1611 contained both the Augsburg Confession and the decision of the Synod of Uppsala. A charter adopted by the Diet of Örebro in 1617 prescribed severe punishments for apostasy from the Lutheran faith and the death penalty for those who conducted Catholic propaganda.

Luther in Swedish reference notes and the collected works

With respect to Swedish book production between 1570–1630, 11 books that contain reference notes to Luther have been found. These books form the empirical base of the investigation. They are, however, not identical with the corpus of translations of Luthers’s texts into Swedish, as many texts were translated without reference notes, such as *Om man må fly från pesten* or Luther’s foreword to *Aesop’s Fables.* The many editions of the *Small Catechism* also did not contain reference notes. In total, there were approximately 50 publications in the period that consisted of translations of Luther’s texts or contained smaller translated paragraphs.

The reference notes made are not to Luther’s original publications from his lifetime, but rather publications that compiled his texts after his death. In *Vägen till Saligheten* no less than 66 reference notes are made to Luther’s works, many of them very accurate, such as ‘Church Postil epistle 12 Dom. Trinitas’ or ‘Tom. 3. Jen fol. 437’ (Figure 1). The

23 Bibliography to Swedish book production in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, Vol. 1, ix–xxi; Collijn, *1600-talet*. All books in these bibliographies that translate and/or compile Luther’s texts have been investigated on reference notes to Luther. In total, 11 books were found. See also Pettegree, *The Book*, 357; Appel/Fink-Jensen, *Religious Reading*. In the analysis, the publications only appear with a short title. The original title can be found in the footnotes.

24 The publications with reference notes are as follows: Gothus, *Vnderwisning om*; Gerumansis, *Enchiridion*; Gothus, *Wägen til salighetena*; Gothus, *Om christeligt tålamod*; Charles IX, *Någre synnerlighe bewijs*; Martini, *Bewijs*; Charles IX, *Swar: opå then bewijsbook*; Botvidi, *D. Mart. Lutheri Tragna förmaning*; Gothus, *Dese. Erasmi Roterodami Trogna*; Eschilli, *Évenlig prophetia*; Gothus, *Tingstadio. Een christeligh, nødstorftig*; Eschilli, *Évenlig prophetia*; Gothus, *Tingstadio. Een christeligh, nødstorftig*; Eschilli, *Évenlig prophetia*; Gothus, *Tingstadio. Een christeligh, nødstorftig*; Benediciti, *Om man må fly för dödhen*. A translation of Luther’s *Ob man fur dem sterben fliehen muge* (1527). Two Swedish editions were published 1603 and 1608: Balk, *Hundrade Esopi fabler*; Balk *Hundrade Esopi fabler*.

25 Benediciti, *Om man må fly för dödhen*. A translation of Luther’s *Ob man fur dem sterben fliehen muge* (1527).

26 Two Swedish editions were published 1603 and 1608: Balk, *Hundrade Esopi fabler*; Balk *Hundrade Esopi fabler*.

27 Lindholm, *Catechismi förfremelse*.

28 Excluded from the numbers are Bibles. On translating Luther in sixteenth century see Weber, “Translating”.

29 Gothus, *Wägen til salighetena*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, Vol. 3, 142–143.
Figure 1. Gothus, Petrus Johannis. Wägen til salighetena. I hwilkom witnesbyrder införde warda vtaff then Heliga Scriift. Rostock: Steffan Möllman, 1592, 343, with the reference note Tom. 3 Jen. Fol. 437. (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Carolina Rediviva, Sv. Rar. 10:122 a Digitised at: https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?dswid=-3283&searchType=EXTENDED&query=w%C3%A4gen+till+&aq=%5B%5B%7B%22A_FQ%22%3A%22w%C3%A4gen+till+%22%7D%5D&aqe=%5D&af=%5D&pid=alvin-record%3A205349&c=10#alvin-record%3A205349).
reference notes are attributed to Luther’s Collected Works or his Table Talk, but also his Church Postil and House Postil. In others, such as Trogen förmanning till alla kristna, reference notes are to unspecified publications by Luther.

