The spiritualization of work: Luther and the dual vocation

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The exaltation of the dung-shovelling maid

In 1530, in Wittenberg, Luther held a mid-week sermon series (lectio continua) on the Sermon on the Mount,[[1]](#endnote-1) including the Beatitudes, the sixth statement of which reads as follows: „Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God.” (Mt 5:8) But who are the pure in heart who will see God? Luther's commentary confused his audience just as much as it does today’s readers because it goes against the natural way of thinking; according to which, a person with a pure heart is one who can keep himself away from the world’s filth and can live a contemplative life, during which only divine things occupy his attention. Contrasting the filthy world and pure spirituality was as natural in the 16th century as it is in the early 21st century - even if for partly different reasons. Contrary to it, Luther tells the citizens of Wittenberg the following: the only thing that can be achieved with a contemplative life away from the world is that the heart becomes impure; the person falls into ungodliness because he is driven by his own – as Luther explains it – imaginations and dreams. If someone wants to be pure in heart, he can achieve it not by turning away from, but by turning towards the world, by living in it. Luther takes this so seriously that the blacksmith and the cobbler who reek of tar and pitch, and the servant who walks in filth up to his neck and even shovels dung become the paradigm of a pure-hearted person for him. Does the smell of these manual laborers repel us? As it turns out, they are the pure-hearted ones.[[2]](#endnote-2) In my study, I investigate this surprise and ask: How can the dung-shovelling maid become the paradigm of a believer for Luther?[[3]](#endnote-3)

Luther on work

First, let us take a purely descriptive look at how important work is to Luther. In 1523, he drafted an unusual document,[[4]](#endnote-4) in which he gave concrete advice to the young Lutheran congregation in Leisnig on how to manage their treasury and material assets, which largely originated from the monasteries’ wealth. In this advice, Luther shows a strong social sensitivity and explains that the city's well-being is inconceivable without promoting the well-being of marginalized people. However, he does not intend to solve it with usury or begging, but with work.

No men or women beggars shall be tolerated in our parish, either in the city or in the villages, since anyone not incapacitated by reason of age or illness shall work or, with the aid of the authorities, be expelled from the parish, the city, and the villages[[5]](#endnote-5)

- says his firm statement. However, at the same time, it also considers those who cannot work due to their impoverishment and establishes a refundable aid to support their return to work.

To artisans and others suffering in private, whether married or widowers, who are residents of the city and villages within our parish and who are honestly unable to ply their trade or other urban or rural occupation, and have no other source of help, the directors shall advance an appropriate amount out of the common chest, to be repaid at some future date.[[6]](#endnote-6)

Luther differentiates even further:

In cases where despite honest and diligent toil they are unable to make repayment, the debt shall be forgiven for God’s sake as a contribution to their need. Such circumstances shall be carefully investigated by the directors.[[7]](#endnote-7)

The proposal on how to manage the treasury also considers those who cannot work: the sick, the elderly, and those monks who are unable to do so due to their being unskilled.

But those among us who are impoverished by force of circum-stances, or are unable to work because of old age or illness, shall be supported in suitable fashion by the ten officials out of our common chest.[[8]](#endnote-8) We must remember, too, that these persons [i.e. monks] have drifted into this estate as a result of the blindness and error which prevailed generally, and have never learned a trade by which they could support themselves.[[9]](#endnote-9)

From the above, it is clear how important Luther considers working: community aid is decided according to whether someone can work. However, work is not only important from the aspect of social well-being but also from that of individual well-being. In the following, we will examine where the roots of this idea can be found in his theology.

