

# Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster





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# **Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster**

## **Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen**

Fotos / **Photos**

**Roberto Fortuna, Kurt Rodahl Hoppe m.fl. / and others**

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# Forord

Odense Adelige Jomfruklosters historie går mere end 500 år tilbage. Anlægget er opført som bispegård i 1504. Det har siden været både kongsgård og i adelige eje i generationer. Først i løbet af 1700tallet er det indrettet som det jomfrukloster, vi kender i dag.

Store dele af det oprindelige anlæg er i dag for længst forsvundet, de fleste tilhørende bygninger solgt fra og siden nedrevet, men dele af det oprindelige anlæg mumler alligevel stadig med i en historie, der både er vidnesbyrd om og et resultat af mere end 500 års historiske omvæltninger, skiftende beboere og behov.

Siden funktionen som jomfrukloster ophørte i 1972, er der gennem de sidste 40 år flere gange gjort forsøg på at få viden om bygningernes historie og tidligere forlæg. Hver undersøgelse har kunnet bidrage med nye brikker til billedet af anlægget og dets historie, men oftest har de samme undersøgelser samtidig rejst nye spørgsmål. De seneste er ingen undtagelse.

På den ene side står man med jomfruklosteret med en bygning, hvor traditionen har været at føje nye lag oven på det eksisterende, på den anden side er flere spor alligevel løbende fjernet eller flyttet, ligesom information er gået op i flammer med nedbrændte arkiver, således at et komplet billede næppe nogen sinde lader sig tegne fuldstændig. Mange ting kan vi iagttage, men ikke altid få en forklaring på.

I dag er der gennemført en gennemgribende restaurering og transformation til fremtidige formål af klosteret. Et omfattende arbejde, der ikke blot har omfattet genopretning af bygningen, men også har rummet registreringsarbejder af husets omgivelser, fundament og ikke mindst de mange lag i husets interiør. Husets spraglede og farverige fortid som jomfrukloster er fastholdt som det gennemgående greb i transformationen. Enkelte steder er døre, farver, tapeter eller rum genskabt af konservatorer. Andre steder er rummene farvesat med inspiration i historien som et nyt lag på de bevarede historiske lag, som fortsat er en del af bygningen.

Det stod lysende klart, da klosteret lukkede døren bag den sidste klosterjomfru, at bygningerne ikke bare skulle bevares for eftertiden, men også bringes ind i en ny fremtid. Mange ideer, forslag, midlertidige lejemål og ikke mindst kulturelle aktiviteter så dagens lys i årtierne frem til Realdania Bygs overtagelse. Alle har villet det bedste for klosteret og respekteret de vilkår, en sådan bygning stiller til sin bruger. Det er derfor en stor glæde, at det nu er lykkedes at bringe det smukke anlæg ind i en ny fremtid, hvor mange vil få glæde af bygningen gennem dens kommende lejer, Syddansk Universitets virke og aktiviteter.

*Realdania Byg,  
august 2013*

*Klosteret vinteren 2012. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The convent, winter 2012. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





*Klosteret foråret 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



# Preface

The history of the building known as the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen or “Jomfruklosteret” goes back more than 500 years. The house was built as a bishop’s palace in 1504. Subsequently, it was both a royal manor and the property of noble families for several generations. Only during the 18th century was it fitted out as the secular convent building we know today.

Large parts of the original building vanished long ago, and most ancillary buildings were sold off and demolished, but parts of the original house can still be faintly traced, in a history which is both a testimony to and the result of more than 500 years of historical upheavals, changing owners and changing needs.

Since the building’s function as a secular convent ceased in 1972, several attempts have been made in the last 40 years to gain insight into the building’s history and former incarnations. Each investigation has fitted new pieces into the puzzle of the whole site and its history, but generally speaking, the same studies have also thrown up new questions. The latest investigations are no exception to this.

On one hand, Jomfruklosteret is a building in which it has been the practice to add new layers to the existing ones; on the other hand, several pieces of evidence have been removed or relocated over the years, while other information has perished in the flames of archive fires, so it is unlikely that a full picture will ever be available. Many aspects can be observed, but not always explained.

In our day, a thorough restoration and transformation of the Convent to prepare it for its future life has been carried out. This has been a wide-ranging work which has included not only the restoration of the building but also the recording of the house’s surroundings, foundations and, not least, the many layers in the interior of the house. The building’s varied and colourful past as a secular convent has been maintained as the guiding feature of the transformation. In places, doors, colours, wallpaper or rooms have been recreated by the conservators. Elsewhere, the rooms have been decorated in the spirit of a past age, as a new layer on top of the preserved historical layers which are still part of the building.

On the day the Convent closed its doors on its last resident, it was clear to all that the building should not only be preserved for posterity but also prepared for a new future. Many ideas, suggestions, temporary occupants and not least cultural activities saw the light of day in the decades before Realdania Byg took over the building. Everyone wanted the best for the Convent and respected the constraints which such a building demands of its users. It is therefore a source of great pleasure that it has been possible to ready this fine house for a new future, where many can enjoy the building through the activities and efforts of its future tenant, the University of Southern Denmark.

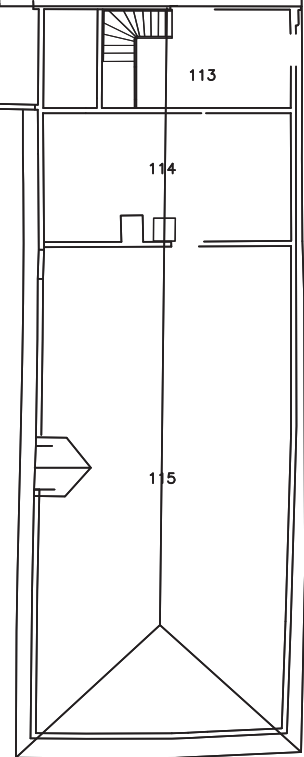
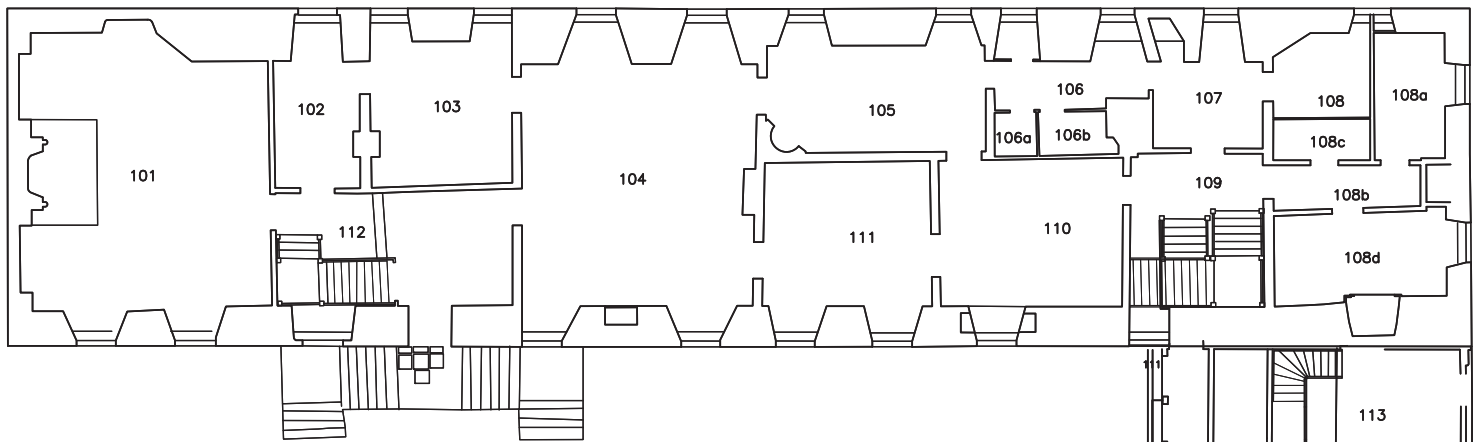
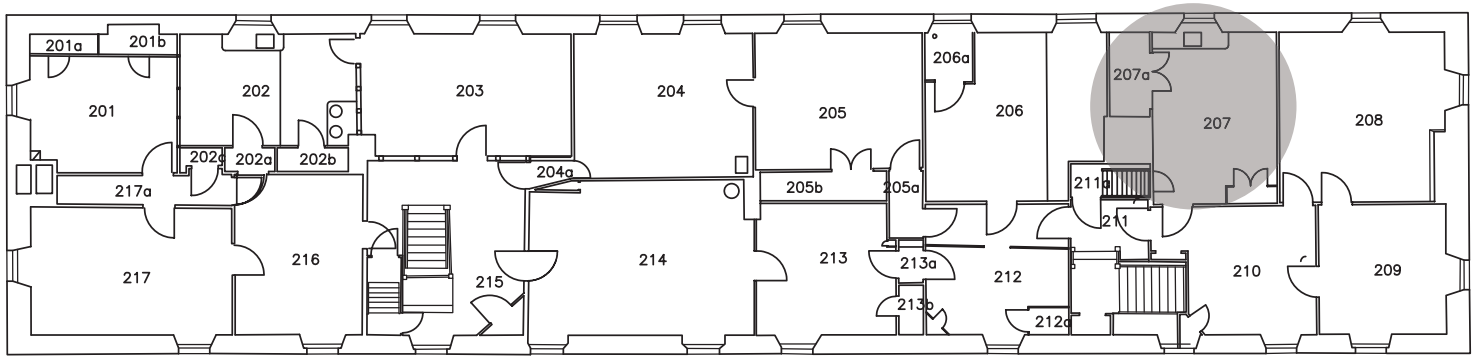
*Realdania Byg,  
August 2013*

# Plantegninger The floor plans



*Rum 207. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





*Under det omfattende registreringsarbejde blev alle husets rum nummereret. Nummereringen følger sin egen logik, hvor alle rum på én etage har samme interval, og hvor bikum betegnes med bogstaver. Her er det valgt at fastholde dette princip, så den interesserede læser har mulighed for at finde tilbage fra et billede eller en oplysning til plantegningens overblik eller en af baggrundsrapporterne.*

