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‘Islands not far from Norway, Denmark and Germany’: Shetland, Orkney and the spread of the Reformation in the North

Charlotte Methuen

This chapter considers the relationships between the Norwegian city of Bergen and the Shetland and Orkney islands during the period from the 1520s, when Lutheran ideas began to arrive in Bergen, and the 1560s, when Scotland’s Reformed Reformation was introduced and implemented in Orkney and Shetland. In the context of the Norwegian Reformation, Bergen was a key point of entry for Lutheran ideas in Norway; it was also the closest point of contact to Norway from Shetland and Orkney, and there were close trading links between Bergen and Shetland in particular. Moreover, in the mid sixteenth century, many (probably the majority) of the islanders will still have spoken Norn, probably bilingually with Scots, and Norn will certainly have been mutually comprehensible with Norwegian, and arguably also with Danish and Low German. However, as Peter Marshall observes in his discussion of the Reformation in Norway elsewhere in this volume, there is no evidence that Lutheran ideas had been accepted in Orkney by the time the Scottish Reformation was implemented there in 1560,¹ and the same is probably true of Shetland. This chapter explores why this is the case, given the links to Norway and the importance of trade routes in the spread of the Lutheran Reformation from Germany to Scandinavia, and especially to Bergen. Sources for this period are scarce, so that very little evidence exists to investigate these relationships.

Until 1468, when they were given to Scotland as part of the dowry of Margaret of Denmark on her marriage to James III of Scotland, Orkney and Shetland had been part of the kingdom of Norway, which was under Danish rule. Scottish influence had long been growing but after the impignoration, contacts to Western Norway continued, particularly to Bergen. Indeed, Imsen concludes, ‘Shetland was in a certain sense still Norwegian.’² Orkney’s relationships to Scotland were probably stronger than to Bergen. However, one factor that connected the populations of the Northern Isles to Norway in a particular way was that of language and specifically, Norn.

Norn was a variety of Scandinavia Norse, spoken in both island groups. It was later displaced by Scots, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a time of transition. Documentary evidence indicates that Scots probably became prevalent in Orkney earlier than in Scotland, and legal business in Orkney was already being conducted in Scots in 1438.³ Gordon Donaldson assumed 'a time-lag of something like a hundred and fifty years between the point at which the Scots tongue prevailed in Orkney and the point at which it prevailed in Shetland,'⁴ and that period of transition included the sixteenth century. Eve for Orkney, however, Barnes suggests a situation in which Scots was 'widely spoken', but 'Norn was the principal language of the islands in the sixteenth century, in the sense that it was the first language of the majority of the population,' and 'many understood and used both languages.'⁵ Ljosland argues that Orkney Scots emerged 'between 1468 (the impignoration) and 1560 (the reformation).'⁶ In Shetland this development probably came later, extending into the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century.⁷ By the early sixteenth century, Scots was probably the language of administration in both Orkney and Shetland, while Latin was the language of the church, and Norn the normal means of communication of the local people.⁸ The islanders must have functioned as bilingual communities, with immigrant Norwegians learning Scots, and immigrant Scots learning Norn.⁹ Since Norn formed 'part of a West Norse dialect continuum',¹⁰ its prevalence would have given Shetlanders and Orcadians a mutually comprehensible spoken language with Norwegians and Danes.¹¹

The ability to speak a West Norse dialect, however, may well have opened up relationships beyond Norway and Denmark, for Kurt Braunmüller asserts that most early modern Norse languages were probably mutually comprehensible with Middle Low German, 'the lingua franca of the multinational Hanseatic League,' which was probably mutually comprehensible to many speakers of Norse languages (and thus to Norn).¹² This is important for considering the spread of the Reformation, since Hansa merchants helped to spread Reformation ideas across northern Europe.¹³ Several of the German Hansa cities were early adopters of the Reformation: Hamburg introduced the Reformation in 1528, although the city had already been strongly influenced by Lutheran theology several years earlier;¹⁴ Lübeck, which had close relationships to Bergen, suppressed the mass in June 1530, and adopted an evangelical church order in May 1531;¹⁵ Lutheran preachers had been active in Bremen since 1522, although the city did not officially introduce the Reformation until 1534.¹⁶ From the 1520s, therefore, a significant

proportion of merchants and traders from these Hanseatic cities were potential sharers of Reformation ideas.¹⁷

