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Religious and Political Impact of German Reformation Ideas Beyond the Seas: the Example of the »Ile of Brittain«.

Introduction

The British and Irish Isles were well beyond and so not adjacent to the Imperial and German political, cultural and ethnic borders. Being subject more to French and Spanish spheres of influence, they were not promising territory for the new theology emanating from Germany with no accompanying political back-up. This meant that the ground in England and Scotland was relatively barren for German religious mission and theological colonization. Consequently, the religious battle of Britain in the sixteenth century was not of the textbook kind. And while its ultimate outcomes were strikingly different from those in France and especially Spain and Italy, the legacy has usually been seen by both outsiders and insiders as puzzling and somehow unsatisfactory – at least in regard to England.

Unlike the Scottish Reformation (definitively established 1560-67), the English Reformation (definitively established 1559-1563) has usually been seen as a special enigma in comparison with developments elsewhere. The perceived contrast is even sharper when the established Reformation on mainland Europe, predominantly German-speaking, is understood as essentially monolithic – as it tends to be by non-theologically trained historians. In addition, whether by Germany one means either the German part of the Holy Roman Empire, or *Magna Germania* [Großdeutschland], the geographical mass extending from the North Sea to the Alps, from the Rhine to (let's say) the Vistula, then the Reformation picture is very variegated. A glance at confessional maps in the Holy Roman Empire and elsewhere in Europe between 1570 and 1600 demonstrates this: it is not a black-and-white picture, rather a complex tapestry.[1] Most of Europe rejected the Reformation, but even within the totality of areas which either adopted it or provisionally tolerated it as a minority church, there was no monochrome uniformity in dogma, ecclesiology, liturgical forms and so on. There was, of course, an underlying amicable fellowship accompanying a common property of basic beliefs claiming to be sanctioned by the biblical Word of God. Differences were outwardly transcended by the mutual rejection of Roman Catholicism, even if committed German Lutherans, on the grounds of their eucharistic conscience, were

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[1] Hubert JEDIN et al. (ed.), Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte. Die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Aktualisierte Neuausgabe bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Jochen Martin. Freiburg et al. 1987, pp. 73, 76, 77.

reluctant to acknowledge wider Reformation solidarity, spiritual or political. However, all the various Reformation churches and communities from the Church of Scotland to the Bohemian Brethren and the Waldenses, from Zurich to Oslo and Poland-Lithuania, could for the sake of convenience accept the unofficial designation of »Protestant« in regard to religion and culture, mutating often into a political identity. Necessarily, the historiographical convention of confining the »European« or »Continental« Reformation to the exemplary reformations in central Europe (symbolized by Wittenberg, Zurich, Strasbourg, and later Geneva) recognizes significant contrasts alongside similarities. But confining the early phases (1520-1555) of the authentic »German« Reformation to »Lutheranism« or churches of the Augsburg Confession (politically identifiable as the Schmalkald League), may be restrictive. For it can conceal not only problems of terminology, but also some diversities in doctrine, church government, and worship that obtained among them too.

Accordingly, the eventual shape and substance of the post-1558 reformed Church of England – often seen by later and modern observers as *sui generis* – should not be seen as a surprise in the context of the reformations in Europe as a whole. Various tensions, ambiguities and perspectives found among them also drifted to England where they merged with distinctive indigenous features and attitudes to form something different. The interest of this essay is to focus on some aspects of the significant German influence on this process. There was indeed one long-standing tendency within English-language historiography (as in French and Swiss Reformation historiography as well) to diminish German influence and indeed that of the Continent in general in order to keep the essence of the Church of England English.[2] A nineteenth-century church historian observed that with some exceptions, »English [Reformation] writers … have felt little interest in acknowledging dependence on the German Reformation«[3]. Many German writers, too, have never been convinced that the English Reformation was a real one or that there was any significant German (Lutheran) influence on it – seeing it as essentially »political« in its inception at least. This is true

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[2] See Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, Sixteenth-century English Protestantism and the Continent, in: Dorothea WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen. The Reformation in Germany and in England. Die Reformation in Deutschland und England, Tübingen 2010, pp. 1-14, at pp. 1-3. Cf. Patrick COLLINSON, The Fog in the Channel Clears: The Redicovery of the Continental Dimension to the British Reformations, in: Polly HA / Patrick COLLINSON (ed.), The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain, Oxford, 2010, pp. xxvii-xxxvii; he still tends to adhere to an exceptionalist view of the Reformations in the British Isles, at p. xxxvii.

[3] Henry E. JACOBS, The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and its Literary Monuments, Philadelphia 1890, p. iii.

enough if one focusses on the high dramas of the so-called »English Reformation under Henry VIII« from 1529 to 1536. This was actually neither a religious nor a Protestant Reformation, rather a secession from Roman authority, a church schism involving jurisdictional restructuring and dissolving monasteries for fiscal reasons as well an Erasmian hostility to pilgrimages and images. Within that framework and even before, in the 1520s, there were indeed some Protestant doctrinal symptoms and tendencies, largely Lutheran. Yet like elsewhere in Europe they were largely suppressed or driven underground – depending on the mood of the king or on the international religio-political climate.

Hence, and for confessional reasons as well, German church historians have on the whole not devoted much attention to the English »Reformation«, Henrician and post-Henrician. They have largely not gone much beyond outlining it in broad surveys, studying some specific aspects of it, a few biographies, and generally being perplexed by it. In this inherited marginalizing tendency they have understandably followed in the necessarily, rather than ideologically, restricted paths of much earlier historians like the influential Johannes Sleidan[4] and Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf[5]. One notable exception was the German Reformed theologian and historian, Daniel Gerdes (Gerdesius). His history of the Reformation was an attempt to provide a pan-European perspective[6]. His fourth volume dealt with France, England (up to 1553, the end of the abortive Reformation associated with King Edward VI), and pre-1560 Scotland; it also highlighted early and constitutive German influences.

Another factor discouraging the predominantly Lutheran German historians of the Reformation has been that the settled Reformation traditions and churches of both England and Scotland were in doctrine and some practices more influenced by the theologies of Bucer, Calvin, Bullinger, Pietro Martyr Vermigli, Beza, and the Heidelberg Catechism, all suspect to exclusivist Lutheran orthodoxy developing in Germany from the 1550s onwards. Also to be recalled is that most religious refugees from England in the 1540s (when King Henry resumed a somewhat oppressive conservative Catholic policy), and in the mid-1550s

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[4] De Statu religionis et reipublicae, Carolo Quinto, Caesare, commentarii, Paris, 1559. An English translation by a former Protestant exile in Strasbourg, John Dawes, appeared soon afterwards: A famous Chronicle of our time, called Sleidanes Commentaries, London, 1560.
[5] Historia Lutheranismi. Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutheranismo, sive De reformatione religionis, ductu D. Martini Lutheri in magna Germaniæ parte, aliisque regionibus & speciatim in Saxonia recepta & stabilita, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1694.
[6] Historia Reformationis, sive annales evangelii seculo XVI passim per Europam renovati doctrinaeque reformatae, accedunt varia monumenta pietatis et rei literarae, 4 vols., Groningen et al., 1744-1752.

(when Queen Mary I persecuted Protestants to the full), went to places like Strasbourg, Zurich, Basel and Aarau (as well as Frankfurt and Geneva). Returning on the new reigns of Edward VI (1553) and Elizabeth I (1558), their exilic experience helped shape the theology and practice of the new church, in which numbers of them became bishops and clergy. Thus one writer has affirmed »daß die theologische Grundlage der protestantischen Kirche Englands mit Ziegelsteinen aus oberdeutscher Manufaktur gebaut worden ist«[7]. This is not to deny the original key role of Luther's breakthrough insights on the matter of salvation. Yet it was highly significant that on becoming queen in 1558, Elizabeth I sent gifts of silver to both the Zurich City Council and Heinrich Bullinger in gratitude for their care of English religious refugees during the previous five years. These royal gestures also expressed a certain religious and theological affinity[8].

Lastly, the early German Lutheran experience and historical memory of the dangerously capricious and exasperating Henry VIII (who will be discussed below) was so negative that England's reputation was damaged in Wittenberg eyes. Von Seckendorf cited (inserting his own translation gloss) from a statement in 1546 by the Saxon Electoral Duke Johann Friedrich saying that Henry VIII was »virum impium (einen verruchten mann) cum quo nihil commercii habere vellem«[9]. Thereafter, and especially after the defeat of 1548 and the internal settlement of 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg, German Lutherans lost interest in England apart from occasional religio-political cooperation of a pragmatic kind. Internal confessional consolidation became the preoccupation in Germany.

A semantic problem remains. As already suggested, much depends on what one means by »German« – does it include the Swiss? Maybe »Germanic« would be better. Yet even if one confines things to Protestant Germany in the Empire, politically embodied in the alliance of duchies and cities in the Schmalkald League, or as one side of the religious partition after the Imperial regulation of Augsburg in 1555, there was still no zip-fastened and Procrustean uniformity in Imperial German Protestantism, even after the Lutheran Book of Concord (1577).