*Enkelte rum har med tiden fået et navn, fx rum 101, der kaldes Biblioteket, og 104, der kaldes Salen. Der er ligeledes gjort forsøg på at navngive alle rum ved at sammenholde dem med beboerlister. Men dels er det ikke alle beboere, man kan knytte til et bestemt rum, og dels vil et sådant billede alligevel kun have gyldighed i ganske få år, før beboersammensætningen igen var ændret. Måske vil flere rum vinde sig et navn i tiden fremover.*

*During the comprehensive registration work, every room of the building was numbered. The numbering follows its own logic, where all rooms on a floor has the same interval and where secondary rooms are designated with letters. It has been decided to maintain this principle so that interested readers have the possibility of returning to the floor plans from a picture or a piece of information.*

*Individual rooms have acquired a name over time, for example room 101, which is called the Library, and 104, which is called the Hall. During the research it has been attempted to name all rooms in relation to resident lists. But, on the one hand, not all residents can be associated with a certain room and, on the other hand, this state of affairs would only be valid for a few years, before the composition of residents had changed. Perhaps more rooms will acquire a name for themselves in the future.*





# Bispegård i 500 år

## 500 years as a bishop's palace

*Af / by Barbara Zalewski*

For lidt over tusind år siden gjorde paven Odense til bispesæde, og snart blev den lille by præget af den romersk-katolske kirke og dens eksotiske tilbehør. Der kom kirker med brogede glastruder, glitrende helgenbilleder og kostbare skrin, røgelse, dyre vokslys og sang på latin. Gadebilledet mindede året rundt og hver time på dagen om Kirken. Lyden af store og små klokker fyldte luften otte gange i døgnnet, sognepræsterne ilede til de døende med den sidste olie, og overalt var der munke af forskellige ordener. Pilgrimme, rige og fattige, valfartede fra nær og fjern til Knud den Helige, den myrdede konges helgengrav. På de mange helgendage bar menighed og gejstlige kors, relikvier og helgenbilleder rundt i byen, og biskoppen i strålende ornat gik med sit følge til Domkirken for at celebrere messe. Store bygningsanlæg i datidens mest moderne arkitektur fyldte stadig flere åbne partier i byen: Klostre, provstegård, lærde skoler og en bispegård.

Skønt Odense må have haft en bispegård som Stiftets centrum og bolig for næsten 30 biskopper i mere end et halvt årtusinde, er der ikke bevaret noget om den – og heller ikke om den nuværende bygning ved Albani Torv. Alt det, som man gerne ville vide i dag, lå i Fyens Stifts arkiv på bispeborgen Ørkild uden for Svendborg, men den blev ødelagt i 1534 under Grevens Fejde, og 500 års dokumenter og regnskaber gik op i luer.

Men flere spor peger i retning af, at bispegården længe har ligget på dette sted, i den østlige del af det

Just over a thousand years ago, the Pope made Odense the seat of a bishopric, and soon the little town bore all the marks of the Roman Catholic Church and its exotic accoutrements. Churches sprang up with colourful stained glass windows, glittering images of saints and costly shrines, incense, expensive beeswax candles and Latin chanting. Life in the streets reflected the life of the Church, day by day and hour by hour. The sound of small and large bells filled the air eight times a day, priests would hurry by to administer the last rites to departing parishioners and, everywhere, monks of the different orders could be seen. Pilgrims, rich and poor, arrived from near and far to visit the tomb of St. Knud (Canute), the murdered king. On the many saints' days, priests and laity bore the cross, relics and images of the saints round the town, while the bishop in his resplendent robes led the procession to the Cathedral to celebrate mass. Large buildings in the most up-to-date architecture of the time came to fill more and more of the town's open spaces – monasteries, deaneries, grammar schools and a bishop's palace.

Although Odense, as the centre of the diocese and home to nearly 30 bishops for more than a half millennium, must have had a bishop's palace, no records remain about it – and the same is true of the present building at Albani Torv. The historical details we should like to know were preserved in the Diocesan Archives at the bishop's Ørkild Castle outside Svendborg – but this was laid waste in 1534 during the so-called Counts'

*Kig over klosterets tag mod den katolske Sct. Albani kirke, opført 1908. 2013.*

*Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*A view across the roof of the Convent facing the Catholic St. Albani church, built in 1908. 2013.*

*Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

område, som arkæologerne nu mener var Odenses oprindelige centrum. Det var også byens åndelige og kulturelle centrum: Her lå kirkerne St. Albani og St. Knuds, der blev domkirke, og ikke mindst klosteret, som betjente dens relikvier og helgengrav. Klosteret modtog rige donationer fra kongefamilien og adelen og havde til gengæld pligt til at huse dem, når de opholdt sig i Odense eller var på gennemrejse til Danehof, retterting og herredage, adelige bryllupper og begravelser.

Også biskoppen modtog fornemme gæster, både gejstlige og verdslige. De fynske biskopper var kirkefyrster med hof og kancelli, de korresponderede med paver og konger og indledte deres breve med majestætisk pluralis: "Vi, af Guds nåde biskop af..." Biskopperne var med til at indsætte og styrte danske konger, de var aktive i stats- og kirkepolitik, og fra midten af 1400-tallet var de medlemmer af Rigsrådet. Det skulle være mærkeligt, om Odense-bispeernes gård ikke har ligget tæt på begivenhedernes centrum og på domkirken, ligesom i Aarhus og Roskilde, hvor bispegårdene lå så nær ved domkirken, at der var en løngang mellem dem, og i København, hvor Roskilde-bispens gård lå tæt på byens største kirke.<sup>1</sup>

### **Bispegaards-karreen**

Dybt i jorden under og omkring Jomfruklosteret, den tidligere Bispegaarden, er der spor efter århundreders menneskelig aktivitet. Der er fundet skår af Østersøkeramik, de ældste fra 1100-tallet, stumper af slidte lædersko og dyreknoget.<sup>2</sup> I forbindelse med restaureringen af Jomfruklosteret har Odense Bys Museer fundet grå potteskår af lertøj fra 1250-1450, smedeslagger og, lidt nord for hovedbygningen, en brønd med træsider fra årene omkring 1300.<sup>3</sup>

Ingen af fundene fortæller, at det netop var en bispegård, som lå her, men det er heller ikke at forvente. En katolsk bispegård var et administrationscenter og et stort hushold og rummede meget lidt, der havde med det religiøse liv at gøre, det hørte hjemme i kirkerne og klostrene.

Feud, and 500 years of documents and accounts went up in flames.

But several indications suggest that the bishop's palace had long been situated here, at the eastern end of the area which archaeologists now believe was the original centre of Odense. This was also the town's spiritual and cultural centre. Here lay the churches of St. Albani and St. Knud, here lay the cathedral, and not least the monastery which serviced the latter's relics and saint's tomb. The monastery accepted rich donations from royalty and nobility, but in return was obliged to house them while staying in Odense or passing through on their way to a Danehof parliament, a court of justice, an assembly of magnates, noble weddings or funerals.

The bishop too would receive distinguished guests, both spiritual and temporal. The bishops on the island of Funen were princes of the church, with their own court and chancellery. In their correspondence with popes and kings they would open their letters with the majestic plural: "We, by God's grace, Bishop of ...". The bishops were involved in installing and deposing Danish kings, they were active in state and church politics, and from the middle of the 15th century were members of the Rigsrådet (Council of State). It would have been odd for the Odense bishop's palace not to have lain close to the centre of events and to the Cathedral, just as it did in Aarhus and Roskilde, where the bishop's palaces were so close to the Cathedral that a roofed passage ran between them, or in Copenhagen, where the Bishop of Roskilde's palace lay close to the city's largest church.<sup>1</sup>

### **The bishop's palace street block**

Deep in the ground below and around the present Jomfruklosteret, the site of the former bishop's palace, are the traces of hundreds of years of human activity. Fragments of Baltic ware, the oldest dating from the 12th century, pieces of worn-out leather shoes and animal bones have all been found.<sup>2</sup> During the restoration of Jomfruklosteret, the City of Odense Museums discovered sherds of grey earthenware from





*Bispegaards-karreens nordlige del med hovedbygningen, nu Jomfruklosterets placering i det oprindelige miljø. Efter Reformationen tilhørte nogle af ejendommene Bispegaardens ejere, og fra 1721 ejede dels Brahe-familien, dels Jomfruklosteret hele karreen ned til Odense Å. I slutningen af 1860'erne måtte klosteret frasælge alt undtagen selve hovedbygningen og haven. Billedet er taget 1883 fra Odenses nye 45 m høje rådhusårn, der blev revet ned igen i 1942. Odense Bys Museer.*

*The northern part of the Bishop's Palace street block, showing the position of the main building, now Jomfruklosteret, in its original setting. After the Reformation, some of the plots belonged to the owners of the Bishop's Palace, while from 1721 the whole block down to Odense River was owned either by the Brahe family or by Jomfruklosteret. At the end of the 1860's, Jomfruklosteret was forced to sell off all but the main building and its garden. This photograph was taken in 1883 from the new 45 m high City Hall tower, itself demolished in 1942. City of Odense Museums.*

Et par ældre Odense-historikere har ment, at kongsgården lå her til 1247, hvor den brændte under et fjendtligt angreb på byen. Kongen skænkede området til Kirken og opførte i stedet den gård, som senere blev Gråbrødre Kloster. Men på sikker grund er historikerne først i den eneste bevarede skriftlige kilde om en bispegårds beliggenhed, et tingsvidne fra 1480. Fire hæderlige, gamle mænd nævnte "det stræde som løber norden frem for bispegården" ligesom i deres barndom

1250-1450, smithy slag and, just north of the main building, a wooden-sided well from around 1300.<sup>3</sup>

None of these finds prove that the site was accurately a bishop's palace, but that is to be expected. A catholic bishop's palace was a centre of administration, with a large household and very little direct connection with the religious life conducted in the churches and monasteries.