Norn was not a written language, but as Cohen and Twomey point out, ‘print often had to rely on the oral to promote it,’¹⁸ and in many contexts Reformation ideas will first have been shared orally, either through conversations or by reading texts aloud.¹⁹ Bilingual speakers of Scots and Norn would have had understood a wider range of read-aloud texts than would those who spoke Scots alone: they could potentially understand Bibles, religious books and pamphlets composed in Danish, Norwegian, and Middle Low German as well as the English available to speakers of Scots. Körber suggests that around the Baltic ‘non-Germans’ had far less access to Reformation ideas than did the speakers of one of the German languages.²⁰ As speakers of Norn, there is good reason to include Orcadians and Shetlanders amongst ‘the speakers of one of the German languages’.

Linguistic factors, then, would suggest that Orkney and Shetland would be more accessible to Lutheran ideas than other parts of Scotland. However, as Peter Marshall has indicated, there is scant evidence of early evangelical influence in either Orkney or Shetland. On the death of Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney, in 1541,²¹ James V described the diocese of Orkney to Pope Paul III as made up of ‘islands just under the pole, not far from Norway, Denmark and Germany’, in which ‘the cause of Catholic faith and law are little observed’.²² By this date, as the pope will have been painfully aware, Norway, Denmark and many of the German territories had rejected papal authority and introduced the Reformation; however, James’ emphasis on the diocese’s vulnerability to reform seems mainly intended to persuade the pope to confirm the appointment of Robert Reid as Bishop of Orkney.²³ Once in post, Reid reformed the constitution of St Magnus cathedral in Kirkwall along humanist grounds, emphasising the need of theological instruction, the suppression of heresy and the provision of preaching “in the common tongue” (probably Scots).²⁴ The new constitution highlights theological conflict as an issue to be addressed. It perhaps significant that James Skea/Kaa and Andrew Lowson/Guilmus were accused of heresy and fled Orkney during Reid’s episcopate,²⁵ and it is conceivable that Reid feared that Orkney and Shetland were particularly exposed to the heretical evangelical ideas through the islanders’ contacts with Norway. However, in his previous post as Abbot of Kinloss (which he continued to hold concurrently with his episcopal role), Reid had already shown

himself an enemy of heresy, so the concerns expressed in the revised constitution may represent Reid's own interests rather than being related to the specific context of the Diocese of Orkney.

Evidence for personal contacts between Bergen and the Northern Isles in the sixteenth century is provided by Bergen's town records, which bear witness to associations between individual Orcadians and Shetlanders and evangelical families in Bergen, those of the cathedral clergy. Contact between Bergen and the islands in this period were probably primarily through traders who brought barley and oatmeal, hides, butter, wool, homespun and other woollen products from Orkney and Shetland for sale in Bergen.²⁶ Indeed, until 1580, ships from Orkney and Shetland (unlike ships from elsewhere in Scotland) were permitted to trade toll-free in Bergen, as if they were domestic shipping. However, Orcadians and Shetlanders who wished to settle in the city had to apply for citizens' rights, which could be rescinded, and to that extent they were treated like other foreigners.²⁷

Nonetheless, Ludvig Daae's reading of Bergen's records led him to collude that 'there was in Bergen a constant influx of young people from the islands.'²⁸ Shetlanders were to be found in the household of the Bergenhus, in trade, and as servants. The Shetlander Anders Monsson, was a servant in the household of Vincens Lunge, a key supporter of the Bergen Reformation, although the date of his service is unclear. Nils Hjelt (i.e. Neil the Shetlander) was a member of the household of Jens Skjelderup, Lutheran superintendent of Bergen from 1557 until his death in 1582.²⁹ In 1569, Nils was ordained, later serving at Fana.³⁰ It is not known when he had first settled in Bergen, but it is striking that he was ordained to serve in Norway's Lutheran Church nearly a decade after the introduction of the Calvinist Reformation in Scotland in 1560. It is possible that Skjelderup himself was interested in Calvinist or Reformed theology, for in 1570, he came into conflict with Bergen's town council after he sought to remove images from the town's churches.³¹ Moreover, in 1571, Torleif Gregoriussen was disciplined for his Calvinist teaching on the Eucharist. Gregoriussen had been sent by the Bergen cathedral chapter to study at the University of St Andrews.³² This was presumably only after the Reformation had been introduced there, in 1560, and therefore at the behest of Skjelderup as superintendent. That Gregoriussen was sent from Lutheran Bergen to Reformed St Andrews rather than to Copenhagen or to one of the German Lutheran universities to study offers a reminder that confessional differences may appear clearer to the historian in retrospect than they did at the time.³³ However, the resulting controversy about his Eucharistic theology indicates that

confessional differences did make themselves felt. Both Gregoriussen and Nils Hjelt provide evidence for contact between Bergen and Scotland's Reformation, and Nils Hjelt is the only sixteenth-century Shetlander known to have served as a Lutheran priest.