The work to collect and edit Luther’s printed legacy had begun after his death with the purpose to make it available to new circles of readers, protect it from corruption by creating an authorised edition, and establish Luther’s texts as the much-needed norm-regulating authority within the Lutheran world. This enterprise was hampered, however, by ongoing conflicts among the Lutherans. As a result, the Collected Works were published in two editions: one in Wittenberg and one in Jena – mirroring the two factions, the so-called Philippists in Wittenberg and orthodox Lutherans in Jena. The Wittenberg edition was arranged by topics and included more than Luther’s printed legacy. The editors added manuscripts, letters and also texts by other authors to enable an understanding of the Reformation process. Some of Luther’s friends and students thought that the Wittenberg edition presented his work in an incorrect way, thus they initiated another edition published in Jena. This edition was chronologically arranged to allow the reader to follow Luther’s theological development. The Wittenberg Collected Works was published in twelve German volumes between 1539–1559 and seven Latin volumes between 1545–1557, and the Jena Collected Works was published in eight German volumes between 1555–1558 and four Latin volumes between 1556–1558.

Other collections of Luther’s texts were also published from the mid-sixteenth century as well as Luther’s dinnertime conversation, the so-called Table Talk. The conversations had been gathered by students and friends and were edited by Johann Aurifaber (1519–1575), who in 1566 published them as Tischreden oder Colloquia Doct. Mart. Luthers. The Table Talk presented Luther’s conversation on a variety of topics, and, as Lyndal Roper has pointed out, made Luther’s theology accessible for the reader ‘in easily digestible chunks’. The reference notes to the Collected Works or the Table Talk, reflect the importance of the publication and the trustworthiness that the authors and translators accorded these collections. The aim of the collections, namely to create a normative source for Luther’s reception, was very successful, as the translations show. The system of detailed reference notes to specific pages in one of the two editions can be studied in Undervisning om en rätt kristen böön, which has four reference notes to the Collected Works, all to the Jena edition. Vägen till saligheten displays more than 60 reference notes to Luther’s works, more than 30 of which to one of the two editions of the Collected Works. Om kristligt tålamod has two reference notes to the Collected Works, Jena edition, but many more to other Luther publications. Några synnerliga Bevis, and Bevis, have a

30 Original quote: “Kykropostile 1 epistle 12 Dom. Trinitis”; Gothus, Wägen til salighetena, 282, 343.
31 Gothus, Dese. Erasmi Roterodami Trogna; Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet, 237, 551.
32 Kolb, Luther, 137–154; Michel, Die Kanonisierung; Schilling and Volz, “Geschichte der Luther-Ausgaben,” 429–559; Wol gast, Die Wittenberger Luther-Ausgabe.
33 Koch, “Lutherforløegene,” 105–117; Kolb, Luther, 155–223; Dingel, “Strukturen der Lutherrezeption,” 32–50.
34 The Table Talk was first published in 1566 in Eisleben, with further editions in the sixteenth century. Klitzsch, Redaktion und Memoria; Bärenfänger et al., Martin Luthers Tischreden. On the bibliography of the Table Talk, see Schilling, ”Bibliographie der Tischreden–Ausgaben,” 747–760.
35 Roper, ”Martin Luther’s Body,” 368.
36 Gothus, Undervisning om een rätt christelig böön; Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi, Vol. 2, 477–478.
37 Gothus, Om christeligt tålamod; Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet, 422.
38 Charles IX, Några synnerliges bevis.
39 Charles IX, Några synnerliges bevis.
handful of reference notes to the *Collected Works*, both Jena and Wittenberg editions, and several to other Luther publications. *Svar på bevisboken* has nine reference notes to the *Collected Works*, while *Förmaningar till borgmästare och rådsherrar* has only one. *Egentlig profetia*, on the other hand, has seven to both editions of the *Collected Works*. Nine reference notes to the *Table Talk* can be found in *En kristlig undervisning om världens sista tillstånd och ända*, but the publications also contain many reference notes to unspecified publications by Luther, such as ‘In the exposition of Cap. 14 Genesis’. The *Enchiridion* makes a special case, as it contains more than 150 reference notes to the Wittenberg edition of the *Collected Works*.

