

Translating Luther into Swedish in the Sixteenth Century

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The Swedish publisher and translator Petrus Johannis Gothus (1536–1616)¹ had just returned to Rostock in the autumn of 1592 after spending several years in the Swedish kingdom. The northern German port city bore opportunities for him that the Swedish capital could not offer: there were more well-equipped printing offices with higher capacity, a well-functioning Lutheran university, and direct access to the book market of German Lutheran devotional literature.² On New Year's Eve 1592, he published *Vägen till saligheten* (*The Way to Blessedness*) in Rostock,³ a devotional text which contained no less than 66 excerpts from Martin Luther. Despite this, the work is never included in discussions about translations of Luther's works into Swedish. In recent years, several scholars have in fact argued that Luther's texts were more or less absent from the Swedish Reformation, apart from the translations of his Small Catechism, a Swedish adoption of his translation of the Bible published in 1526 and 1541, and a few other examples.⁴

In fact, *Vägen till saligheten* is no peculiar exception, but a rather typical example of how texts originally written by Luther found their way into the Swedish book market during the sixteenth century. These translations have rarely been considered in relation to the spread of Luther's thought,⁵ which is a serious lacuna, because they significantly alter our understanding of the presence of Luther's writings in the Swedish book market, and hence the importance of Luther's texts for the process of the Reformation and confession-alization in Sweden. Furthermore, the Swedish case can illuminate similar patterns of translations of Luther's writings into other vernaculars in early modern Europe. Hence this article is a rebuttal to Poul Georg Lindhardt's conclusion that Luther was absent from the Swedish Reformation⁶ and it encourages deeper investigations into the practice of translating Luther into other European vernaculars.

The basic method is to investigate the production of religious literature published in Swedish from 1520 to 1599 in order to find translations of Luther's texts.⁷ The definition of religious literature incorporates catechism, plays, pamphlets, devotional texts, postils, and other categories. Approximately 230 prints fit this definition—a modest book production by European standards. Significant numbers of these texts were published outside the Swedish realm in the north German port cities, as Lübeck and Rostock.⁸ To challenge previous research, the article applies a wider understanding of the early modern translation practice, and incorporates word-for-word translations of complete texts, as well as adaptations and translations of smaller text parts compiled into larger works.

The case study of the Swedish translations has relevance for the wider study of translations of Luther's texts into vernaculars in Lutheran Europe in two ways. First, as a starting point for comparisons between different national contexts, and second, as a starting point for analyzing changes in translation practices during the century. For the first part, rather few of Luther's texts were translated into European vernaculars.⁹ At the same time, Luther's thoughts were received in the book production in the European vernacular during the sixteenth century, and what Carl Trueman and Carrie Euler have documented for Luther's reception in England, as research shows, may as well be true for other European vernaculars.¹⁰ They write that the early evangelical movement "was permeated with Luther's texts," but during the course of the sixteenth century Luther's thoughts became "stock-in-trade categories" that makes it difficult to establish a "direct, or prior, literary influence of Luther." However, reception is not the same as translation. Many studies have traced translations of Luther's texts into European languages, but they mostly focus on complete translations or publications that explicitly were published as a translation of Luther's texts—for example through mentioning his name on the title page.¹¹ The result of these studies implies that actual translations of Luther's texts—from German or Latin, or to other European vernaculars during the sixteenth century—were rare. The growing body of research on transnational phenomena and entanglement during the Reformation and the age of confessionalization¹² has thus

contributed to increased scholarly interest in translations and hence also to devotional literature in translation.¹³ Recent studies by Carl Trueman, Carrie Euler, and Anna Vind¹⁴ have challenged established interpretations that Luther's texts were generally absent from book production outside of the German-speaking areas in early modern Europe. They highlight how complex the search for texts by Luther translated into other tongues can be and show that there are more texts to find when analyzing the vast corpus of early modern compilation literature. The present study aims to contribute to this task and develop the arguments further by applying insights from translation studies to the study of the receptions of Luther's texts. This Swedish case study documents such examples from throughout the sixteenth century.

The study of the whole sixteenth century takes us to the second reason for why the Swedish case study has significance for other European contexts. The recent research on the translations of Luther's text into non-German languages is almost exclusively on the translations during Luther's lifetime, especially in light of the spread of the Reformation during the 1520s.¹⁵ Hence, to investigate translations of Luther's texts into Swedish during the sixteenth century not only will challenge previous assumptions of the absence of Luther on the Swedish book market, but also bring new insights into how to think about the translations of Luthers written texts in other languages, and reflect on how confessionalization shaped translation in the later half of the century.

Recent Studies

Scholars have long claimed that during the Swedish Reformation texts from Luther were largely absent. Poul Georg Lindhardt stated in a famous lecture in 1977 in Lund that Luther was "a name, a symbol, a banner" and his texts were little read, except for the Small Catechism and some Psalms.¹⁶ This conclusion has been repeated by other scholars,¹⁷ and lately elaborated by Wolfgang Undorf and Tomas Appelqvist. Appelqvist presented his findings of translations of Luther into Swedish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in *Lutheran Quarterly*. He found only three translations during

the sixteenth century: *En nyttig undervisning* (1526), *En nyttig postilla* (1528) och *En liten undervisning om sakramenten* (1558), and some further translations of Psalms. The first translation of the Small Catechism he dates to 1600. He also states that the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri “translated some short texts by Luther, but mostly he used the texts of Luther to create his own reform-minded works for a context which he thought was very different from the one Luther had in mind.”¹⁸ For the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Wolfgang Undorf has concluded that there were only four complete translations of texts by Luther; *Spörsnål och svar vid nattvardsgång* (1587), *Om man må fly för döden eller pestilensen* (1588), *Ett sätt att bedja* (1593) and *Sköna märklige skriftens sentenser* (1597). The first translation of a complete text by Luther, *En liten undervisning om sakramenten*, was published, according to Undorf, in 1558. Hence, Undorf concludes that since such a small number of complete texts written by Luther were translated, the Swedish Reformation was a Reformation “without Luther.”¹⁹

Many of these conclusions on numbers of translations can be questioned, for at least three reasons. First, the four books Undorf refers to are those recorded in the registry of the Swedish National Bibliography as translations of Luther for the last quarter of the sixteenth century.²⁰ However, this bibliographical information was gathered during the beginning of the twentieth century. Since then, our understanding of translation activities during the early modern period has changed, and digitalization of rare books has opened up opportunities to compare books in rare library collections all over Europe. Hence, the information in the Swedish National Bibliography is outdated. However, if one does not start from the register but reads through the descriptions of all Swedish prints during the sixteenth century, it will be clear that there were more translations, adaptations, and compilations of Luther than Undorf and Appelqvist assume. Additionally, previous research has also gathered information on translations of Luther’s texts, and if collected and put together they give a much richer picture of the translations than the National Bibliography does. For example, there has been research into the authorship of Olaus Petri, that has revealed other translations,²¹ which are not included by Appelqvist.

