The Protracted Reformation in the North

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The Protracted Reformation in the North

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Lars Ivar Hansen and Sigrun Høgetveit Berg

Introduction

The Reformation has been studied using a variety of disciplinary approaches, and from different chronological perspectives – using both shorter and longer time frames and perspectives. Some studies have concentrated on religious change, focusing upon questions of faith and confessionalization, and others on political events, such as the initiatives of various states for reorganizing the church as a part of governmental administration. Some have focused upon the conditions developing during the fifteenth century and leading up to Martin Luther's initiative as a final climax, while others have taken Luther as a starting point for a new beginning.

Regarding Norway specifically, the Reformation is inseparably attached to the loss of national independence and sovereignty in 1536/37, when the Lutheran king Christian III of Denmark seized the control of the Norwegian Council of the Realm, Norway's instrument of national sovereignty. In his electoral capitulation to the Danish nobility, Christian III stated that Norway should no longer be an independent kingdom, but be completely integrated as a province of Denmark. Archbishop *Olav Engelbrektsson*, who had been the head of the Norwegian Council of the Realm, had to flee the country after having tried to resist individual Danish noblemen trying to exert control over the council. Thus, the Reformation in Norway was introduced from abroad, with very little preparation in advance, such as critique of religious practices by popular movements or contributions from intellectual elite.

The fact that the Reformation in Norway represented a sudden and qualitative change in both the political and governmental, as well as the religious, confessional sphere, has led to certain consequences regarding the research history. After Denmark had to cede Norway to Sweden in 1814, the main task of general historians became contributing to the "nation-building process" and investigating the transition process from the separate, medieval Norwegian monarchy unified with the other Nordic states during the Kalmar Union (1389/1397–1521) to becoming "a part of Denmark" in 1536. For their part, church historians and theologians were more interested in questions of dogmatism, relating to Lutheran confessionalism, partly influenced by the lay movements that developed. Although a certain division of labor and research occurred between general historians and church historians / theologians, both groups seem to have had a more or less explicitly positive view of the Lutheran Reformation,

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interpreted as a "new start" and "new beginning" with favorable effects for religious and spiritual life.[1]

During the twentieth century, and in particular during the last decades, a change in these dividing lines between the disciplines occurred, and scholars have begun to ask new questions and define the research fields in different ways. In particular, the so-called "cultural turn" has had great implications, focusing on questions of *mentality*, and about the *meaning* and *significance* of the material and institutional changes that society had undergone. This attention has facilitated a new, broader picture of the consequences of the Reformation, with an emphasis on both the political and theological / confessional fields.[2] Both historians and theologians now pose new questions and approach old subjects in a new way – concerning the events that led up to the Reformation, as well as the consequences afterwards.

Instead of focusing research on the implementation of the Reformation in one's own nation, there is now a tendency to question the notion that the Reformation followed more or less the same development in the various European nation-states as in the country of its origin. The same goes for *regional* variations. This shift enables more *comparative* and *multidisciplinary approaches* to the various developments in neighboring countries, as documented in the unpublished *Report to the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians in Joensuu 2014*, with the title "The 'Long Reformation' in Nordic Historical Research," edited by Per Ingesman.

Thus, contemporary research on Reformation processes tends to emphasize the long-term *consequences* of the political and religious upheavals of early sixteenth-century Europe. This has also been the approach applied throughout the project from which this anthology stems, "The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway." Its basic premise has been that the Reformation in the high north is most fruitfully studied by applying a perspective that takes into consideration the long-term conditions preceding the Reformation, as well as the long-term consequences stemming from the implementation of the Reformation in this region. It has focused on several processes – both political development and religious change – and to a certain degree applied a "trans-national" perspective, trying to compare the developments in various parts of northern Fennoscandia.

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1 If historians had any view on the religious aspects of the Reformation at all. For instance, Ottar Dahl, who has written the seminal book on Norwegian historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, does not discuss 1536/37 in a religious context. Dahl 1990; Imsen 2005; Berg 2017, 17–20; Elstad in Rasmussen and Tjørhom 2017, 215–219.

2 See, for instance, Gilje and Rasmussen 2002; Amundsen 2005; Amundsen and Laugerud 2005; Imsen 2016; Agøy, Larsen and Smedshaug 2017; Berg 2017; Rasmussen and Tjørhom 2017; Haug 2017; *Teologisk tidsskrift* 7, no. 3 (2018).

Two anthologies were published earlier as part of the project. The first one contains articles highlighting and analyzing the main thematic fields focused on in the project: (1) the church from an organizational and political perspective, (2) the role of church art and liturgy, (3) church library studies, (4) the post-Reformation priesthood's material conditions, social position, and role in the reception and interpretation of the Reformation for the ordinary people, and (5) the relations vis-à-vis the Sámi and mission initiatives towards the Sámi during the 1600s and 1700s.

In addition, it contains comparative and supplementary contributions: an overview over the research literature concerning the Reformation process in *Germany*, a comparison with Patriarch Nikon's church reform in *Russia*, a comparative analysis of the Reformation decades in the Norwegian-Swedish border region *Jämtland*, and the Norwegian legal court practice relating to sexual crimes before and after the Reformation.[3]

The second volume is more concentrated on the topics of *confessionalization* and the relations between the various peoples in northern Fennoscandia – conceived as processes of "othering", that is, constructing roles and models of the different peoples as "the Other", with whom one should cooperate or from whom one should delimit oneself. The contributions are arranged according to four themes: (1) confessionalization, (2) the conditions of the priesthood after the Reformation, (3) northern European views of Russian orthodoxy, and (4) the relationship of the Sámi with church and state authorities.[4]

The Northernmost Reformation

A series of contextual reasons exist for applying such a long-range perspective when studying the Reformation processes in the northernmost parts of Scandinavia.

First of all, this northernmost area appeared at the time as a multi-ethnic, "borderless region". It was inhabited by several peoples (*Norwegians*, *Swedes*, *Sámi*, *Finnlanders*, *Kvens*, *Russians,* and *Karelians*), but the emerging and expanding nation-states with governmental centers further south had not yet

3 Hansen, Lars Ivar, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Ingebjørg Hage, eds. 2014. *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway: Introductory studies*. Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk.

4 Berg, Sigrun Høgetveit, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Roald E. Kristiansen, eds. 2016. *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway. Vol. 2: Towards a Protestant North*. Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag.

succeeded in drawing exact borders between their separate areas of administration and jurisdiction. Nevertheless, a large portion of the population, that is, the Sámi, was subjected to common taxation by all three surrounding and expanding nation-states: the monarchies *Denmark-Norway*, *Sweden-Finland*, and the principality *Muscovy*. The surrounding states had concrete plans for dividing the region into separate territories where they could exert their separate governmental, administrative, and jurisdictional functions, for example, making their case on the basis of specified groups of the Sámi population from whom they collected tax. But at this point, no division of the common taxation territory had been undertaken. Given such a situation, with no exact state borders drawn, the implementation of the doctrine *cujus regio, eius religio* was complicated. It was complicated even further by the fact that a considerable portion of the Sámi were nomadic and by the unsettled nature of their relation to Christianity and, correspondingly, the extent to which they were integrated into the church.

Notwithstanding this situation, intensive interaction and trade was taking place, integrating various parts of the "borderless region" through the itinerant activities of traveling merchants and tax collectors from the surrounding states. As merely one example, meetings between merchants and the local population occurred at diverse, specified market places in the region.

Second, the organizational relationship between church and state, and the reorganization of the church as part of the governmental apparatus, functioned as an incentive to different processes with somewhat different results in the various surrounding states. Above all, this concerned questions of *standardization of the new, Lutheran faith* and measures for *confessionalization* – taken as a term for the processes of the church and the population adapting to the new official religious doctrine of the state.