Christocentric ontology

Unlike Luther, with certain thinkers it is often difficult, even impossible, to define a single focus point around which the whole thinking is organized. For him, at the same time, there is only one center, Jesus Christ, and all questions arise around it and within its scope. From our original point of departure, Luther's Christocentric thinking first emphasizes that in Jesus Christ, God came - from the distant and inaccessible heaven - to earth, to people, and even became a man. Therefore, the direction of his movement is downward. And if God acted like this in Christ, how can anyone think he can reach God by moving upward, contrary to his movement? According to Luther, a contemplative life away from the world justifies this upward movement i.e. contrary to the reality of Christ. God's downward movement is not aimless, its purpose is to show people divine mercy. Consequently, the purpose of human life is also to exercise mercy, since Christ set an example for this. Just as God practiced mercy among people, which is why he came to earth, so man must live in this world, otherwise, he would not be able to practice acts of mercy. And, since living in the world is only realized by leading an active life, work is considered an indispensable part of this active life. Working, practicing mercy, and following Christ are closely intertwined for Luther. Therefore, working is crucial not only from the point of view of social good but also from that of individual good; ultimately, it is a part of religious practice. However, the formula of Christocentric thinking about work seems simple only at first glance. Like any other topic, the work issue, for Luther, is woven into the reality of Christ with a thousand threads. So let us try to follow these threads, because this is how the novelty of Luther's concept of work can be revealed.

The figure of Jesus Christ is a paradox in itself, since in him the infinite God became a finite man, while, at the same time, remaining an infinite God. Thus, such a combination is realized in his person, which can only be thought of as a paradox within the framework of traditional logic. In the Lutheran understanding, this paradox is emphasized in several respects.[[10]](#endnote-10) On the one hand, in an anthropological sense, and on the other in a geographical one. According to the latter, after God became man in Christ, two such "places" that could not meet before, met: heaven and earth, but they did not meet in-between, but on earth. The ruler of the heavenly kingdom is God; and, the ruler of the earthly kingdom, although ultimately, is also God, it is Satan's area of ​​operation. Temporarily, he is "the ruler of this world" (Jn 14:30). With the meeting of the two "places" on earth, the character of the earth became paradoxical, as it became the area of ​​operation of God and Satan at the same time, even if God's supremacy is unquestionable. The commonly used two-realm doctrine describes this duality. Luther consistently presents this paradoxical operation by contrasting appearance with reality. The same act or event in the world, which is the result of Satan's operation, is also the hidden operation of God. Christ's death on the cross is the paradigm for this: death on the cross is the greatest failure, and at the same time, the most complete victory. Accordingly, earthly things - using Luther's technical term -, are masks. Masks that show something different than what they are, but behind which God's reality is hidden. In this sense, does Luther talk about work as a mask: it seems as if a person – during work – is only occupied with his prosperity, but if we look behind the mask, we see that he is working for God's sake.[[11]](#endnote-11)

The paradox is also present in anthropology: if a person believes in Christ, he acquires a kind of dual citizenship: he also becomes a citizen of the kingdom of God in the above sense, in addition to the satanic rule that is definitely active in earthly life. This paradoxical ontology defines man's existence in several versions: alongside his finitude, he has become a part of eternity, despite his limited understanding, he has received the vision of faith, as a sinner, he has become righteous, etc. It is important to emphasize this because we misunderstand the entire Lutheran teaching on work if we forget that Luther's worker is the person who believes in Christ and that everything he states about work presupposes that the person doing the work believes in Christ. So if we want to be precise, we do not ask what Luther teaches about work, but what Luther teaches about the believer’s work.

Luther on vocation

Precisely because Luther talks about work as a part of religious practice, as a condition for the realization of divine mercy, and at the same time as a mask of God's operation, work is transformed into a vocation; ultimately, the concept of vocation acquires a new meaning at Luther because the perception of work is spiritualized.

The writing, On Good Deeds, published in 1520, is one of the first thematic expositions of Luther's ethics in the form of a sermon explaining the Ten Commandments.[[12]](#endnote-12) Here we find one of the first explanations of the far-reaching ethical consequences of making faith the basis of ethical thinking.

For in this work all good works exist, and from faith these works receive a borrowed goodness. We must make this absolutely clear.[[13]](#endnote-13)

The roots of the new way of thinking about work can also be found here. Luther boldly accepts and proclaims the practical consequences of this insight.