**Luther’s authority**

During the sixteenth and seventeen centuries, printed marginalia were adopted in many ways, from the minimum information present in cross-references within the Bible that directed the reader to pages that were swamped with additional information. Hence, printed marginalia offered an option to influence and control how the reader experienced the text. As William W. E. Slight explains: ‘Just as there are no politically innocent texts, so too are there no politically neutral marginalia’. Marginalia could, for example, control meaning, establish authorised interpretations of the text, help the reader navigate the text, manifest the author’s knowledge and make the text more attractive on the book market; moreover, it also gave publisher and author the possibility to reinforce the readers devotional engagement with the text and ‘forward particular habits of reading’. Reference notes in Luther’s writing, as a form of printed marginalia, served all of these purposes.

That reference notes to Luther followed this pattern was not a random occurrence but a conscious choice made by the author and translator, since accurate references were not mandatory. As representations and commemorations of Luther were essential for Lutherans around 1600, visualisations and the naming of other were never randomised but always connected to a specific goal in a specific context. In other words, references notes to Luther contained meaning within Lutheran culture. This is illustrated by a debate that occurred in the years 1604–1606 between the Swedish king Charles IX and the archbishop of Uppsala Olaus Martini (1557–1609). In *Några synnerliga bevis* Charles IX presented his theological interpretation of the Lord’s Supper and rejected the ubiquitarian doctrine, according to which the body of Christ is omnipresent. He thereby used numerous quotations from the *Collected Works* and other collections of Luther’s writings. The same year Martini responded with *Bevis*, where he rejected the king’s understanding of the Lord’s Supper and declared it, in his terminology, ‘Calvinist’.

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39 Martini, Bewijs.
40 Charles IX, *Swar: opå then bewijsbook*.
41 Botvidi, *D. Mart. Lutheri Trogna*, A2v; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*, 550.
42 Eschilli, *Egentlig profetia*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*, 243.
43 Original quote: “I Utläggningen på 14 Cap. Genessis”. Gothus Tingstadio, *Een christeligh, nödhörffigh*, 347. Without entrance in Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*.
44 On printed marginalia Slichts, *Managing Readers*; Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*; Simon, “Glossing Authorship,” 125–137; Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*; Slichts, “The Edifying Margins”; Tribble, “From the Marginal Note,” 229–244.
45 Slichts, *Managing Readers*, 11.
46 Slichts, “Marginal Notes,” 258. See also Grafton, *The Footnote*; Arendholz, Bublitz, and Kirner-Ludwig, *Quoting*.
47 Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, 127.
In his answer, published as *Svar på bevisboken* in 1606, the king expanded his arsenal of arguments with several new reference notes to the collections of Luther’s writings.\(^{48}\)

The reference notes varied in quality from the very accurate ‘5. Vittenberg. Tom. fol. 545’\(^{49}\) to ‘Tom 3. German,’\(^{50}\) which could be both the Wittenberg edition or the Jena edition. Every quote from Luther was followed by information on the source, and the title page informed the reader that the quotes had been collected from the writings of ‘*Doct. Mart. Lutheri et Philippi Melanchtonis*’.\(^{51}\) The fact that the author was not content with the information on the title page, but consistently inserted specific notes, indicates how important the references to the *Collected Works* were for the author. The meaning of the annotated text occurred in the interplay between the main text and the margin.\(^{52}\) The reference notes to Luther worked in two directions. The representation of the *Collected Works* as a source reinforced the idea of Luther as the main theological authority and confirmed the authoritative function of his writings, thus consolidating and strengthening his authority. In this sense the reference notes were another medium for communicating the representations of Luther as the main authority for Lutherans. At the same time, reference notes did what William W. E. Slights ascribed to printed marginalia – namely, they performed ‘the job of garnering credibility’ to the text.\(^{53}\) The three publications were argumentative texts where accurate reference notes gave authority and credibility to the text through their established connection to Luther’s writings. *Några synnerliga bevis, Bevis* and *Svar på bevisboken* are good examples of this double strategy of highlighting Luther’s authority while simultaneously building textual credibility. As the three publications reflected a conflict between the Swedish king and the archbishop, the references also helped manifest the two authors’ knowledge of Luther’s works.