This leads to the second reason why these conclusions can be called into question. Both Undorf and Appelqvist count translations of Luther only if they can be understood as translations of a complete text by Luther—that is, entire texts of Luther had been translated. The definition of a complete book is, however, problematic as the early modern context never obligated the translator to translate a complete work; hence most of the translations were not complete works, but parts of them. Scholars working in the field of translation studies have for a long time emphasized that translations never are a simple transit of text from source to target, but that they contain changes in this process. When it comes to early modern translations this is even more true as scholars have emphasized early modern translation practice as “narrative translation,”²² in which the translator had freedom to rework the original text, including cutting or rewriting. This narrative translation goes hand in hand with the practice of compiling texts to create new texts. As the author compiled passages from one source text, with text passages from another source text, naming the source was not a necessity. This has hidden the amount of translations behind obscured titles and complicated compilation practices, which has created the impression that actually few texts were translated. Early modern translation practices also include the practice of domesticating the text—that is, the text was adopted to the lifeworlds, political opinions, or other circumstances in the target culture.²³ Hence the idea of translations as a reception of a text, which indicate first a production of text and secondly a communication of the same text, is not valid for early modern translation. Other tools such as the awareness of narrative translations practices and the practice of compilations are necessary to study early modern translations.²⁴

The third reason to re-examine the presence of translations of Luther during the Swedish Reformation is the change of contexts throughout the sixteenth century that necessitated various translations. What today is called the Reformation started as a movement in the first half of the century that questioned and debated enduring religious norms, communicated its viewpoint to the broadest possible public through the printing press and symbolic practices, and struggled to shape a Church, which still was considered to be

universal, within new religious norms yet to be realized.²⁵ The latter half of the century saw a process taking place during which the idea of a universal church had been superseded by a reality of diverse, well-defined confessions, all focused on consolidating and strengthening their own confessional positioning. This later state—often called confessionalization—was characterized by the not always successful attempts to consolidate confessional units, be it early modern states or free cities; but the complicated process and attempt to establish confessional units sometimes collided in a political space.²⁶ This changing context effected which texts from Luther were translated and adopted, the sources that were used for translations, and the way Luther was represented in the translated works.

With this in mind, it is possible to examine critically previous assumptions about the numbers of books that contained translations of Luther's texts. What follows is an investigation of translations of Luther into Swedish during the sixteenth century. I will highlight some of the more interesting translations that shed light on the practices of translations that were used by the reformers.

Translations into Swedish until 1546

Carrie Euler points out in her investigation of Tudor translations of Luther that identifying and counting translations are not easy tasks, and can hardly ever be viewed as complete. The practice of compilation and the narrative translation allowed for such a variety of outcomes that it could be difficult to draw the line between mere inspiration and a transit of text content. Hence, inspired by Euler's approach, the concept "translation" refers in this article to a range of different text practices. Metaphrase is a very faithful word-for-word translation—which is possible between German and Swedish. Paraphrase is a sentence-for-sentence translation, but may include smaller changes of, for example, names, tones, or marginal notes. Adaption follows that source text sentence-for-sentence, but adds or deletes introductory or concluding material and some sentences in the course of the text. Inspiration means that the target text stuck to the same general topic, but elaborates freely on it, and only makes use of some words or sentences. Translators likely worked with the

source text when translating, but without following it closely.²⁷ The following examples have been analyzed according to this differentiation of translations.²⁸

Four publications in the 1520s are known to be translations of Luther's texts. The first known translation is *En nyttig undervisning* (1526).²⁹ It was an adaption of Luther's *Betbüchlein*, but contained parts from other sources or new text parts.³⁰ The same year the foreword to the translated New Testament was published.³¹ In its first part it was a word-for-word translation of Luther's foreword to the German publication of the New Testament (1522)³², the second part of the foreword was an independent text. The last known translation is the *Kröningspredikan* (1528)³³—the published version of the speech given by Olaus Petri³⁴ at the coronation of Gustav I. The speech was a translation of Luther's *Vom weltlichen Obrigkeit* (1523),³⁵ and the Swedish text contained many word-for-word translations of Luther's text, although it also contains other excerpts. Scholars have argued that Olaus Petri also made use of Martin Bucers *Das ym selbs*.³⁶

The first translation of the Small Catechism Appelqvist dates to 1600, though usually scholars assume that the first translation of the Small Catechism into Swedish was made in 1544,³⁷ maybe even before that.³⁸ During the sixteenth century, the National Bibliography counts another nine editions of the Small Catechism.³⁹ Equally forgotten by Appelqvist and Undorf is the translation of the postil. The Swedish *En nyttig postilla* (1528)⁴⁰ was a translation of the summer part of Luther's *Kirchenpostilla*,⁴¹ though with large exclusions.⁴² The second Lutheran postil published in Swedish, Olaus Petri's *En liten postilla* (1530),⁴³ seems to be a individually composed work without translations. The postil includes also an adaption of Luther's Large Catechism.⁴⁴ Other translations of Luther's text before 1546 include *Davids psaltaer* (1536)⁴⁵ an adaptation and translation of Luther's publications 1524, and *Jesu Syrachs bok* (1536 and 1543)⁴⁶, translations of Luther's *Jesu Syrach*.

So far the investigations rely on what is already known about translations of Luther's text. During 1527 and 1528, several pamphlets were published in Swedish which were all critical of the theology of the Roman Church and aggressively put forward this criticism with

the aim of making it public. Some of these publications reveal that Olaus Petri was familiar with many of Luther's main publications, such as *De libertate christiana*, *De captivitate*, and *De servo arbitrio*, and suggest that these texts were well known to his Swedish colleagues.⁴⁷ Two of the pamphlets can be traced as adaptations of Luther's texts, which previously have not been acknowledged.⁴⁸ It is Olaus Petri's *En liten bok om äktenskapet* (1528, second edition 1529)⁴⁹ and his *En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras* (1528).⁵⁰ The closer analysis of these two publications will reveal some of the features of translations of Luther's text into the Swedish vernacular.