A few older Odense historians have thought that the royal palace lay here until 1247, when it burnt to





*Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster ligger ved Albani Torv, på en stor grund, der skrâner smukt ned til Odense Å. Her har været menneskelig aktivitet i tusind år, og hovedbygningen har stået her halvdelen af den tid – som bispegård, kongebolig, adelsgård og jomfrukloster. Da adelsdamen Karen Brahe oprettede et jomfrukloster i bygningen i 1716, næsten to hundrede år efter Reformationen, kaldte hun den stadig Bispegaarden. Men efterhånden blev Jomfruklosteret en integreret del af bybilledet, og nu kendes bygningen under dét navn, skønt klosteret blev nedlagt for mere end fyrre år siden. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

tres år tidligere. Strædet findes stadig, i dag Adelgade, tidligere Adelstræde, efter gadenavneskikken en algade, en af byens ældste færdselsårer. Senest omkring 1420 lå Odenses bispegård således på den grund, hvor Jomfruklosteret står i dag.

Bispegaarden udgjorde en hel karré. Det er vigtigt at gøre sig klart, at navnet Bispegaarden – som blev brugt lige til Jomfruklosterets oprettelse i 1716 – ikke kun var én bygning, men en ejendom med mange bygninger. Det forvirrende er naturligvis, at også selve den eksisterende hovedbygning omtales som Bispegaarden. Eftertiden har derfor opfattet den katolske bispegård ligesom en protestantisk, men de var vidt forskellige: Den protestantiske er embedsbolig for en statslønnet, mens den katolske var centrum for et jordegods og stiftets administration, dvs. et kompleks af mange bygninger, hvoraf biskoppens bolig kun var én.

Bispegaards-karreens afgrænsning mod nord var Adelgade, mod øst gik skellet som nu ved Paaskestræde. Mod vest lå indtil 1580, hvor Albani Torv blev etableret, to kirkegårde. Mellem dem og Bispegaarden gik en sti ned til åen, det senere Bispegaardsstræde; der var ingen bro før Albanibroen blev bygget i 1858 og strædet blev til Albanigade.<sup>4</sup> Den nye gade tog et stykke af grunden, og en udvidelse i 1970 tog endnu et stykke, idet det oprindelige vestskel lå langs den sydgående kørebane på den nuværende Albanigade. Bispegaardens grund var således en del større end Jomfruklosterets nuværende.

Efter Reformationen overtog Kronen bispegodset og stiftets faste ejendomme, herunder hele Bispegaards-

*Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, Odense's Secular Convent for Noblewomen, lies alongside Albani Torv in large attractive grounds sloping down to Odense River. The site has been the scene of human activity for a thousand years, and the present main building has been in existence for half that time – as bishop's palace, royal residence, nobleman's mansion and secular convent. When noblewoman Karen Brahe established a secular convent in the building in 1716, almost 200 years after the Reformation, she still called it the Bishop's Palace. But little by little the Convent became a familiar element of the city, and its short title is now Jomfruklosteret, the "Ladies' Convent", even though it ceased to be a convent more than forty years ago. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

the ground during a hostile attack on the city. The King granted the area to the Church and instead erected the complex which later became the Greyfriars Monastery. But historians only feel on safe ground with the only surviving written source as to the location of the bishop's palace, a legal testimony from 1480. Four old men of good repute mention "the street which runs north of the bishop's palace" just as it did in their childhood sixty years before. This street still exists, the present-day Adelgade, formerly Adelstræde, a name commonly given to a town's main street, and one of the city's oldest traffic arteries. In other words, no later than about 1420, Odense's bishop's palace lay on the site where Jomfruklosteret stands today.

The bishop's palace filled a whole street block. However, it is important to realise that the expression *Bishop's Palace* – which was used right up to the establishment of Jomfruklosteret in 1716 – was not just one building, but a property with many buildings. The confusing thing is that the existing main building was also called the Bishop's Palace. Subsequent generations imagined that the Catholic bishop's palace was very like a Protestant one, but they were in fact very different: a Protestant bishop's palace is the official residence of a state-salaried employee, while the Catholic palace was the centre of an agricultural estate and of the diocesan administration, in other words a precinct of many buildings, of which the bishop's home was only one.

To the north, the block on which the bishop's palace stands ended at Adelgade, while the boundary to the east was, as now, Paaskestræde. Over to the

karreen. I slutningen af 1570'erne blev den udstykket i en stor grund langs Adelstræde og nogle små grunde, mens resten af karreen med hovedbygningen udgjorde én ejendom, der fortsat blev kaldt Bispegaarden.

Den gamle bispegårds hovedbygning, nu Jomfruklosteret, indgik i en type anlæg, som kendes overalt i Nordeuropa: Et stenhus til beboelse og en række andre bygninger til gårdens øvrige funktioner, hvoraf de brandfarlige var fritliggende. Bispegaarden i København fra 1420'erne og den lidt yngre i Aarhus var anlagt på samme måde, men de var ikke specielt gejstlige anlæg. Datidens borge og slotte var opbygget på samme måde, for eksempel Københavns Slot indtil Christian III samlede bygningerne i 1550'erne.

### **Byggeri på Bispegaarden 1466**

Jomfruklosteret, den gamle bispegårds hovedbygning, er forunderlig: Den ser så enkel ud, som den ligger i ensom majestæt på sin grund ned til åen, men både bygningen og dens omgivelser er fyldt med gåder.

I 2009-2010 gravede Odense Bys Museer i henhold til Museumsloven på de steder, der ville blive berørt af Realdania Bygs restaurering af Jomfruklosteret. Formålet var at registrere og sikre eventuelle fortidsminder, men det var også en god mulighed for at afdække mere af Bispegaardens fortid. Og ligegyldigt hvor grab, graveske og spade blev sat ned – inde i hovedbygningen, i bindingsværksfløjen og i de umiddelbare omgivelser – har nye interessante ting set dagens lys. Det er ikke så sært. Med alle de funktioner, som en bispegård dengang havde, var karreen tæt pakket med store og små bygninger, og der har været et dagligt leben overalt, hvad enten biskoppen selv opholdt sig i Odense eller var borte i embeds medfør. Såvel logikken som de nye fund tyder på, at Jomfruklosteret ikke var den første hovedbygning på grunden.

Efter traditionen er den eksisterende hovedbygning opført 1504-1508 af biskop Jens Andersen med tilnavnet Beldenak, men under bygningens kælder-gulv har arkæologerne fundet et stykke teglstensgulv

west lay two churchyards until 1580, when the Albani Torv marketplace was established. Between them and the bishop's palace was a path down to the river, the later Bispegaardstræde; there was no bridge until the Albani Bridge was built in 1858 and the lane was renamed Albanigade.<sup>4</sup> The new street encroached on part of the plot, while an extension in 1970 took even more, covering the original western boundary, which ran along the south-bound carriageway of the present Albanigade. The land occupied by the bishop's palace was thus a good deal larger than the present-day Jomfruklosteret.

After the Reformation, the Crown took over the bishop's estates and the diocese's buildings, including the whole of the bishop's palace block. Towards the end of the 1570's, this area was divided into a large plot alongside Adelstræde and a few smaller plots, while the rest of the block with the main building formed a single property, which was still called the Bishop's Palace.

The main building of the old bishop's palace, the present Jomfruklosteret, had a layout familiar throughout Northern Europe. A brick-built house for living in and a number of other buildings for the property's other functions, with those most at risk of fire lying separately. The Bishop's Palace in Copenhagen, built in the 1420's, and the slightly later one at Aarhus, were both constructed in the same way, but they were not of a specifically ecclesiastical design. All castles and palaces in those days were laid out in the same way, for example, Copenhagen Castle, until Christian III combined the buildings in the 1550's.

### **Construction at the Bishop's Palace in 1466**

Jomfruklosteret, the main building of the old bishop's palace, is a riddle: it looks so simple as it stands in lonely majesty on grounds above the river, but both the building and its surroundings are full of puzzles.

In 2009-2010, pursuant to the Danish Museums Act, City of Odense Museums excavated the parts of the site which would be affected by Realdania Byg's restoration

*Odense å. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





*Den oprindelige hovedindgang til Bispegaarden var i denne sal, rum 104. Dengang var alle sale gennemgående, senere er de opdelt på langs, så dette nu er det eneste rum med vinduer til begge sider. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



og en rende, som er ældre. Gulvet lå i en bygning, som er orienteret lidt skråt i forhold til den nuværende og en anelse smallere. Desuden blev der fundet en muret brønd så tæt på en af krydshvælvspillerne, at den må have ligget her før hvælvene blev opført.

Der har været byggeaktivitet på grunden i 1466, hvor biskop Mogens Krafse lod opføre et kapel til St.

of Jomfruklosteret. The purpose was to record and secure any ancient monuments, but it was also an opportunity to discover more about the Bishop's Palace's past. And, no matter where trowel, spade or mechanical digger entered the ground – in the main building, in the half-timbered wing or in the immediate environs – new and interesting items were revealed. Not that that is a surprise. With



*The original main entrance to the Bishop's Palace was in this hall, room 104. At that time, all halls were continuous; later, they were split up lengthwise, so now this is the only room with windows to both sides. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

Knuds Kirke og begyndte "at bygge Bispe-Gaarden i Odense, som siden hørte Hr. Jørgen Brahe til."<sup>5</sup>

Arkæologerne har endnu ikke klarlagt den ældre bygnings alder, så det vides ikke, om den er Krafses. Nye fund, blandt andet spor efter smedning, ud for Jomfruklosterets sydfacade udelukker dog ifølge arkæologerne, at en endnu ældre bygning har ligget på samme sted. Måske har den ældste bispegård ligget på den nordlige del af grunden, hvor der som nævnt er fundet en velbygget brønd af godt træ, der er dateret til årene lige omkring 1300. Krafse eller Jens Andersen har således besluttet at opføre en ny hovedbygning på grundens sydlige del, med fri udsigt over åen og landskabet.

Det vides heller ikke, hvor langt Krafse nåede. Bygningsteknisk kan det ikke afgøres, om opførelsen af den nuværende bygning er sket helt eller delvist i 1466 eller først i 1504, for byggemåden forandrede sig ikke i løbet af de fyrre år. Derimod er det oprindeligt trefløjede anlæg så konsistent i dimensioner og elementer, at der må have foreligget en samlet plan for byggeriet – uanset, at det er udført i etaper, som nogle detaljer i murværket og små forskelle i teglstenene antyder.