Copies of Luther's Ninety-five Theses in one form or other circulated in London in December 1517. One cannot erase the evidence that in both England and Scotland (wholly

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[7] G.R. ELTON, England und die oberdeutsche Reformation, in ZKG 89 (1978), pp. 3-11, at p. 7.
[8] See W. Ian P. HAZLETT, The Reformation in Britain and Ireland. An Introduction, London et al., 2003, pp. 37-38; Carrie Euler, Couriers of the Gospel. England and Zurich, 1531-1558, Zurich 2006.
[9] VON SECKENDORF, Historia Lutheranismi, Book III, sect. f, 34, cxxxi, no. 3.

separate kingdoms and ecclesiastical jurisdictions at those times) the most important *initial and activating* impulses determining the eventual revolutionary changes in theology and church in those countries were emitted directly or indirectly from Germany, Wittenberg in particular. This view would be widely if still not universally accepted nowadays. Pre-existing late-medieval factors in England such as reform-minded humanism (John Colet, inspirer of Erasmus), anticlericalism and anti-papalism (both largely secular), and discreet remnants of old religious dissent (Wycliffite Lollardy) do not require such an assertion to be qualified. It is affirmed by two highly influential, if contrasting, historians with a 400-year gap between them. In the 1560s, John Foxe (1516-1587), Protestant Reformation historian and martyrologist, and widely travelled as an exile in the Low Countries, Germany and Switzerland[10], and theologically Reformed, wrote: »Just as there was no place, neither in Germany, Italy, or France, wherein there were not some shoots or branches which sprang from the most fruitful root and foundation of Luther, so likewise this *Ile of Brittain* was not without his fruit and branches«[11]. This matches precisely with a statement written in the late-twentieth century by a leading European Reformation historian in England, Geoffrey R. Elton[12]. He wrote that despite a »gewisser Abstand« in much of English historiography from the German dimension in the English Reformation »man kann auch die englische Reformation und ihre Weiterentwicklung nicht ganz ohne Luther und dessen Einfluß verstehen«[13]. This is true for the Reformation everywhere. Some modern German church historians might claim to see little of Luther or Lutheranism in the British reformations. Yet those reformations all subscribed – at least formally – to the key notion of extrinsic, declaratory and imputed justification »discovered« by Luther[14]. Even in the nineteenth

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[10] His role in Elizabethen England as a highly successful author, editor and translator of Reformation and Luther texts was derived from his work in the publishing houses of Wendelin Rihel in Strasbourg and especially of Oporinus in Basle; there he encountered what for him were formative writings of Matthias Flacius Illyricus Magdeburg on church history.

[11] John FOXE, The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO 1563 edition, HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011, Book 3, 512. Available from: http//www.johnfoxe.org [Accessed: 13.05.2016].

[12] 1921-1994, and originally Gottfried Rudolf Ehrenberg, of German Jewish origin. See G.R. ELTON, Reformation Europe 1517-1559, 2nd edn, Oxford 1999, pp. 234-235 (Afterword by Andrew Pettegree).

[13] Geoffrey R. ELTON, Luther in England, in Bernd MOELLER, ed., Luther in der Neuzeit, Gütersoh, 1983, pp. 121-134, at p. 121.

[14] Cf. Berndt HAMM, »[Die] Verankerung des menschlichen Heils in der *Extra-nos*-Definition der Gerechtigkeit Christi wurde über Luther hinaus und unter seinen starken Einfluss zu einem Grundmerkmal des reformatorischen Rechtfertigungsverständnisses, so insbesondere bei Theologen wie Melanchthon, Zwingli und Calvin und in ihren Einflussbereichen«, in ID.,

century, some Anglicans recognized a close link to Lutheran theology: a historian of Church-of-England confessional formularies stated that »the [Augsburg Confession] is most intimately connected with the progress of the English Reformation«[15].

Inauspicious beginnings: Henry VIII and Luther

It would be fair to say that in 1520s England, the religious controversy raging in Germany was given a lot of publicity among literate people at least. One could also argue that this considerably exceeded that in other non-German lands. Within Europe at large, continental and insular, the Luther affair was, of course, already a cause célèbre. However, matters became even more sensationalized with the publication of a polemical book by King Henry VIII (in consultation with some more learned theologians) asssailing Luther's *De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae* (1520). This inaugurated a seven-year-long acrimonious contention between Henry Tudor and the Wittenberger that left a mark on Anglo-German relations[16]. The king's work, renowned not so much for its content as for its royal authorship and its highly abusive attitude[17], was entitled: *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, printed initially in Rome at the end of 1521; it went through twenty editions in the sixteenth century, so that it was avidly sought. In this, not only the sacraments, but also critical issues like faith and works, Scripture and tradition etc. were also touched on. The aim was to pulverize a heretic. Earlier in the year Henry had written to the Emperor that he should »root up the poisonous weed of heresy, and extirpate both Luther and his pestilential books with fire and sword for the honour of holy church and the papal see«[18]. An outcome of the *Assertio* was that the Pope awarded Henry his desired and (in)famous title of *Defensor fidei*.

Ablass und Reformation. Erstaunliche Kohärenzen, Tübingen 2016, p. 180. See also to n. 21 below.

[15] Charles HARDWICK, A History of the Articles of Religion … 1536 to 1615, Cambridge 1859, p. 13. For a modern contrary position, see Martin DAVIE, The Augsburg Confession and the Thirty Nine Articles, in WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations, 191-211.

[16] Useful outlines of the sequence of the literary exchanges between Luther and Henry VIII are in James ATKINSON, Luther and the Wittenberg Disputations 1535-36, in: TynHB 33 (1982), pp. 31-57, at pp. 32-38, and Wilh[elm] WALTHER, Heinrich VIII von England und Martin Luther, Leipzig 1908, pp. 3-19. Cf. Neelak Serawlook TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans. A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547, Saint Louis, MO 1965, pp. 1-33; Erwin DOERNBERG, Henry VIII and Luther. An Account of their Personal Relations, London 1961, pp. 3-59. For a new assessment of the malevolent exchanges see Dorothea WENDEBOURG, Die deutschen Reformatoren und England / The German Reformers and England, in: ID. (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 55-72 / 94-132.

[17] »Hinsichtlich des Tones übertrifft dieses Buch alle bisher im Reformationskampfe gewechselten Streitschriften« – WALTHER, Heinrich VII, 7.

[18] Quoted in ATKINSON, Luther, p. 35, n. 18.

Within the Empire in particular, the royal intervention had religio-political ramifications, since it was welcomed by those German princes increasingly hostile to Luther, particularly Duke George of Saxony. He arranged for a German translation by Jerome Emser (1522), and in the same year the Alsatian Franciscan, Thomas Murner, published an alternative translation in Strasbourg for south German readers. Also in 1522, Luther composed a hasty reply to Henry, in two versions, German and Latin – *Antwort deutsch auf König Heinrichs Buch*, and *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae.* The invective and defamatory levels of this were so vehement that even some of Luther's supporters and protectors were concerned, so that they urged him to contain himself. The force of Luther's religious imperative was that instinctively he was no automatic respecter of persons, so that in some situations of conflict, conventional deference even to social superiors was lacking. But reality prevailed – at least for the time being. A publication by Luther in early 1523 allayed fears that he was potentially subversive in the secular realm – *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei.*

The king resumed hostilities by publishing a formal letter addressed to the Saxon dukes: *Epistola regia … pie admonitoria* (1524). In this he suggested that Luther's rebellious spirit was not limited to the ecclesiastical domain, and so all the more reason for the Edict of Worms to be implemented and Luther suppressed. The outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt in central Europe was mentioned. The king also sent envoys to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and to the three Saxon dukes. Furthermore, both King Henry and Duke George of Saxony, along with the popes and the emperor around this time, had been urging Erasmus to write against Luther (bearing in mind the universal initial appeal of Luther for humanists). This resulted in the widely publicized exchanges between 1524 and 1527 involving Erasmus and Luther on free will that had the effect of causing reform-minded humanists everywhere to make a decision pro or contra Luther. Accordingly, Henry VIII contributed to and helped orchestrate the anti-Luther campaign Europe-wide which involved other Catholic controversialists like Ambrosius Catharinus, Johannes Cochlaeus, Emser, Johan Fabri, Jacobus van Hoogstraten, Iacobus Latomus, Kaspar Schatzgeyer, soon to be followed by Erasmus and Johannes Eck. The primary context, therefore, of the clash between the English king and Luther was not an Anglo-German one, but the perceived threat of Luther to European Christendom and traditional Catholicism.

The English contribution to the attempt to extinguish the fire was not confined to Henry. His book was intended to be the curtain-raiser of a more extensive campaign in England against Luther. The most prominent role in this was played by the erudite John

Fisher (*c*.1469-1535), bishop of Rochester and chancellor of Cambridge university, and whose reputation as a Catholic apologist was international. He had an unusually close familiarity with a wide range of Luther's writings which he studied seriously[19]. At a grand ceremonial event in London in May 1521 of burning Luther's books in the presence of the English hierarchy, the English papal legate (Cardinal Wolsey), Imperial ambassadors and the public, Fisher preached a lengthy sermon (in English) detailing Luther's teaching[20]; This was the first occasion, it is believed, at which a Catholic critic anywhere singled out justification by faith alone as fundamental to Luther's position[21]. And since the sermon was published in English and Latin, it was the first printed rejoinder to Luther in English[22]. Fisher composed three substantial works against Luther[23]. The first and best known was major comprehensive critique to be widely consulted by future Catholic apologists everywhere: *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio* (1523), published in Antwerp, Cologne, Paris and Venice. It embodied a detailed critique of Luther's *Assertio omnium articulorum* (1520) which was a reaffirmation of the forty-one articles denounced in the papal *Exsurge Domine*. Yet Fisher's widely read book, along with his other two[24], also helped disseminate Luther's ideas in church and academy.

Meanwhile, the confrontation between Henry and Luther was temporarily suspended, at least on the Wittenberg side. This followed rumours conveyed chiefly by King Christian II of Denmark, but possibly also by some English students at Wittenberg university, that Henry has not been the real author of the anti-Luther book in his name. In addition, it was suggested that he might in fact be inclined to the 'gospel' were it not for the animosity of Luther. In consequence, amicable evangelizing outreach to England rather than defensive hostility was adopted in Wittenberg. Luther sent a risibly obsequious letter (1525) to Henry apologizing for earlier rudeness[25]. And his colleague, Johannes Bugenhagen, published a four-page tract for the English »brethren« providing a guide to evangelical doctrines (especially justification) –

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[19] See Richard REX, The Theology of John Fisher, Cambridge 1991, pp. 117, 202 (there: a list of twenty (!) Luther writings in Fisher's library.)