En liten bok om äktenskapet ("A small lesson on marriage") was a violent attack on celibacy and argued that marriage was given to humans from God. During the first half of the 1520s, the marriage of priests was a hotly debated topic in Europe. Erasmus, Luther, Karstadt and Zwingli were some of the most well known authors.⁵¹ Many pamphlets arguing for the validity of specific clerical marriages flourished.⁵² When comparing Olaus Petri's *En liten bok om äktenskapet* with these texts, it is clear that it is primarily based on Martin Luther's *Vom ehelichen Leben* (1522),⁵³ although it is impossible to know exactly how many of these other texts Olaus Petri read and used. Luther's *Vom ehelichen Leben* offered a compressed set of the most common arguments for clerical marriage. The text was published eleven times during 1522 and 1523, including once in Hamburg.⁵⁴

Olaus Petri's text is an independent work, but closely linked to Luther's text, as he has taken over arguments, concepts, and sometimes entire passages from Luther. It contains three parts: the first deals with marriage as part of divine creation; the second highlights who can get married; and the third argues that man cannot forbid marriage for anyone. Although organized differently, Olaus Petri took his main arguments from Luther, whose work is also divided into three parts, in which he rejects the restriction of canon law, deals with grounds for divorce, and writes about godly marriage. Both authors strongly emphasized that marriage was a part of divine creation and that its spiritual benefits far outweighed celibacy because of its concomitant dangers. Luther wrote that sexuality was "a nature and disposition"⁵⁵ and its suppression led to "fornication,

adultery, and secret sins".⁵⁶ Three types of humans have the gift to be able to resist the sexual impulse: those that God created without sexual desire; those who have been robbed of the ability to have sex by fellow man; and those who truly possess the gift of chastity.⁵⁷

Other borrowed elements reveal that Olaus Petri worked very closely with Luther's text when writing *En liten bok om äktenskapet*, especially when discussing the limbs that God gave humans,⁵⁸ or humans who do not feel sexual desire.⁵⁹ The close interdependence between Petri's *En liten bok om äktenskapet* and Luther's *Vom ehelichen Leben* cannot be rejected, but there are also parts of Olaus Petri's work that cannot be found in Luther's. Olaus Petri, for example, argues that marriage is not only decreed by God, but that the early Christian church had enjoined clerical marriage and that the contemporary church should follow the same standards. Olaus Petri proceeds to recall decisions at councils and tells his readers that the bishops at the (first) Council of Nicaea wanted to forbid clerical marriage, but Bishop Paphnutius rejected this, claiming that such a decision would provoke fornication within the church.⁶⁰ The council assessed the proposal and decided to follow the advice of Paphnutius.⁶¹

This historical argument was first brought into the debate on clerical marriage by Luther in 1520 in *Epistola divi Hulderichi*. The text was a republished pamphlet against compulsory celibacy first written during the eleventh century. Luther found the arguments suitable for the reform movement and published the historical document together with a new preface.⁶² The story about Paphnutius was retold in Luther's *De votis monasticis*, first published in Wittenberg in 1521,⁶³ and in Andreas Karlstadt's *Apologia*, first published in Strasbourg in 1521.⁶⁴ Karlstadt's text was a defense of Bernhardt's marriage and it became one of the most important tracts for the spreading of the ideas of clerical marriage, since it was published everywhere from Paris to Königsberg. It was used as an instruction for priests intending to break the vows of celibacy and prepared them to defend their action.⁶⁵ Though in Olaus Petri's hands the story of Paphnutius is supplemented with information on Scandinavian church history, as he relates how a former apostolic nuncio had tried to regulate clerical marriage in Sweden and Norway.⁶⁶

This kind of domestication of texts should not be seen as violating the true Luther, but was common practice in the culture of translation in the period.⁶⁷

In 1528, Olaus Petri also published *En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras*, a book that dealt with monastic life. It is argued that monastic vows are problematic since Christians taught that the baptized have given their vow to God. Monastic vows violate this bond between man and God. The reformers' critiques of monastic vows were inextricably entwined with their critiques of celibacy. Their rejection of celibacy was an essential aspect of their theology and several texts elaborating on this theme were circulated. Karlstadt and Melancton built their argument on how difficult it is for human beings to keep their monastic vows, but Luther, in his *De votis monasticis* (1521),⁶⁸ instead built his argument around the idea of vows being godless.⁶⁹ Olaus Petri's text is not a translation of *De votis monasticis*, but seems to be based on it. Maybe Olaus Petri made use of Justus Jonas' translation into German from 1522.⁷⁰

Several central arguments from Luther's text can be found, such as that man has given God a promise through baptism, and it cannot be undone.⁷¹ Luther argued against the idea of a "Vollkommen Stand (perfect estate, that is, monastic)" and a "Unvollkommen Stand (imperfect estate, that is, married)," ⁷² concepts that Olaus Petri also uses as he argued that monastic life is not "ett fullkomligt leverne (a perfect life)." ⁷³ Luther's argument, that monastic vows led people to evade their responsibility towards society, also found its way into Olaus Petri's text.⁷⁴ All in all, *En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras* is not a translation of *De votis*, but an independent adaptation of Luther's text—and possibly other texts as well. Olaus Petri has taken some central arguments, concepts, and passages from Luther but often reshaped them so much that the context of *De votis* constituted is lost. The line of argument does not follow Luther's text, nor the outline of the text. Despite this, it is difficult to imagine *En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras* if Olaus Petri had not had access to *De votis*.

Nowhere in *En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras* Olaus Petri reveals which sources he had used, as in many of the other adoptions of Luther's text. This is not surprising since it follows a pattern

that can be observed in much of the non-German speaking parts of Europe in the 1520s and 1530s. A controversial figure during the 1520s, Luther and the Lutheran affair produced a previously never seen quantity of publications, and in the course of the development, Luther himself became the first media star.⁷⁵ Outside of the Holy Roman Empire, publishers seemed to hesitate to use Luther's name in their publications, even though they may have used his texts as a source. Until the mid-sixteenth century at least, it was rare to come across a translation of Luther's work for which he was credited as the author. For the reader, it was rarely obvious that the book they held in their hands contained texts written by Martin Luther;⁷⁶ in fact, non-representation might almost be considered as the hallmark of the Reformation outside the German-speaking territories. The exception to this rule is the large number of translations of Luther's work into Dutch.⁷⁷

En liten bok i vilken klosterlevnaden förklaras and *En liten bok om äktenskapet* give together a insight into the use of Luther's texts in the publications of the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri. Narrative translations and the practice of compiling texts to create new texts were integral practices in the writing, publishing, and translating of the reformer. Hence, traces of Luther's texts could be found in more publications than previously known. Since the texts often lack indications of where ideas, arguments, and concepts came from, it is very difficult to establish dependencies between the texts. The relationships between source texts and target texts are not proven beyond a doubt either. What the similarities show, however, is that the research on Luther's influence must take into account the writing, translation, and publishing practices that were common in the sixteenth century. Only then, can Luther's presence in the book market be understood.