The use of reference notes was very strategic so that they occurred when they were suitable for the purpose of the publication. In the Lutheran publication *Motsättning. Den lutherska och den calvinska läran*,\(^{54}\) which concerns the differences between the Reformed and Lutheran confessions, the pages concerning the Reformed confession are foremost swamped with references to the works of Theodore Beza (1519–1605), but Luther’s works were not mentioned on the pages about the Lutheran faith. Instead, cross-references to the Bible supported the Lutheran standpoint. There are also examples where the source of the publication was the *Collected Works*, but the translator did not inform the audience about the source. For instance, *Sköna och märkliga* was a translation of parts of the 9th Volume of the Wittenberg edition of the *Collected Works*, but it contains no direct information about its source, apart from the hint on the title page that it was compiled from Luther’s works.\(^{55}\) In this devotional publication the

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\(^{48}\) Charles IX, *Någre synnerlighe bewijs*, Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*, 437; Martini, *Bewijs*. Without entrance in Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*; Charles IX, *Svar: opå then bewijsbook*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*, 438.

\(^{49}\) Charles IX, *Någre synnerlighe bewijs*, D3r.

\(^{50}\) Martini, *Bewijs*, F2r.

\(^{51}\) Original quote: “*Doct. Mart. Lutheri och Philippi Melanchtonis skrifter*, Charles IX, *Svar: opå then bewijsbook*, A1r.

\(^{52}\) Compare Martini, *Bewijs*, A1r, and Charles IX, *Någre synnerlighe bewijs*, A1r.

\(^{53}\) Slights, “Marginall Notes,” 258; Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, 129; Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, 6.

\(^{54}\) Slights, *Managing Readers*, 66.

\(^{55}\) Gothus, *Mootsätting*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600–talet*, 401. The Swedish publication was a translation of Samuel Huber *Gegensatz Der Lutherschen vnd Calvinischen oder Zwinglischen Lehrin*. Wittenberg: Axin, Christoph, 1593. (VD16 H 5324).

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translator clearly did not think that reference notes to the *Collected Works* added meaning to his publication. Hence, reference notes to Luther in Lutheran publications occurred only when the translator thought that naming Luther strengthened the argument. When they were used, reference notes established the credibility of the text while simultaneously strengthening the image of Luther’s authority. In other words, the text gave meaning to the representation of Luther, and the mentioning of Luther’s works gave credibility to the text.

The use of reference notes corresponded to the state of the art around 1600, which lent them a certain degree of objectivity and innocence they did not actually possess. As representations it is this banality that gives them their strength. This was, of course, not only used by Lutherans to highlight Luther’s authority. It was also a powerful weapon in confessional conflict and could even be used to question his authority. For example, the catechism *Enchiridion. Den lilla och rena katekesen* was a translation from German into Swedish made by Andreas Olai Gerumensis (birth and death unknown). The German original was written by the Jesuit Sigismund Ernhoffer (1547–1597) and published in 1587. The publication looked like a Lutheran catechism and had similarities in structure. However, Ernhoffer had added quotes from different texts by Luther and constructed a confusing set of arguments where Luther seemed to contradict himself. The catechism was part of a Jesuit text production that aimed at pointing out contradictions in the thoughts of Luther, thereby proving that his teaching was false and represented an apostasy from the true Christian faith.

Ernhoffer used Luther’s *Collected Works* (Wittenberg edition) as a source and placed his writings into a new context. This connection to Wittenberg and Luther’s *Collected Works* was important since it strengthened the impression of the publication as truly Lutheran. On the title page of the Swedish translation, it was even stated that the quotes were from ‘D. Martin Luther’s books and writings printed in Wittenberg.’

The Swedish translation contained 170 identified and accurate reference notes to Luther’s works, which creates the impression that Luther often changed his mind. This illustrates that the representation of Luther appearing on the Swedish book market could be used to strengthen as well as question his authority. The Jesuit *Enchiridion* was, however, the only publication of its kind in the period, and was outnumbered by Lutheran Anti-Catholic texts.