The fall of the Catholic Church had severe consequences in Northern Norway, since the archbishop led his vast northern diocese like a secular prince. The introduction of a new theology, a new church, and a new head of church came as a total surprise for most Norwegians – the country was by no means prepared for the Reformation, either through ideological debate or popular demand. In the beginning, the king implemented the reformatory ideas with care, but after a low intensity to the Reformation towards the end of the sixteenth century, the rise of a more powerful state can be observed during the seventeenth century, implementing measures for standardization and regimentation. In particular, this increase in intensity was prompted by the incentives behind the establishment of exact borders between the states in northern Fennoscandia, and the urge to secure separate governmental functions in separate territories. The complex ethnic situation led the different state powers to an increasing subjugation of the Sámi,

with more extensive mission activity from the Swedish king in the seventeenth century and the Dano-Norwegian king in the eighteenth century. Another feature that must be viewed in the context of implementing the Reformation and the aspiring governmental aims of the surrounding states comprises the numerous witch trials in the high north during the seventeenth century.

Thus, those processes that were engendered by the implementation of the Reformation developed in a variety of ways in the various Nordic countries – and encompassed a different trajectory than the processes in the "mother country" of the Reformation – although the countries maintained close contact, not least regarding the education of the new, Protestant priests.

In the analysis of the processes leading up to the Reformation and shaping the developments in the north, as well as those consequences initiated by the implementation of the Reformation, one has to take into consideration various perspectives. The geographical axes of *North – South* and *East – West*, as well as the *Center – Periphery* dichotomy can all be construed in various ways, depending on what themes and fields one wants to investigate.

A Multidisciplinary and Comparative Approach

As mentioned, the articles in this anthology are based on the main results from the project "The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway," in which both a multidisciplinary and a comparative approach has been applied: the approaches of *history, art history, religious studies, literary studies*, and *cultural geography* have been used, and these approaches are also reflected in this book. The book is structured along three main themes: (1) Church and State, (2) Interaction and Networks, (3) Ideas and Images. The contributors include both the core members of the project and invited colleagues who have worked with us during the project.

1) Church and State

In the first part, the authors examine the Reformation processes and various aspects of the relationship between church and state in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, both in northern Fennoscandia and in neighboring areas. *Arnold Otto* discusses whether the Reformation was "A Matter of the Learned" and looks at the ways knowledge gained during the Reformation could have been brought from mainland Europe into Scandinavia and the North. *Sigrun Høgetveit Berg* continues with a discussion of what role tithes played in how the Reformation was experienced by the king in "Tithes in Trondheim Diocese. A Regional Reformation Study." In *Rune Blix Hagen's* article, "Seventeenth

Century Persecution of Sorcery and Witches in the High North," the witch trials of northern Fennoscandia are discussed in light of the consolidation of frontiers and post-Reformation orthodoxy in the confessionalization phase of Lutheran Denmark-Norway. *Magne Njåstad* looks in his article at the Reformation process in Sweden, "The Long and Winding Road – Sweden's Path to a Lutheran Church in the Sixteenth Century," where he investigates whether a northern dimension can be detected in the Swedish Reformation. And even further east, *Evgeny Khodakovsky* discusses how the Russian rulers advanced north through a combination of "Art and Power. The Northern Russian Eparchies in the Late-Seventeenth Century."

2) Interaction and Networks

In the second part, the development of the economic and social networks among the population of northern Fennoscandia is mapped out, with a close look at the relations between the different ethnic groups and the conditions for the new Lutheran clergy. *Lars Ivar Hansen* starts out with an article about "The Trading Networks of the High North during the Sixteenth Century," where he clarifies and categorizes the various intricate trading routes, groups, and networks, and thus draws up an economic frame within which to study the northern Reformation processes. An equally intricate field to grasp, with overlapping and tangential networks, is the contribution of the "Pietistic Mission to Senja and Vesterålen in the Early Eighteenth Century," with which *Dikka Storm* engages. *Ingebjørg Aamlid Dalen* examines the background and the potentialities of the northern clergy in the article "Priesthood Recruitment in the Early Post-Reformation Period in Alstahaug, Steigen, and Tromsø," while *Ingebjørg Hage* discusses the material conditions for the northern clergy and their families by looking at "Parsonages in the North in the 1600s and 1700s."

3) Ideas and Images

In the third part, the visual and material expressions of the period of Reformation are explored from different perspectives, as well as the encounter between the Catholic, Lutheran, and Sámi religions. *Siv Rasmussen* gives an overview of the "Post-Reformation Religious Practices among the Sámi" and demonstrates how these have both Catholic and indigenous roots. *Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen* follows up by looking at outsiders' "Images of Sámi Religion in a Protracted Reformation." He argues that these images were part of a Western image practice and were linked to European politics and religion as much as to the Sámi religion, which they explore. *Vidar Trædal* explores *inside* the churches of the northern Reformation, and examines how the use and re-use of church interiors from the dean's collegiate church at Trondenes and many other northern churches

can proclaim "The Clergy as Connoisseurs – Recycling Medieval Art in the High North." Keeping to the church interior, *Daniel Johansen's* contribution is in many ways a suitable final text for this anthology, when he documents and discusses "The Staging of Royal Power in the Churches of Denmark-Norway, 1537–1814, with a Special Focus on the Bishopric of Trondheim."

In summary, this book and the previous anthologies from our project offer new knowledge and deeper insight into the multifaceted European Reformation processes. It is a *regional* contribution to the history of the Reformation, concentrating on both the sub-national and the trans-national levels. The project and these books have been trying to break free from the rigid national framework that has been characteristic of much Reformation research, both by questioning Northern Norway's role in the Danish-Norwegian Reformation, and by taking a comparative approach to the Reformation processes in northern Fennoscandia and neighboring areas.

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Part I: **Church and State**

Arnold Otto

A Matter of the Learned: Ways of Reformation Knowledge from Germany to the North

Being introduced by Luther, a professor in a German university town, the Reformation appears to have been a phenomenon closely tied to higher education and professional training for the clergy. Universities emerged during a time when parts of Scandinavia were still becoming Christian, and this institution reached areas north of Denmark only in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when numerous changes in society were taking place all over Europe. When considering the role a specific German variety of university education played during the Reformation in Scandinavia, and especially in Northern Norway, I would first like to present some thoughts about the history of Scandinavian institutions of higher education.

Medieval Universities in Scandinavia

Uppsala

Only two universities were founded in Scandinavia – that is to say, in the Kalmar Union – during the fifteenth century: Uppsala in 1477 and Copenhagen in 1479.[1] However, Uppsala was in severe difficulties during the period of the Reformation. This university had been founded as a *studium generale* early in the 51-year-long pontificate of the last medieval archbishop of Uppsala, Jacob Ulvsson. He was appointed in 1470 and fought for this university until he resigned in 1515 due to old age. We do not know whether his resignation was ever acknowledged in Rome, and Ulvsson died in 1521. In the same year, Gustav Wasa became Protector of the Realm (*riksföreståndare*) and later king of Sweden. To repress past Danish influences, Sweden left the Kalmar Union. Gustav Wasa's leading interest was independence: independence from the

1 Copenhagen University was re-founded in 1537. As the university's seal comprises 1537 as the foundation year, the current institution broke with medieval tradition.

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Danish king, independence from his original supporters from across the Baltic Sea in Lübeck, and also independence from the offspring of Ulvsson's favorite project in Uppsala. Having grown and flourished for almost 50 years until 1523, it was roughly the same 50 years thereafter that the University of Uppsala existed on paper only before it began to flourish again in the later 16th century.

Lund

Another institution with a similar fate was the medieval Franciscan *studium generale* at Lund Cathedral. It was founded before the Reformation, when Sweden was under Danish rule in 1425, and it was forced to close in 1536. The present University of Lund was founded after the Treaty of Roskilde (1658) in 1666 by the Swedes themselves, and looking at all the celebrations for its 350th jubilee in 2016, we can see that it does not claim continuation with the 1425 institution. In the history of higher education in Scandinavia, this institution appears to be ranked as a cathedral school rather than a university. Neither of the *studia generale*, Uppsala and Lund, was able to offer its students more than a bachelor degree at any time: it seems that neither the Middle Ages nor the period of the Reformation in Sweden were a matter of the learned.