[20] See TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans, pp. 6-7.

[21] According to REX, The Theology, p. 116.

[22] See William A. CLEBSCH, England's First Protestants 1530-1535, Westport, CT 1964, p. 18.

[23] See Rex, The Theology, pp. 78-128; CLEBSCH, England's First Protestants, pp. 14-19.

[24] Defensio regiae Assertionis (1525) – against Luther's Contra Henricum. Also in 1525, Fisher published Sacri sacerdotii defensio – a response to Luther's De abrodganda missa privata (1522). In 1525 Fisher was visited in Rochester by Johannes Eck.

[25] D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel, Weimar 1930-1985 [= WA Br], vol. 3, no. 914.

Epistola ad Anglos (1525 and 1526)[26]. It was also an exhortation to identify with the Reformation movement and discount false rumours and propaganda besmirching the gospel by its enemies. This, then, was the first German Protestant appeal to the English to convert.[27] Thomas More (1478-1535), one of Henry VIII's most bitter and hard-line anti-Luther advisers and future Lord Chancellor, was sufficiently concerned about the circulation of Bugenhagen's tract to undertake a refutation of it; it was only published (in part) posthumously[28].

The English king soon dispersed suggestions that he was softening his stance to the Wittenberg theology with his letter: »Ad Martini Lutheri epistolam responsio« (1526)[29]. In this he repeats the earlier allegation that Luther is a catalyst for the anarchic breakdown of law and order in society – a common Catholic polemical ploy. The reply, together with Luther's earlier letter of apology, was then published in Catholic Germany (Dresden) in 1527, sponsored by Duke George of Saxony. Together with Emser's published translation of the same year, the tract was a bestseller in the Empire. The essence of Luther's response – *Auf des Königs zu Englands Lästerschrift* (1527)[30] – was that while in social and personal spheres he can exercise humility in order to commend the gospel, in the realm of religious truth he is no shrinking violet. This brought down the curtain on the long epic dispute between the arrogant English monarch and the bellicose Wittenberg professor – the king was now to be preoccupied with family problems. In 1528, however, he did issue a royal proclamation in England citing Luther as subversive of religion and society, and prohibiting in the country any kind of expression and activity undermining the Catholic faith and church.[31] This ushered in intensified suppression of pro-Reformation tendencies in England.

The entire episode had been sketched here because it was to be of some significance in future Anglo-German relations 1534-1539, when religio-political dimensions became more prominent. For various reasons, such as seeking support for his divorce and remarriage, his suspended sentence of excommunication by Paul III in 1535, anxiety about European

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[26] Not published in English until 1536.

[27] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 25-26; TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII, pp. 28-30; WENDEBOURG, Die deutschen Reformatoren und England / The German Reformers and England, pp. 65-67 / pp. 106-107.

[28] 1568, in Louvain by English Catholic exiles; this says something about the durability of Bugenhagen's impact.

[29] WA Br 12, pp. 74-93.

[30] WA 23, pp. 26-37.

[31] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 33.

Catholic military action against his schism led by the Emperor Charles (nephew of Henry's divorced wife, Catherine of Aragon), and opposition to a papally convoked church council, the English king began to view the German Protestants, now a political power bloc, as potential allies. Since this also required theological negotiations with the Wittenberg theologians (1535-1539), the process was atmospherically burdened by the baggage of the earlier Henry-Luther confrontations going back nearly fifteen years. Ultimately, ennui and distrust of the king among the Wittenbergers clouded these talks.

Import of Reformation books to England

The first summer swallows intimating a potential revolution of religion and theology in England (and Scotland) were undoubtedly clandestinely imported books and tracts published in exclusively in German-speaking lands. Already by 1518, Luther works were being exported to England, including the first edition of collected works published by Johann Froben in Basel[32], and reprints of that by Matthias Schürer of Strasbourg in 1519. Since Froben was a famous humanist publisher with long-established English links going back to Erasmus's time in Cambridge, and since Luther had not yet been condemned for heresy, there were as yet no special grounds for alarm. But by 1520 there were book burnings of Protestant books at Cambridge, and (at the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey) at national occasions outside St Paul's Cathedral in London in 1521 and 1526 when Fisher was the preacher. Following these incinerations, the import, sale and circulation of such books was banned with severe penalties[33] – but inevitably with only limited success.

Such literature was imported not only via London, but through various other seaports on the British eastern seaboard. In London, Hanseatic German and allied traders seem to have been the most active importers and smugglers. Their merchants' association (*Kontor*) and trade centre was in the »Steelyard« [Stahlhof], the headquarters of the Hanseatic League in London – and there were sub-branches in eastern England at Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Hull, York, Newcastle, and Boston[34]. There was, therefore, plenty of opportunity and scope for bringing Protestant books to England, bearing in mind that in the Hansa cities of Germany, Scandinavia, the east Baltic and the Low Countries, Luther had a popular following[35]. Antwerp was the chief, west European distribution centre of bulk copies, but at this time such

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[32] See Froben to Luther, 14 Feb. 1519, in: WA Br 1, pp. 331-32.
[33] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 11-13, 27-31.
[34] See Susan BRIGDEN, London and the Reformation, Oxford 1989.
[35] See Heinz SCHILLING, The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities, in: SCJ 14 (1983), pp. 443–56.

books could be acquired almost anywhere in Europe. The sea, then, was no barrier; it was a silent means of access for new ideas. It was in connection with the London book burning of 1526 that a number of Steelyard merchants were also tried for heresy, along with an English proto-Lutheran, Robert Barnes (on him, see below)[36]. This symbolized the link between England, the rest of maritime northern Europe, and the new theology from Germany. Commerce rather than politics was the chief precondition. And apart from Continental trading networks, there were doubtless many other private persons who brought in some controversial books from visits abroad, for example, students and churchmen.

Some English booksellers' lists of stock and censors' inventories of banned books have survived from 1520 inwards. They are certainly revealing. The earliest seems to that of an Oxford bookseller, John Dorne, whose 1520 sales-ledger has half a dozen Latin books by Luther[37], including the Strasbourg edition of his *Opera*. Individual items included Luther's reply to Sylvester Prierias on the power of the Pope (1518), the account of the Leipzig Disputation (1519), the early lectures on Galatians (1519), but also a »Condemnatio Lutheri«, which is probably the *Exsurge Domine* papal bull (1520). There are two interesting things in this connection. First: conventionally Cambridge university has been seen as more Reformation-friendly in the early days than the apparently more conservative Oxford. Reformation-book studies do not confirm this Oxford image[38]. At Oxford in 1528, substantial lists of imported Latin heretical books being offered in the city comprised a wide range of reformers (especially Luther) and pre-reformers like Huss, Wycliffe, and Johannes von Wesel[39]. Secondly, John Dorne (or Thorne): it is not always mentioned that Dorne was actually German: Johannes Dorn. He was a printer originally from Braunschweig, an important member of the Hanseatic League and a city which had close links with England[40].

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[36] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 47; TJNERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans, p. 53.

[37] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 12; Elisabeth LEEDHAM-GREEN, Unreliable Witnesses, in: HA / COLLINSON (ed.), The Reception of Continental Reformation, pp. 22-40, at pp. 33-34

[38] LEEDHAM-GREEN, Unreliable witnesses, 26-38.

[39] The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe … with notes and appendices, London 1858, vol. 5, part II, Appendix no. V1 (no pagination).

[40] John L. FLOOD, »Thorne, John (*d.* 1548?)«, in: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, Sept 2014 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/106754, accessed 4 June 2016]; W. SCHMITZ, »Dorn, Hans«, in: Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens, edited by Severin CORSTEN et al., vol. 2, Stuttgart 1987.

As regards the booklists from the 1520s: the Wittenbergers predominate, such as Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen; but also well represented are others of note among reformers. The writings cited are partly controversial, partly biblical commentaries, and partly works of edification and devotion. The catalogues include Johannes Brenz, François Lambert (Marburg), Urbanus Rhegius, Johannes Briesmann, Martin Bucer, Konrad Pellikan, Wofgang Capito, Martin Cellarius, Huldrych Zwingli, Johannes Oecolampadius, and Carlstadt (1529).The inclusion of the last three along with Bucer and Capito raise some questions. A common if not universally accepted paradigm for the evolution of Reformation expression in England is that the first phase (up to about 1540) was broadly Lutheran in some way, and that the second phase (from about 1550 onward) was decidedly orientated to Upper Rhine/Swiss and emerging Reformed theology with its humanist associations. However, if some writings of the Rhenish and Swiss authors in the 1520s – like Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Pellikan– were actually being read and digested in England at that time and thereafter, then a proto-Reformed theological interest was present very early on. Most of the Luther-Zwingli eucharistic controversy was conducted in German, but a highly influential book in the entire debate was one in Latin by Oecolampad; it was cited on the English list of prohibited books. This was his patristic study designed to corroborate the Zurich sacramental theology with patristic evidence: *De genuina verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores, expositione liber* (1525). The essentially »Zwinglian« sacramental concept in this book was given even more publicity with John Fisher's major and widely circulated reply: *De veritate corporis et sanguiniis Christi in eucharistia libri quinque adversus I. Oecolampadium* (1527). One could argue that this situation helps explain why in early English Protestantism (with one exception), the Wittenberg eucharistic doctrine was rarely represented – bearing in mind that Luther's understanding was not readily accessible to the English (being mostly expressed in German) until the 1530s – and then in a minimalist form in the Augsburg Confession. In contrast, one of Zwingli's major writings in the controversy was in Latin and thus circulated Europe-wide: *Amica exegesis, id est, expositio eucharistiae negocii, ad Martinum Lutherum etc* (1527). Lastly, a detailed official list[41] in 1529 of prohibited books in England reveals the same

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[41] »Libri sectæ siue factionis Lutheriane importati ad ciuitatem London per fautores eiusdem«, in: FOXE, The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO 1563 edition, HRI Online Publications, Sheffield 2011, pp. 502-504. Available from: http//www.johnfoxe.org [Accessed: 01.04.2016]; GERDESIUS, Historia Reformationis, vol. 4, pp. 139-144, no. XXVII; JACOBS, The Lutheran Movement, pp. 12-13.

eclectic pattern – Luther and the Wittenbergers predominate, but Swiss and south German authors are strongly represented as well.