Der må derfor have været en professionel bygmester involveret, og faktisk havde St. Knuds Kirke én tilknyttet. Funktionen omtales i biskop Krafses testamente 1474 i forbindelse med et legat til to nybygninger på den nordlige del af dens kirkegård; de skulle stedse være under tilsyn af den "structuarius eller bygmester", som *til enhver tid* var ved St. Knuds Kirke og Kapel.<sup>6</sup> Disse bygmestre var ikke hvem som helst, ellers var de ikke blevet ansat til at vedligeholde og opføre nyt ved en af landets største, fornemste og rigeste kirker, og det må formodes, at begge biskopper har benyttet dem på Bispegaarden.

### **Byggeri på Bispegaarden 1504-1508**

Traditionen om biskop Jens Andersen som bygherre på den eksisterende bygning er baseret på én eneste kilde: En længst forsvundet inskription, der gengives af Arild Huitfeldt i *Danmarks Riges Krønike*.<sup>7</sup> I Jens

all the functions exercised by a bishop's palace in those days, the street block was tightly packed with large and small buildings, with constant daily comings and goings, whether the Bishop was in residence or away on official business. Both logic and the new finds suggest that Jomfruklosteret was not the first main building on the site.

According to tradition, the existing main building was constructed in 1504-1508 by Bishop Jens Andersen, known as Beldenak, but beneath the cellar floor archaeologists discovered a piece of brick floor and a gutter which are earlier than this. The floor lay in a building oriented at a slight angle to the present building and slightly narrower. A brick well was also found and was so close to one of the cross-vault pillars that it must have been here before the vaulting was established.

There had been building activity on the site in 1466, when Bishop Mogens Krafse had a chapel to St. Knud's Church raised, and began "to build the Bishop's Palace in Odense, which later belonged to Mr. Jørgen Brahe."<sup>5</sup>

Archaeologists have not yet determined the age of the older building, so it is not known whether it is Krafse's. New finds, including evidence of smithing, outside the southern facade of Jomfruklosteret could, according to archaeologists, point to an even older building on the same site. Perhaps the oldest bishop's palace lay on the northern part of the site, where as mentioned above, a skilfully built well of good timber has been found and dated to the years around 1300. Krafse or Jens Andersen would thus have decided to build a new main building on the southern part of the site, with open views over the river and countryside.

It is not known how far Krafse progressed with his work. The construction techniques do not allow us to determine whether the present building was completed wholly or partly in 1466 or not until 1504, as building methods did not change in those 40 years. On the other hand, the original three-wing plan is so consistent in its dimensions and elements that there must have been an overall building plan – even if the work was conducted in stages, as some masonry details and small differences in bricks hint.



*Tv.: Brønd i hovedbygningens kælder under Odense Bys Museers udgravning 2010. Hver af krydshvælvenes piller hviler på én stor kampesten, som står på et gulv, der er ældre end den nuværende bygning. Brønden stammer formentlig også fra denne bygning. Den oprindelige middelalderlige brøndkarm i røde sten ses nederst. Foto: Odense Bys Museer.*

*Th.: Brønden er efter restaureringen markeret i gulvet. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

Andersens lebenslauf står, at i 1504 “indviede han den norrø part af kirkegården til St. Knud og begyndte at bygge paa Bispgaarden”.

Der står altså ikke udtrykkeligt, at han begyndte at opføre selve den bygning, som står her nu, men at biskoppen byggede noget i Bispegaards-karreen. Det kan have været en ændring, udvidelse eller færdiggørelse af Krafsses anlæg. Huitfeldt fortsætter: “hvor denne skrift findes”, her oversat fra latin:

”Doktor i statskundskab Jens Andersen, biskop i Odense, påbegyndte opførelsen af denne bygning i det Herrens år 1504 og afsluttede samme 1508. I det første opførelsesår kostede en skæppe byg tre skilling, i det følgende fire, i de øvrige kostede den som sædvanlig.”

Det siges ikke, at denne såkaldte “skrift” sad på den nuværende bygning, heller ikke hvordan den så ud: Var det en tavle på en ydermur eller måske et kalkmaleri inden døren i stil med samtidens våbenskjolde og skriftbånd i kirker og på slotte? Den lange latinske tekst var ikke beregnet på den almindelige odenseaner,



*Left: Well in main building cellar during excavation by City of Odense Museums 2010. The free-standing vault pillars each rest on a single large boulder on a floor which is older than the present building. The well in the cellar is presumably also from the older building. The original medieval red-brick well curb can be seen at the bottom. Photo: City of Odense Museums.*

*Right: During the restoration, the well has been marked on the floor. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

A professional builder must have been involved, and in fact one such was attached to St. Knud’s Church. The function is mentioned in Krafse’s will of 1474, in connection with an endowment for two new buildings at the northern end of the churchyard; they were to be under the constant supervision of whoever was the “structuarius” or builder attached to St. Knud’s Church or Chapel *at the time in question*.<sup>6</sup> These builders were not casual appointments, otherwise they would have not been engaged to maintain and erect buildings at one of the country’s largest, most distinguished and richest churches, and it must be presumed that both bishops made use of them at the Bishop’s Palace.

### **Construction at Bishop’s Palace 1504-1508**

The tradition that Bishop Jens Andersen commissioned the existing building goes back to a single source: a long-lost inscription recorded by Arild Huitfeldt in his *Chronicle of the Danish Realm*.<sup>7</sup> The account of Jens Andersen’s life states that in 1504 “he dedicated the northern part of the churchyard to St. Knud and began to build at the Bishop’s Palace”.



### Prisen på byg

Referencen til bygpriserne i Jens Andersens indskrift virker umiddelbart absurd – men byg var en del af bispetiende og landgilde af bispedømmets jordegods. Kornet blev solgt på markedet, og når priserne på landbrugsvarer var høje, kunne biskoppen tillade sig ekstraordinære udgifter, såsom nybyggeri på Bispegaarden.

Flere nyere historikere har hygget sig over Jens Andersens materialisme: han burde som en kirkens mand være hævet over den slags, historikeren Erik Arup kalder ham i sin *Danmarks Historie* ligefrem “den gamle studepranger”. Men i den katolske tid var biskopperne ikke lønnede af staten som efter Reformationen – de levede ligesom adelen af jorden.

Det gjorde også en af Bispegaardens senere ejere, godsejeren og lensmanden Jørgen Brahe, og i hans dagbøger nævnes høstudbytter og kornpriser ofte. De rige Rosenkrantz var heller ikke for fine til at nævne priser: et urværk på Rosenholm blev gjort i 1564, “da gjaldt et fad stål XII daler”, står der på urværkets ramme.

Og i 1741 redegjorde selvste Christian VI i en inskription for, hvorfra pengene til det vældige nye Christiansborg kom.

### The price of barley

At first sight, the reference to barley prices in Jens Andersen’s inscription seems absurd – but barley was part of the bishop’s tithe and manorial dues from the episcopal estates. The grain was sold on the market and when the prices of agricultural commodities were high, the bishop could afford extraordinary expenditure, such as new buildings at the Bishop’s palace.

Several historians of recent times have made fun of Jens Andersen’s materialism: as a man of the church he should have been above that kind of thing, and historian Erik Arup in his *History of Denmark* even calls him “the old cattle-dealer”. But in Catholic times, bishops were not paid by the State as they were after the Reformation – and like the nobility, they lived off the land.

The same was true of one of the Bishop’s Palace’s later owners, nobleman and Lord Lieutenant Jørgen Brahe, whose journals often mention harvest yields and grain prices. Nor were the wealthy Rosenkrantz family too proud to name prices: a clock movement at Rosenholm Castle was made in 1564 “when a barrel of steel cost XII dalers”, as it says on the clock frame.

And in 1741, even King Christian VI used an inscription to explain where the money had come from for the immense new Christiansborg Castle.

men på biskoppens gæster, gejstlighed og adel, som beherskede sproget, så indskriften kan udmærket have prydet en sal. Huitfeldts ærinde var ikke at beskrive en bestemt bygning, men at oplyse sin kilde til Jens Andersens nybyggeri 1504-1508.

Senere er indskriften blevet opfattet som en tavle, og da den nuværende bygning, Jomfruklosteret, er den

In other words, it is not expressly stated that he began to build the building which stands today, but that the bishop built something in the Bishop’s Palace street block. It may have been a modification, extension or completion of Krafse’s work. Huitfeldt continues: “where the following writing can be found:” (here translated from the Latin)



*Karikatur af biskop Jens Andersen, prægtigt klædt og med de kostbare embedsinsignier mitra og bispestav. Den var titelblad på reformatoren Hans Tausens åbne brev: "Et kort svar på bispens sendebrev af Odense" – biskoppen havde i 1527 advaret menighederne i Viborg og Aalborg mod at optage den nye protestantiske lære. Trykt i Aalborg 1529. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*A caricature of Bishop Jens Andersen, ornately clad and with the costly insignia of his office, the mitre and crozier. This was the title sheet of reformer Hans Tausen's open letter: "A short response to the bishop's epistle from Odense" – in 1527 the Bishop had warned the congregations of Viborg and Aalborg against the new Protestant teachings. Printed in Aalborg 1529. Royal Library.*

"Doctor of Political Science Jens Andersen, Bishop of Odense, commenced the construction of this building in the Year of our Lord 1504 and completed the same in 1508. In the first year of construction a measure of barley cost three skilling, in the following four, in the other years the usual price."

It is not stated that this so-called "writing" was placed on the present building, nor how it looked: was it a plaque on an outer wall or maybe a wall painting indoors similar to contemporary coats of arms and scrolls in churches and manor houses? The long Latin text was not calculated for ordinary Odense folk, but for the Bishop's guests, clergy and nobility, who could read the language, so the inscription could well have ornamented an interior wall. Huitfeldt's purpose was not to describe a particular building but to source his information regarding Jens Andersen's new building of 1504-1508.