**Reference notes and the presence of Luther’s words**

As described at the beginning of the article, readers were hardly likely to benefit from the accurate reference notes, as the *Collected Works* were difficult to access. Moreover, although the reference notes did indeed provide accurate information, this was not accurate enough to easily find the reference, as the *Collected Works* were published in many editions. For instance, the 9th volume of the Wittenberg edition was actually published in

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56 Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, 131.
57 Gerumansis, *Enchiridion*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, Vol. 3, 122–127.
58 Nyman, “Inledning”, 5–23.
59 On the German publications see Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 243–245.
60 Instructive on negative representations of Luther in catholic publications is Jürgens, “Luther-Biographie,” 45–58.
61 Original quote: “D. Mårten Lutthers böker och skrift tyckte i Wittembärgh”; Gerumansis, *Enchiridion*, A1r.
five editions between 1557 and 1593.\textsuperscript{62} No reference note told the reader from which edition the quote was taken, which makes it difficult even for a modern researcher to reconstruct the true source of a specific reference note.

If the reference notes did not exist primarily to be checked against the original sources, their occurrence indicates that there must have been another reason. Clearly one purpose was to establish and reinforce Luther’s authority. As argued in recent scholarship, representations of Luther were intended to highlight Luther’s authority, a practice that was linked to the bitter intra-confessional conflicts about the right understanding of Luther’s teaching.\textsuperscript{63} Representations of Luther did not, however, only serve to highlight Luther’s authority; they were also a materialisation of Lutheran devotional practices and a desire to engage with Luther himself. As Lyndal Roper and Ulinka Rublack have argued in their work on Luther relics and grapho-relics, Lutheran culture displayed representations of Luther that materialised confessional truth claims and combined devotional practice with the memorialisation of Luther. Luther relics were artefacts connected to Luther, such as his rings or beer steins, and they circulated from the latter half of the sixteenth century. They offered ‘the owner a connection […] to the physical Doctor Luther,’\textsuperscript{64} fostering an engagement with him and enabling an imagined individual relationship with the reformer. In contrast to Catholic relics, they were not supposed to perform healing or miracles or contain any sacred power.\textsuperscript{65} Grapho-relics were simply handwritten autographs and inscriptions of other Reformers that could be found in devotional texts. These could just be signatures, or handwritten comforting sentences together with signature, place name, and date. Inscriptions in Luther’s hand became particularly desirable items.\textsuperscript{66} Rublack argues that the grapho-relics display how confessional truth claims were, in a way, inscribed in graphically visualised words and word-related practices and that inscriptions in Luther’s hand mediated the ‘spiritual presence’ of Luther.\textsuperscript{67} These forms of representing Luther aimed at creating a sense of closeness to him and hence did more than state his authority. However, the desire to materialise the memory of Luther was so strong among the Lutherans that Lutheran object fetishism was directed not only towards objects that had a physical connection to Luther but also those associated with him as depictions.\textsuperscript{68}

Reference notes could also serve the Lutheran desire to create a sense of closeness to Luther and the imagined possibility of meeting the authentic Luther. To understand how reference notes could promote this, we have to turn to the modern theory of citing and quoting. For today’s reader reference notes to Luther from the turn of the sixteenth century seem very unproblematic at first glance, as they appear as straightforward acknowledgements of the original source. Footnotes and references are central tools for today’s scholar, and through them we create connections between our work, and that of others. We use them to indicate which sources we have used, connect our findings with previous scholarly work and take part in a dialogue regarding our field

\textsuperscript{62} Kolb, \textit{Martin Luther}, 231.
\textsuperscript{63} Dingel, “Luther’s Authority,” 525–539; Dingel, “Confessional Transformation,” 1–25.
\textsuperscript{64} Roper, “Luther Relics,” 330. On Luther relics see also Laube, “Von der Reliquie”; Gutjahr, “Hinterlassenschaften”.
\textsuperscript{65} Roper, “Luther Relics,” 330–353. See also Slenczka, “Bemalte Bronze,” 1–20.
\textsuperscript{66} Rublack, “Grapho-relics,” 144–166.
\textsuperscript{67} Rublack, “Grapho-Relics,” 155–156.
\textsuperscript{68} Scribner, “Incombustible Luther,” 38–68.
of research. It is the footnote or reference that is the visible sign that the reader encounters a concept, quote or thought from another author in a text. If the reference is put for a quote it verifies the authenticity of the quote. This reveals that two subjects are involved in the work of referencing – the author and the referred or cited author – which binds them together in a relevance bridge. While the modern theory of citing and quoting focuses on the bond between cited document and the act of citing (and leaves the reader out of the equation), historians of early modern reading stress that printed marginalia affected the readers experience of the text. Seen in this way, the reference note invites the reader to become involved in the relevance bridge and encounter the text, thought or quote of the referred author. The reference note allows the reader to meet the referred author on the other side of the relevance bridge.