This has been recalled in the interest of balancing the nature and impact of the undoubted wave of Lutheran writings that swept into England in the 1520s and early 30s. English expressions of positive reaction to this reveal clear dependence, direct or indirect[42], on that – even if there is also evidence of modification and selective appropriation that might make the word »Lutheran« elastic[43], Yet this also happened elsewhere in Europe, so that is not a peculiarly English phenomenon; one can think of the synthesis of Luther and Erasmian humanism that occurred in Strasbourg under Bucer and in the Upper Rhine region, for example.

The emergence of native new voices

To turn now to three notable English figures who have conventionally often been categorized as Lutheran[44], They all had direct and close personal links with Germany, which helped shape their thinking. These are the long-exiled English Bible and Luther translator and writer, William Tyndale (*c.*1494-1536); the semi-exiled John Frith (1503-1533), an associate of Tyndale, Luther translator and occasional writer; and Dr Robert Barnes (1495-1540), ex-Augustinian prior, studied at Louvain, doctor of theology from Cambridge, exiled, lived and later studied in Wittenberg, very occasional writer, used by Henry VIII as an emissary to Luther on the divorce issue, and then as a royal religious diplomat (with others) in Germany in the negotiations with the Schmalkald League and Wittenberg theology faculty. Their fates demonstrate something that helps explain the elusive and tentative character of the Reformation in England as a whole – martyrdom – Frith and Barnes in England and Tyndale near Brussels. Many others and scores of ordinary people suffered similar ends, including

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[42] See Alec RYRIE, The Strange Death of Lutheran England, in: JEH 53 (2002), pp. 64-92. Cf. Basil HALL, The early rise and gradual decline of Lutheranism in England 1520-1660, in: Derek BAKER (ed.), Reform and Reformation. England and the Contiinent *c.* 1500 – *c.* 1700 Cambridge 1979, pp. 103-31.

[43] See Carl TRUEMAN / Carrie EULER, The Reception of Martin Luther in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England, in: HA / COLLINSON, Reception of Continental Reformation, pp. 63-81.

[44] For example, see CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 42-204; TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans, pp. 56-68; James E MCGOLDRICK, Luther's English Connection, Milwaukee 1979; Carl TRUEMAN, Luther's Legacy. Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556, Oxford 1994, pp. 1-21. Cf. David DANIELL, William Tyndale. A Biography, New Haven / London 1994. A fresh study of Barnes is by Korey MAAS, The Reformation and Robert Barnes. History, Theology and Polemic in Early Modern England, Woodbridge, UK 2010.

future Protestant bishops and an archbishop. With the exception of six years during the reign of the Protestant Edward VI, openly proclaiming the Reformation faith in England from 1521-1558 was hazardous and life-threatening. Tyndale, Frith and Barnes later became iconic figures in English Protestantism. Since all three lived in dangerous situations and straitened circumstances, as part-time and freelance theologians they did not have the leisure and comfort to produce substantial tomes of theology. And all their various translations, small tracts and publications were directed to English language readership; therein consists their long-term significance, for they helped create a vernacular vocabulary for the Bible and divinity[45]. In 1536 the Augsburg Confession and Melanchthon's Apology were translated into English by John Taverner and even legally published England; in 1538 the same Taverner published in London his translation of one of the first Lutheran works of systematic theology – Erasmus Sarcerius's *Methodus in praecipuos Scripturæ divinæ locos, ad nuda didactici generis præcepta / Common places of scripture ordrely and after a compendious forme of teachyng set forth*. And in 1572, during a sort of neo-Lutheran revival in England, John Foxe edited a large volume of the writings of all Tyndale, Barnes and Frith, whom he characterized in his preface as the »chief ringleaders of the Church of England«[46].

English Catholics perceived those three correctly as English versions of the condemned German theology (linked with Wycliffe-Hus heresy). One of the principal demands of the Catholic revolt of 1536 in the north of England – the Pilgrimage of Grace – was to have »the heresies of Luther, Wycliffe, Hus, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Bucer, the German Confession [= CA], Melanchthon's Apologia, the works of Tyndale, of Barnes … and such other heresies of Anabaptists destroyed«[47].

In his special interest in doing a translation of the Bible in English (vetoed in England), Tyndale lived on the Continent from 1524 until his execution in 1536. His knowledge of the German language derived from his first four years in Germany until he settled in Antwerp, a centre for English religious exiles in the 1520s and 30s. In Germany he had been in Hamburg and Cologne (where his published translation of the New Testament (1524) was seized and mostly destroyed). But he republished this successfully in Worms in 1525 – the first early-modern English Bible translation. He also lived and worked in Marburg

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[45] The list of Protestant books and translations in English prohibited by Henry in 1546 was of over 100 items. Cf. FOXE, Acts and Monuments [see n. 39], vol. 5, part II, pp. 566-568,

[46] John FOXE (ed.), The whole workes of W. Tyndale, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England. London 1572, f. A ii r.

[47] In: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, vol. 11, London 1888, p. 506 (text and spelling modernized by me).

for some time. He translated directly from Luther's Bible prefaces. Apart from translation work, he authored some tracts of his own – such as one on justification: *Fayth the mother of all good works iusifieth us before we can bringe forth anye good worke* (1528), and the very lively *The obedience of a Cristen man and how Cristen rulers ought to governe* (1528) – both typical Luther themes.

John Frith worked with Tyndale in Antwerp and probably Marburg where reputedly, he witnessed the Marburg Colloquy (1529). He translated Luther's exposition of the book of Daniel, chapter 8, publishing it under the title of *The Revelation of Antichrist* (1529), as well as writing a tract against purgatory. He unwisely visited England and antagonized Thomas More, who had a special interest in crushing English-language heresy. While in prison, Frith wrote a manuscript on the Eucharist along Zwinglian lines, guided by Oecolampadius's works including a new one on the patristic testimony reflecting fresh discussions with Melanchthon[48]. This precipitated his execution as a »sacramentarians«.

Robert Barnes had been part of »Little Germany«, a theological discussion group at Cambridge in the early 1520s that debated Luther's writings among other things. Later, as an Augustinian prior and doctor of theology he was evidently of some standing, and openly denounced church abuses, attracting unfavourable attention from the authorities. Arriving as an exile in Wittenberg in 1530, he was taken in by Bugenhagen, with whom in 1539 he helped introduce the Reformation into Denmark. He did write one tract in English – *Supplication to the King* (1531, 1534) – arguing that Reformation theology is not heresy; this must have impressed Henry VIII sufficiently to appoint Barnes as an intermediary with Wittenberg on his divorce issue in 1531. A few years later Barnes became the chief personal bridge between Wittenberg and the head of the English church[49]. In 1533, Barnes matriculated in the Wittenberg theology faculty, and from 1534-1539, he was one of the English diplomatic team in negotiations with the Schmalkald League and Lutheran theologians, taking part in the related theology disputations 1535-1536. The increasing use of the patristic argument in Reformation apologetics is reflected in Barnes's publication in Wittenberg of *Sentenciae ex doctoribus collectae, quas papistae valde impudenter hodie damnant* (1531), under the pseudonym of »Antonius Anglus«, with a preface by

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[48] See CLEBSCH, England's First Protestants, pp. 122-23, 125-27; OECOLAMPADIUS, Quid de eucharistia veteres cum Graeci tum Latini senserint. Dialogus in quo epistolae P. Melanchthonis et I. Oecloampadii insertae (1530).
[49] See WENDEBOURG, Die deutschen Reformatoren und England / The German Reformers and England, pp. 73-79 / pp. 112-119.

Bugenhagen. It was constructed around nineteen topics with marginal notes. In 1536 Barnes published his major work: *Vitae Romanorum pontificum, quos papas vocamus,* a polemical piece designed to reveal the corruption that accompanied the history of the papacy. The work was dedicated to Henry VIII (suiting the king's anti-papal purposes) and had a preface by Luther[50]. Lastly, as an epitaph after Barnes's execution in London in 1540, when the King was trying to disassociate himself from any Protestant-friendly image internationally, the Wittenbergers published Barnes's confession of faith before death. It was accompanied with a eulogy by Luther, lauding the »holy martyr Sanct Robertus«, and denouncing the character of the Machiavellian »King Harry«: *Bekantus des Glaubens: die Robertus Barns, der heiligen Schrift Doctor (inn Deudshem Lande D Antonius genent) zu Lunden inn Engelland gethan hat … Aus der Englischen sprach verdeudscht* (1540). Two years later a Pomeranian humanist published a Latin poem commemorating Barnes and excoriating Henry VIII as a despotic tyrant of classical proportions[51].