Translations into Swedish after 1546

The majority of research on translations of Luther's texts has been done on translations up to Luther's death in 1546 and interpret the translations as mediums for the spread of the Reformation in the 1520s and 1530s.⁷⁸ In contrast, the corpus of translations analyzed in this article shows that confessionalization in the second half of the

sixteenth century formed a different context for translation activities than the Reformation. The translations became confessionalized and the translators were keen to translate what they thought of as the true Luther. 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.⁷⁹ The Swedish translations followed the same pattern, with mainly catechetical–homiletical works, Luther florilegia, and texts that were used as tools in the confessionalization process.

The confessional conflicts of the late sixteenth century formed the background for Lutheran identity formation, and in that process it became a hallmark of Lutheran confessional culture to emphasize Luther's authority.⁸⁰ As a consequence, the representation of Luther as an authority and a teacher with an exceptional gift for expounding the scriptures became standard features in Lutheran books.⁸¹ The first translation of Luther's text into Swedish that states its origin and had Luther's name on the titlepage was *En liten undervisning om sakramenten* (1558).⁸² That modern research counts this publication as one of the first translations of Luther is a result of later confessionalization, and twentieth-century bibliographers who listed it as a translation of Luther, due to the fact that the translator had put Luther's name on the title page.

Beginning mid-century, the translator had access to a vast corpus of compilations and reference books that could be used as a source for translations. This of course affected which texts by Luther became objects of translations, and created a complex web of reuses of Luther's texts—or parts of texts—in German and into other vernaculars. At the same time, translators continued to translate complete texts by Luther into Swedish. One prominent example is the above mentioned *En liten undervisning om sakramenten* published (1558), a paraphrase translation of Luther's *Vermanung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*.⁸³ Others are *Om man må fly för döden eller pestilensen* (1588),⁸⁴ a paraphrase translation of Luther's *Ob man für dem sterben fliehen muge* (1527)⁸⁵ and “Ett sätt att bedja”

in *Om Guds helgons kraft* (1593), a paraphrase translation of Luther's *Eine einfältige Weise zu beten* (1535).⁸⁶ *Kristlig och nödtorftig undervisning* (1594)⁸⁷ contains a reprint of Olaus Petri's *En liten bok om äktenskapet*—which, as argued above, was an adaptation of Luther's *Vom ehelichen Leben*. As Olaus Petri never revealed the source text, the publisher in 1594 probably did not know that he printed a translation and adaptation of Luther's text.

Despite this production, the second half of the century was characterized by a growing production of translations taken from compilations, and put into other compilations. A typical example is *Vägen till saligheten*, the publication that was mentioned in the beginning and that counted 66 references to Luther. It was an over 400-page devotional book, containing 13 different sections taken from different sources. At least three of them were translations from Luther's texts,⁸⁸ but they did not use original texts published by Luther from the first half of the century as their source text, but rather compilations or Luther's Collected Works.

The translated text can be referred to Luther since the translator has been very keen to put "D. Martini Lutheri" above every quote. After the quote the reader gets the information on the source, for instance "Tom. 3. Jen fol. 437" or "Kykpöpstille 1 epistle 12 Dom. Trinitis."⁸⁹ In this way the translator stated to his audience that he had used the Collected Works to find texts of Luther. The Collected Works had been published in two editions; one in Wittenberg (twelve German Volumes 1539–1559, and seven Latin Volumes 1545–1557) and one in Jena (eight German Volumes 1555–1558, and four Latin Volumes 1556–1558).⁹⁰ The work to collect and edit Luther's texts had begun before Luther's death in 1546, and the purpose was to protect Luther's texts from corruption by creating an authorized edition and making them available for new reading circles. As the example of *Vägen till Saligheten* shows, the Collected Works also helped translators. However, other compilations could also serve as sources for translations. Out of the 66 references to Luther in *Vägen till Saligheten* at least six had been translated from the German Anton Ottos (1505–1588) *Ein neue Betbüchlein* (1566).⁹¹

Sköna och märkliga skriftens sententier (1597)⁹² is also an example of how the Collected Works functioned as a source text for translations.

It contained five texts that all appeared in Volume 9 of the Wittenberg edition of the Collected Works, a volume that collected texts previously published in volumes 1–5 of the Jena edition. Despite this, nowhere does the translator Petrus Johannis Gothus reveal the true source of his translation. Probably there are many more translations that were based on compilations and reference books to Luther, though they are difficult to find today. The literature on Luther in translation has seldom recognized the importance of the reference books and the Collected Works as intermediate sources for translations.⁹³

The effort to collect and edit Luther's works had the goal to protect his texts and make them accessible for new generations. The Swedish translations testify that this ambition was not without success, as several translations were building on the Collected Works. But the accessibility to Luther not only boosted the knowledge of Luther within Lutheranism, a much desired goal, but also made his writings accessible to anti-Lutheran authors, as the example *Enchiridion. Den lilla och rena katekesen* (1591)⁹⁴ shows. The *Enchiridion. Den lilla och rena katekesen* was a translation into Swedish made by Andreas Olai Gerumansis of a catechism, originally written in German by the Jesuit Sigismund Ernhoffer and published in 1587, and in a second edition in 1589.⁹⁵ The Swedish edition translates Ernhoffers text word-for-word, and adds the translation of Ernhoffer's defense of his catechisms, written during the conflict with Lutherans that arose because of the cathesism.

The catechism was part of a Jesuit text production that aimed at pointing out contradictions in the thoughts of Luther, and therefore weakening Lutheranism. The source Ernhoffer used was the Collected Works (Wittenberg edition), and on the title page the Swedish translations stated that the quotations were from Luther's Works printed in Wittenberg.⁹⁶ Ernhoffer's publications, as well as the Swedish translation, looked like a Lutheran catechism and had similarities in structure, although Ernhoffer had added quotations from other texts by Luther. The result was a confusing set of arguments where Luther seemed to contradict himself. The Swedish translation contained 170 identified references to Luther's works. This very accurate accounting of references to Luther—which Ernhoffer had

made, and which was taken over in the Swedish translation—creates the impression that all of Luther's works were full of contradictions. The Wittenberg edition—the source of Ernhofer—was arranged thematically, so that the early works that Ernhofer quoted were placed in different volumes of the Collected Works. The references by Ernhofer therefore are to many of the volumes, which reinforces the impression that Luther always changed his mind.

The publication of the Jesuit catechisms should be seen in the light of confessionalization and confessional tensions in Sweden in the late sixteenth century.⁹⁷ In 1591, the situation was fragile. Johan III (r. 1569–1592) was old and his son Sigismund, King of Poland since 1587, would succeed his father as King of Sweden (r. 1592–1599). The Catholic Sigismund had promised to respect Sweden's independence and to preserve the current ceremony and liturgy, which at this point was the much-debated Liturgy from 1576 that had reintroduced several Catholic orders of service. Long-running conflicts about the confessional future of Sweden merged in the beginning of the 1590s with Lutheran anxiousness of Catholic overhands and struggle within the Wasa family of the Swedish throne. Sigismund's uncle Duke Charles (later King Charles IX, r. 1604–1611) was since the 1580s able to effectively oppose Sigismund by claiming that, as a Catholic, Sigismund was in no position to meet the demands that the Swedish King should protect Lutheran doctrine and thus was unable to protect the interests of his subjects.