Perhaps the most prominent Scot in Bergen's history in this period was the Orcadian merchant Jon Thomessøn or Lille Jon, who became a citizen of Bergen in the early sixteenth century, making several appearances in the *Berghus* accounts between 1516 and 1522 and becoming a town councillor by 1522.³⁴ Jon Thomessøn was a man of significant means: when on the night of 8/9 November 1523, he and other Scots underwent a brutal attack by German merchants, in which his brother-in-law was killed, he lost goods worth nearly 11,000 marks.³⁵ Thereafter Jon Thomessøn remained in Bergen, although other Scots were required to leave, and by 1543 he had become one of Bergen's two mayors, a position which he held until at least 1548.³⁶ He was known to be a 'godfryctig, from' (god-fearing and pious) man,³⁷ suggesting that he was conforming to the ecclesiastical norms of a town which by then had been officially Lutheran for some years.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, at least one Shetland family developed familial links to Bergen's evangelical clergy through marriage. On 4 August 1566, Mikkel or Michel Jonson, parish priest of Bergen's cathedral from 1553 until 1572, married 'a young girl from Shetland.'³⁸ The girl, whose name is unknown, was the grand-daughter of Matts Tierpis, chaplain at Bergen cathedral between 1536 and 1558,³⁹ whose daughter Katherine had married David Sanderson Scott of Reafirth in Shetland at some point in the 1540s.⁴⁰ David's sister Anna Sandersdotter was also married to a Bergen citizen, Hans Fybo or Fønbo.⁴¹ Another Matts Tierp, presumably Katherine's brother, served as cathedral chaplain from 1558 until 1571.⁴² Mikkel Jonson was a colleague of Matt Tierp junior and Mikkel's wife was probably the younger Matt Tierp's niece. By the time of their marriage in 1566, the Reformation had been introduced into Shetland, but the marriage between Katherine Mathewsdaughter, the daughter of a Lutheran pastor, and David Sanderson Scott must have taken place at a time when Shetland was still nominally Catholic and its priests did not have legitimate offspring. In other Reformation contexts, the marriage of a clergyman – or as in this case, the marriage of a respected member of the community to the daughter of a clergyman – certainly attracted comment,⁴³ but it is not known how David's marriage to Katharine was received.

This slight evidence suggests that some level of contact between Bergen and the Northern Isles continued throughout the sixteenth century, and that it did not change significantly either when evangelical theology first began to be preached in Bergen in the 1520s or when the Reformation was officially introduced in Norway in 1537. However, it also seems that these contacts did not result in any significant transmission of Lutheran ideas and practices to either Orkney or Shetland. This contrasts with the experience of Iceland, which received Reformation ideas via trade with Hamburg, and where the Reformation took shape under the influence of a group of Icelandic theologians who had studied in Wittenberg.⁴⁴ The situation in Orkney and Shetland appears to have been closer to that of the islands which constituted the Danish diocese of Funen. Grell suggests that ‘the absence of an evangelical movement’ there might reflect the islands’ ‘relative isolation in geographical terms, situated away from any major trade route,’⁴⁵ and this would apply also to Orkney and Shetland, which were not closely integrated into the Hansa network. Moreover, as Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Morten Fink-Jensen point out elsewhere in this volume, patterns of migration bore complex relationships to religious change.⁴⁶ In this case, while migration from Orkney and Shetland to Bergen was probably complemented by migration from Bergen to Orkney and Shetland (such as Katherine Mathewsdaughter discussed above), these patterns of movement seem not to have functioned as a channel for religious change. This may reflect the fact that, as Henning Laugerud and Henrik von Achen show, many of the outward trappings of religion initially continued in Norway, and specifically in Bergen, although they might be invested with new meaning.⁴⁷ It also seems likely that the majority of Orcadians or Shetlanders had only a superficial engagement with or understanding of church ritual: although Orkney and Shetland constituted the diocese of Orkney with an impressive cathedral in Kirkwall, Orkney, no religious order had a house in the Northern Isles,⁴⁸ and there were few parish clergy. Moreover, Robert Reid’s reforms of the cathedral chapter had tended to focus those clergy’s efforts on the cathedral rather than on their parishes. To theologically uneducated laity visiting Bergen, the significance of theological and liturgical changes – or even the fact of those changes – may therefore have been difficult to realise and to assess. Moreover, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which the differing religious cultures of Bergen and of Orkney and Shetland were experienced simply as in line with other differences between local cultures, or between rural and urban culture.⁴⁹