The belief that Tyndale, Frith and Barnes represented English Lutheranism was the traditional affirmation; but there is currently no consensus in the matter. Dominant in recent times has been the view that »Luther's thought is considerably modified by the theologians [Tyndale, Frith, Barnes] of the English Reformation«[52]. Tyndale could be categorized as sub-Lutheran, the argument runs, due to various divergences in his thought rooted in Erasmian humanist elements. For example: mutations in his justification understanding, where he attenuates sharp distinctions between law and gospel, the Old and New Testaments, Paul and James; where he emphasizes realized sanctification due to the transforming power of the Spirit; where there is not much on alien righteousness nor on Luther's theology of the Cross, and where Tyndale turns to a covenant theology with ethical and moral imperatives – to the extent that disobedience to a ruler not performing his expected Christian duties is conceivable. Both Barnes and Tyndale were also keen to mediate Luther's concept of the two kingdoms to English readers, in the hope that Henry VIII might act as a Lutheran-style reforming emergency bishop – reconcilable even with the royal supremacy and headship of the church (1532-34)[53]. When this did not happen, Tyndale in particular was disillusioned, so

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[50] See MAAS, The Reformation and Robert Barnes, 206-226.
[51] See Korey MAAS / C.J. ARMSTRONG, A poem on the death of Robert Barnes, by Johannes Sastrow 1543, in: Reformation & Renaissance Review 15.3 (2013), pp. 258-279.
[52] TRUEMAN, Luther's Legacy, p. 5. On the theology of these three, see ibid., pp. 86-120, 121-155, 156-97. See ID., Early English Evangelicals: Three examples, in: Wendebourg (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 15-28.
[53] See Arne DEMBEK, Political Ethics in the English and German Reformation. William Tyndale and Robert Barnes as Interpreters of Luther's Doctrine of the Two Regiments, in:

that he began to speculate on the question of active disobedience. Also, Tyndale's interpretation of the real presence is more aligned to a metaphorical understanding. On the Eucharist, Barnes was reputed to share Luther's doctrine, although there is not much hard evidence of this. The same tendency to the idea of a double or two-phased justification, and without reference to the Cross is also evident in Barnes. And of course in the Eucharist, Frith had a decidedly Zwinglian view. However, on justification one of his axioms encapsulates Luther's view exactly: »If we must make satisfaction unto God for our sines, then would I know why Christ died? «[54].

Taken together, these apparent difference from Lutheran thought are sometimes seen as harbouring proto-Reformed tendencies. Justification is the central issue. Since Luther was not a systematic theologian, and since his utterances are dispersed, one might ask: which exposition or formulation of Luther or Lutheranism is absolutely authentic and normative, as it were?[55]. The new 1535 edition of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* (dedicated to Henry VIII) had different accents from that of 1521 (»works necessary for salvation«)[56]. However, an important recent study by an English writer on the theology of the early English reformers tries to correct misconceptions regarding their reception of the Wittenberg theology (or theologies) of justification[57]. It maintains that some researchers have frequently misconceived Luther's notions of law and gospel in such a way as to reduce his influence on the English reformers, that Luther's paradoxical style has not been understood, and that not just Reformed theologians but also Luther [and Melanchthon] developed the motif of a *tertius usus legis*. These arguments aim towards the restoration of the idea that the impact of Luther's soteriology on early English Protestant thinking was not diluted or compromised. But even if it was, there is the other consideration and truism that in the Reformation era, the

Dorothea WENDEBOURG / Alec RYRIE (eds.), Sister Reformations II. Schwesterreformationen II, Tübingen 2014, pp. 229-250 (Ger.) / pp. 251-270 (Engl.).
[54] The whole works (ed. FOXE), p. 6.
[55] See especially Martin BRECHT, Der rechtfertigende Glaube an den Evangelium von Jesus Christus als Mitte von Luthers Theologie, in: ZKG 89 (1978), pp. 45-77 – selecting Luther's sermon on John 8:34-38 (WA 33).
[56] See John SCHOFIELD, Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation, Ashgate 2006, pp. 61-64, 74-75.
[57] Michael S. WHITING, Luther in English. The Influence of his Theology of Law and Gospel on Early English Evangelicals 1525-35, Eugene, OR 2010.

Protestant doctrine of justification was expressed in »many voices«,[58] not canonically tied to any single normative formulation.

England, the Schmalkald League and Wittenberg 1534-39

The détente and rapprochement over a five-year period in particular between Henry VIII and the very architects of the heresies he had so strongly denounced for nearly fifteen years, and his subsequent reversion to type, was not wholly unique in Europe. Between 1533 and 1536 King Francis I of France also made contact with German and Swiss reformers as well as the Schmalkald League for a combination of religious and political reasons[59]. In both cases, the dawns were false, for the ultimate outcomes were negative, so that the episodes very soon became history and interest in them is largely academic. Yet they reflected the indissoluble links in that era between religion, theology, politics and international diplomacy. The fluid relationships between Holy Roman Empire, the west and north European kingdoms, the papacy, the Swiss Confederation, the Ottoman Empire and so on constituted the changeable political climate affecting the new religious options of the time – especially after the duchy of Württemberg became part of the Schmalkald bloc with the restoration of its Protestant Duke Ulrich in 1534, seen by the Catholic side as upsetting the balance of power in Europe.

Compared to the Franco-German religio-political discussions, the Anglo-German exchanges were, however, much more substantial and special for various reasons[60]. First: they were direct, personal and intimate. Over a six-month period from late 1535 into 1536, an English delegation in Germany led by Bishop Edward Foxe[61] and including Barnes met with members of the Schmalkald League and with Luther, Melanchthon and others. In 1538, a German delegation in London met and discussed theology with the King and his powerful

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[58] Berndt HAMM, The Gift of Salvation, Faith and Action in the Continental Reformation –the Paradigm of Martin Luther, in: Wendebourg / Ryrie (eds.), Sister Reformations II. Schwesterreformationen II, p. 86 / p. 108. Cf. at n. 14 above.

[59] See Karl Josef SEIDEL, Frankreich und die deutschen Protestanten, Münster Westfalen 1970, pp. 27-42, 77-83, 88-105, 108-19.

[60] For some older and recent studies and comment see Paul SINGER, Beziehungen des SchmalkaldeneN Bundes zu England im Jahre 1539 Greifswald, 1901; Friedrich PRÜSER, England und die Schmalkaldener 1535-40, Leipzig 1929; Rory MCENTEGART, Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden, and the English Reformation, Woodbridge, Suffolk et al. 2002; ID., Henry VIII and the German Lutherans: a reassessment, in: WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 29-52; WENDEBOURG, Die deutschen Reformatoren und England / The German Reformers and England, pp. 80-93 / 119-32; SCHOFIELD, Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation, pp. 66-67, 114-18, 128-34.

[61] He, along with Archbishop Cranmer, was the subject of a charm offensive at the time from Martin Bucer in Strasbourg, who in 1536 dedicated the second edition of his Gospels commentary to Foxe, and then his ecumenically minded Romans commentary to Cranmer.

principal secretary thought to have Reformation sympathies, namely Thomas Cromwell, and with English clerics including the Archbishop Thomas Cranmer[62]. Second: Robert Barnes was a kind of religio-political English representative or honorary consul in Wittenberg, if not for long. And on the English side as a permanent adviser, consultant, interpreter, press agent on German affairs and intermittent attaché to envoys to the Empire and the Swiss, there was the German expatriate and committed Protestant of the south German kind, Christopher Mont (Mundt) (1496-1572)[63] – a faithful role he performed for the English until well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Third: Henry VIII's interest in accommodation with the Protestant Germans and in a mutually defensive alliance was not determined by a single issue. Already from 1531 he was keen to get an opinion from the Wittenberg university theology faculty on his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and remarriage to Anne Boleyn (1533)[64]. And anxiety about the risks England might face following its church schism and the royal supremacy in the church made the king and Cromwell realize that new military allies could be useful (the Pope provisionally excommunicated the Henry in 1535). Further, the King was willing and basically competent enough to engage with the theological issues placed on the table by the Germans, as well as desperate in his repeated and unrequited desire to have doctrinal conferences with Melanchthon in England. In addition, there was yet another area of mutual Anglo-German interest, namely to make common cause over the question of a church council, preferably a free general or national (imperial) one in opposition to a papally convoked one. In 1537 and 1538 Henry published a Latin tract and open letter and memoranda on the matter, both widely distributed, in order to win friends in the Empire and elsewhere[65].

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[62] Following a diplomatic mission to Nuremberg in 1532, he had married its reformer Osiander's niece, Margarete Hetzel (or Preu).

[63] See Luke MACMAHON, »Mont, Christopher 1496/7–1572«, in: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/18994, accessed 8 June 2016]

[64] This, the »King's great matter«, had already been a topic of discussion among Reformation theologians on the Continent since 1531, especially following the research visit that year to England of the Basel humanist and Zwinglian theologian, Simon Grynaeus, colleague of Oecolampadius. Grynaeus also helped to forge the important association between Thomas Cranmer and Bucer. See Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer. A Life, New Haven / London 1996, pp. 60-65.

[65] See Thomas BROCKMANN, Die Konzilsfrage in den Flug- und Streitschriften des deutschen Sprachraumes 1518-1563, Göttingen 1998, pp. 276-279.

The negotiations between the English and the German Lutherans failed to create a formal coalition definitively by 1539 for a wide variety of reasons which cannot be explored here. One can cite a few inhibitions. One was Henry's reluctance to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, a *sine qua non* for joining the Schmalkald League due to the princes' principle of the priority of confession over alliance. Yet this reluctance was not so much based on any aversion to primary dogmas like justification by faith alone as on the King's intransigent adhesion to customs and traditions like private masses, clerical celibacy, the use of images, communion in one kind, confession and penance, vows etc. – not all quite matters of adiaphora to the Germans. Another was the implementation of Henry's excommunication by the Pope in 1538, which made him feel more vulnerable to a joint Imperial-French attack. And in the same year, the Frankfurt Interim in the Empire, the prelude to global religious reunion talks (1538-1541) sponsored by Charles V in Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg, rendered the bilateral Anglo-German talks somewhat redundant. Not to be overlooked was Luther's exasperation with the interminable theological meetings whose outcome was always subject not to an English referendum, rather the King's veto: "War es alles mit einer Bratwurst versiegelt"[66].