If you ask further whether they consider it a good work when a man works at his trade, walks, stands, eats, drinks, sleeps, and does all kinds of works for the nourishment of his body or for the common welfare, and whether they believe that God is well pleased with them, you will find that they say no, and that they define good works so narrowly that they are made to consist only of praying in church, fasting, and almsgiving. The other things they consider as worth nothing and think that God attaches no importance to them. And so, through their damnable unbelief, they deprive God of his due and despise faith, though God is served by all things that may be done, spoken, or thought in faith.[[14]](#endnote-14)

The range of actions pleasing to God extends to all areas of everyday human life, including work. It is not only in church and a monastery that it is possible to do something that pleases God: as if Luther, through faith, turned every place of everyday life into a church, the barn as well as the workshop, the kitchen as well as the field.

However, he does not stop at expanding the consecrated space but contrasts the everyday actions sanctified by faith with the hypocritical ones of monastic life. In the writing entitled The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, also from 1520,[[15]](#endnote-15) he formulates this contrast for the first time, which he then continues to represent.

Therefore I advise no one to enter any religious order or the priesthood, indeed, I advise everyone against it—unless he is forearmed with this knowledge and understands that the works of monks and priests, however holy and arduous they may be, do not differ one whit in the sight of God from the works of the rustic laborer in the field or the woman going about her household tasks, but that all works are measured before God by faith alone. […] Indeed, the menial housework of a manservant or maidservant is often more acceptable to God than all the fastings and other works of a monk or priest, because the monk or priest lacks faith.[[16]](#endnote-16)

Everyday work thus becomes a distinguished activity, a vocation, thanks to faith, and is ultimately based on the fact that the everyday person is in direct contact with God through faith, i.e. he is a priest. Luther gives dignity to the work of everyday people in his thinking because he gives dignity to everyday people and everyday life[[17]](#endnote-17) – in his view, this follows from the reality of Jesus Christ. It may be that when we ask what Luther's main legacy is from the point of view of our present, it is above all the strong affirmation of life that shines through all of Luther's writings even in the most impossible situations.

Before Luther's time, there were limited ideas about the possibilities of leading a holy life. Two types of earthly life were distinguished: one was the life within the Church, i.e. that of the clergy, and the other outside it, that of the laity. In this way, the monastery wall separated the holy and the profane based on the daily activities. The term vocation was used exclusively for holy vocation, i.e. entering the Church. It is only at Luther that work becomes a vocation, whatever it may be, even like that of a dung-shovelling maid, because this way of thinking no longer looks at actions, but at faith. I have the impression that in this recognition it is not so much the recognition itself that is extraordinary, but how determined and serious Luther is when he examines and justifies all the consequences of this recognition; as can be seen from his already quoted early ethics:

In this faith all works become equal, and one work is like the other; all distinctions between works fall away, whether they be great, small, short, long, many, or few. For the works are acceptable not for their own sake but because of faith, which is always the same and lives and works in each and every work without distinction, however numerous and varied these works always are.[[18]](#endnote-18)

But if faith is taken out of the formula, as I have already emphasized in another context, then no job is a vocation - at least immanently, from a human point of view.

Ordinary life as a Christocentric life: the dual vocation

We have seen that Luther advocates an active life in the world instead of a retreat from the world, but this seems to have confused us. After all, the question arises: Is there no need to withdraw from the world in the reformed faith? Where and how does the believer’s work find spiritual nourishment, namely, worship that also moves everyday life, and thanks to which even dung-shovelling appears differently to him than before? If work becomes a vocation for faith, as we said, how can this faith be born and grow without some retreat? And if withdrawal is still necessary, how different is it from the one we abandoned? Thus how does Luther picture the everyday life of a person fulfilling his vocation?

In 1523, he wrote Concerning the Order of Public Worship,[[19]](#endnote-19) which, despite its brevity, served as a guide for many newly established congregations to organize their community life. This document shows how Luther thought about the above question.