The contacts between Orkney and Shetland on the one hand and Bergen on the other may serve to illustrate the distinction between teaching (or deep learning) and the dissemination of information proposed by Esther-Beate Körber as a tool for understanding the spread of the Reformation around the Baltic. Luther's theology, she argues, needed the former, since it 'required of its recipients that they make it their own, that they engage with it and that they see themselves and their world in a new light.'⁵⁰ While islanders who settled in Bergen must have had some opportunity to engage deeply with evangelical theology and practice, the same opportunities were not available to Orcadians and Shetlanders who remained on the islands. Moreover, although the sixteenth century saw Orkney's and Shetland's trading links with Dutch and German merchants increase, and Brian Smith believes that 'The vast majority of Shetland's trading ties in the period were with Germany,'⁵¹ neither Shetland nor Orkney had a significant sea-going merchant class in this period,⁵² although in consequence, trade tended to be conducted by ships visiting the islands. Klaus Friedland cites evidence for 'merchants from Danzig in Shetland from 1487 onwards, from Bremen after 1498, from Hamburg after 1547, from Lübeck after 1562, from Rostock after 1599, from Stralsund after 1601, and perhaps also from the so-called Zuider-Zee cities of Kampen and Deventer after 1498.'⁵³ While Kirkwall in Orkney proved a harbour in a town which could foster personal contacts, Shetland had a very particular pattern of trade, with ships arriving every summer, each anchoring in its own *voe* [bay], and communication with those on land taking place by small boat.⁵⁴ This cannot have been conducive to religious debate and exchange in the same way as patterns of trading which required a ship and their crews to spend time in a port, with the possibility of dining with local people and visiting the local churches.⁵⁵ That some such contacts did nonetheless take place, is suggested by the existence of a 'very early German communion card', of the type issued in Danzig in the mid-sixteenth century, in Dunrossness church in Shetland.⁵⁶ Overall, however, although there can be no doubt that trading routes helped to spread Reformation ideas, the lack of evidence for Lutheran ideas in Orkney and Shetland suggests that a certain depth of contact was more conducive to the transmission of evangelical ideas.

In addition, Orkney and Shetland were rural societies, and in general Reformation ideas established themselves more easily in urban contexts.⁵⁷ Grell sees 'the overwhelmingly rural character of early modern Norway, even when compared with Denmark,' as a key reason for the lack of popular support for the Reformation there.⁵⁸ Moreover, the dissemination of Reformation

ideas was often supported by the presence of either a university or a printing press, neither of which existed in Norway,⁵⁹ let alone in the Northern Isles, which did not even have a Latin school. Norn, unlike Scots, was not a written language, and Körber suggests that the spread of Lutheran theology and practice was much more difficult where there was no written language.⁶⁰ The most important players in the promulgation of the Reformation were often educated middle class laity, whose numbers must have been small in both Orkney or Shetland.

Although this chapter has investigated the lack of any clear transmission of Reformation ideas between Bergen and the Northern Isles, it nevertheless provides a reminder to the need to look beyond national boundaries – and national historiographies – when discussing the impact of the Reformation. Sixteenth-century Orkney and Shetland existed in a complex network of relationships which linked them to the German Hanseatic cities on the Baltic and to Norway and Denmark as well as to Scotland. The Reformation in the Northern Isles did not take shape in isolation. Rather, it was linked to, and helped to define, the wider experience of Reformation across this whole network.

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¹ Peter Marshall, "Reformation on Scotland's Northern Frontier: The Orkney Islands, 1560-c.1700."

² Imsen, *Da Reformasjonen kom til Norge*, 108-109.

³ Barnes, "Reflections on ... Orkney and Shetland Norn," 447, and compare Smith, "Development of the ... Shetland dialect," 31; Barnes, *Norn language*, esp. 12; Wiggen, *Norns død, især skolens rolle*; Thomson, *New History of Orkney*, 240.