Copenhagen

Therefore, let us turn to the University of Copenhagen. As mentioned earlier, it was founded in 1479 as a university. A papal privilege had been granted as early as 1475 and thus Copenhagen went the way of most medieval universities, as an institution under joint supervision of ecclesiastical and secular authorities, establishing faculties of theology, philology, law, and medicine. In 1531, ecclesiastical permission was withdrawn to prevent the spread of the Reformation. The university was formally reinstated by King Christian III in 1537 without papal privilege as a Protestant institution and, like at Lund, this year is taken as its foundation year. Keeping in mind how academic functions had decayed at Lund and Uppsala in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, it would be interesting to know what happened at Copenhagen in those roughly five years between 1531 and 1537. If there was an interruption of academic practice here at all, it was rather short and any student would have been able to bridge it through taking up work or going to another university instead.

Preliminary Conclusion

But which University could that be? To find one, Scandinavian students would have had to go to the British Isles or southwards, to mainland Europe, as they seem to have done frequently. Talking about this phenomenon, we have to keep some preliminaries in mind as a first conclusion:

1. Latin worked very well as a *lingua franca* in medieval European higher education. When the so-called Wiener Schule around Johann von Neumarkt and Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl started to read and write academic works of theology in the German vernacular towards the end of the fourteenth century, this was a massive innovation in an otherwise completely Latin context.
2. Students travelling often and over long distances to a university town was common in medieval times. The attachment of universities to individual princes was not as important in the Middle Ages as it was later in early modern times, when territorial princes, running territorial churches, wanted to establish territorial universities in order to have a regional intellectual elite sharing their Christian denomination.
3. Scandinavians were great travelers in general. According to the research of Christian Krötzl[2] (2001), we can picture a very well-developed medieval system of travel on the Baltic and in the coastal regions of the North Sea. By the year 1517, a German student would have the choice between the universities of Prague, Vienna, Erfurt, Heidelberg, Cologne, Würzburg, Leipzig, Rostock, Trier, Greifswald, Freiburg, Ingolstadt, Mainz, Tübingen, Frankfurt/Oder, and Wittenberg – sixteen institutions. With an annual or even semestrial home leave, this meant a walking distance from most areas in the German-speaking realms. Therefore, German students were often able to travel as wanderers, whereas Scandinavians were deemed to develop an identity as a passenger if they did not come from Sjælland – it was not possible to reach Copenhagen without a boat and it was rather arduous to leave Norway without one. However, in being great travelers, Scandinavian students did not limit themselves to Copenhagen. Three medieval German universities, Rostock, Greifswald, and Frankfurt an der Oder, were more or less easily accessible from Scandinavia via the Baltic Sea. Looking at the rolls of Rostock and Greifswald, we can see that many Scandinavians made that choice.[3] The epitome of these medieval *peregrinationes academicae* is the

2 Krötzl 2001, 131–151; Krötzl 1997, 95–106. In further publications, Krötzl touches on this thematic strand, among others.

3 Daae 1885, 30–112, registers a considerable Scandinavian intake to Rostock until far into the seventeenth century. His results were contextualized by Bagge 1984, 20, who listed 1252 students.

one of Olav Engelbrektsson. Probably from Northern Norway (his family can be located at Trondenes), he was enrolled at Rostock in 1503 and graduated from this university as a bachelor in 1505 and a master in 1507. In doing so, he was extraordinarily keen but not extraordinarily footloose. Although studying in general was an expensive and rare enterprise, we should take into account that those Scandinavians who did study in the Middle Ages took journeys of the same or even greater length for lesser academic honors. (See Fig. 1.)

Universities in the Period of the Reformation

But why all these considerations about universities, when we see that Sweden managed to embrace the Reformation without them? Martin Luther was a professor, and the core elements of the Reformation *were* a matter of the learned. I would therefore like to outline how theologians from the Danish-Norwegian kingdom were related to this key aspect of the Reformation.

The University of Wittenberg

As mentioned earlier, the necessity to educate one's own elites was an increasingly important factor in the foundation of new universities. This factor was strengthened by the need to maintain a territorial church, but it was relevant before, too. Therefore, the foundation of the University of Wittenberg in 1502 can be seen as a collateral consequence of the treaty of Leipzig in 1485, when the Saxon dukes Ernest III and Albert III of Saxony decided to abolish the Saxon hereditary rules of pure primogeniture and turn to the Franconian tradition of estate distribution instead. However, they did not split the University of Leipzig. Albert obtained it, and the Ernestinian territory was void of higher education. While Ernest himself did not seem to care much, his son Frederick the Wise began the process of establishing a university for his principality at Wittenberg, obtaining a royal privilege in 1502 and a papal one in 1507. He took a pragmatic approach in carrying out his plan as, in many respects, he took the recently founded university of Tübingen as an example, and his ambition is evident, as building began on a standing infrastructure from the moment he received the royal grant. Only weeks later, the university began lectures. As the institution was well equipped with benefices, Frederick was able to employ attractive lecturers, among them Martin Luther from 1511 onwards, who had been a student at this institution from 1508–1511. Word of the new university in Wittenberg spread. Until 1536, Günter

Fig. 1: German university towns.

Frank traced 80 Danish enrollments in Wittenberg, although we do not know whether he distinguished between Danish and Norwegian students.[4]

The University of Rostock

This is quite easy in the case of Rostock, where the university rolls exist as a database. Scandinavian students have been attending this institution ever since its foundation. The rolls have been kept since 1419, and in that semester there were two Swedish students, named *Magnus de Zwecia* and *Folko Petri de Zwecia*.[5] Generally, Scandinavian students are listed with their place of origin, especially as this placename replaces their surname in some cases. However, whenever they are enrolled as *de Dacia*, we do not know whether a Norwegian origin might hide behind the Danish allocation. Yet there must have been a certain Norwegian intake, since the Regentia Olavi, or Collegium Norwegianorum as it is also called, a bursa especially for Norwegian students, was founded in the same year as the university itself.[6] Nevertheless, as most Scandinavian places of origin are named properly, we must consider a hegemony of Danish, Swedish, and even Baltic students outnumbering the few Norwegians by far. The first definite Norwegian student is a *Joannes Joannis* from Oslo, who was enrolled in the summer of 1439.[7] The first Norwegian student after 1501 is *Andreas Otto* from Oslo, who arrived in the summer of 1502,[8] and the first one from the Reformation years is Jacobus Trunt in the summer of 1518.[9] However, Rostock may be taken as an example only in terms of travel activity. Reformatory principles were only instituted there in 1542, five years later than in Copenhagen. But even then, the number of Norwegian students did not grow while there was a steady intake from Danish cities.

4 "Bis 1536 lassen sich über 80 dänische Immatrikulationen in Wittenberg belegen, unter anderem auch der 'dänische Luther' Hans Tausen (1494–1561). Für das gesamte 16. Jahrhundert haben etwa 175 von insgesamt 600 Dänen den Magistergrad in Wittenberg erhalten." Available at: http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/GermLat/Acta/Frank.htm, version 20 August 2008 (accessed March 30, 2016).

5 http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/periode/1419Mich, nos. 104 and 105, (accessed March 30, 2016).

6 Garstein 1992, 75.

7 http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/periode/1439Ost, no. 32, (accessed March 30, 2016).

8 http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/periode/1502Ost, no. 51, (accessed March 30, 2016).

9 http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/periode/1518Ost, no. 1, (accessed March 30, 2016).