The subsequent volte-face, a conservative and Catholic reaction (1539-1547) in England directed by Henry is to be seen in this light rather than his moodiness and capriciousness, although the embarrassing shambles of Henry's proposed marriage to a German princess, Anne of Cleves, precipitated the permanent breakdown of relations The prudential and limited breathing space granted to Reformation ideas in England from about 1531 to 1539 was now terminated. The evangelical tones reflected in the Church of England's Ten Articles, adopted in 1536, were superseded by the traditionalist Six Articles of 1539 which helped eject the Reformation from England for the time being. The draft articles of the Anglo-German doctrinal panels in 1536 (the eighteen Wittenberg Articles)[67] and in 1538 (The Thirteen Articles)[68] fell into oblivion until modern times, where they have been seen by some as having some or a possible relationship with the subsequent confessional

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[66] WA Br 8, p. 578.16 (23 October 1539).
[67] Text Lat. and Ger. in Georg MENTZ (ed.), Die Wittenberger Artikel von 1536. Artickel der christlichen lahr, von welchen die legatten aus Engelland mit dem herrn doctor Martino gehandelt anno 1536, Leipzig 1905, pp. 18-69; Engl. in TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans, 255-286, and in Gerald BRAY (ed.), Documents of the English Reformation Cambridge 1994, pp. 119-61.
[68] Text Lat. and Engl. in BRAY, Documents, pp. 181-208; TJERNAGEL, Henry VIII and the Lutherans, 287-306 (Engl. Only). See also MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, pp. 214-232.

Forty-two and Thirty-nine articles of the reformed Church of England in 1553 and 1563[69].
Yet they reflect ultimately that the Anglo-German contacts of this era were from the English
point of view not just »political« in contrast to alleged pious German religious conviction.
Mutual theological discourse – on German initiative – was enabled for a season, but it is also
now held that »religion was at the heart of Henry's interest in Lutheran Germany«[70]. Yet
while ultimately England was to have a Protestant future, the original theological orientation
to Wittenberg and Lutheran Germany dissolved.

Continuing association and links in the sixteenth century

This will necessarily be confined to remarks on selective matters of interest. First: as is well
known, during the reign of Edward VI a decidedly Protestant Reformation in England was
officially launched in 1548, but only survived till 1553, and thus not completed. For then the
Catholic Mary I became queen and embarked upon re-Catholicization (aided with her
marriage to Charles V's son, Philip of Spain, and with some help from the Spanish
Inquisition). This led to the foreign exile of about 800 committed Protestants to places like
Emden, Frankfurt, Zurich, Geneva and even Venice; in England about 300 were martyred
including five bishops, Archbishop Cranmer and twenty clergy. During Edward's reign, it
was Cranmer who had invited the German reformer, Martin Bucer, himself an exile due to his
opposition to the Interim of 1548, to come to Cambridge as Regius Professor of Divinity[71].
Bucer had already close contacts with Cranmer and had longstanding experience of exiled
Englishmen in Strasbourg. Bucer died in 1551, and had found living in England difficult – his
health, his homesickness for Alsace, the language, the climate, the food. Yet with his vast
experience of the wider European Reformation he contributed what he could as a lecturer to
crowded audiences, to debates with Catholics on the Eucharist, to the matter of the use and
appropriation of patristic sources for theology, usages, ceremonies, and traditions, and

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[69] See Hardwick, A History of the Articles, 52-66; MENTZ, Die Wittenberger Artikel, 16.
[70] McENTEGART, Henry VIII and the German Lutherans, p. 40; and 45, n. 64 demonstrates the king's personal application to the doctrinal issues.
[71] A selection of studies on Bucer in England is: Constantin HOPF, Martin Bucer and the Church of England, Oxford 1946; Herbert VOGT, Martin Bucer und die Kirche von England, Münster 1966; David F. WRIGHT, Martin Bucer and England – and Scotland, in: Christian KRIEGER / Marc LIENHARD (eds.), Martin Bucer and Sixteenth Century Europe, Leiden 1993, vol. 2, pp. 523-532; Basil HALL, Martin Bucer in England, in: D.F. WRIGHT (ed.), Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community, Cambridge 1994, pp. 144-160; N. Scott AMOS, Protestant Exiles in England. Martin Bucer, the Measured Approach to Reform, and the Elizabethan Settlement – ›Eine gute, leidliche Reformation‹, in: WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 151-174.

thereby as a consultant on liturgical reform in particular. Out of this emerged via media tendencies in the Church of England (but not in doctrine). It was in Cambridge that he composed one of his most famous works – *De regno Christi* – a comprehensive programme, both conservative and progressive, for the reform not only of the Church of England, but also English society in the social, educational and economic spheres – a holistic approach characteristic of upper Rhine reformation concepts. As a consequence, Bucer was widely read (in Latin only) at the time and in later Protestant Elizabethan England. Notable figures of the Elizabethan future who felt indebted to him included Archbishop Matthew Parker, Archbishop Edmund Grindal, and Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's principal secretary.

Secondly: in the 1540s and 1550s, religio-political contacts between England and Protestant Germany diminished. This was due to various factors like the collapse the coalition talks with the Schmalkald League, King Henry's anti-Reformation policy in his last years, the defeat of the League by the Emperor in 1547, internal theological strife among Lutherans after 1548, and Roman Catholic restoration in England under Mary (1553-58). However, following the Peace of Augsburg (1555) in the Empire resolving the religious conflict there according to the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, and after the Reformation was finally adopted in England under Elizabeth I, positive relations and an alliance between England and Protestant Germany were again on the agenda[72]. After 1558 there was a revival of mutual Protestant Anglo-German interest. The Queen even had a liking for the Augsburg Confession, as she stated in letter to Duke Johann-Friedrich of Saxony-Weimar in 1559[73]. Moreover, she was invited by Christoph, Duke of Württemberg, to consider adopting the Augsburg Confession and the religious paradigm of the Peace of Augsburg as one suitable for England; Protestant and Catholic churches could legally coexist, and Calvinist or Reformed manifestations banned[74]. This fanciful idea was, of course, a wholly unrealistic proposition in all respects. Yet options for cooperation remained on the cards, at least up to the caesura of the Lutheran Formula of Concord and Book of Concord (1577-80). By this Lutheran Germany retreated to a considerable extent behind confessionalist barriers, since non-

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[72] See Horofumi HORIE, The Lutheran Influence on the Elizabethan Settlement, 1558-1563, in: HistJ 34.3 (1991), pp. 519-537, at p. 534; E.I. KOURI, England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s. A Case Study in European Diplomacy, Helsinki 1981.

[73] See Thomas KAUFMANN, Elizabethan Settlement and the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Structural Historical Observations on the English and German Reformations, in: WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 327-348 / pp. 305-326, at. 323 / p. 345.

[74] See KAUFMANN, Elizabethan Settlement, p. 324 / p. 346.

Lutheran theologies (especially eucharistic) were condemned. It hindered the future development of a common European Protestantism at the theological, ecclesiastical, and political levels – as Elizabeth indeed complained to the Count Palatine Ludwig VI in 1577[75]. A firm alliance and with England at the head of European Protestant league or coalition had interested many, especially after 1571 when England became domestically and politically more vulnerable with the theatrical announcement of Elizabeth's excommunication by the Pope. It was Zurich who came to the Queen's defence with Heinrich Bullinger's published response[76] to the papal bull – something which helped cement Anglo-Swiss relations and mutual Protestant identity.

In general it can be said the understandable preponderance of studies on English international and diplomatic relations in the Elizabethan era dealing with France, Spain, and the Netherlands have somewhat concealed the continually active contacts with the Empire and the Protestant estates. The need for anti-Catholic allies by an increasingly intense Protestant England was pressing. Recent new research has revealed the extent of English lobbying in Germany (assisted by Christopher Mundt) with a view to pan-Protestant political and military cooperation[77]. Overall, outcomes were not particularly fruitful. Better-together notions did not persuade leading Lutheran princes, such as the Electoral Duke Augustus of Saxony, at least as long as they were subject to the strictures of hard-line theologians,. For English interests, positive German cooperation of a pragmatic kind – as in the French wars of religion and the Dutch revolt – was more forthcoming from Hesse, but especially John Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern[78]. It was, however, his Calvinism – informed by the Heidelberg theologians – that helped enable more German participation in the cause of religion at the international level.

Thirdly: this is an appropriate point to mention that in this era of quasi-cold theological war with the Lutherans, the chief German input to theology in England (and Britain as a whole) was of the broad Reformed kind issuing from the Palatinate and Heidelberg. This helped reinforce English preferences. The chief theological authorities favoured in England were Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bucer, Wolfgang Musculus, and the non-controversial writings of the Lutheran Johannes Brenz; and the

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[75] See KAUFMANN, Elizabethan Settlement, p. 323 / p. 345.
[76] Bullae papisticae … contra … Reginam Elizabetham … refutatio et defensio (1571).
[77] See David S. GEHRING, Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause. Elizabethan Foreign Policy and Pan-Protestantism, London 2013, pp. 147-155.
[78] See Gehring, Anglo-German Relations, 77.

Second Helvetic Confession (1566) had the most prestigious confessional status in the country. However, the moderate Reformed, mediating and irenical theology of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563)[79] associated with a Melanchthon pupil, Zacharias Ursinus (later at Neustadt) and less probably, Casper Olevianus, also had wide appeal (1563) in the Church of England. Soon there were English translations of what was called »The Palatine Confession«. Ursinus's influential commentary on the catechism[80], which became compulsory reading in divinity at Oxford university in 1587, was also translated into English[81].

Lastly: in England in the 1570s there occurred a mini-Luther renaissance with the publication in English translation of dozen writings of his including some of his most important works[82]. Before 1540 there were only around six English Luther translations, bearing in mind that England was a land where his writings were banned. Matters improved after 1547 in the reign of the Protestant Edward VI when Luther became legitimately public, so that a few more translations were made including some sermons rendered into English by John Foxe. Overall, however, there was little by Luther in English before 1559; by now, twenty-three years after his death he was less well known than Calvin, Bucer, Melanchthon, Bullinger and Zwingli. He was no longer seen as the »Mittelpunkt der Reformation«[83], and his original spiritual discovery or breakthrough was virtually unknown about: »arcane and remote … beyond reach and comprehension«[84], also in the English Reformation till the late-sixteenth century.