⁴ Donaldson, "Scots Settlement in Shetland," 9.

⁵ Barnes, "Reflections on ... Orkney and Shetland Norn," 447. Compare also, for the seventeenth century, Smith, "Development of the ... Shetland dialect," 32-33.

⁶ Ljosland, "Scots Language in Orkney," 70, 77.

⁷ Barnes, "Reflections on ... Orkney and Shetland Norn," 447-448.

⁸ Sandnes, "Fra norn til skotsk," 167.

⁹ Sandnes, "Fra norn til skotsk," 167. Compare Imsen, "Scottish-Norwegian Border," 279; Manson, "Shetland in the sixteenth century," 207. The importance of biligualism in both Ireland and Wales has been highlighted elsewhere in this volume: see for Ireland Raymond Gillespie, "Seventeenth-Century Ireland and Norway: Peripheral Reformations in Print?" and for Wales January-McCann, "Exiles and Activists: A comparison of the Counter-Reformation in Wales and Norway."

¹⁰ Millar, "Origins and development of Shetland dialect," 240. Originally this dialect would probably have been much more widely spoken, covering Norway, Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, the Scottish Western Isles, the Faeroes, Iceland and Greenland (ibid.). Ruth Sanders points to similarities between Scots and the Scandinavian languages: *Languages of Scandinavia*, 36.

¹¹ Henning Laugerud suggests however 'that an educated Danish preacher would most likely have been able to understand his Norwegian parishioners, but that it was unlikely that they would have been able to understand him' (as noted in this volume by January-McCann, "Exiles and Activists"). From 1450 royal documents in Denmark-Norway were issued only in Danish, and Danish also became the administrative language for the Norwegian bishops, particularly those whose Latin was weak. The Norwegian Reformation was promulgated through Danish translations of the Bible and other ecclesiastical works. See, for instance, Valkner, "Reformasjonens innførelse i Bergen," 168; Sanders, *Languages of Scandinavia*, 123-124.

¹² Braunmüller, “Forms of Language Contact.” Compare also Sanders, *Languages of Scandinavia*, 122, 170, who argues that Low German was an important linguistic influence on both Danish and Norwegian.

¹³ Martin Schwarz Lausten points to the importance of trading routes for spreading Reformation ideas in Denmark in the 1520s: *Die Reformation in Dänemark*, 33; and idem, *Church History of Denmark*, 91, 96, 142. Otfried Czaika similarly identifies the significance of German craftsmen and merchants for the spread of the Reformation in Sweden: “Das Schwedische Reich in der frühen Neuzeit,” 77.

¹⁴ Postel, *Die Reformation in Hamburg*, 243-250; Reitemeier, *Reformation in Norddeutschland*, 84, 110-111.

¹⁵ Schilling, “Die Reformation in Lübeck,” 45-53; Hauschild, *Kirchengeschichte Lübecks*, 165-242; Bugenhagen. *Lübecker Kirchenordnung*, ed. Hauschild, XI-XII.

¹⁶ Moeller, “Die Reformation in Bremen.”

¹⁷ Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen observe the importance of trade for the supply of books in the Nordic countries: ‘frequently readers would ... bring books home when returning from travel abroad, and books could be imported directly by collectors But in general, only limited selections of books were transported inland, especially where ships could not go’: “Introduction,” 5-6. Similarly Alec Ryrie’s evidence for Reformation ideas in mainland Scotland includes a report that ‘Scottish merchants were buying quantities of heretical books and shipping them to Edinburgh and St Andrews,’ and the inventory of an Edinburgh merchant which included a collection of English evangelical books: *Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 30-31.

¹⁸ Thomas V. Cohen and Lesley K. Twomey, “Introduction”, 17.

¹⁹ For example: Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 2-3; compare Körber, “Reformation als Kommunikations- und Verkehrsereignis,” 25-29.

²⁰ Körber, “Reformation als Kommunikations- und Verkehrsereignis,” 33.

²¹ For Robert Maxwell, see Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, vol. 1, 403-411, with an inventory of Maxwell’s possessions – including his (remarkably few) books – at his death (406-411).

²² ‘Orchades sunt insulæ fere sub polo, non longe a Novegia, Daniaa, Germaniisque sitaæ; hæc forsân de causa Catholicæ fidei legumque minus observantes.’ Cited according to Craven, *History of the Church in Orkney*, 149. See also Thomson, *New History of Orkney*, 249; Daae, “About Contacts ... after 1468,” 14.