The University of Copenhagen

As *peregrinationes* of Danish students carried on, despite the fact that the Danes had a university of their own, we can see that Danish students seemed to participate in the *peregrinatio academica* of their German fellows. It is therefore interesting to check the register of Copenhagen University for students both from Norway and Germany.[10] However, looking at the enrollments we get the impression of an entirely Danish institution dominated by students from the isle of Funen. Before 1537, *Heine Jonsen Havreki* from Bergen was the only Norwegian student to register there. He was enrolled in 1530 and later became a priest on Eysturoy in the Faeroe islands.[11] Despite the closing of the institution, there was one enrollment in 1532 (*Ericus Petri, Fyn*), but then the university opened again in 1537 and immediately became more international. Swedish and northern German students started to study in Copenhagen. There was a particular intake of partly graduate and postgraduate students who had been at the University of Wittenberg earlier, or who attended afterwards.[12]

Joergen Holgersen Rosenkrantz from Ystad, in the district of Skåne, then a part of Denmark, enrolled at Copenhagen in 1538 and went to Wittenberg from 1539 to 1544. *Jens Andersen Sinning*, from Aarhus, studied in Wittenberg from 1534 to 1537 and came to Copenhagen in 1538. *Peder Poulsen*, also from Aarhus, studied in Wittenberg from 1533 to 1537 and became Professor at Copenhagen in 1538. *Karl Urne* enrolled at Copenhagen in 1538 and went to Wittenberg in 1542. *Joergen Boie* (*Georgius Boethius Agricola Holsatiensis*) enrolled at Wittenberg in 1538 and came to Copenhagen in 1540.[13] These are merely some of the examples of this trend. Nevertheless, the Norwegian intake remained limited. The first Norwegian student at Copenhagen after the Reformation began was *Absalon Pedersen Beyer*, coming from Bergen in 1544.[14] Still, the sudden exchange with Wittenberg is interesting. How did it come about?

10 Friis-Petersen 1942–1958.

11 Friis-Petersen 1942–1958 [1611–1829], 19. "*Havreki*" is a nickname (the "shipwrecked") but appears to be recorded as a proper surname in the roll, as it is edited as such.

12 Heininen, Simo and Otfried Czaika http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/crossroads/religionsraeume-und-konfessionsraeume/simo-heininen-otfried-czaika-wittenberger-einfluesse-auf-die-reformation-in-skandinavien; Version 2012-06-13, (accessed March 30, 2016).

13 Friis-Petersen 1942–1958 [1611–1829], 20–21.

14 Friis-Petersen 1942–1958 [1611–1829], 24.

Contacts of the Danish Royal Family with the University of Wittenberg

Research on relations between the Danish royal family and the Wittenberg reformers have been investigated extensively by Per Ingesman.[15] Therefore, I will only give a brief introduction here. Ever since Christian II came into power in 1513, he tried to defend the rights of the crown against the nobility and the church. This might be why he became interested in Luther's teachings early on. However, he found himself overwhelmed by the nobles, who expelled him in 1523. After a short stay in the Netherlands, he and Queen Isabella went to Wittenberg for over a year, meeting Martin Luther, Katharina von Bora, Philipp Melanchthon with his wife Katharina, and Johannes Bugenhagen.

Meanwhile, Frederik I had become king of Denmark. Although he formally kept the Catholic faith, he was tolerant towards Lutheran thinking and even appointed Hans Tausen as his chaplain. Furthermore, he was geographically close to the Reformation because he stayed in the duchy of Schleswig, even while he was king. It is not quite certain whether we can take his attitude towards the Reformation as mere tolerance – rather, it is possible he experimented with the new doctrines of faith. Christian III, his son and successor, had met Luther at the imperial diet at Worms in 1521 and remained interested in his ideas. When Christian later was laying the foundations for the new church order in Denmark-Norway, he twice asked for support from Wittenberg, naming Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. But it was only his second plea, by that time accompanied by a sketch for a Danish church order, that was answered; Bugenhagen alone was sent to Copenhagen, where he arrived in summer 1537. In winter 1537/38, lectures started and one year later he became rector of the University of Copenhagen. Once again, we get the impression that the Reformation was indeed a matter for the learned. But this impression must be subjected to differentiation.

Philipp Melanchthon, influenced by Luther, got married and raised a family – at first an experiment, but later something one would call a vocation. But he was mainly devoted to academic learning and teaching. His lectures sometimes had an audience exceeding 400 listeners, a situation otherwise reached only after the development of mass universities in the 1960s. So Melanchthon was a professor in a very modern sense, with scholarly zeal, a family to maintain with his earnings and the usual troubles with overcrowded lecture theatres. Frank has argued that Melanchthon was not only a *praeceptor Germaniae*, but

15 Bach-Nielsen and Ingesman 2012 (vol. 2); Bach-Nielsen and Ingesman 2003; Ingesman and Poulsen 2000.

a *praeceptor Scandinaviae* as well.[16] He was likely to have made the University of Copenhagen a successful institution of higher education, too, but John Frederick I of Saxony wanted him to stay in Wittenberg and, answering the second plea, sent Johannes Bugenhagen to Copenhagen. This may not even have been a personal decision, rather the result of a negotiation process among the leading heads of the Reformation movement.

While Melanchthon was primarily a great academic teacher, Johannes Bugenhagen was an all-rounder. Having lived in a flat shared with Melanchthon in the early 1520s, he held lectures at the University of Wittenberg and became the reverend of the local parish. In the later 1520s, he moved to a flat that he shared with Martin Luther, and he left Wittenberg for Braunschweig in 1528. There, and later in Hamburg, Lübeck, and Pomerania, he spent most of the time composing and establishing church orders, conducting business within the environment of both monarchies and oligarchic city republics. When he finally obtained the rank of professor in 1535, he was an expert not only in Lutheran theology but also in the organization of various ecclesiastical institutions, including places of higher education. So the decision not to send Melanchthon but Bugenhagen to Copenhagen was carefully made with considerable benefit for the Danish Reformation. Having arrived in Copenhagen, he fulfilled his role as desired.[17] After having crowned the king some five weeks after his arrival and gathered the Danish alumni of the Wittenberg University around himself, he installed Lutheran bishops (superintendents), finished the church ordinance tailor-made for Christian III, and reorganized the University of Copenhagen.

Other German Universities with Notable Scandinavian Intake

Now that the two German universities most prominent for Scandinavian students so far have been discussed, some other universities will be presented. First, the oldest ones should be taken in into account.

16 "Die jüngste europäische Melanchthonforschung belegt, daß ein solcher Ehrentitel viel zu kurz greift. Melanchthon war auch – und dies hat kein anderer als der verdienstvolle skandinavische Kirchenhistoriker Leif Grane formuliert – der *Praeceptor Skandinaviae*." Frank (like fn. 4); for the popularity of his *Loci Communes* in Scandinavia, see: "Melanchthon in Skandinavien", ed. by Frank, http://melanchthon.com/Melanchthonhaus-Bretten/de/Melanchthon/Praeceptor_Skandinavien.php, (accessed March 30, 2016).

17 Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher 2005, 96–97.

At Heidelberg (1386), the second oldest university in the German-speaking realms after Prague (1348), there were relatively few Norwegian enrollments. However, a registry entry does exist.[18]

Another popular and famous old inland university was the one at Cologne (1388). For the period 1389–1466, the register names three Norwegian enrollments, two under the country's name and one from Nidaros.[19] For the time between 1466 and 1559, we have seven enrollments from Nidaros, primarily around 1528–1535 and 21 Norwegian students in total.[20] Faculties are not recorded in the matricula. Cologne played an interesting role among the universities in Germany. On the one hand, it was a stronghold of Catholic doctrine in the Reformation period. On the other hand, it had a lively scene of early presses with either branches or joint ventures in Amsterdam for the production of material not to be published in Cologne itself.