In Lutheran print of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Sweden, this ability of the reference note appears in connection to the volume where it was printed. The reference notes are very simple, such as ‘5. Vittenberg. Tom. Fol. 545’, but since the title page stated that the text was taken from ‘Doktor Luther’s […] own writings’ they confirmed that the text derived from Luther. Reference notes thus served as a guarantee for the reader that he or she was actually reading Luther’s own words, thereby enriching the reader’s experience as they added a new layer of authenticity to the text. The reader at the turn of the sixteenth century could not access the original publications authored by Luther during the first half of the century; rather, they could only connect to Luther’s words via late sixteenth-century Swedish translations of parts of the Collected Works. The reference note indicated that the text in question gave accurate access to Luther’s text and thoughts, and nothing else. Hence the reference note was the visible sign that the chain of texts – from Luther’s original to the Collected Works and the Swedish translations – was intact. The reference note accordingly signalled and verified the spiritual presence of Luther’s words in the printed text and enabled the reader to imagine an encounter with the Reformer. In this way, reference notes correspond to elements in Lutheran culture that fostered the imagined spiritual presence of Luther. The reference notes were not material objects that Luther had owned or touched, but just as Luther relics and grapho-relics, they materialised the wish to create a bond between Luther and the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Lutheran reader.

**Imagined unmediated access to Luther**

The reference notes display information about a text originating from Luther, as well as an edition, volume and sometimes page in the Collected Works, but they did not inform the reader about the history of origin of the Collected Works and the different implications that followed from using the Jena or Wittenberg edition. Some readers may have been familiar with the conflicts surrounding the Collected Works and the accusations regarding the corruption of Luther’s legacy asserted by editors of the Jena

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69 Hammarfelt, Following the Footnotes; Jakobs, Textvernetzung; Grafton, The Footnote, 1–33.
70 Habermann, Following the Footnotes, 110.
71 Snowson, “Information Retrieval,” 145; Frost, “Use of Citations,” 401.
72 Brayman Hackel, Reading Material, 133.
73 Charles IX, Någre Synnerlighe Bewijs, D3v.
74 Original quote: ‘Doctor Luthers […] eigne Skrifter’: Charles IX, Någre Synnerlighe Bewijs, A1r.
75 Brayman Hackel, Reading Material, 131.
edition in relation to the editors of the Wittenberg edition. These readers would have the ability to be critical of the information in the reference notes and the choice of the translator, but most probably few had this knowledge. The use of reference notes to both editions indicate that the authors did not pay too much attention to these conflicts and used the *Collected Works* as a trustworthy source regardless of the edition. The reference notes thus seem to have succeeded in transporting the reader’s supposed unmediated access to Luther.

Notwithstanding this, such unmediated access was an illusion. Analyses of the reference notes show that in several cases the authors did not use the *Collected Works* to refer to Luther’s texts. Instead, some Swedish translators used German compilations of Luther’s texts that contained reference notes to the Collected Works and translated parts of the compilation together with the reference notes. Out of the 66 finding notes to Luther in *Vägen till Saligheten*, at least six had been translated from a German compilation of Luther’s prayers. The source was probably Anton Otto’s (1505–1588) *Ein newe Betbüchlein*. Otto’s book went through 10 editions up until 1600, and its popularity makes it plausible to state that the Swedish translator likely used this source as well as other German compilations based on it. Otto provided the Swedish translator with not only a text by Luther but also reference notes to where in the *Collected Works* the text could be found. The translator was quick to pass this information on to the Swedish reader, giving them the impression that they were taking part in Luther’s writings when in fact they were reading Otto’s interpretation of Luther’s Collected Works. The authority of the authorised collections was so great that the translators, although also using other sources, sometimes presented the Collected Works as their sole source. Reference notes to the Wittenberg or Jena editions of the *Collected Works* embodied Luther’s authority and were sometimes as important to translate as the source text itself.