²³ For Robert Reid, see Olaf D. Cuthbert, *A flame in the shadows*.

²⁴ For the Latin text, see: Peterkin (ed.), *Rentals of the ancient earldom and bishoprick of Orkney*, Appendix, 18-25. An English translation, ‘Foundation and election of certain officers in the Cathedral Church of Orkney for the service of God, by Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney,’ is found in: Clouston (ed.), *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, 363-371. For a consideration of the constitution, see Cant, “The Constitution of St Magnus Cathedral,” 105-121; Cuthbert, *A flame in the shadows*, 79-84, Methuen, “Orkney, Shetland and the Networks of the Northern Reformation,” 40-42; Shaw, ‘The 16th century and the movement for Reform’, 43-47.

²⁵ For Skea/Kaa, see Donaldson, “Bishop Adam Bothwell,” 85; idem, *Reformed by Bishops*, 20; and compare Thomson, *New History of Orkney*, 257; Sanderson, *Biographical List of Early Scottish Protestants*, 127. For Lowson/Guilmus, see Sanderson, *Biographical List of Early Scottish Protestants*, 106; Philip Melancthon, 29

March 1551, in *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, no. 6035, R6, 144. Compare also Peter Marshall's article in this volume.

²⁶ Helle, *The Orkneys in Norwegian history*, 26.

²⁷ Helle, *The Orkneys in Norwegian history*, 26.

²⁸ Daae, "About Contacts ... after 1468," 2 [original version: Daae, "Om berøring ... efter 1468," 44-45].

²⁹ See https://nbl.snl.no/Jens_Pederssøn_Skielderup. Skjelderup had studied in Copenhagen, Wittenberg and Rostock, where he took his doctorate in medicine.

³⁰ Daae, "About Contacts ... after 1468," 2 ["Om berøring ... efter 1468," 44-45]. For Nils Hjelt see also Imsen, *Da Reformasjonen kom til Norge*, 109; compare <http://www.genealogi.no/prester-i-nordhordland-prosti/>.

³¹ Lyby and Grell, "Consolidation of Lutheranism," 125. For Skjelderup's view on images, which 'broadly speaking is in line with Luther's view on images', see Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "The Arts and Lutheran Church Decoration," 359, and Imsen, *Da Reformasjonen kom til Norge*, 70.

³² Lyby and Grell, "Consolidation of Lutheranism," 125.

³³ For the tendencies in Reformation history to assume overly defined confessional identities, see Johnson et al. (eds), *Archeologies of Confession*. For the "complex multi-religious and multi-cultural reality" of Norway-Denmark, compare also in this volume Henning Laugerud & John Ødemark, "Superstition in the Reformation Polemics of England and Denmark-Norway – and the Emergence of Folklore and Popular Religion."

³⁴ Helle, *The Orkneys in Norwegian history*, 24. Compare also Daae, "About Contacts ... after 1468," 6 ["Om berøring ... efter 1468," 46]. For Thomessøn, see https://nbl.snl.no/“Lille_Jon”_Jon_Thomessøn.

³⁵ For this episode, see Larson, *Reforming the North*, 158, who believes that Vincens Lunge instigated the violence, but intended it to be directed against the Bergenhus fortress; compare also https://nbl.snl.no/“Lille_Jon”_Jon_Thomessøn.

³⁶ For the appointment of two mayors from 1540, see Grell, "Reformation in Norway," 143.

³⁷ Cited according to https://nbl.snl.no/“Lille_Jon”_Jon_Thomessøn.

³⁸ Daae, "About contacts ... after 1468," 5 ["Om berøring ... efter 1468," 44]; *Norske Magasin* 1, 315; compare idem (ed.), *Liber capituli Bergensis*, 117. For the dates of Mikkel Jonson's ministry at the cathedral see <http://www.genealogi.no/prester-i-nordhordland-prosti/>.

³⁹ See <http://www.genealogi.no/prester-i-nordhordland-prosti/>.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Brian Smith and John Ballantyne for identifying Katherine Mathewsdaughter and David Sanderson Scott: compare Smith, "David Sanderson Scott of Reafirth and his family."

⁴¹ David Sanderson Scott's sister Anna Sandersdotter was married to Hans Fybo or Fønbo, a Bergen citizen. See the conveyance of land signed in Bergen on 16 August 1575, after she was widowed: *Norske Magasin* 2, 79.