This was the custom among Christians at the time of the apostles and should also be the custom now. We should assemble daily at four or five in the morning and have [God’s Word] read, either by pupils or priests, or whoever it may be, in the same manner as the lesson is still read at Matins.[[20]](#endnote-20) […] In like manner, come together at five or six in the evening.[[21]](#endnote-21)

So, before going to work, and after completing the day's work, ideally, the person doing the work meets the others for an hour to listen to the Scriptures and their explanation. This is the source from which they get motivation to do their work as a profession, since

thus Christian people will by daily training become proficient, skilful, and well versed in the Bible. For this is how genuine Christians were made in former times—both virgins and martyrs—and could also be made today.[[22]](#endnote-22)

In Luther's view, this does not mean an extra burden for man, but

for all that matters is that the Word of God be given free reign to uplift and quicken souls so that they do not become weary.[[23]](#endnote-23)

It is not as if Luther idealized human nature: he saw the obstacles that daily gatherings could encounter, which is why in this document he is also lenient; however, he insists on all the people meeting at least once a week. Therefore, even though Luther is hostile towards the monastic life withdrawn from the world, he does not abandon the act of withdrawing from the world itself. However, the relationship between this withdrawal and life in the world changes completely. While previously listening to God meant turning away from the world, now listening to God goes hand in hand with leading an active life in the world. Neither can be abandoned without the other suffering damage. Generally, man's relationship with God and the world is dynamized by the fact that the walls separating the sacred and profane spaces collapse. From here on, man is not a prisoner of one or the other; his life is spent in a dynamic movement between the two. As if changing the focus of his attention: sometimes he pays attention to God, and sometimes to his work because this is the only way he can do his work devotedly and listen to God and his word with devotion. This dynamic of everyday life is indispensable for Luther, which also means that everyday work can only be ennobled as a vocation if the person doing the work has another vocation, namely the relationship with God.[[24]](#endnote-24) Thus, for Luther, the everyday person has – as I call it – a dual vocation,[[25]](#endnote-25) the dynamics of which determine his everyday life.

However, this does not mean that the time of listening to God is sharply separated from the time of work. Since, precisely because the everyday person devotes time to God and the Holy Scriptures, it can seep into his everyday work. This is a condition for work to become a vocation, since in this way work is filled with spirit, and on the other hand - as Luther emphasizes, in the series of sermons cited at the beginning of the study - it is during work that insights about God’s things can arise, indirectly. Its significance for Luther is that, in this way, recognition is not the result of a person's striving (as in monasticism), but rather a gift to him received during his work. In this way, work as a vocation also becomes, in the strict sense of the word, a means of growing in the knowledge of God. It is as if Luther pours holiness onto the world, since, in his opinion, the reality of Christ did this.

Global good order and self-realization

Although Luther firmly stated that there is no difference between actions in themselves, since faith alone makes a difference, he did not imagine the world as chaos, where every action or work observes faith and mercy alone. In the Confession concerning Christ's supper (1528)[[26]](#endnote-26) we find how Luther saw the foundations of the social order of the world, which he already spoke about in 1519.[[27]](#endnote-27)

The holy orders and true religious institutions established by God are these three: the office of priest, the estate of marriage, the civil government,[[28]](#endnote-28)

i.e. the orders of the church, the family, and the state.[[29]](#endnote-29) He considers these three as holy orders based on the Scriptures. However, it does not mean that they are untouchable, only that they have a divine origin. Within these orders are the individual offices, i.e. occupations, many of which are specifically mentioned in several places, such as preacher, mother, servant, judge, mayor, etc.[[30]](#endnote-30) Thus, all decent work and occupations fit into the previous holy arrangement, whereby they become part of the divine order. So far we have followed how the vocation is immanently founded in Luther - there is no denying that this is the really exciting question by Luther; now we can also see how the foundation takes place from a transcendent point of view. The three divine orders also fit into the higher unity of believers, so there are indeed differences between the individual occupations and orders, but the differences are relative at both levels, because, as Luther says, „a Christian people is undivided”.[[31]](#endnote-31) Among the specific professions, Luther mentions not only those that fit into this good order without any problems, as did the above ones, but also those that seem to confuse the structure outlined here: an example was the cleaning of sheds and stables, due to the stench and the degree of contempt, but also the military profession, to which Luther dedicated a separate booklet (Whether soldiers, too, can be saved [1526][[32]](#endnote-32)), and which also leads back to love.[[33]](#endnote-33)