Later the inscription was envisaged as a plaque, and as the present building, Jomfruklosteret, is the only one remaining and has perpetuated the Bishop's Palace name, later historians concluded that it was located here. But this is not known with certainty, and nor is it known whether this building was the bishop's residence or served some other purpose. On erection, the building had just one storey and was shorter at both ends. It contained only two rooms, both used solely for receptions and entertainment. The bishops would often stay for long periods of time in the large diocese's episcopal castles or at the Court, so for many of them

eneste tilbageværende og har videreført navnet Bispegaarden, har historikere senere konkluderet, at den sad her. Men det vides ikke med sikkerhed, ej heller om denne bygning var biskoppens bolig eller tjente et andet formål. Ved opførelsen var den i én etage og kortere i begge ender, og den indeholdt to rum, der kun har været brugt til repræsentation. Biskopperne opholdt sig ofte og længe på det store stifts bispeborge og ved Hof-fet, så for mange af dem var selve boligen blot en pied-à-terre, når deres tilstedeværelse i Odense var nødvendig.

Men hvem der end lod bygningen, nu Jomfruklosteret, opføre, og hvad den end blev brugt til før Reformationen, står her den her nu – som den sidste rest af Odenses bispegårdskompleks, det største senmiddelalderlige hus i Danmark, fyldt med udsagn om mere end 500 års arkitektur, interiør og vidt forskellige livsformer. Det er mere end rigeligt til at gøre bygningen til en af de mest interessante i landet.

*Udsnit af dør mellem rum 102 og trapperum 112.  
Klosteret 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Section of door between room 102 and staircase 112.  
The convent, 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*







*Husets låse er som dørene en broget samling af tidens skiftende mode og formåen. Den store variation er fastholdt ligesom det øvrige interiør i klosteret som vidnesbyrd om netop de mange tilføjelser og ændringer i bygningens udtryk gennem tiden. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Like the doors, the locks in the building are a mixed collection of the changing fashion and abilities through the ages. The large variation has been maintained as is the case with the rest of the interior in the Convent as evidence of the many additions and changes in the expression of the building over time. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



## Biskop Jens Andersen

Biskop Jens Andersen havde tilnavnet Beldenak ligesom en samtidig svensk biskop. Det skal betyde “skaldet nakke”, og ligesom historien ikke fortæller andet om de merovingiske kongers udseende, end at de var langhårede, ved man heller ikke andet om biskoppens udseende, end at han var skaldet. Dette skaldede hoved var imidlertid ualmindelig godt. Jens Andersen havde foretaget en svimlende rejse, socialt og geografisk. Hans fader var skomager i en landsby ved Limfjorden, men via en af den katolske kirkes latinskoler fik han en akademisk grad ved universitetet i Köln og kom derfra til Rom, hvor han studerede videre og var i pavens kancelli.

Jens Andersen var dog ikke teolog. Han oplyser i teksten til sit epitafium, at han havde læst humanistiske videnskaber og jura – en klassisk uddannelse, hvor man først studerede de frie kunster, dvs. emner, som det *frie* menneske, der ikke behøvede at arbejde, kunne fornøje sig med, og derefter specialiserede sig i teologi, jura eller medicin. Kort før Jens Andersens ankomst til Rom var disse emner sammenfattet til det program for malerkunst, byplanlægning og arkitektur, som eftertiden har døbt renæssancen. Han har ikke kun kendt disse emner i teorien, men også set de første bygninger i den nye stil i Rom og Norditalien.

Efter 1495 var Jens Andersen tilbage i Danmark, hvor pave Alexander VI Borgia i årene forinden havde skaffet ham adskillige indbringende kirkelige embeder.<sup>8</sup> Jens Andersens ry for juridisk indsigt og kløgt førte snart til stillingen som kong Hans’ sekretær og rådgiver. Han fulgte nu kongen, som efter tidens skik rejste rundt i landet med Hoffet, Kancelliet og hele Hofholdningen, med ophold på borge og kongsgårde. Det var noget helt andet end at færdes i Vatikanets veludstyrede kontorer og kirkefyrsternes pragtboliger med tidens bedste kunst og kunsthåndværk, tilmed under lune himmelstrøg.

Hvorfor Jens Andersen ikke forblev i de komfortable omgivelser vides ikke, måske var det kongens løfte om at få ham valgt til biskop over Fyens Stift ved næste

the palace itself was merely a pied-à-terre when their presence in Odense was necessary.

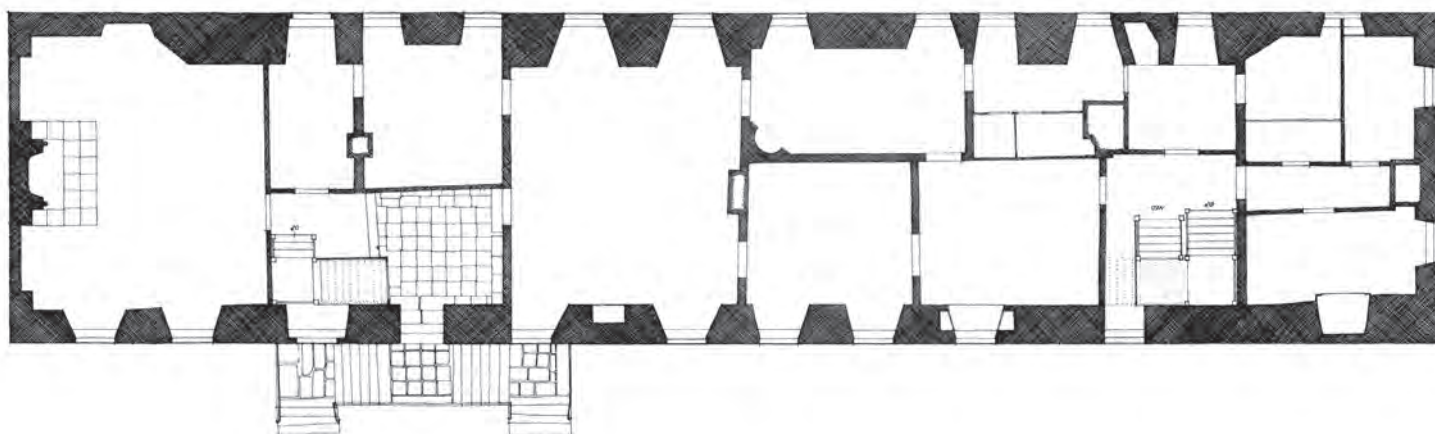
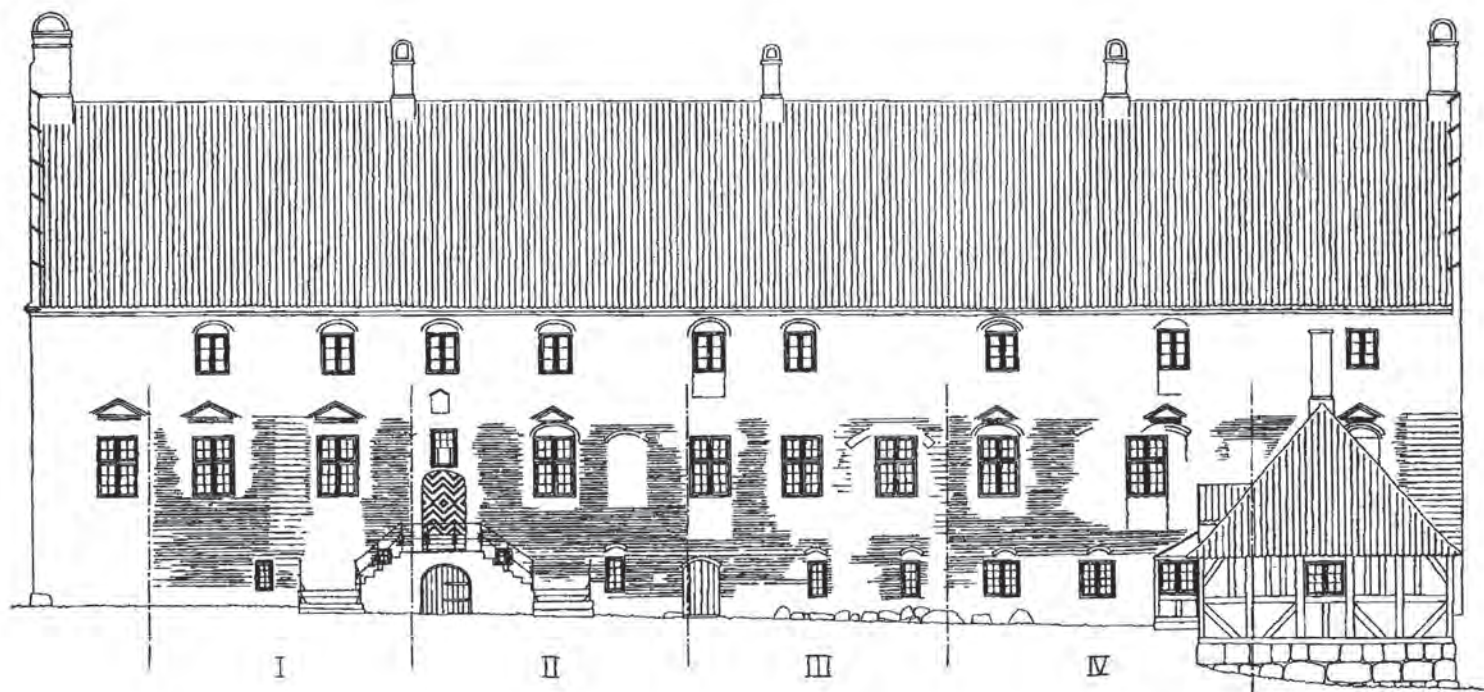
But whoever had the building, the present Jomfruklosteret, constructed, and whatever it was used for prior to the Reformation, it is still with us here today – as the last remnant of Odense’s bishop’s palace complex and the largest late medieval house in Denmark, filled with clues to more than 500 years of architecture, interiors and widely varied ways of life. That is more than enough to make the building one of the most interesting in the country.

## Bishop Jens Andersen

Bishop Jens Andersen was also known as Beldenak, a surname he shared with a contemporary Swedish bishop. Apparently this means “bald nape”, and just as history tells us no more about the appearance of the Merovingian kings than that they were long-haired, we know no more about the bishop’s appearance than that he was bald. This bald head, however, was uncommonly acute. Jens Andersen’s journey had been extraordinary, both socially and geographically. His father was a village cobbler from the Liim Fiord, but by way of one of the Catholic Church’s grammar schools he himself rose to take a degree at the University of Cologne, from there making his way to Rome, where he embarked on further studies and joined the Pope’s chancellery.