A different approach could be taken, that is, exploring what happened close to the epicenter of the Reformation. In relative proximity to Wittenberg are the universities of Erfurt (1389) and Leipzig (1409). For the years between 1392 and 1636, four enrollments from Norway and five from Denmark are listed.[21] However, all of them cover the early fifteenth century. One of them was a priest.[22] In Leipzig, the situation was very similar. For the years between 1409 and 1559, we have 19 enrollments from Denmark but only 2 from Norway, once again in the

18 Toepke, Gustav [publ.] *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg* (3. Teil): Personenregister, Ortsregister, Sach- und Wörterregister (1386–1692) Heidelberg, 1889, 728: Norwegen, Land u. Volk (Norwegia, -vegianus, -vagius, -vegois [corrump. aus Norvegius od. -vegus], Nord -wegianns), available at: http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/digi/unihdmatrikel.html. The references listed add up to 200. Laurentius Francisci, Nordwegians, 21. Nov. 1584 (Toepke, Gustav [publ.] *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg* (2. Teil): Von 1554–1662 [. . .] Heidelberg, 1886, 114.) and a group entry 59. Georgius Jacobi, Danus j n, 60. Casparus Ericus, Noruegianus, 61. Matthias Ipsonius, Danus, 30o Maius 1614. (Ibid., 256). Trondheim is listed as a Norwegian city: 792: Trondhjem (Drontheim), Norwegen (Nidrosiensis de regno Norwegie) – can. (eccl. cathedr.) (Toepke 1889, 792), However, the only student coming from Trondheim dates back to the Middle Ages: Johannes Krabe can. eccl. Nidrosiensis de regno Norwegie Nou. IXa. [1442] (Toepke, Gustav [publ.] *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*: Von 1386–1553 [. . .] Heidelberg, 1884, 235).

19 Keussen 1892 names *Almerus Yvari de Nydrosia de regno Norwegia* (302, 12) and *Harinchinus Johannis de Norwegia,* (305, 108), 153, as well as *Hazelbotus de Nydrosia*, (298, 19), 152. He also mentions 36 Danes coming from Lund, Roskilde, Ripen, and Odense (Keussen 1892, 39–40).

20 Keussen 1931.

21 Weissenborn and Hortzschansky 1899, 271–272, record Norwegia, Auduen. 101, 26; de – Guttorin 98, 9; [272] de Norwegia Jo. 114, 2 and only five Danes (61) for the same time span.

22 Weissenborn 1881. 1413 summer: *Guttorinus de Norwegia XV*, 98; 1414 summer: *Auduenus Norwegia X gr.*, 101; 1419 summer *Rolandus Presbyter de Norwegia 15 gr.*, *Iohannes Presbyter de Norwegia 15 gr.*, 114.

very early fifteenth century.[23] Like other universities, Leipzig does not mention faculties of the enrolled students. However, from these examples we can see that proximity to an interesting place alone did not cause a boom for neighboring institutions.

Arguing that easy access from Norway could be a reason for Rostock's success as a university town, we should check Greifswald (1456) and Frankfurt an der Oder (1498) as well. In Greifswald, we find many enrollments from Denmark (especially Roskilde), the Baltic lands (especially Riga), and Prussia (especially Cammin).[24] In particular, the Danish enrollments must be seen as a result of the cultural proximity of Greifswald's immediate environment to Denmark: the isle of Rügen belonged to the diocese of Roskilde and the German settlement there was a Danish response to the earlier dominance of Slavic peoples. Lund, too, being situated just across from Greifswald on the shores of the Baltic Sea, was a Danish town and diocese. Yet Norwegians are hard to spot in the matricula. Frankfurt is a bit further up the river Oder and the university was founded some years later. One Norwegian student showed almost immediate interest here (Magnus Laurent, 1506/07). Further Norwegian enrollments only appear after 1600.[25] Sheer accessibility does not seem to be the reason for choosing a university.

The last approach could be to check systematic proximity to the axis between Wittenberg and Copenhagen. This can be associated with Tübingen (1476), a model university for Wittenberg and Marburg (1527), being the first real early modern university founded by a territorial prince. However, looking at the matriculas it seems that Norwegians did not make it onto the plains of Swabia. The only Norwegian enrollment between 1477 and 1600 is one by Corficius Grub in 1580.[26] Notably, in the same period, 45 Danes made their way there.[27] In Marburg, we can clearly identify the new approach of a territorial university. Most of the students came from nearby. Those who came from destinations other than Hessen or its immediate neighborhoods often reached the university only as professors.[28]

This overview only includes some spotlights on a very lively international life at German universities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A detailed

23 Erler 1902, 607, mentions *Hameren Ioh. I W 1426, 7; Ioh. De I W 1411,* 13. The entries ibid. vol. 1, 1895, 7 and 13 mention paid fees only.

24 Friedlaender 1893.

25 Friedlaender 1887–1891, vol. 3 1891; Liebe gives surnames only in the place's register. Only from the name's register one can access the matricula (Here vol. 1 1891, 17, 457, and 523).

26 Hermelink vol. 1 1906, 583.

27 Hermelink vol. 3 1953, 36.

28 Caesar 1875–1887.

analysis of Scandinavian enrollments at German universities has been undertaken several times. In 1984, Sverre Bagge argued that, in the case of Norway, this was done not on the basis of primary sources but in reassessing older research.[29] So, to strengthen this hypothesis, a detailed prosopography both of Norwegian students enrolled at all middle European universities and of members of the second line of the higher Lutheran clergy in Nidaros would help.[30] But even though matriculas do exist for almost all German and many other universities, even for their earliest years, this is not quite as easy to carry out as it might seem. One of the lesser problems involves the variation in the Latin or Latinized versions of Norwegian place names. Among other spellings Oslo was called *A(n)sloa, Hasloa*, or *Christiana*, Bergen *Berga* or *Selja*, Trondheim *Truthenium, Tronthenium*, *Drontheim* or *Nid(a)ros*. Only Stavanger appears as *Stafangria* throughout. However, these place names are rarely used, which raises another of the problems connected with a study of enrollments. Norwegian students often seem to hide behind a Danish identity, which Bagge was aware of as well.[31] At least the University of Copenhagen (1537),[32] a Scandinavian institution itself, clearly identifies Norwegians.

And yet, if a place of origin can be identified, it is still doubtful which of the university faculties could be attributed with a reformatory zeal of the students. In the case of theology, this seems rather clear (always keeping in mind whether or when the university was reformed itself). But what about students of philosophy, law, or even medicine? Did they take part in an integral reformatory system of education? Or did they simply not bother? Is studying itself a reformatory act? As numbers of students from Norway rose after 1537, one might be able to make a case for this.[33] This question becomes even more interesting whenever the faculty of enrollment is not registered in the matricula.

Thinking about the relatively small number of students at German universities we know to definitely be Norwegian, we have to take demography into account as well. In around 1500, there were 14 million Germans, but only roughly 750,000 Danes and some 250,000 Norwegians. Therefore, having a Norwegian intake once every several semesters might well mean that enrollment at a German university was a regular option for a Norwegian student and that other

29 Bagge 1984, 1–29. In his article, Bagge refers to a more detailed analysis undertaken at the eighteenth meeting of Nordic historians in 1981 (p. 1).

30 Even for the medieval canons at Nidaros Cathedral, such a prosopography does not seem to be available yet. For the system of appointments, see Hamre 2003, 187–213, here 198.

31 Bagge 1984, 10.

32 Achelis 1966–1967.

33 Bagge 1984, 18: Between 1541 and 1660, almost 500 Norwegian students enrolled abroad.

Norwegian students attending non-German universities perhaps did not exist. In the German empire, there was a university for roughly every one million inhabitants, which, taking Rostock as an example, had roughly 160 registrations per academic year. Transferring this formula to Norway would mean that there was a potential of roughly 40 registrations per year.[34] And as Latin served as a lingua franca in academic environments, these 40 registrations might have taken place not only in northern Germany but also in the rest of the empire, the Low Countries, the British Isles, or even Flanders. Only a detailed prosopography with a European perspective could provide more evidence about this theory. Yet the notion that leaving home to study was more exclusive in the naval environment of the Norwegian coast than in the relatively well-populated German countries remains.