Looking at all of this, it seems that Luther's thinking about work, even though it reaches even the most despised everyday lives, is determined more from the point of view of divine origin: alignment with God determines his thinking, rather than the sense of justice, desire, fatigue and vulnerability of ordinary people. Luther is not a revolutionary, nor is his immediate goal the ending of the exploitation of workers. He believes in that new, eternal life without suffering and fatigue. From this aspect, everyday life appears as a preparation for this. That is why he ultimately expands the concept of vocation; and why he mainly talks about how to stay in a profession, rather than how to find a new one; about how a person's attitude to his work can change, rather than about how he could do something else; that is, about faith rather than about action. And, although we cannot ignore this clear set of values ​​of Luther's, which may seem outdated insofar as the faith itself is, if at all - we would still be unfair to Luther if we did not see the tendencies in which he specifically turns towards everyday life, which we tried to highlight in this analysis. These are the repercussions of the value system in question on everyday life, since after this does not the Christian farmer turn differently to the servant, the father to the mother, the master to the servant, and vice versa?; on the other hand, Luther's direct ideas for the improvement of individual and community everyday life, as exemplified by the Leisnig case. There is no doubt that Luther's focus is far from self-realization or nurturing talent,[[34]](#endnote-34) in his thinking, however, he takes into account the character of the person holding the office and the issue of suitability; he advocates education, and he does not consider higher offices untouchable.

In addition, for him, everyday life does not gain its dignity simply by improving living conditions, but only by connecting people to Christ. That is why the dung-shovelling maid became a distinguished example for him. As he summarized in 1523 in an already quoted document:

For the whole Scripture shows that the Word should have free course among Christians. And in Luke 10 [:42], Christ himself says, “One thing is needful,” i.e., that Mary sit at the feet of Christ and hear his word daily. This is the best part to choose and it shall not be taken away forever. It is an eternal Word. Everything else must pass away, no matter how much care and trouble it may give Martha.[[35]](#endnote-35)