The publication of the Jesuit *Enchiridion*. *Den lilla och rena katekesen* was also connected to a rapid rise during the second half of the sixteenth century in German books compiling Luther's writings for the sake of lay audiences. Swedish Lutherans also printed Luther's Small Catechism, prayerbooks, and other devotional text for the laity—a development that had begun in the 1560s but accelerated during the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century. The Lutherans wanted to make Luther accessible and protect his legacy from being forgotten and they wanted to secure access to the true Luther, and ensure that Lutherans could take part in his blessed ability to interpret the Word.⁹⁸ This trend also effected translations of Luther's texts into Swedish. After the mid sixteenth century, several prayerbooks or other devotional texts containing translations

of Luther's texts were published. Laurentius Petri Gothus published *En ny kristlig bönbok* (1564)⁹⁹ and Martinus Olai Helsingus *En nyttig och kristlig bönbok* (1567)¹⁰⁰ (further enlarged edition during the sixteenth century in 1570, 1577, 1590, and 1591).¹⁰¹ Both publications had the German *Ein nie christlyck vnd nütze Bedebok* (1562)¹⁰² as source text,¹⁰³ and contained a section in the beginning with Luther's education on prayer.¹⁰⁴ *Undervisning om en rätt kristen bön* (1577)¹⁰⁵ was a adaption of Andreas Musculus' *Precandi formulae* and *Betbüchlein*,¹⁰⁶ and contained *Salig D. Martin Luthers underwijsning om een rätt Christlig Böön*¹⁰⁷ which was a translation of Luther's *Ein Sermon von dem Gebet und Procession in der Creutzwoche*¹⁰⁸ (except the last part). The source used for the translation was Luther's Collected Works, Jena edition, Volume 1, printed in 1575.

These translations of prayerbooks and devotional Lutheran texts are known to previous research, but do not count as translations in the National Bibliography, rather just as adaptations and compilations of Luther's writings. Even if it is true that these texts do not translate a complete text by Luther into another language, the interpretation that they "only" were compilations misses the point of how the practice of translations worked in the sixteenth century, and especially the practice of translating and compiling Luther's writings.

Conclusions

Based on new insights on translation practices in early modern times, the search for translations into Swedish of Luther's writings revealed many more translations, compared to what is usually acknowledged in research. Luther was present on the Swedish book market not only through the Small Catechism and the Bible, but also in various forms of translations, from faithful word-to-word translations, to mere inspirations. These findings have implications for the study of translations of Luther into other vernaculars during the early modern period. The argument in this article, that we have to pay more attention to narrative translation practices in order to grasp the amount of translations made, implies that there are also

more translations hidden in other vernaculars, and that searching for them may be rewarding.

That many translations of Luther's texts were conducted during the 1520s and during the confessional tensions of the late sixteenth century, also suggests that the translations follow the same curve as that of publications in the German-speaking area, with peaks during the Reformation and before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The conflict around Luther in the 1520s and the confessional conflicts around 1600 seemed to boost translations of his texts in Swedish. Further research may investigate how the translations of Luther's text correspond to processes of the Reformation and confessionalization in other territories.

This investigation has shown that the Swedish retrospective National Bibliography—even though a very useful source—is tricky to use, since it tends to hide as much information as it reveals. A National Bibliography has the ability to mirror the output of texts in a given territory, and to give an overview of cultural, social, and political discourses at a given time.¹⁰⁹ However, the meta data captured in national bibliographies—and in this respect especially the retrospective national bibliographies—can hide information. This becomes obvious when investigating early modern compilations, where the line between translation and independent text is blurry. Scholars searching for translations of Luther's text into European languages are well advised to question the credibility of the bibliographical information.

NOTES

1. Otfried Czaika, "Gothus, Petrus Johannis," *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg*, vol. 3, ed. Sabine Pettker (Rostock: Schmidt, 2001): 72–76.

2. On Rostock University in the age of confessionalization, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung: Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1500 und 1675* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997). On the book market in Rostock, Wilhelm Stieda, "Studien zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks und Buchhandels," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchhandels* 11 (1894). On Rostock and its role in the processes of Reformation and confessionalization in the Baltic sea region, Heinrich Holze and Kristin Skottki, eds., *Verknüpfungen des neuen Glaubens: Die Rostocker Reformationgeschichte in ihren translokalen Bezügen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2020).

3. Petrus Johannis Gothus, *Wägen til salighetena. I hwilkom witnesbyrder införde warda vtaff then Heliga Scrifft* (Rostock: Steffan Möllman, 1592); Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, vol. 3, 1583–1599 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskap, 1932–1933), 142–143.

4. Tomas Appelqvist, “Luther in Swedish,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 32 (2018): 71–78; Wolfgang Undorf, “Reformation ohne Luther?—Transnationale Druckkultur in Dänemark und Schweden in der Reformationszeit,” in *Reformation und Buch: Akteure und Strategien frühreformatorischer Druckerzeugnisse*, eds. Thomas Kaufmann and Elmar Mittler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 263–80; Carl Axel Aurelius, “Luther in Sweden,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, vol. 2, eds. Derek R. Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 364–372. On the 1541 Bible see Birger Olsson, “Bibeln på svenska,” in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstiden*, ed. Åke Andrén (Stockholm: Verbum i samarbete med Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1999), 238–48.

5. Bo Ahlberg, “Luther i Norden,” in *Reformationen i Norden: Kontinuitet och förnyelse*, ed. Carl-Gustaf Andrén (Lund: Gleerup, 1973); Poul Georg Lindhardt, “Luther and Skandinavien,” in *Luther und die Theologie der Gegenwart: Referate und Berichte des Fünften Internationalen Kongresses für Lutherforschung, Lund, Schweden, 14.–20 August 1977*, eds. Leif Grane and Bernhard Lohse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 134–144; Appelqvist, “Luther in Swedish”; Undorf, “Reformation ohne Luther?”; Aurelius, *Luther in Sweden*; Carl Axel Aurelius, *Luther i Sverige: Den svenska Lutherbilden under fyra sekler* (Skellefteå: Artos 2015).

6. Lindhardt, “Luther und Skandinavien.”

7. Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, vol. 1, 1478–1530 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1934–1938), xiv–xxvii.

8. For example Otfried Czaika, “Konfession und Politik in Mecklenburg und Schweden in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Verknüpfungen des neuen Glaubens: Die Rostocker Reformationsgeschichte in ihren translokalen Bezügen*, eds. Heinrich Holze and Kristin Skottki (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 345–375.