Universities: Preliminary Conclusion

1. Bugenhagen worked at the University of Copenhagen not as part of an international academic career, but rather as a proponent of an integral project following an established German model. King? Christian was governing a territory that was in part a German fief. Danish students had a long tradition of attending German universities. This newly founded one, at Copenhagen, was not one of those rather independent medieval universities anymore, and thereby it was also not like Wittenberg. On the contrary, Copenhagen as a city was not some Scandinavian city in the far north but a first-rate Reformation location with top Reformation personnel. Just like Marburg, it became a site that was part of an integral Lutheran system of society, learning, religion, and administration.
2. A detailed prosopography of Norwegian students at German universities in late-medieval and early modern times brings with it significant heuristic problems, less as a result of the existence of various Latin place names for Norwegian cities, and more through the subsuming of Norway as a whole under Denmark, even before 1523. Even if Norwegian students can be traced, it is sometimes unclear what faculty they enrolled in.
3. In the medieval university system, studies served the purpose of enabling students to administer the sacraments, preach, and carry out the liturgy. The management of benefices was learned either in one's own family or

34 Bagge 1984, 16 stated that 7 registrations per year would meet the needs of all Norwegian canonries, whereas the actual average number was 2.

once endowed with a profitable office. In a reformatory environment, the administrative duties of ecclesiastical offices were more explicit. Research had already shown that Bugenhagen, by means of ecclesiastical reforms and church orders, paved the way for a state church in the Danish-Norwegian realm. In doing so, he secured support for his academic foundation, but he also made new perspectives for new functions in reformatory processes available: the Reformation was then not only a matter for the learned anymore, but also became a matter for the powerful and their administrators.

Bishops of the Norwegian Reformation between Reign and Theology

I have tried to outline how Reformation knowledge spread among institutions of higher education to Copenhagen; however, we are not in Northern Norway yet, and according to present-day borders, not even Norway at all. We have to keep an eye out not only for men of learning but also for ecclesiastical authorities, officers, viceregents, royal itineraries, and even tradesmen transporting the new doctrine. The most prominent of these men are the new superintendents, who should be considered first.

Olav Engelbrektsson

Searching for a source where reformatory ideas in Northern Norway might originate from, I would like to direct our attention to those persons who eventually arrived in the north during Reformation and start with the one who was there even earlier: Olav Engelbrektsson. Mentioned earlier as someone bridging the 2000 km between Trondenes and Rostock, he had worked as dean of the chapter in Nidaros for seven years when he became archbishop during both a papal and a royal interregnum in 1522/23 and took the chance to conduct a rather independent reign in the north.[35] In doing so, he tried to delay the coronation of Frederik I as king of Norway at Nidaros Cathedral and even managed to play off

35 The image of Engelbrektsson has been debated for centuries. First, he was regarded as the scapegoat for everything (see, e.g., Sæter 1928). However, in the last couple of decades, his legacy has been restored to a large extent as someone who tried his best given the circumstances, and his work was then interpreted as a pursuit of Norwegian interests against Danish hegemony, as, for instance, by Rian 2004, 7–18, and more contributors in the same volume.

Vincens Lunge and Henrich Krummedige against each other, usually both supporters of Frederik I and Reformation ideas.[36] Lunge had graduated from the Flemish university of Leuven in 1518 as a doctor of philosophy and canon law. Krummedige was a nobleman with a military background. Both were members of the Norwegian Council of the Realm, where Engelbrektsson managed to persuade Lunge to remove Krummedige from the scene, which was not a matter for the learned but related to Norway's fight for independence in a setting of the threatening powers of Danish centralization.[37] Engelbrektsson tried to support the restoration of Christian II and also to withstand Christian III,[38] an ambition that today explains the motivation for his journey to the Netherlands.[39] However, his ultimate exile took place on conditions rather humane for the time.[40]

Torbjørn Olafssøn Bratt

The first Lutheran Bishop of Nidaros was Torbjørn Olafssøn Bratt.[41] Like Engelbrektsson, he came from Northern Norway. His home was Andenes in the Vesterålen district, and coming from there, he had studied from 1527 to 1530, thus during the Reformation, in Cologne – still a stronghold of Catholic doctrine.[42] There he met Christiern Mortensen Morsing, with whom he went to the old University of Copenhagen in 1530 and graduated from there as a master in 1531, just months before the university closed. Believing in the election of Duke Hans the Elder as king and moderately supporting the Catholic party himself, he was surprised to be able to stay on as a notary royal at the courts of Frederik I and Christian III. From 1531 onwards, we come across a phenomenon quite common for Reformation Scandinavia: we do not know much about him. When Bratt arrived on the scene again, he did so as dean of the chapter of Nidaros in 1538. His transformation into a proper Lutheran clergyman seems to have happened in silence and at court, without very strong

36 An older, but long-lived dominant approach, is the one by Koht 1950. Compare with Imsen 2002, 11.

37 The tense atmosphere around Engelbrektsson is mirrored even in the character of some pleas sent to, and indulgences granted by, the Holy See in the early Reformation years. Compare with Jørgensen 2004, no. 32 p. 140 and no. 34, 141–142.

38 Engelbrektsson's role in the course of the Reformation has always been interpreted as a political one. See Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher 2005, 86–89.

39 Sicking 2004, here 27–28.

40 Larson 2010, 408.

41 https://nbl.snl.no/Torbj%C3%B8rn_Olavss%C3%B8n_Bratt (accessed March 30, 2016).

42 Daae 1863, 14.

support of theology. Nevertheless, he was chosen to negotiate the integration of this chapter into the realms of Christian III, and he did so well that the chapter wanted him as superintendent in January 1542. Apparently, King Christian was surprised and had his doubts about whether Bratt might be the right person in the right place. But, instead of annulling the election results, he sent Bratt for further studies at Wittenberg and Copenhagen.[43] Finishing these in 1545, he received recommendations from both Luther and Bugenhagen, although the king still decided to challenge him with a special exam held by teachers he trusted. As we can see, the Reformation was a matter of the learned. And Bratt aimed to fulfill it with ambition, trying to erect a Lutheran cathedral school in Nidaros.[44] For this project, he asked for the restoration of the old diocese's benefices. However, the king was most reluctant to finance the school and Bratt died in 1548, having achieved nothing regarding this issue.[45] As from his own letters, there was only one clergyman capable of executing the new Lutheran service throughout the diocese by that time.

Hans Gaas

Bratt's successor in Nidaros was Hans Gaas, a son of the Danish gentry who was born in Svendborg around 1500.[46] From 1521 onwards, he appears as a student in Wittenberg, but it was only in 1548 that he graduated from Copenhagen as a master of theology.[47] During the long years in between, he worked as a parish priest in his hometown, where he supported the party of Christian III as far as he could. Ordained bishop of Nidaros, he arrived there in 1549, inheriting all the problems Bratt had been faced with previously. Gaas, too, kept the king informed about the need for modernization, his principle concern, however, being Nidaros Cathedral, which had been ruined by a fire in 1531. It took him ten years more to restore the Latin school,[48] but even then he did not get the extra means needed to maintain it but kept it running from student's fees. He spent the main part of his life defending the benefices of his diocese and his

43 Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher 2005, 105.

44 Daae 1879, 19–20; Daae 1869, 11; Daae 1863, 24.

45 Yet a general increase in the level of public education remains commonplace within literature on the Reformation. Cf. ['Compare with' or 'see'?] Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher 2005, 99–100.

46 https://nbl.snl.no/Hans_Gaas (accessed March 30, 2016).

47 Daae 1863, 27.

48 Daae 1863, 39.

own ones against rivals. However, he did revise the parish ordinance, primarily focusing on external aspects, such as contributions to the diocese's requirements. His affinity for ecclesiastical administration may also be assumed from his translation of Jon Raude's law from the thirteenth century, mirroring the ongoing relevance of this work even during the Reformation.[49] Once again, the Reformation appears as something technical and administrative.