However, Jens Andersen was not a theologian. In the text for his epitaph he explains that he had read the humanities and law – a classic degree, in which the preliminary studies were in the free arts, that is, the subjects which a *free* man, who had no need to work, could enjoy, followed by specialisms in theology, law or medicine. Shortly before Jens Andersen’s arrival in Rome, these subjects had coalesced into the programme for painting, town planning and architecture which subsequent ages have named the Renaissance. He had not only studied these subjects in theory, but also seen the first buildings in the new style in Rome and Northern Italy.

After 1495, Jens Andersen was back in Denmark again. In the years prior to this, Pope Alexander VI



vakance. En lignende position kunne han næppe have opnået i Rom, hvortil alle kristenhedens kvikkeste og mest intrigante mænd strømmede og flittigt brugte albuer, tunge, pen og giftbægre.

Jens Andersen blev biskop omkring årsskiftet 1501-1502. Hermed var han medlem af Rigsrådet, der ellers kun optog mænd af den ældste og fornemste adel, og herre over større besiddelser end nogen adelsmand.

Med tiden fik Jens Andersen magtfulde fjender. Han var hidsig, skolet i spidsfindigheder, hovmodede sig af sit gode hoved som andre af deres adel og sagdes at kunne mere end sit Fadervor, og efterhånden lå han i strid med Christian II, rigsråder, andre adelsmænd og gejstlige, i ord og gerning. Hans hånd var mod alle,

Borgia had secured him various lucrative church posts in this country.<sup>8</sup> Jens Andersen's reputation for legal acumen and shrewdness soon led him to a position as King Hans' secretary and councillor. He now accompanied the King, who, as was the custom, progressed round the country with the Court, the Chancellery, and the whole Household, staying at castles and royal manors. A completely different life from the Vatican's well-equipped offices and the magnificent residences of the princes of the church, stuffed with the best contemporary art and craftsmanship, and under warmer climatic conditions to boot.

Why Jens Andersen did not remain in this comfortable environment is not known; perhaps it was

og alles hånd mod ham, og han havde ikke et roligt øjeblik.

Biskoppen var som sine forgængere borte fra Odense i lange perioder. Han opholdt sig ofte på bispeborgene Ørkild og Kjærstrup og var på rejser i det vidtstrakte stift og i Rigets ærinder. Han var to gange fængslet i årevis af Christian II, men fulgte ham til Sverige for at ordne statsretlige sager og levere det juridiske grundlag for Det stockholmske Blodbad 1520, hvorefter han blev biskop i Sverige et år.

På Fyens Stifts bispeborge oplevede han både belejring og bortførelse, og han blev holdt som fange af sine personlige fjender, men dette voldsomme og romanagtige liv, der sluttede i 1537, er en helt anden historie, der ikke har med Bispegaarden at gøre.<sup>9</sup>

### Den oprindelige hovedbygning

Bispegaardens grundmurede hovedbygning, nordfløjen, var ved opførelsen mindre end i dag, dvs. kun én etage over den høje kælder og ca. 10 m kortere. Formentlig i anden halvdel af 1500-tallet – det vides endnu ikke med sikkerhed hvornår – blev begge ender forlænget, så nordfløjen blev de nuværende 44,5 m, og der blev sat en etage på. Bygningens dybde er den oprindelige, 10,5 m.

Murene er meget kraftige. I stueetagen mod nord er murene 1,6 m tykke, og – efter murspor at dømme – samme tykkelse i de oprindelige gavle, mens sydturen er 1,2 m. En lignende forskel på murtykkelserne ses i Aarhus Bispegaards hovedfløj, omend af knap så kraftige dimensioner. Fænomenet forekommer i mange senmiddelalderlige bygninger og kan ikke altid forklares med befæstning, for eksempel var bispegården i Aarhus ikke befæstet.

Taget var som nu et sadeltag, måske med trempel. Der er ikke spor af kamtakker eller tidens anden pyntelige gavltype, den vælske, og restaureringsarkitekterne mener, at de nuværende gavle hører sammen med den senere forhøjelse. Tagstenene var de såkaldte munke-og-nonner, og i 2012 blev der nord for

the King's promise to have him elected Bishop of Funen Diocese the next time it fell vacant. He would be unlikely to achieve anything similar in Rome, the destination of Christendom's brightest schemers, ever ready to use their elbows, tongue, pen and poisoned wine.

Jens Andersen became bishop at the end of 1501 or the start of 1502. This made him a member of the Council of State, a body otherwise open only to the oldest and most distinguished noble families, and also the master of land holdings greater than any nobleman could muster.

Over time, Jens Andersen acquired powerful enemies. He was choleric by nature, schooled in sophistry, as haughtily proud of his mind as others were of their noble birth, and was said to know more than just his prayers. As time went by, he came to be at loggerheads with Christian II, the State Councillors and with other nobles and clerics, both in word and deed. "His hand" was "against every man and every man's hand against him", and he had no peace whatever.

Like his predecessors, the bishop was away from Odense for long periods. He would often stay at his castles of Ørkild and Kjærstrup, or travel through his extensive diocese or in the service of the Realm. Twice he was imprisoned for years at a time by Christian II, but he followed the King to Sweden to settle constitutional matters and provide the legal basis for the Stockholm Bloodbath of 1520, after which he became a bishop in Sweden for a year.

In his castles in Funen diocese, he experienced both siege and abduction, and was held prisoner by his personal enemies, but this frenzied and melodramatic life, which came to an end in 1537, is a completely different story, and has no relation with the Bishop's Palace.<sup>9</sup>

### The original main building

The brick-built main building of the Bishop's Palace, the north wing, was at the time of erection smaller than it is today. It had only one storey above the high-ceilinged cellar and was approx. 10 m shorter. Presumably in the second half of the 16th century – it is not yet known

*The south façade of Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The shading shows traces of the masonry from the late middle ages. The original shorter and lower main building is clearly seen as compared to the floor plan. The original entrance of the Bishop's Palace was the highly placed, arched opening to the right of the current main staircase. Elevation and plan: Kjeld Borch Vesth, Architect MA.*





*Højt oppe på hovedfløjens mur er der rester af en borthugget buefrise. Partiet med lidt mørkere sten er den svære nordgavl på den oprindelige østfløj, som blev inkorporeret i forlængelsen.  
Lundqvist Tegnesteue.*

*High up on the wall of the main building are the hacked-off remains of an arch moulding. The area of slightly darker bricks is the thick northern gable end of the original east wing, which was incorporated into the building extension.  
Lundqvist Architects.*

hovedbygningen fundet en mængde af disse sten, som menes at stamme fra en reparation eller omlægning af taget på denne bygning eller en anden i karreen.

Den høje kælder har ni sektioner krydshvælv i den oprindelige del, fordelt omkring en passage på tværs, så det var muligt at komme i kælderen fra begge sider af bygningen, ligesom det ses på Aarhus Bispegaard. Der var tilsyneladende ikke trappe mellem kælder og stueetage. I forlængelserne er der tøndehvælv.

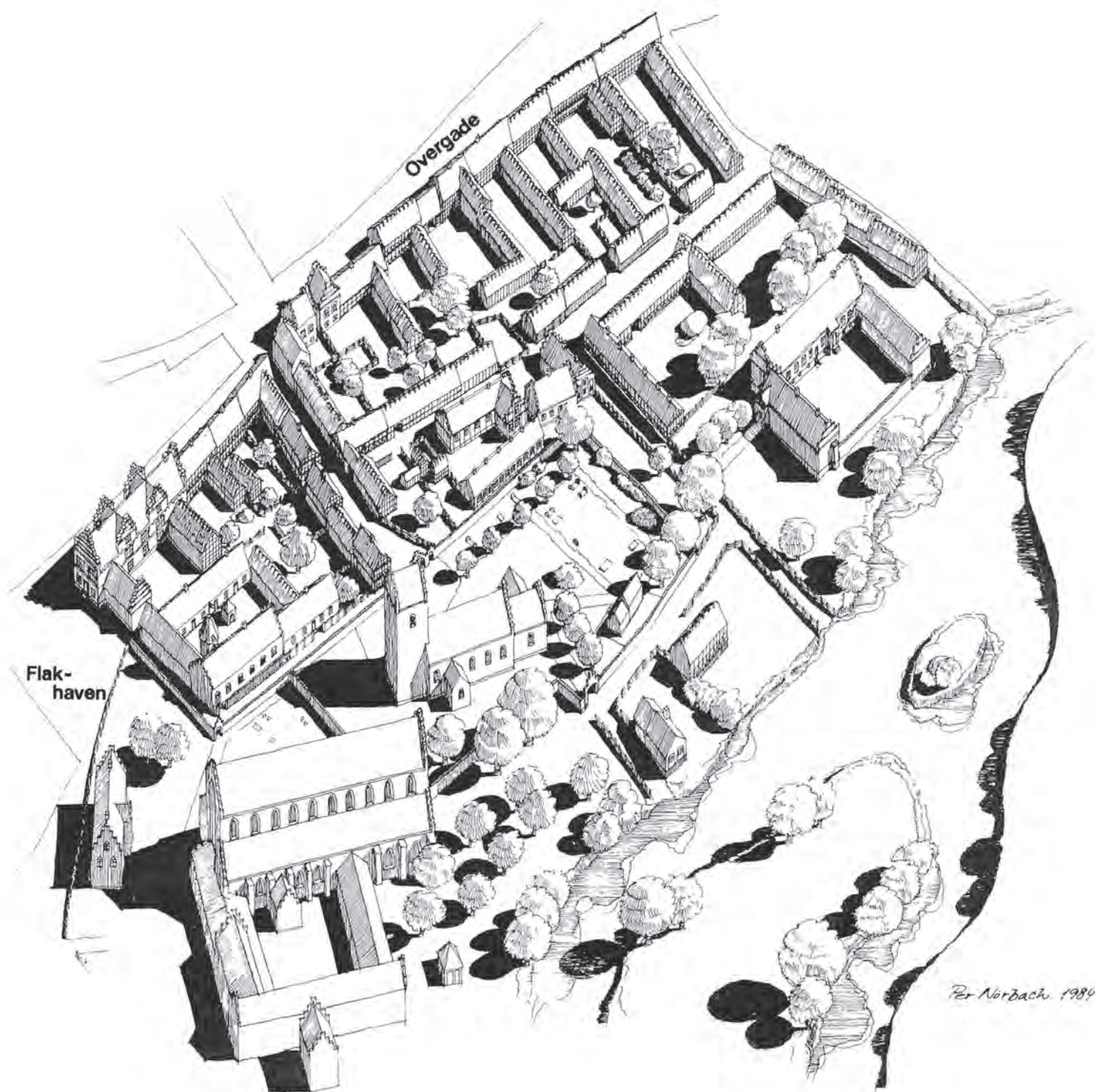
Den nuværende hoveddør er udhugget senere. Den oprindelige døråbning kan endnu anes på facaden til højre for denne dør, over kældernedgangen, og der må have været en trappe op til et galleri eller en svalegang af træ. Under restaureringen blev gulvbrædderne i Jomfruklosterets midterste sal fjernet, og under et af de dybe vinduer sås spor af indgangen, med fasttrampet ler og enkelte gulvtegl.