9. Bernd Moeller, “Luther in Europa: His Works in Translation 1517–1546,” in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, eds. E.I. Kouri and Tom Scott (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1987), 235–251.

10. Carl R. Trueman and Carrie Euler, “The Reception of Martin Luther in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England,” in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, eds. Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 63.

11. Ľubomír Batka, “Luther in Slovak,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 31 (2017): 85–93; Guntis Kalme, “Luther in Latvian,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 32 (2018): 435–445; Antti Raunio, “Luther in Finnish,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 30 (2016): 205–211; Nelson Rivera, “Luther in Spanish,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 30 (2016): 60–67; Matthieu Arnold, “Luther in French,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 34 (2020): 337–345; Mirjam Bohatcová, “Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon und Calvin in gedruckten tschechischen Übersetzungen aus dem 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 49 (1974): 158–165; William A. Clebsch, “The Earliest Translations of Luther into English,” *Harvard Theological Review* 56:1 (1963): 75–86; Francis Higman, “Les traductions françaises de Luther, 1524–1550,” in *Palestra Typographica: Aspect de la production du livre humaniste et religieux au XVI^e siècle*, ed. Jean-François Gilmont (Aubel: Gason, 1984), 11–56; Will Grayburn Moore, *La Réforme allemande et la Littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France* (Strasbourg: Publications de la faculté des lettres, 1930); Rudolf Řičan, “Tschechische Übersetzungen von Luthers Schriften bis zum Schmalkaldischen Krieg,” in *Vierhundertfünfzig Jahre lutherische Reformation 1517–1967: Festschrift für Franz Lau zum 60.*

Geburtstag (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), 282–301; Casper C. G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Company, 1969).

12. Of interest for a north European Lutheran perspective are James E. Kelly, Henning Laugerud, and Salvador Ryan, eds., *Northern European Reformations: Transnational Perspectives* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Heinrich Assel, Johann Anselm Steiger, and Axel E. Walte, eds., *Reformatio Baltica: Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Ulinka Rublack, ed., *Protestant Empires: Globalizing the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). See also Matthias Pohlig, “The World Is Not Enough: Reflexionen zu den globalen und europäischen ‘Weltwirkungen’ der Reformation,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108 (2017): 63–73.

13. In 2006 Carrie Euler pointed out that “close studies of religious translations other than the Bible itself are virtually non-existent,” Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2006), 109. Since then several studies have been done, see Renate Dürr, “Found in Translation—the Search for Similarities Between Cultures at the Time of the Reformations,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108 (2017): 191–201; Antje Flüchter and Rouven Wirbser, eds., *Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures: The Expansion of Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Robert von Friedeburg, “Ecclesiology and the English State: Luther and Melancthon on the Independence of the Church in English Translations of the 1570s,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010): 138–163; Corinna Flügge, *Devotion Translated: zur Rezeption deutscher lutherischer Erbauungsliteratur im frühneuzeitlichen England* (Kamen: Spenner, 2012).

14. Carrie Euler, “Does Faith Translate? Tudor Translations of Martin Luther and the Doctrine of Justification by Faith,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010): 80–113; Trueman and Euler, “The Reception of Martin Luther”; Anna Vind, “Luther-reception i 1500- och 1600-tallets Danmark” in *Reformationen: 1500-tallets kulturrevolution*, eds. Ole Høiris and Per Ingeman (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017); Anna Vind, “Lutherer triumphans: Examples of the Reception of Luther in 16th and 17th Century Denmark” in *Reformatio Baltica*.

15. Josef Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod. Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der zeitgenössischen Lutherdrucke: im Anschluss an die Lutherbibliographie Josef Benzings* (Gotha: V. Koerner, 1982), contains some remarks on translations of Luther's texts until his death. Other examples include Moeller, “Luther in Europa”; Clebsch, “The Earliest Translations”; Visser, *Luther's geschriften*; Řičan, “Tschechische Übersetzungen”; Herman J. Selderhuis, “Martin Luther in the Netherlands,” *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 21 (2019): 1–12.

16. Lindhardt, “Luther und Skandinavien,” 144.

17. Birgit Stolt, “‘Gottes reines Wort’: Die Reformation in Schweden,” in *Schweden und Deutschland: Begegnungen und Impulse*, ed. Judith Black (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1999).

18. Appelqvist, “Luther in Swedish,” 71. On translations of Luther's Psalms see, Otfried Czaika, *Den Svenska Psalmboken 1582: Utgåva med inledande kommentarer* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2016).

19. Undorf, “Reformation ohne Luther?,” 267–268.

20. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 344.

21. Sven Ingebrand, *Olavus Petris reformatöriska åskådning: Die reformatörische Theologie des Olavus Petri* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1964).

22. For the original “erzählendes Übersetzen” or “interpretierendes und vermittelndes Übersetzen,” see Marion Gindhart, “Bildschrift im Kontext: Die Hieroglyphica-Übersetzung Johannes Herolds (Basel 1554)” in *Humanistische Antikenübersetzung und frühneuzeitliche Poetik in Deutschland (1450–1620)*, eds. Regina Toepfer, Johannes Klaus Kipf, and Jörg Robert (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 243–286.

23. For “domestication” and “foreignization” see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), esp. 1–34; Lars Bisgaard, “Sjælens trøst og satiren Peder Smed og Adser Bonde: to oversættelser fra 1400- og 1500-tallet,” in *Reformasjonstidens religiøse bokkultur cirka 1400–1700*, eds. Bente Lavold and John Ødemark (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket i Oslo, 2017), 133–175.

24. For an overview of translations in Early Modern Europe see Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). See also Sara Barker and Brenda Hosington, ed., *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

25. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2009), 21–22.

26. Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 9.

27. Euler, “Does Faith Translate?” 102.

28. In some locations, previous research has been used to decide what kind of translations it is; in others, the author has examined the beginning, middle part, and end of the source text and the target text to conclude what kind of translation it is. Hence, the results in this article are preliminary, and may be revised with later research.

29. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 319–326.

30. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 20–30; *Luthers Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 57 vols., eds. J. F. K. Knaake et al. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883ff.), (Hereafter cited as WA). WA 10II:350ff.

31. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 331–339.

32. *Luthers Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Deutsche Bibel, 12 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1906ff.), 6:2ff. On the translation, see Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 31.

33. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 343–344.

34. On Olaus Petri, see Tarald Rasmussen, “Olaus Petri” in *Das Reformatorenlexikon*, eds. Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, 2014), 207–214.

35. WA 11:245–281.

36. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 38–39.

37. Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600, Volume 2 1530–1582* (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–1931), 131–133; Nathan Fransén, “Den svenska katekestraditionens historiska ursprung,” *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 35 (1935), 212 (208–216); Sigfrid Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska bönböcker under reformationstidevarvet: med en inledande översikt över medeltidens och över reformationstidens evangeliska tyska bönelitteratur* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 1929), 120–122.

38. Sven Kjöllström, “Vår första lutherska katekes och dess översättare,” *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 31 (1931), 128–146.

39. See Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 331. Compare Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 346–351, 409–412; 466–469; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 42, 44–46, 82–84, 321–322, 151–152, 190–191.

40. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 351–354.

41. WA 10I/2.

42. The publications also included parts from Johannes Bugenhagen's *Indices in Evangelia Dominicalia*. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 41.

43. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 12–15. It was published again in 1537, Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 53–60.

44. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 41.

45. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 43–45.

46. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 48–49, 114–118.

47. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 34.

48. Ingebrand, *Olaus Petris*, 39.

49. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 348–9, 362. Original title: Olaus Petri, *Een liten underuising om echteskapet hvem thz lofligit är eller ey, ther grundeliga bewijsat warder at prestmen må wara j echteskap, och sedhen följer ther epter een liten formanig till till biscooper och prelater medh theres clerekrig her j Sverige* (Stockholm: Kungliga tryckeriet, 1528). The text is edited in Bengt Hesselman, *Samlade skrifter af Olavus Petri af Sveriges kristliga studentrörelses förlag under redaktion av Bengt Hesselman*, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Sveriges kristliga studentrörelses förlag, 1914), 443–471 (Hereafter cited as OPSS 1). The part on Olaus Petri's *En liten bok om äktenskapet* follows my earlier study: Kajsa Brilkman, "Boundaries Transcended: Student Mobility, Clerical Marriage and Translations in the Life of the Swedish Reformer Olaus Petri," in *Transregional Reformations: Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Violet Soen, Alexander Soetaert, Johan Verberckmoes, and Wim François (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 245–265.

50. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 1, 349–350. Original title: Olaus Petri, *Een liten boock j huilko closterleffwerne forclarat warder, ther och noghot foregiffwes hwadh skadha och forderff sådana leffuerne haffuer giordt j christenheetenne, sedhan följer een liten formanig til closterfolk och theres wener.* / *Olauus Petri* (Stockholm: Kungliga tryckeriet, 1528); OPSS 1, 473–523.

51. Stephen E. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe in Flugschriften der frühen Reformation* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998); Marjorie Elisabeth Plummer, "Clerical Marriage and Territorial Reformation in Ernestine Saxony and the Diocese of Merseburg in 1522–1524," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 98 (2007): 45–70; Marjorie Elisabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Helen Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West, c.1100–1700*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 143–183.

52. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 133–284.

53. WA 10II:275–304.

54. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 111, footnote 81.

55. Original quotation: "eynggeplantzte natur und artt"; WA 10II:276. Compare with: "jnplantadhe benägenheet lost och wilie", OPSS 1, 448, and "natwrligh jnplantat natwrf aff gudhi," OPSS 1, 456.

56. Original quotation: "hurereh, ehebruch und stummen sund"; WA 10II:276; Compare with: "nödghat them til hoor, bolerij och annat oreenligheet", OPSS 1, 465.

57. WA 10II:278–9; Compare OPSS 1, 450–1.

58. "Es ist eyn eynggeplanzte natur und artt eben so wol als die glidms die dazu gehoeren", WA 10II:276; Compare with: "För ty sådan lost wilie är gudz ädhela creatur, them jnplantat jw så kraffteligha som the naturligha ledhamoot som ther til höra . . .", OPSS 1, 448.

59. "Die ersten aber, die Christus aus mutter leibe verschnitten geporn nennet, das sind, die man Impotentes heist, die von natur odder sonst mangel am leib haben", WA 10II:278; Compare with: "The förste äre the ther snörpte äre, som är så födde äre aff theres

moders lijff, thet är the man plägar kalla figidos eller impotentes, them gudh sielff vndan-tagit och så skapat them att the äre oskickelige ther til aff en kald natwr”, OPSS I, 450–1.

60. Petri calls him Paffnicus.

61. OPSS I, 456–7.

62. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 74. The story was known to the theologians of the time and could be found in medieval works on church history (Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 74, footnote 94).

63. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 105.

64. Buckwalter, *Die Priesterehe*, 95, footnote 95.

65. Ulrich Bubenheimer, “Streit um das Bischofsamt in der Wittenberger Reformation 1521/22: Von der Auseinandersetzung mit den Bischöfen um Priesterehen und den Ablass in Halle zum Modell des evangelischen Gemeindebischofs; Teil 1,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 104 (1987): 155–209, esp. 188–90.

66. OPSS I, 461.

67. Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility*.

68. WA 8:573–666.

69. Bernhard Lohse, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer historischen Entwicklung und in ihrem systematischen Zusammenhang* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 158–159.

70. Justus Jonas, *Un dem geystlichen vnd klostergelubden Martini Luthers vrteyll* (Wittenberg: Schirlentz, Nickel, 1522) (VD16 L 7327) and Justus Jonas, *Von den Geystlichen vnd Kloster gelübte Martini Luthers Vrteyll. wittenberg* (Straßburg: Schürer, Matthias [Erben], 1522) (VD16 L 7326).

71. Lohse, *Luthers Theologie*, 159.

72. Lohse, *Luthers Theologie*, 159.

73. OPSS I, 512.

74. OPSS I, 502–505.

75. Johannes Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002); Bernd Moeller, “Das Berühmtwerden Luthers,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 15:1 (1988): 17–37; Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015).

76. Carrie Euler, “Does Faith Translate?,” 80–113; Moeller, “Luther in Europa,” esp. 239; see also William A. Clebsch, “The Earliest Translations.” In a Swedish context Kajsa Brilkmann, “När slutade reformationen? Reformation, konfessionalisering och representationen av Martin Luther i svensk bokproduktion under 1500-talet,” *Historisk Tidskrift* 13:4 (2019): 665–688; and the same text in English: Kajsa Weber, “The End of the Reformation in Sweden. Reformation and Confessionalization in the Representations of Martin Luther in Swedish Book Production during the Sixteenth Century,” in *Reformationskonzepte*, eds. Johann Anselm Steiger and Kaspar von Greyerz (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2021 [forthcoming]).

77. Visser, *Luther’s geschriften*. Luther’s name also appears often on title pages of Czech works and in other representations on the Czech book market, compare Řičan, “Tschechische Übersetzungen.”

78. Trueman, *Luther’s Legacy*; Higman, “Les traductions françaises”; Moore, *La Réforme Allemande*, 102–153; Visser, *Luther’s geschriften*.

79. Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 68. On Luther in print after his death, see Ernst Koch, “Lutherflorilegien zwischen 1550 und 1600: Zum Lutherbild der ersten

nachreformatorischen Generation,” *Theologische Versuche* 16 (1986): 105–117; Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999); Stefan Michel, *Die Kanonisierung der Werke Martin Luthers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016); Irene Dingel, “Strukturen der Lutherrezeption am Beispiel einer Lutherzitatensammlung von Joachim Westphal” in *Kommunikationsstrukturen im europäischen Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Sommer (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 32–50.

80. Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*; Koch, “Lutherflorilegien;” Kolb, *Martin Luther*. In a Swedish context Brilkmann, “När slutade reformationen;” and the same text in English: Weber, “The End of the Reformation.”

81. Robert W. Scribner, “Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany,” *Past & Present* 11:1 (1986): 38–68. Lyndal Roper, “Martin Luther’s Body: The ‘Stout Doctor’ and His Biographers,” *The American Historical Review* 115:2 (2010): 351–384; Kath Hill, “Mapping the Memory of Luther: Place and Confessional Identity in the Later Reformation,” *German History* 38:2 (2020): 187–210; Hole Rössler, ed., *Luthermania: Ansichten einer Kultfigur*, Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek 99 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2017); Matthias Pohl, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung: Lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung 1546–1617* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 102, 115.

82. Laurentius Petri, *En liten undervisning om sakramenten* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentzon, 1558); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 239–241.

83. WA 30II:589–626; Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, 330–331.

84. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 72; Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, 283–284.

85. WA 23:325ff.

86. WA 38:351–375.

87. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 192–195. Original title: Johannes Eriki Salemontanus, *Christeligh och nödhorffthigh undervisningh* (Lübeck/Rostock; Aswer Kröger / Augustin Ferber, d.Ä., 1594).

88. “En annor stärkte bekännelse om skriftermålet D. Martini Lutheri,” “Fölia nu några märklige grunder och hugneliga Ord utdragna av D. Martini Lutheri skrifter,” and “Fölia nu några profetior ... Martin Luther.” *Vägen till saligheten*, 239–288, 313–383, 395–406.

89. *Vägen till saligheten*, 343 and *Vägen till saligheten*, 282.

90. Kolb, *Luther*; Michel, *Die Kanonisierung*; Eike Wolgast and Hans Volz, “Luther-Ausgaben vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert,” WA 60.

91. Ulrike Gleixner, “Durch und durch Luther,” in *Luthermania—Ansichten einer Kultfigur*, ed. Hole Rössler, Ausstellungskatalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 99 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2017), 185–187. The Swedish translator had picked pieces from the section “Heubatlere und kurze Summarien aus Doctoris Lutheri seligen Büchern gezogen . . .” (I3r–M3r) and put them into the section “Fölia nu några märklige grunder och hugneliga Ord utdragna av D. Martini Lutheri skrifter . . .” (313a–383a).

92. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 256–257. Kajsja Weber, “Buch und Konfessionskonflikt. Übersetzung, Kompilation und Paratext in Petrus Johannis Gothus’ ”Sköna och märklige skriftens sentenser (1597)” in *Schwedische Buchgeschichte. Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, eds. Wolfgang Undorf and Otfried Czaika (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 2021), 111–130.

93. For example, Euler, "Does Faith Translate?," does not reflect on the possibility that the translators used the Collected Works or any other reference books as sources.

94. Original title: Andreas Olai Gerumansis, *Enchiridion. Thett är then lille och reene catechismus sampt mädh en nödtörffthig förswarelse skriffit för menige kyrkepräster och predikanter föröö kat och förbättrat ååret effter Christi Bördh 1591. Vthur D. Mårten Lutthers böker och skriffit tryckte i Wittembärgh.* (Vilnius: Officina Academica Societatis Jesu, 1591); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 122–127.

95. Magnus Nyman, "Inledning," in Markus Hagberg, ed., *Enchiridion. Det är den lilla och rena katekesen 1591. Jämte, sannfärdig ögonskenlig, förmerad och välbegrundad försvarsskrift 1591 av Sigismund Ernhoffer. Utgiven i faksimil och i översättning av Per-Axel Wiktorsson samt med inledning av Magnus Nyman.* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2012). On the German publications see Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 243–245.

96. *Enchiridion*, A1^r.

97. Ingun Montgomery, *Värjestånd och lärostand: religion och politik i meningsutbytet mellan kungamak och prästerskap i Sverige 1593–1608* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1972); Kerstin Strömberg-Back, *Lagen, rätten, läran: politisk och kyrklig idédebatt i Sverige under Johan III:s tid* (Lund: Gleerup, 1963).

98. Kolb, *Martin Luther*; Koch, "Lutherflorilegien."

99. Original title: Laurentius Petri Gothus, *En ny Christeligh Böneboock: Wtaff the gamle Kyrkkiones Lärare Nemligh Augustino Ambrosio Cypriano Cyrillo Bernhardo Chryfostomo . . .* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1564) (VD16 N 2166); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 322–323; Estborn, *Bönböcker*, 165–176.

100. Original title: Martinus Olai Helsingus, *Een nyttigh och christeligh bönebook, bådhe aff gamla och nya kyrkionnes lärare tilhopa draghen, vthi allahanda nödtörffter til at bidia, och tacka Gudh för bewijsta welgerningar* (Stockholm: Amund Larsson, 1567); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 355–358.

101. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, p. 388–391, 471–473; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 3, 109–111, 117–118; Estborn, *Bönböcker*, 176–190.

102. *Ein Nie Christlyck vnd nütte Bédebock. Vth den Olden Lérs der Kercken alse Augustino Ambrosio Cipriano . . .* (Hamburg: Wickradt, Johann d.J., 1562) (VD16 N 2137).

103. According to Collijn *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 322–323; Estborn, *Bönböcker*, 165–176.

104. *En ny kristlig bönbok*, 2a–7b; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, s. 322. *En nyttig och kristlig bönbok*, 5b–10a. A word-for-word translation of "Ein kort bericht vam Gebede. D. Mart. Luth." in *Ein schön nye christlick unde nütte Bedeböck*.

105. Original title: Petrus Johannis Gothus, *Vndervisning om een rätt christelig böö n, sampt med någhra gudeliga åkallelser på the förnemste högtijz dagar om året. Vthdraghe aff the gamle kyrkonnes lärefäders schriffte.* (Rostock: Jacobus Lucius, 1577); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi* 2, 477–478; Estborn, *Bönböcker*, 192.

106. Estborn, *Bönböcker*, 190ff.

107. *Undervisning om en rätt kristen bön*, J6r–L1r.

108. WA 2:172ff., 2:175–179.

109. Barbara Bell, *An Annotated Guide to Current National Bibliographies*, 2nd completely rev. ed. (Munich: Saur, 1998), xviii.

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