1. Luther, Martin: Reihenpredigten über Matthäus 5–7 [1530]. WA (= Luther, Martin: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* („Weimarer Ausgabe”). 1–73. Bohlau, Weimar, 1883–2009.) 32, 302-407. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. WA 32, 324–330. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Our approach proceeds circularly from person to person, and we discuss Christological and ontological sources with this in mind. This differs from Wingren's method of analysis, which is still considered classic today; he proceeds linearly from the ontological foundation to the man’s situation (Wingren, Gustaf: *Luthers lära om kallelsen*. Lund, E. H. K. Gleerups Bokförlag, 1942 (in English: Gustaf, Wingren: *Luther on Vocation*. Eugene [Oregon], [Wipf & Stock Publishers](https://www.google.hu/search?hl=hu&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi67P_Z2Y-GAxXyQVUIHQEmI5wQ8fIDegQIEBAL&q=inpublisher:%22Wipf+%26+Stock+Publishers%22&tbm=bks), 2004.) Cf. Hagen, Kenneth: A Critique of Wingren on Luther on Vocation. *Lutheran Quarterly* 16 (2002): 249-273; Pless, John T.: Gustaf Wingren’s Luther on Vocation after Sixty-five Years. *Journal of Lutheran Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 8, 2010. <https://www.elca.org/JLE/Articles/278> [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Luther, Martin: Ordinance of a common chest (Fraternal agreement on the common chest of the entire assembly at Leisnig) [1523]. LW (= *Luther’s Works: The American Edition*, St Louis [Missouri] and Minneapolis [Minnesota]: Concordia and Fortress Press, 1955-1986) 45, 169-194. = Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens. Ratschlag, wie die geistlichen Guter zu handeln sind (Leisniger Kastenordnung).WA 12, (I)11–30. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. LW 45, 186; WA 12, 23 [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. LW 45, 190; WA 12, 26 [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. LW 45, 190; WA 12, 26–27 [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. LW 45, 186; WA 12, 23 [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. LW 45, 171; WA 12, 12 [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. See Ebeling, Gerhard: *Luther. An Introduction to His Thought.* Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1970 for the explanation of Luther's thinking in pairs of opposites. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Fabiny Tibor: God’s Court Jester on the Masks of God. In Roggelin, Holger-Gustafson, Scott (eds.): *Lutheranism. Legacy and Future*. Infinity Publishing, 2012, 103-114. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Luther, Martin: Treatise on good works [1520]. LW 44, 15-114. = Von den guten Werken. WA 6, (196)202-276. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. LW 44, 24; WA 6, 204 [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. LW 44, 24; WA 6, 205 [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Luther, Martin: The Babylonian Captivity of the Church [1520] LW 36, (3)11-126. = De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium. WA 6, (484)497-573. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. LW 36, 78; WA 6, 541 [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. The most direct document for it is the *Table Talk* (LW 54; WA.TR [= Luther, Martin: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden.* 1–6. Bohlau, Weimar, 1912–1921.] 1–6). [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. LW 44, 26; WA 6, 206 [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Luther, Martin: Concerning the Order of Public Worship [1523]. LW 53, (7)11-14. = Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine.WA 12, (31)35–37. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. LW 53, 12; WA 12, 35 [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. LW 53, 13; WA 12, 36 [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. LW 53, 12; WA 12, 36 [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. LW 53, 13; WA 12, 36 [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. „Hence all of us who believe in Christ are priests and kings in Christ.” Luther, Martin: The Freedom of a Christian [1520]. LW 31, (327)333-378. = Tractatus de libertate Christiana. WA 7, (39)48-73; LW 31, 354; WA 7, 56. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Cf. Gritsch, Eric W.: *Martin, God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect*. Eugene (Oregon), [Wipf & Stock Publishers](https://www.google.hu/search?hl=hu&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi67P_Z2Y-GAxXyQVUIHQEmI5wQ8fIDegQIEBAL&q=inpublisher:%22Wipf+%26+Stock+Publishers%22&tbm=bks), 2009, 194–197. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Luther, Martin: Confession concerning Christ's supper [1528]. LW 37, (151)161-372 = Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis (Bekenntnis der Artikel des Glaubens wider die Feinde des Evangeliums und allerlei Ketzereien). WA 26, (241)261–509. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Luther, Martin: The holy and blessed sacrament of baptism [1519]. LW 35, (23)29-44. = **Ein Sermon von dem heyligen hochwirdigen Sacrament der Tauffe.** WA 2, (724)727-737; LW 35, 39; WA 2, 734. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. LW 37, 364; WA 26, 504 [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Cf. Bayer, Oswald: Nature and Institution: Luther’s Doctrine of the Three Orders. Lutheran Quarterly 12 (1998): 127-133. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Kotter compares the occupations that arise in connection with the concept of vocation in Luther with their 21st century counterparts, and tries to apply Luther's teachings to the contemporary economic situation (Kotter, David: Milkmaids No More: Revisiting Luther’s Doctrine of Vocation from the Perspective of a “Gig” Economy. *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 22.1 (2018) 85-95.). [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Luther, Martin: The misuse of the mass [1521]. LW 36, (127)133-230. = Vom Missbrauch der Messe. WA 8, (477)482-563; LW 36, 159; WA 8, 503. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Luther, Martin: Whether soldiers, too, can be saved [1526]. LW 46, (87)93-138.= Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein konnen*.* WA 19, (616)623-662. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. LW 46, 96; WA 19, 657 [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. For the relation of Luther's teaching on vocation to modernity, see Loy, David W.: Luther, Vocation, and the Search for Significance. *Lutheran Quarterly*, Volume 35, Number 1, Spring 2021, 50-72. [*https://doi.org/10.1353/lut.2021.0004*](https://doi.org/10.1353/lut.2021.0004) [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. LW 53, 14; WA 12, 37 [↑](#endnote-ref-35)