Sydfacaden havde store vinduer, mens vinduerne i nordfacaden var så små, at de ikke har efterladt sig spor, da de nuværende større vinduer blev udhuggede. Om der var vinduer i de oprindelige gavle vides ikke, da de forsvandt med forlængelsen af bygningen.

exactly when – both ends were extended, bringing the north wing to its present length of 44.5 m, and a second storey was added. The depth of the building is the original 10.5 m.

The walls are extremely thick. On the ground floor towards the north, the walls are 1.6 m thick, and – to judge by marks in the brickwork – had the same thickness at the original gable ends. The south wall was 1.2 m. A similar difference in wall thicknesses can be seen in the main wing of the bishop's palace in Aarhus, though there the dimensions are more modest. This phenomenon is repeated in many late medieval buildings and cannot always be explained as a defensive measure; the Aarhus bishop's palace was never fortified.

As now, the roof was a pitched roof, perhaps springing from a parapet above the ceiling joists. There are no traces of crow steps or the other decorative gable type of the period, the Dutch gable, and conservation architects believe that the present gables were constructed at the time of the later height increase. The roof tiles were so-called barrel tiles, and in 2012 a quantity of these was found north of the main building.



*Fugleperspektiv: Albani Torvs omgivelser i 1510, før torvets etablering i 1580. Bispegaards-komplekset omfattede på dette tidspunkt formentlig hele karéen fra Adalgade til åen. Porten i vestfløjen vendte ud mod domkirken, St. Albani Kirke og kirkegårdene, mens hovedadgangen til komplekset lå mod nord, ud fra to samtidige kilder sandsynligvis på hjørnet af Paaskestræde og Adalgade, så den kunne ses fra Overgade ved Skjolden. Rekonstruktion ved arkitekt MAA Per Nørbach.*

*Bird's eye view: Environs of Albani Torv in 1510 before the square was established in 1580. At this time, the Bishop's Palace probably occupied the whole street block from Adalgade to the river. The gate in the west wing of the palace opened towards St. Knud's and St. Alban's Churches and their churchyards. The main access to the property was from the north, presumably at the corner of Adalgade and Paaskestræde, thus making the gate visible from the main street Overgade. Reconstruction by architect MAA Per Nørbach.*





*Ved Odense Bys Museers udgravning i 2010 blev der syd for østfløjen fundet en del af en kassemur, der var 1,75 m bred. Murbredden korresponderer med en tilsvarende mur ud fra vestfløjen, der blev fundet ved udgravningerne 1975-1977. Murene er ganske vist i forskellig teknik, men arkæologerne mener, at de udgør enderne af en spærremur eller en sydfløj.*

*In the excavations by City of Odense Museums in 2010, part of a 1.75 m wide cofferwork wall was discovered south of the east wing. The thickness of the wall corresponds to a similar wall extending from the west wing uncovered in the excavations of 1975-1977. The two walls are of differing construction, but archaeologists think that they are the ends of a dividing wall or of a south wing.*

They are thought to stem from the repair or alteration of the roof of this building or one of the others in the street block.

The high cellar has nine sections of cross vaulting in the original part, arranged around a cross passage which gave access to the cellar from both sides of the building, as also seen at Aarhus Bishop's Palace. Apparently there was no stair between the cellar and the ground floor. The end extensions are barrel-vaulted.

The present main door was inserted later. The original door opening can still be traced on the facade to the right of this door, above the cellar steps, and there must have been a staircase up to a wooden gallery. During restoration, the floorboards in the middle room were removed, and traces of the entrance were found beneath one of the deep windows, with stamped clay and the odd floor tile.

The south facade had large windows, while those on the north facade were so small that they have left no trace, being obliterated when the present larger windows were inserted. Whether there were windows in the original gable ends is unknown, as they disappeared when the building was extended.

### **The wings**

According to marks in the brickwork, side wings originally extended from each end of the south facade of the north wing. It is not known when the wings





## Fløjene

Ifølge spor i murværket udgik der oprindeligt en fløj fra hver ende af nordfløjens sydfacade. Det vides ikke, hvornår fløjene blev fjernet fra jordens overflade, men det blev gjort så grundigt, at deres eksistens først blev opdaget ved arkæologiske udgravninger i 1976-77 og 2009-2010. Fløjene var ens, ca. 24 x 9 m, og ligesom i hovedbygningen var murtykkelserne forskellige: Ind mod gårdspladsen og i gavlene var murene 1,4 m og i ydermurene ca. 1,7 m. Vestfløjens kælder havde krydshvælv i hele sin længde, magen til dem i hovedbygningen, og i østfløjen er der fundet murrester efter tilsvarende krydshvælv.

Bispegaarden var således et harmonisk anlæg, hvor de tre fløje var ligeværdige. Den nuværende ydmyge bindingsværksbygning i øst er først opført i 1749, men der er ingen fysisk forbindelse mellem dens fundament og det oprindelige, som var dækket af jord, og som Bispegaardens ejere derfor ikke havde viden om.

Ved udgravningerne i 1970'erne fandt man et murforløb af fundamenterdimensioner ved vestfløjens sydgavl, og noget tilsvarende blev fundet ved østfløjens sydgavl under den seneste udgravning. Da hele strækningen imidlertid endnu ikke er udgravet, er det uvist, om det er rester af en spærremur eller en egentlig sydfløj som afslutning på anlægget.<sup>11</sup>

## Portene

Siden Odense Bys Museer ved udgravningerne i 1975-1977 fandt en nedrevet vestfløj med port, er denne port blevet betragtet som hovedindgangen til Bispegaarden. Men da det nuværende bygningsanlæg blev opført, var hele området mod vest optaget af to kirkegårde, mens Torvet først blev anlagt i 1580. Forbi kirkegårdene løb en sti mellem Bispegaarden og St. Knuds Kirke, og det er derfor mest sandsynligt, at porten i vest har ført ud til en processionsvej til domkirken. Her gik biskoppen og hans følge til de messer, han skulle celebrere, til gudstjenester og

were removed to ground level, but this was done so thoroughly that their existence was only discovered in the archaeological excavations of 1976-77 and 2009-2010. The wings were identical, approx. 24 x 9 m, and just as in the main building, they had varying wall thicknesses: towards the courtyard and at the gable ends, the walls were 1.4 m thick while the outer walls were approx. 1.7 m. The cellar in the west wing was cross-vaulted for its whole length, corresponding to the vaulting in the main building, while in the east wing, masonry remains of similar cross-vaulting have been found.

The Bishop's Palace was thus a harmonic composition with three equal wings. The present humble half-timbered building to the east was not erected until 1749, but there is no physical connection between its foundation and the original foundation, which was covered in soil, and which the owners of the Bishop's Palace were therefore unaware of.

In the excavations in the 1970's, a line of walling with foundation-like dimensions was discovered by the south gable end of the west wing, and something similar was found by the south gable end of the east wing in the latest excavations. However, as the whole section has not yet been excavated, it is uncertain whether these are remnants of a dividing wall or of an actual south wing fully enclosing the courtyard.<sup>11</sup>

## The gates

Since the discovery of a demolished west wing with gate by City of Odense Museums in the excavations of 1975-1977, this gate has been regarded as the main entrance to the Bishop's Palace. But when the present building complex was erected, the whole area to the west was occupied by two churchyards, while Albani Torv was only established in 1580. Past the churchyards a path ran between the Bishop's Palace and St. Knud's Church, so it is most likely that the western gate led out to a processional route to the Cathedral. From here the bishop and his retinue would walk to the masses he was due to celebrate and to services and other religious

andre kirkelige begivenheder. Sådanne processionsveje mellem bispegård og domkirke kendes fra Roskilde og Århus, hvor de endda på et tidspunkt blev overdækkede.

Ved udgravningen af østfløjen viste det sig, at den oprindelige kælder i nordenden ikke gik helt ind til hovedbygningens facade, og sammen med den nævnte rest af en buefrise kunne det tyde på en port mod Paaskestræde, af samme bredde som porten i vest, der ville understrege det oprindelige anlægs symmetri. Arkæologerne har dog ikke fundet afgørende beviser for denne port.<sup>12</sup>

Hverken vestporten eller en eventuel østport kan dog have været hovedindgang til hele Bispegaardskomplekset. Det virker ikke sandsynligt, at de store mængder råvarer til husholdet – kvæg, korn, brænde, hø og halm osv. – kom ind gennem de porte, der førte lige til biskoppens hoveddør. Derimod kan vinfade være lagt ned i de hvælvede kældre. Varerne havde heller ikke noget at gøre på den repræsentative plads, biskoppens cour d'honneur, men skulle anbringes i gårdens økonomibygninger. Det er ikke meget sandsynligt, at de har ligget foran hovedbygningen, på terrænet ned til åen, der helt op i 1800-tallet beskrives som lavtliggende og fugtigt.