It was the firmly Reformed John Foxe who lamented over the lost Luther. In the 1570s he headed a project to retrieve and make available more Luther works in English –

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[79] See Irene DINGEl, Augsburger Religionsfrieden und ›Augsburger Konfessionsgewandtschaft‹ – konfessionelle Lesarten«, in: Heinz SCHILLING / Heribert SMOLINSKY (eds.), Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden 1555, Gütersloh 2007, pp. 157-178, at 164-167, and with reference there to English intervention about safeguarding Reformed interests.
[80] Doctrinae christianae compendium: seu commentarii catechetici (1586).
[81] See Howard HOTSON, »'A Generall Reformation of Common Learning' and its Reception in the English-Speaking World, 1560–1642«, in: HA / COLLINSON, The Reception, pp. 193-228, at pp. 207-211.
[82] See ELTON, Luther in England, pp. 121-34; TRUEMAN / EULER, The Reception pp. 68-72; Carrie EULER, Does Faith Translate? Tudor Translations of Martin Luther and the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, in: ARG 101 (2010), pp. 80-113. On the survival, reprise and recycling of spiritual themes of Luther in England in the second half of the sixtgeenth century and beyond, see Alec RYRIE, The Afterlife of Lutheran England, in: WENDEBOURG (ed.), Sister Reformations. Schwesterreformationen, pp. 213-43, at p. 231.
[83] Elton, Luther in England, 126.
[84] Heiko Oberman, Foreword, in: ZKG 89 (1978), p. 1.

chiefly of the fundamental spiritual and devotional kind. Foxe translated some works himself and arranged for other translators to do some in which when he ~~might~~ would write a preface. Significant was the Galatians Commentary (1575) in which Foxe's (anonymous) preface outlined Luther's life, not provided for before. It went through seven editions. Also important was an English rendering of the Gradual Psalms (Psalms of Ascent) in 1577, in which Foxe's preface attempts to protect Luther from Protestant anti-Lutheran bias, prejudice, and misconceptions of various kinds; it gets to the core of Luther by highlighting that he offers an antidote to the Devil, death and self-damnation (*Anfechtung*), especially if one grasps his law-gospel polarity. In short, it was the pastoral and spiritual Luther that Foxe was commending, not the dogmatic warrior or polemicist. The stress was on Luther as a signpost to comfort and consolation through Christ on the Cross. In 1579 there appeared (at last) a translation of *The Liberty of a Christian*. In 1580, an English version of Luther's preface to his Romans commentary was published. In this the translator's preface noted perceptively that "no one has ever dug deeper into the nature of things"[85]. That this whole development could be interpreted as an anti-Calvinist current in England is most implausible. Foxe, who knew about suffering in his own life and in the martyrs, was commending the existential Luther and his focus on Christ crucified. As a historian, he regretted that the real Luther and the memory of his foundational role for the Reformation faith had been forgotten or was disappearing.

Fertilizing effects in Scotland

In this era, Scotland was a wholly separate kingdom. A Continental tendency to this very day is to envisage Scotland as somehow part of Greater England, or to wish for this to be the case. Such a view was already current in the sixteenth century, when the historian, Johannes Sleidan, speaking of »Britain«, observed with limited knowledge that »it is incomprehensible that the people of one country and language (!) should be at so great dissension among themselves and would consider it a thing chiefly to be wished for if the whole land might by some measure agree on being ruled by one government«[86]. Historically there was interaction between England and Scotland, but usually hostile. Scottish self-protection had traditionally been assisted by the Franco-Scottish »Old Alliance« and dynastic links with France. In fact, in the years just before the Reformation revolution of 1560 in Scotland, the country had been ruled by a Frenchwoman as regent, Mary of Guise; and from 1560-1567 the country was ruled by her daughter, also a Catholic, Mary Stewart, who had been brought up in France

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[85] ELTON, Luther in England, p. 128.
[86] A Famous Chronicle, Book 20, p. cccx.

where she was Queen as husband of Francis II. In a nutshell, the huge political paradigm shift that enabled the Reformation to become established was the switch from Scottish alliance with Catholic France to Protestant England. Thereafter the chief common interest between England and Scotland was religion, even if their churches and religious cultures were quite different.

The story of the early infiltration into Scotland of Reformation ideas originating in Germany was also in various respects different from that in England, at least in regard to the mechanisms. Similar was the importation of Lutheran literature via east-coast ports, such as Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen. But such books, including English New Testament translations by William Tyndale, also came into Scotland from the south, via England. Yet, while Scotland also had trading links with the Low Countries and Antwerp, her closer links with the Baltic and Scandinavia played a role in the reception of Lutheran ideas. For apart from trade, there was both seasonal migration and emigration from Scotland eastwards, so that there were significant Scottish communities on the Scandinavian shores of the North Sea as well as in the entire Baltic area including East Prussia and Poland[87]. This and the cultural consequences helped make Scots' exposure to the Reformation somewhat different from that in England. However, in relation to ideas of reform in theology and church, the evolution in Scotland was generally similar (and elsewhere in western Europe): while the mature Scottish Reformation was in theology to be orientated to Zurich, Geneva, and Heidelberg, the preparation and initial phase had Lutheran pulses[88], even if one cannot speak of a noticeably popular Protestant movement. Here we will give some select illustrations.

From 1525 onwards, both the Scottish Parliament and east coast cities made the import and possession of heretical and Lutheran books illegal, especially as they had been circulating in the universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews in particular. This measure had

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[87] See, for example, David DITCHBURN, Scotland and Europe. The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560, East Linton 2000; Thorkild L. CHRISTENSEN, Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century, in: ScHR 49 (2000), pp. 125-145.

[88] See, for example, James E. MCGOLDRICK, Luther's Scottish Connection, 2nd edn., Birmingham, Al 2007; W. Stanford REID. Lutheranism and the Scottish Reformation, WThJ 7 (1945), pp. 91-111; James K. CAMERON, Aspects of the Lutheran contribution of Scotland, 1528-1552, in: RSCHS 22 (1984), pp. 1-22; James KIRK, The Religion of the Early Scottish Protestants, in: SCH (L). S 8 (1991), pp. 361-411. On the existing general Scoto-German literary context, see Alasdair A. MACDONALD, 'The early reception of German literature in Scotland', in: *Literatur - Geschichte - Literaturgeschichte*, Nine MIEDEMA/Rudolf SUNTRUP, eds., Frankfurt a.M., 2003, pp. 263-76.

only limited success. The most notable symptom of the incursion of Lutherans ideas into Scotland in the 1520s (and with a direct link to Germany) was the martyrdom of a young cleric and preacher, Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528) at St Andrews in 1528 following the anti-heretical zeal of Cardinal David Beaton. Thereby Hamilton became an iconic figure in future Scottish Protestantism[89]. He had associations with Scottish Augustinians and St. Andrews University. He had also studied in Marburg under Francis Lambert and was one of the new university's first graduates. His ideas did not die with him, as the English Lutheran, John Frith (discussed above), found the manuscript of Hamilton's theological disputation in Marburg, translated and later published it on the Continent as *Patrick's Places* (1529). The work was later frequently published in England. Reflecting the ideas and formulations of Luther and Melanchthon on justification, grace, faith alone, law and gospel, the small work embodies one of the most direct German Lutheran bridges to Scotland.

There were subsequent trials and a few executions for heresy in Scotland, and other Reformation sympathizers went into exile. Two of them became Lutheran university theologians in Germany and Scandinavia. The first was an Augustinian, Alexander Alane (or Alesius as he was nicknamed by Melanchthon) (1500-65)[90]. In 1532 he went to Wittenberg, from where he published some tracts urging (in vain) King James V to permit vernacular Bible translations in the Scottish vernacular languages; this also led to polemical exchanges on the topic with the Catholic theologian, Johannes Cochlaeus. Later, the Wittenbergers sent Alesius to England and Cambridge as a means of strengthening Protestant Anglo-German links. With the breakdown in Anglo-Schmalkald League relations in 1539, Alesius returned to Germany, where he became professor of theology first at Frankfurt-on-Oder, and then at Leipzig[91]. He also participated in the Imperial religious colloquies at the time. The other

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[89] See CLEBSCH, England's Earliest Protestants, 81-85; Rainer Haas, Franz Lambert und Patrick Hamilton in ihrer Bedeutung für die evangelische Bewegung auf den Britischen Inseln, doctoral dissertation, Marburg 1973; Gerhard MÜLLER, Protestant Theology in Scotland and Germany in the Early Days of the Reformation, in: RSCHS 22 (1986), pp. 103-117; Duncan SHAW, Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation, in: RSCHS 22 (1985), pp. 119-139 = Zwing. 75 (1988), 375-400.
[90] See John T. MCNEILL, Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran 1500-1565, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 55 (1964), pp. 161-191; Ernst SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE, Das Leben des Alexander Alesius (1500-1565), Aachen, 2005.
[91] Gotthelf WIEDERMANN, Martin Luther versus John Fisher: some ideas concerning the debate on Lutheran theology at the University of St Andrews, 1525-30, in: RSCHS 22 (1984), pp. 13-34; ID., Alexander Alesius' Lectures on the Psalms at Cambridge, 1536, JEH 37 (1986), pp. 15–41; ID., Der Reformator Alexander Alesius als Ausleger der Psalmen, doctoral dissertation, Erlangen 1988.

Scottish Lutheran exile who became a professor of theology abroad was the ex-Dominican, John MacAlpine (d. 1557) – known also as Macchabeus. He had studied theology at Cologne, fled to England in the 1530s, and later went to Wittenberg where he became a doctor of theology. A fellow-Dominican from Glasgow, John Macdowell, had a similar itinerary. MacAlpine then became professor of theology at the new Protestant university of Copenhagen and chaplain to Christian III. MacAlpine was involved with implementing the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark, including a Danish Bible translation, and had regular contact with Bugenhagen in Wittenberg[92].