The same use of an intermediated source of the Collected Works can be seen in *Egentlig profetia* and its section ‘S. Lutheri Prophetia öfuer Tyskland’, which has nine displayed quotes from Luther with reference notes to the Collected Works. The implication was that the source was the *Collected Works*, while in fact it was not: *Egentliga profetia* was a word-for-word translation of the anonymous German *Eigentliche Prophecey*, including the reference notes. Published in 1628 in Rostock, shortly after the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) had awarded Mecklenburg to the supreme commander of his armies, Albrecht Wallenstein (1583–1634), the German *Eigentliche Prophecey* argues for prayer and penance as an appropriate Lutheran response to such threats. The decision to translate this text into Swedish in 1629, one year before Gustavus Adolphus intervened in the Thirty Years War, highlights not only the importance of the *Collected Works* as a source, but also the confessional tensions that formed the context of Lutheran publishing.

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76 Michael, Kanonisierung.
77 Gleixner, “Durch und durch”. The Swedish translator had picked passages from the section “Heubatlere und kurze Summarien aus Doctoris Lutheri seligen Büchern gezogen” (I3r–M3r) and put them into the section “Fölla nu några märkliga grunder och hugneliga Ord utdragna av D. Martini Lutheri skrifter” (313a–383a).
78 On Ottos Ein newe Betbüchlein, and the compilation of other prayerbooks, see Schulz, *Die Gebete Luthers*, 20–21, 55, 79–83.
79 Eschilli, *Egentligh prophetia*; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1600–talet, 243.
80 Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg*, 70–71.
Conclusions: reference notes and Lutheran culture

What at first glance seemed to be an established scholarly practice and tool to verify sources was in fact something rather different. The reader, most probably, had no chance to check the notes, as the Collected Works and Table Talk were expensive publications only available for a few; moreover, the notes themselves were many times (despite their accuracies) too imprecise. Rather than being a scholarly tool, the notes had meaning in themselves for the Lutherans. The reference notes emphasised Luther’s authority, added new ways of presenting and memorialising Luther, and at the same time offered the reader the imagined experience of reading Luther’s original text. In this sense, they were yet another medium for building a Lutheran identity around the German Reformer.

Many reference notes referred to the Collected Works, highlighting the importance of this work for the transition of Luther’s text over the decades and across language barriers. The authority of the Collected Works made it possible for translators and publishers to use it as a source for compilation and translation, but they also contributed to mediating the image of Luther as created by the editors of the Collected Works and other collections of Luther’s writings. Anti-Lutheran publishers also published texts with references to Luther’s works in printed marginalia, which highlights the potential of printed marginalia to control the interpretation of texts. Carefully added references gave authority to Luther in Lutheran devotional texts, but in Jesuit texts the references made his work appear full of contradictions.

On the periphery of Lutheran Europe, far away from the major print centres, the faithful Lutheran could encounter Luther in the margin of the printed text. Luther’s name and a reference note to his works made him present at the book market in the eye of both reader and publisher, and they offered authors and translators an opportunity to partake in the memorialising of Luther, thereby contributing to that was essential to Lutheran culture around 1600. The Swedish printed works that have been examined here account for only a very small number of Lutheran prints and cannot be representative of the entirety of Lutheran print production. However, the fact that reference notes found their way into the relatively small Swedish print production, and that they were often translated together with the main text, indicates that they were important for Lutheran culture. They were another medium for representing Luther: one that was cheap for the publisher to produce and accessible for the reader. In contrast to, for example, a description of Luther’s life, such as Nikolaus Selnecker’s Historica Oratio81, which extended to more than 200 pages, or the elaborated map over Mansfeld, which combined the memorialisation of Luther with Lutheran identity making,82 Reference notes appeared in devotional and polemical texts aimed at faithful Lutherans. For a lack of these more elaborated forms of representation, reference notes appeared as a central medium for making Luther visible to the reader of Swedish Lutheran publications. How representations of Luther and the use of reference notes were adopted in other contexts may be revealed in further research; however, the results in this article indicate that they were central to Lutheran print, as they materialised the wish to create a bond between Luther and the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Lutheran reader.

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81 Selnecker, Historica Oratio. (VD16 S 5557). On the publication see Pohlig, Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit, 110–112; Hasse, “Die Lutherbiographie,” 91–123.
82 Hill, “Mapping the Memory,” 187–210.
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