Hans Mogenssøn

After the long period of Hans Gaas's activity, we approach a time when newly elected bishops did not have an opportunity to meet first generation Reformers anymore. Hans Mogenssøn, from the city of Copenhagen, was the next bishop of Nidaros (1578–1595), an office he only received at the age of 53.[50] Over the years, we see the bishops of Nidaros coming from areas that are closer and closer to the center of royal power. Engelbrektsson had been from the far north, Bratt came from the Vesterålen Islands, Gaas from Svendborg, and Mogenssøn from the capital itself, where he was born in 1525 and took up his studies in 1544. Maybe he heard of or met Bugenhagen as a boy. He even is said to have had a *peregrinatio academica* after his studies in Copenhagen.[51] But even if he went to Wittenberg, Luther was presumably dead, since his death occurred in 1546, Bugenhagen had died in 1558 and Melanchthon in 1560. It would be interesting to know what course his academic career took before he became a professor in Copenhagen in 1558. He is described as learned, but lacking in practical skills, which was an excellent basis for enabling his own personal reformation, but which also left him ill-equipped to reform the doicese of Trondheim from within. Despite this, he took up accounting for the structure of his diocese, creating, for example, a list of churches in the far north in 1589.[52]

Isak Grønbech

Mogenssøn was born some 25 years after Gaas and another 41 divide him from his successor Isak Grønbech, who was born in Kjøge, 45 kilometers from

49 Berg 2014, 62, reflects the state of research on this topic.
50 Lysaker 1987, 78–93.
51 Daae 1863, 46, remains unclear whether his long stay in France was accompanied by his attendance at academic institutions.
52 Hansen 2012, 312.

Copenhagen in 1564, four years after the death of Melanchthon.[53] Nevertheless, he seems to have carried out a *peregrinatio academica* during which he did not meet first generation reformers but instead people like John Calvin, whose teachings Groenbech had to abolish formally in 1594.[54] Having done so, there seemed to be no obstacle to installing him in Nidaros one year later. It was under Grønbech's reign that the grammar school flourished again. It seems to have been much higher on his agenda than on that of his two successors. He carefully installed new headmasters and teachers, not refraining from correcting unfortunate initial decisions later. After a long sixteenth century of educational lethargy, Grønbech appears to have been the first head of Trondheim's church who was not only learned himself but who was also anxious to surround himself with top-educated personnel from Lutheran elite universities.[55] As Grønbech takes us into the seventeenth century, I would like to stop the list here and come to a third conclusion.

Beyond this supreme office, it is difficult to trace Trondheim church officers. Some single identifications have been made by Ludvig Daae in the nineteenth century,[56] and detailed prosopographies of the canons both of the medieval and the Lutheran chapter of Trondheim are being investigated by Ingebjørg Aamlid Dalen.[57]

Bishops: Preliminary Conclusion

1. The appointees for the see of the Lutheran bishop of Trondheim tend to come from areas closer and closer to the throne. Following Engelbrektsson, Torbjørn Olafssøn Bratt was the last Norwegian bishop on the throne. Afterwards, there was a tendency to appoint people for this post whogrew up not much more than a single-day journey away from court.
2. The *peregrinatio academica* to Germany continued, even in the seventeenth century. Almost all Lutheran bishops of Nidaros made this journey, and even for those who we do not know where they went, it is likely that they

53 Lysaker 1987, 94–114.

54 Daae 1863, 56, mentions Franeker, Wittenberg, and Leiden as stations of his peregrination within central Europe.

55 Daae 1863, 61–62, mentions Laurits Holgerson (Univ. of Rostock, Witttenberg, Basel, Marburg) as headmaster of the cathedral school, and Jens Klausson (Univ. of Leiden) and Jonas Pedersson (Univ. of Wittenberg, Rostock) as preachers of important parishes. In 1599, Olaf Nilsson even rejected an offer to become a professor in Wittenberg.

56 For example, in the case of the Trondheim canon Olaus Solle (Daae 1863, 16) or the schoolmasters Lektor Bernardus and Sigvart Amundsson (p. 19).

57 See Dalen's chapter in this book.

visited the usual places, predominantly Wittenberg or Rostock. Therefore, even if they no longer met the reformers themselves, there was a steady stream of knowledge about trends in Reformation theology reaching the far north. These *peregrinationes* sometimes produced results that appeared problematic for the maintenance of a clearly Lutheran orientation of faith, as we can see in the case of Grønbech or maybe Bratt. However, the Danish kings were always careful to reassure themselves of the loyalty of these clergymen, sometimes even with special academic exams.

3. But if seen from another angle, the *peregrinationes* sometimes produced strange consequences: having gained all this knowledge, we find bishops who translated works of literature into the Danish language, who experimented with creating classical verse forms in the vernacular, who were indeed among the highest ranking theologians, poets, and otherwise intellectual. On the other hand, it took these people a century to establish a mere grammar school, let alone a university in the north. The fact that it was easier for them to fight for their benefices then for an institution of higher education in the north shows that, in a tragic double, Reformation was both a matter of royal politics and a matter of the learned.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems that Danish kings tried to keep the Norwegians from becoming learned and academically skilled. Asking the question of whether there were simply not enough Norwegians to attend universities and thus enable Reformation learning to be brought back to the north leads us astray. As mentioned before, in Denmark and Germany there was roughly one university per one million inhabitants. But even though this ratio still applies if you consider Danes and Norwegians together and the one Danish university, the University of Copenhagen does not seem to have admitted many Norwegians. The situation related to learning and the learned in the north only changed considerably when Norwegians took action themselves, as the case of Thomas von Westen shows.[58]

Revisiting the movement of the Reformation in Scandinavia, I came across a Scandinavian contribution to the current debate about the Reformation in Germany. Throughout this paper, it has been dealt with as *the* Reformation, a position under review in current German research. Current German scholarship prefers to talk about reformatory movements. But why then did Christian III

58 Storm 2014, here 194–197.

attempt to bring Melanchthon and Bugenhagen to Copenhagen rather than someone else? This appears to be an argument for the existence of *the* Reformation, at least in Scandinavia. There were many reformers but just one Martin Luther. The Danish king was aware of the impact of his ideas, and for his own project the king tried to attract reformers who were as close to Luther as possible. The introduction of reformatory principles into Norway was a matter of state order and power, however steadily filtered by an academic background. For Norway, the relevance for national interests of academic teaching becomes obvious again with the foundation of the University of Oslo in 1811, which was an important step in the withdrawal from Denmark in 1814.

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Sigrun Høgetveit Berg

Tithes in Trondheim Diocese: A Regional Reformation Study

Introduction

The decision to make Norway a Lutheran country was taken by the Danish king Christian III, on 30 October 1536. But even if the decision was definite, unnegotiable and prepared for, there was no clear and ready-made plan for how to communicate the new faith, nor how to equip Norway with Lutheran clergy, church jurisdiction or church administrative bodies. Thus, the Reformation process evolved with great regional variety throughout the realm, even if the king and his chancellery tried to keep a firm and centralized grip on the development of a new political and religious system.