Four other vehicles of the transmission of the Wittenberg theology to Scotland should be mentioned. First, the exiled John Gau (d.1557)[93]. Based in Copenhagen, Gau published at Malmö in 1533 the first substantial Lutheran work in the Scots-English language: *The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Hevine*. This was actually a translation of a work of the same title by the Danish Lutheran humanist, Christiern Pedersen; in turn he had compiled it from a publication by Urbanus Rhegius in Braunschweig, and which embodied a catechetical exposition of the fundamental themes of Luther's theology. The work probably circulated chiefly among Scandinavian and Baltic Scots communities, since Scottish Catholic officials destroyed most copies sent to Scotland.

Second: there was the exiled Scot, John Johnsone, who published a Lutheran text in English at Antwerp in about 1533.[94] Only fragments of this have survived, but striking in them are the echoes of not only Luther's ideas on faith and works, but also his focus on the theology of the cross.

Thirdly: there was Henry Balnaves (1512-1570)[95], a more high-profile person who was involved in the Reformation revolution 1555-1560. He had studied at St Andrews and then law and theology at Cologne, and was converted soon afterwards to Reformation ideas. Balnaves was and remained a lawyer, politician and diplomat, but was active in religious affairs, being an advisor to the reformed Church of Scotland after 1560. Following his participation in anti-Catholic agitation connected with the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in

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[92] See M.A.F. Bredahl PETERSEN, Dr Johannes Macchabeus: Scotland's Contribution to the Reformation in Denmark, doctoral dissertation, Edinburgh 1935.
[93] See MCGOLDRICK, Luther's Scottish Connection, pp. 73-76.
[94] See James K. CAMERON, John Johnsone's *An confortable exhortation of our mooste holy christen faith and her frutes.* An early example of Scots Lutheran piety, in: Derek BAKER (ed.), Reform and Reformation. England and the Continent c.1500-c.1750, Oxford 1979, pp. 133-147.
[95] MCGOLDRICK, Luther's Scottish Connection, pp. 76-85.

1546, he was imprisoned by the French in Rouen – a city with a history of a Protestant presence – early Lutheran sympathies in Normandy caused it sometimes to be referred to as *La petite Allemagne.*.It was there that Balnaves wrote his *Confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seek refuge at his God, thereto led by faith*. This was a biblical and theological exposition of justification by faith and consolation, evidently strongly influenced by Luther's Galatians commentary of 1535[96]. The work was not published separately until 1584 in Edinburgh, but John Knox had included it with great enthusiasm as an appendix to his *History of the Reformation in Scotland.* The episode show that even in strongly Reformed and Calvinist environments like post-1560 Scotland, there was still a welcome place for Luther-inspired books on fundamentals.

Lastly, one of the most effective and popular media disseminating Reformation and basic Lutheran ideas in Scotland was the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* – a corpus of vernacular religious songs and ballads; some of these were also catechetical, satirical and polemical. They were circulating in Scotland since the 1540s in oral form only; they were banned, but by their very nature they were beyond the reach of censors. Their published forms after 1560 reveals a complex and sophisticated anthology of texts and ideas[97]. Their origin is attributed to John Wedderburn (1508-1556) from Dundee. At St Andrews university he was exposed to Lutheran ideas in academic disputations. Becoming a priest he was later charged with heretical associations, and went into exile. He eventually matriculated at Wittenberg university in the theology faculty. In Saxony he also witnessed how reformers had helped convert popular folk songs and naughty ballads into spiritual songs conveying Reformation piety[98]. Wedderburn began to collect many of these and translate them into vernacular Scots, and probably cooperated with some Scandinavian and Baltic Scots as well as Englishmen on the project. Through Wedderburn's agency these ballads were sent to Scotland to which he also returned, only to be exiled permanently in England. Analysis of these anonymous ballads and lyrics reveals that their ultimate sources included writers and versifiers like Luther, Johannes Agricola. Elizabeth Creutziger, Hans Sachs, Johann Walther, Heinrich Müller of Zutphen, Wolfgang Musculus, Nicolaus Decius, Veit Dieterich, Johannes Freder, Andreas Knopius and others including some non-Germans.

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[96] See Hugh WATT, Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation, RSCHS 5 (1935), pp. 23-39.

[97] See especially the new text-critical edition by Alasdair A. MACDONALD (ed.), The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, Scottish Text Society, Woodbridge, UK et al., 2015,

[98] See B. MURDOCH, The Hymns of Martin Luther in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, in: Studies in Scottish Literature 12 (1974/5), pp. 92-109.

To finish with two observations. First: it is worth recalling that in John Knox's writings on political resistance and its theological legitimation when justified, one of the sources he explicitly drew theoretical inspiration from was the German Magdeburg Confession of 1550. Second: King James VI of Scotland came of age in the 1580s and wished to enter on to the European stage as a Protestant crusader backed by an alliance between Denmark, Scotland, and the German Protestant estates; he hoped that this would lead to a pan-Protestant coalition involving also the English, the Dutch, the French Huguenots and the Swiss. His indispensable diplomat and ambassador for Imperial and German affairs in particular was the Scottish jurist, John Skene (1543-1617)[99]. He spoke fluent German, assisted by the fact that he had embarked on mid-career studies in Wittenberg in the 1570s.

Some modern interactions

It goes without saying that British-German colonial rivalry in the nineteenth century followed by the two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century, which primarily entailed European virtual self-destruction, did little to cause British-German relations in political and other spheres to flourish harmoniously; these only began to recuperate and heal in the second half of the twentieth century. Still, the post-Enlightenment, post-modern, and post-Christian ages of confessional secularism have enhanced the awareness in both countries of a common if shrinking Christian heritage – all very different from the sixteenth century, still an age of faith.

Fortunately, the earlier generations of political hostility and enmity did not impact negatively on the reception of German (including Franco-German and Swiss-German) theologians and church historians in British and Irish churches of Reformation provenance. This refers chiefly to ground-breaking and innovative thinkers, although a few, like Karl Barth, have been paradoxically both ground-breaking and conservative – witness his lectures on the Scots Confession (1560) at Aberdeen in 1937-38. The list of influential German-speaking theologians[100] on the curricula (in very good English translations) of British theological colleges until recently is impressive. One can recall and think of, for example, Ritschl, Troeltsch, von Harnack, A. Schweitzer, Otto, Barth, Brunner, Gogarten, Bultmann, Bonhoeffer, Thielecke, Pannenberg, Molmann, Jüngel, as well as von Rad, Käsemann, Aland, Marxsen etc. among biblical scholars. This list is beginning to fade, perhaps, and is

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[99] See Gehring, Anglo-German Relations, pp. 133-138.
[100] See Alasdair Ian C. HERON, A Century of Protestant Theology, London et al., 1980.

not being replaced with many other German names of eminence – due to what one might call a deregulation of theology and cultural mutations like the shortage of suitable translators n the field. Among ordinary British church people, especially the youth, it was the witness and lifestyles of people like Albert Schweitzer and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, as well as pastors like Martin Niemöller, that were inspirational. From a Christian German perspective before and after World War II, the most reassuring ecclesiastical and religious voice to be heard from Britain was undoubtedly that of George Bell, Anglican bishop of Chichester[101]. In both wars he spoke up for humane and civilized treatment of broken Germans such as those expelled eastern Europe, just as he had spoken out against antisemitism and was the German Confessing Church's most important international ally due to a close friendship with Bonhoeffer. He also denounced British indiscriminate area bombing in Germany, as at Dresden. His contribution to the emerging ecumenical movement, Christians better together, was massive.

On the institutional churches front: The Church of Scotland (Reformed and Presbyterian) is a founder member of the Community of Protestant Churches in Europe (CPCE), formerly known as the Leuenberg Church Fellowship. The Fellowship came into being in 1973 on the basis of the Leuenberg Agreement, especially on eucharistic theology, between the Reformation churches in Europe. The name was changed to CPCE in 2003. The Leuenberg Agreement stipulated that a common understanding of the gospel grounded on the doctrine of justification by faith, and interpreted with reference to the Word of God, baptism and the Lord's Supper, is sufficient to overcome the Lutheran-Reformed church alienation and division. Thereby, and at last, Marburg 1529 and the exclusiveness of the Book of so-called Concord in 1580 were undone. This has helped revitalize links at the official level between Scottish and German Lutheran Churches as well as secure a mutually recognized ministry.

As regards German church relations with episcopalian (Anglican) churches in Britain and Ireland, they are currently shaped by the Meissen Agreement. This was signed by the Church of England, the Evangelical Church in Germany and the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the German Democratic Republic in 1991. Thereby the Church of England and the EKD mutually acknowledge each other as »churches belonging to the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ and truly participating in the apostolic mission of the

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[101] See Andrew CHANDLER, George Bell, Bishop of Chichester: Church, State and Resistance in the Age of Dictatorship Grand Rapids, 2016. Cf. Franz HILDEBRANDT (ed.), 'And other Pastors of thy Flock': a German tribute to the Bishop of Chichester, Cambridge 1942

whole people of God«. They are committed to sharing a »common life and mission« and taking »all possible steps to closer fellowship in as many areas of Christian life and witness as possible« in the context of a common journey towards »full, visible unity«. As part of the implementation of this agreement, the Church of England and the EKD continue official theological conversations through regular conferences to »encourage the reception of the theological consensus and convergence already achieved and to work to resolve the outstanding differences between us«. The purpose of the conference is to share Anglican and Lutheran/Reformed perspectives on the theme of progressing the churches towards closer fellowship and greater unity.

Generally speaking, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century aspiration to a more self-aware European pan-Protestant community with a sense of inner unity has come, with historically unaccustomed German assistance, a little bit closer.