⁴² See <http://www.genealogi.no/prester-i-nordhordland-prosti/>.

⁴³ See for instance the case of Katharina Schütz Zell in Strasbourg, who wrote a defence of her marriage to the reforming priest Matthias Zell which had caused considerable scandal: "Entschuldigung Katharina Schützinn / für M. matthias Zellen / jren Eegemahel."

⁴⁴ Oleson, “Die Reformation im Königreich Dänemark,” 114-115. Despite the existence of this group, the Reformation in Iceland took a long time to become accepted. *Ibid.*, 116-117, and compare in this volume Jack Cunningham, “The *Sidaskipti*, Iceland’s change of fashion.”

⁴⁵ Grell, “From Popular, Evangelical Movement to Lutheran Reformation in Denmark,” 53-54, 54-55 (quotation at 55).

⁴⁶ See in this volume Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, “Confessional Migration and Religious Change”; Morten Fink-Jensen, “Reformation across the North Sea: Protestant connections between Denmark, England, and Scotland ca. 1520-1560.”

⁴⁷ Laugerud, *Reformasjon uten folk*, especially chapter 4, 135-168; Henrik von Achen, “‘Another Age Will Damage and Destroy’: Post-Reformation resilience and change of the visual culture of faith in Bergen and Western Norway,” in this volume.

⁴⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch emphasises the importance of the friars, and particularly the preaching orders, in preparing the ground for the Reformation: *Reformation*, 30-34. Compare also John McCafferty, “‘Nullus’: the ending of conventual religious life in Denmark-Norway, England & Wales, Ireland, Scotland,” in this volume.

⁴⁹ Evidence from some parts of Germany suggests considerable willingness to join in the services and practices of other communities: see for instance Luebke, “Misremembering Hybridity.”

⁵⁰ Körber, “Reformation als Kommunikations- und Verkehrereignis,” 16.

⁵¹ Smith, “When did Orkney and Shetland become part of Scotland?” 52.

⁵² Ballantine and Smith find that ‘Shetland did not develop a strong local mercantile class until the eighteenth century’: *Shetland Documents 1195-1579*, xiii.

⁵³ Friedland, “Hanseatic Merchants,” 90.

⁵⁴ See for instance, *Shetland Documents 1195-1579*, xiii; Irvine, *Lerwick*, 3-5; Smith, “Shetland, Scandinavia, Scotland 1300-1700,” 31-32; Smith, *Shetland Life and Trade 1550-1914*, 7-9; Zickermann, *Across the German sea*, 84-85.

⁵⁵ By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English merchants and other travellers to Germany and the Baltic can often be found commenting on the churches they visited: Spicer, “Lutheran Churches and Confessional Identity,” 3-5.

⁵⁶ Shaw, “The 16th century and the movement for Reform”, 39-40.

⁵⁷ Schwarz Lausten concludes for Denmark, for instance, that the Reformation ‘was a typical market-town phenomenon’: *A Church History of Denmark*, 101. The suggestion that the the Reformation was an urban phenomenon was exemplified by the focus of (for instance) A. G. Dickens on the spread of Reformation to cities such as Erfurt, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, ‘some Haneatic cities’, and the imperial cities: *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, 135-199. This thesis has been widely discussed, and convincing arguments for the Reformation as a movement with an impact in rural areas have also been offered. However, it remains the consensus that the cultural possibilities offered by towns and cities tended to be more conducive to the spread of reforming ideas, particularly when combined with a political interst in securing the town’s independence. For useful explorations of the literature

(albeit now somewhat dated), see Müller, *Reformation und Stadt*; von Greyerz, “Stadt und Reformation,” and Scott, “Review Article.”

⁵⁸ Grell, “Reformation in Denmark, Norway and Iceland,” 55, 141-143. Compare also Imsen, *Da Reformasjonen kom til Norge*, and Laugerud, *Reformasjon uten folk*.

⁵⁹ Grell, “Reformation in Norway,” 127. Compare also the useful summary of ‘the political situation and its repercussions for the book trade’ offered by Dahl, “The market for books in early modern Norway,” 188-190. Dahl’s work – including her chapter in this volume, “Books from the British Isles in the collections of the eighteenth-century Norwegian clergy” and her study, *Books in early modern Norway* – focuses on the later period since evidence of book ownership in the sixteenth century is very slight.

⁶⁰ Körber, “Reformation als Kommunikations- und Verkehrsereignis,” 22-25.