In his work *Superintendenten* from 1982, the historian Steinar Imsen has shown how the Norwegian superintendents (the Lutheran bishops) played a crucial role as royal officials in exercising the king's policies in all dioceses of Norway between 1537 and 1660. His aim was to describe "the development of the superintendent office as a function of the state," and he concludes that the superintendents were loyal royal servants who were supportive of the king's political ambitions as head of both church and state. He also states that their shaping of institutionalized religious affairs was decisive for the development of the state.[1]

Imsen's perspective is that the superintendents became the king's most important instrument in the implementation of the Reformation in Norway. But, what were the superintendent's instruments? What kind of economic and administrative resources did he have at his disposal, and furthermore, what kind of human resources could he draw upon, in trying to fulfill the king's ambitions on behalf of the church? In the northernmost diocese, Trondheim,[2] the superintendents met with some particular challenges in their work, since the diocese had several remnants of Catholic organization and a self-conscious cathedral chapter with privileged canons. The most striking of these remnants was a great

1 Imsen 1982, 25, 290–291, 293. [All translations from Imsen's book are mine.]

2 The diocese changed names after 1537. The name of the town of Nidaros was starting to change by the late medieval period. I will be using Nidaros both for the Catholic diocese and the town prior to 1537, and Trondheim for the Protestant diocese (in early Modern Danish: *Trondhjem stift*) and the town after 1537.

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number of canonries.[3] A canonry was a parish in which the titular parish priest was a canon at the chapter in Trondheim, who then in turn had vicars and chaplains to do the daily work at the churches and chapels out in the canonries. The canonries gave the canons and thus the chapter significant economic strength. Especially along the northern coast up to Finnmark, the most profitable parishes were canonries, and they were the benefices of the main prelatures at the chapter.[4] Up north, this vast and outstretched diocese of Trondheim also contained the very border of Western Christianity, incorporating ethnic and religious variety with the Sámi and even "schismatic Russians" within or next door to its loosely defined borders. How did the superintendent carry out the Reformation in this environment? I will try to approach that question by looking at how an important resource at the superintendent's disposal, namely the tithe, was being conceived and used in the Reformation process.

Tithes were one of the main sources of income for the archdiocese of Nidaros and the churches in the north before the Reformation, and they became a substantial part of state income after 1537.[5] The tithe was not solely a church tax and a source of economic income, they had a theological origin as well. The tithe was rooted in the Bible (Leviticus 27, 30), elaborated on in canon law, regulated in Norwegian church laws, and extended as a church tax by the king after the Reformation. The nobility's main estates were exempt from tithing, so the burden was primarily on the unprivileged peasants and fishermen.[6] Since the introduction of tithes to Norway in the twelfth century, their content, collection, division, and disposition had developed according to international Catholic standards, but with local adjustments. Thus, we see considerable differences between the Nordic countries in how tithes were being managed.[7]

It is fair to say that tithes were a corner stone in the social contract between the church and local communities. In the new Protestant church order, this social contract was challenged, and tithes are an interesting point of access to the Reformation process in the north.[8] The management of tithes display old and new patterns of cooperation and conflict at and between the local, the regional, and the central level, between the ecclesial and the secular, between the Norwegian and the Danish, between law and practice. In addition, through tithes

3 Hamre 1977a; Lysaker 1987, 26; Berg 2017b.

4 See Table 1 and 2.

5 Kolsrud 1929; Sogner 1961–63; Høgsæt 1994; Bratrein 2004a, 2004b; Kolsrud 2007, 328–338.

6 Kolsrud 2007, 329. The burghers in the towns had to pay personal tithes for the first period after 1537, but they were exempt after some time. *KLN* IV, 575.

7 *KLNM* XVIII, 280–300.

8 Berg 2014, 287–291.

we can approach the question of Sámi integration in a context of international conflict in the high north. In other words, tithes are like a prism through which we can study a variety of aspects, and through tithes and looking at how they were managed, we can approach the interactions that formed and re-formed the religious and the political power structures in the Reformation process. In the article, I will focus on the importance of fish tithes, the questions concerning the division and collection of tithes more generally, and how tithes became an instrument for education and integration in the north of the confessional state of Denmark-Norway.

There has been a long-standing discussion between historians and theologians in both Denmark and Norway on the nature of King Christian III's Protestant Church.[9] The studies of the relationship between church and state have primarily focused on the content and intentions of the main Reformation documents; the Reformation Recess, the Church Ordinance and King Christian III's electoral capitulation, and to a lesser degree been based on empirical studies of how these intentions were carried out in practice.[10] The aim of this article is not only to form an idea of the Reformation process in practice on a regional level, but also to arrive at a broader understanding of the role of the church administration in the king's high north policies during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

The Main Tithe Controversy – Division in Three or Four Parts?

According to the sagas, tithes in the form of a yearly payment of one tenth of one's production within husbandry and fishing were probably introduced during the reign of King Sigurd Magnusson *Jorsalfare* (1103–1130) – at latest during King Magnus Erlingsson's reign (1161–1184).[11] Grain, cheese and fish were the main tithed products.

9 See, for instance, Aarflot 1969; Imsen 2016; Amundsen 2017; Berg 2017; Ellingsen 2017; Lausten 2017a, 2017b; Rian 2017.

10 This has changed remarkably in the last decade or so, and the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017 resulted in new research and a great number of publications. See, for instance, Agøy, Larsen and Smedshaug 2017; Gregersen and Bach-Nielsen 2017; Haug 2017; Høiris and Ingesman 2017; Rasmussen and Tjørhom 2017, *Teologisk Tidsskrift* 7, no. 3 (2018).

11 Hamre 1974, 280–287.

However, during the entire high and late medieval period, we see numerous disputes and controversies about these tithes: what kind of products and what type of production should be tithed, how the tithes should be collected, who should receive tithe exemptions, and even who was to receive the income. The main and immediate tithe controversy after 1537 related to how the tithes should be divided. In Norway, the income from the tithes was split in four parts before the Reformation: one part for the bishop, one for the parish priest (*mensa*), one for the maintenance of the church(es) (*fabrica*), and one for poor relief (the so-called *bondelut*). In Denmark, the tithes were divided in three, with no *bondelut*. In King Christian III's Reformation documents, this tripartite division was extended to both Denmark and Norway, with the king taking the bishop's former part.[12] The removal of the *bondelut* met with strong opposition in all of Norway, since the local communities themselves had administered this portion in many instances.[13] The upper clergy tried to observe and implement the tripartite division on all products, but the communities responded that if this were to happen, the diocese would have to contribute in other ways at the local level. Even the king himself took sides with the communities in some instances, against the clergy and his own ordinance.[14] In Trondheim diocese, the king decided in 1578 in favor of the peasants and in accordance with "Norwegian law."[15]

There is a doubt, however, to what extent tithes *in practice* had been divided into four before the Reformation, and to what extent the new tripartite division was observed after the Reformation.[16] Another complicating matter was how the

12 The Recess of October 30, 1536 and the Church Ordinance, first issued in Latin September 2, 1537. (Kolderup-Rosenvinge 1824, 166 and Ellingsen 2017, 107–108.) Sølvi Sogner (1961–63, 61) suggests that it might have been a misunderstanding, based on the king's vague knowledge of Norwegian conditions, rather than a conscious decision from the king, to introduce the tripartite tithes division in Norway.

13 Bratrein 2004a; Berg 2014, 287–291; *DN* XII 588, 1538; *DN* XII 666, 1558. As early as the provincial council of 1436, the Archbishop Aslak Bolt wanted to use half of the *bondelut* to help poor clerics obtain a university education – and he argued that it was for the benefit of the local communities' own sons, in order that they should be able to study. (*DN* V 660, 1436.) In the southeastern part of Norway – in the dioceses of Oslo and Hamar – it seems as if the bishops had been able to gain control of the *bondelut* before the Reformation, although not without protests. (*DN* XII 530, 1532; Sogner 1961–63, 62–64; Kolsrud 2007, 331.)

14 *DN* XIII 700, 1551, XII 666, 1558; *NHD* I, 200; *NRR* I, 132, 144, 168; Kolsrud 2007, 331–332; Sogner 1961–63, 67–68.

15 *NHD* I, 233.

16 Berg 2014, 76–80. Håvard Dahl Bratrein argues that the *bondelut* portion of the fish tithes might never have been collected by the authorities, but was regarded as a salary for the local community for doing the actual work of administering the fish tithes. It was a kind of kickback – which the community could use for the common good. (Bratrein 2004a, 403.)