En kilde oplyser, at biskop Jens Andersen havde sat sit valgsprog, *Salve patientia gloriosa victrix* – Hild den glørværdige tålmodighed, som sejrer, over Bispegaardens port. Det var skrevet med gyldne bogstaver, som man havde gjort i antikken og efterlignede på renæssancens bygninger. Valgsproget var anbragt på en fremtrædende plads, hvor det kunne læses af alle, der passerede forbi, bemærkes det.<sup>13</sup> Adelgade og Overgade var alfarvej, og det taler ligesom de logistiske forhold for en oprindelig hovedport mod nord, formentlig hvor Paaskestræde og Adelgade mødes.<sup>14</sup>

Forløbet af et angreb i 1534 under Grevens Fejde og flere kilder fra slutningen af 1500-tallet tyder til lige på en port i nord. Jomfruklosterets nordfacade og den nuværende lille strimmel jord op til en mur bag-

events. Similar processional routes between bishop's palace and cathedral are known from Roskilde and Aarhus, where they were even roofed over at one point.

Excavations of the east wing showed that the original cellar at the north end did not extend all the way to the facade of the main building, and, together with the above-mentioned trace of an arch moulding, this could indicate a gate towards Paaskestræde, with the same width as the western gate, thus emphasizing the original symmetry of the layout. However, archaeologists have not found any decisive evidence for this gate.<sup>12</sup>

However, neither the west gate nor a putative east gate could have been the main entrance to the whole Bishop's Palace precinct. It seems unlikely that the large quantities of household commodities – cattle, grain, firewood, hay and straw, etc. – would enter through gates leading directly to the bishop's front door. On the other hand, wine tuns may have been stored in the vaulted cellars. Everyday commodities would also be out of place in the ceremonial courtyard, the bishop's cour d'honneur. Instead they would be taken to the utility buildings on the site. It is unlikely that these were situated in front of the main building on the land down towards the river, which right up into the 19th century was described as low-lying and damp.

One source states that Bishop Jens Andersen placed his motto, *Salve patientia gloriosa victrix* – Hail glorious patience, which overcomes – over the Bishop's Palace gate. It was written in letters of gold, as was done in antiquity and imitated on renaissance buildings. The motto was placed in a prominent place where everyone who passed by could read it, the source tells.<sup>13</sup> Adelgade and Overgade were public highways, and considering logistics this suggests a main gate to the north, presumably at the junction of Paaskestræde and Adelgade.<sup>14</sup>

The details of an attack in 1534 during the Counts' Feud and several sources from the end of the 16th century also point to a gate to the north of the site. The northern facade of Jomfruklosteret and the present small strip of land backing onto a wall have long been assumed to be the original boundary of the Bishop's Palace to the north.



*Jomfruklosteret i 1909, set fra den sydlige have neden for gårdspladsen. De to haverum er adskilt af en stensætning af kampesten, som udligner den store niveauforskel i terrænet. Stensætningen fandtes allerede i 1700-tallet, hvor trappen og stakittet nævnes i regnskaberne. Arkæologerne mener, at stensætningen kan markere en sydfløj eller en spærremur, men om den hører til biskoppernes eller kongernes byggerier på Bispegaarden kan først afgøres ved en udgravning. Odense Bys Museer.*

*Jomfruklosteret in 1909, seen from the south garden below the courtyard. The two garden areas are separated by a bank of field stones bridging the large difference in levels. This bank existed as far back as the 18th century, when the steps and fence are mentioned in the accounts. Archaeologists believe that the bank could mark the site of a south wing or a dividing wall, but whether it is to be dated to the bishop's or to the king's building work at the Bishop's Palace can only be determined by excavation. City of Odense Museums.*

ved er længe blevet opfattet som Bispegaardens oprindelige afgrænsning mod nord. Det er blevet tolket sådan, at biskoppens hus var en fæstning, der vendte ryggen til byen. Tolkningen er støttet af, at nordmuren og gavlene er betydeligt tykkere end sydmuren. Men Bispegaarden var ikke en fæstning: Indtil slutningen af 1570'erne lå hovedbygningen frit midt på den store grund. Herefter blev enkelte grunde udstykket af karreen, mens resten udgjorde én ejendom, hvis ejer i

This has been interpreted as showing that the bishop's house was a fortress which turned its back on the city, an interpretation supported by the fact that the north wall and gable ends are considerably thicker than the south wall. But the Bishop's Palace was no fortress: until the end of the 1570's, the main building stood alone in the middle of the large plot. Subsequently, a few plots were parcelled off within the street block, but the rest remained a single property, whose owner, according to the deeds, was





*Udsigt mod syd fra Bispegaarden. Neden for gårdspladsen, en cour d'honneur foran hovedindgangen, ligger haven, som muligvis har været yderligere terrasseret. På den anden side af åen lå engen Bispeløkken, som 1508-1869 tilhørte Bispegaarden, senere Jomfruklosteret. Det vide udsyn over det fynske landskab blev brudt i 1859, hvor Albani Bryggeriernes store industrikompleks i historicistisk klosterstil blev opført. Til venstre for den karakteristiske gruppe gamle søjlepopler i Jomfruklosterets have ses Odense Ting- og Arresthus, netop opført 1861, da billedet blev taget. Odense Bys Museer.*

*View to the south from the Bishop's Palace. Below the ceremonial courtyard or cour d'honneur in front of the main building is the garden, which was possibly more terraced than it is at present. On the other side of the river lay the meadow known as Bispeløkken, which from 1508-1869 belonged to the Bishop's Palace, the later Jomfruklosteret. The wide views over the Funen landscape were curtailed in 1859, when the large industrial complex of the Albani Breweries was erected in historicist monastic style. To the left of the characteristic group of old fastigate poplars in the Jomfruklosteret garden can be seen Odense Courthouse and Cells, erected in 1861, the year this photograph was taken. City of Odense Museums.*

skødet blev sikret "fri vej til grunden fra den gamle Adelvej".<sup>15</sup> Denne ejendom blev solgt et par gange, splittet ved arv, solgt og samlet igen 1720-1721, og hele karreen tilhørte dels Jomfruklosteret, dels Stamhuset Hvedholm, indtil Jomfruklosteret begyndte at sælge fra i 1869.

I 1579 fortæller et skøde, at der var indgang til ejendommen Bispegaarden fra nord. Senere havde Jomfruklosteret en have på denne del af grunden, og der blev udhugget en havedør i nordmuren, som senere er tilmuret. Haven lå fælles med klosterets ejendom ud til Torvet, den såkaldte Patrongaard, og da bygningerne mod Adelgade var lave, var der mere lys end i dag. Hvornår den nuværende jordvold mod Adelgade er opstået, har arkæologerne endnu ikke afklaret;<sup>16</sup> efter skøder og fotografier at dømme stammer den fra opførelsen af en mur omkring 1906, da den katolske kirke og en beboelsesejendom blev opført på Patrongaardens grund.

### Beliggenheden

Biskopperne Krafse og Jens Andersen var fortrolige med renæssancen og romersk arkitektur fra deres besøg i Rom og rejser gennem Norditalien, og Andersen havde under sine humanistiske studier læst arkitekturteoretikeren Leon Battista Albertis traktater. Alberti beskrev blandt andet en *villa suburbana*, dvs. et landsted tæt på byen: En symmetrisk hovedbygning, der helst skulle ligge på en skrænt med udsigt over en terrasseret og symmetrisk have og med vue mod horisonten hen over et kultiveret landskab. Denne definition kunne være en beskrivelse af den nybyggede Bispegaard, hvis oprindelige hovedfløj oven i købet ligger på en kunstig forhøjning i terrænet, og måske var biskoppen inspireret af dette ideal, da han i 1508 mageskiftede sig til en eng på den modsatte åbred. En sydfløj ville spærre for dette vue, så de fundne murrester ved fløjenes gavle kunne være fundament for små endepavilloner, som nogle italienske villaer havde.

secured "free access to his property from the old Adelvej".<sup>15</sup> The property was sold on a few times, divided among heirs, sold and reunited again in 1720-1721, while the whole street block belonged partly to Jomfruklosteret and partly to the Hvedholm entailed estate, until Jomfruklosteret began to sell off the land in 1869.

A deed of 1579 states that the entrance to the Bishop's Palace property was from the north. Later, Jomfruklosteret had a garden on this part of the land, and a garden door was inserted in the north wall, although it was later bricked up again. The garden was connected with the garden of Jomfruklosteret's property, the so-called Patrongaard next to Albani Torv, and as the buildings facing Adelgade were only low, there was more light than there is today. When the present earth bank facing Adelgade was established is something archaeologists have not yet clarified;<sup>16</sup> to judge from deeds and photographs, it dates from the erection of a wall around 1906, when the Catholic church and a dwelling house were built on the Patrongaard site.

### Site environs

Bishops Krafse and Jens Andersen were familiar with Renaissance and Roman architecture from their visits to Rome and travels in Northern Italy, and Andersen had read the treatises of architectural theoretician Leon Battista Alberti as part of his humanistic studies. Alberti has a description of a *villa suburbana*, i.e. a country residence close to the town: a symmetrical main building, preferably built on a slope overlooking a terraced, symmetrical garden and with a prospect towards the horizon over a cultivated landscape. This definition could be a description of the newly built Bishop's Palace, whose original main wing actually lies on an artificial elevation above ground level, so perhaps the bishop was inspired by this ideal when in 1508 he acquired by exchange a meadow on the opposite bank of the river. A south wing would block this view, so the wall fragments found by the end gables of the wings could be the foundations of small end pavilions, such as are found in some Italian villas.

### Prospekt af Odense i 1580'erne

Prospektet viser den eneste afbildning, der findes af Bispegaarden indtil 1800-tallet. Prospektet er en del af atlasværket *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, fremstillet af Braunius og Hogenberg, der havde et stort professionelt kortværksted i Köln. Oplysningerne til prospektet blev indsamlet få år forinden, idet kansler Niels Kaas i juli 1586 sendte et kort over byen og en beskrivelse til kortværkstedet, som gjorde Odense-bladet færdigt i 1593.<sup>17</sup>

Det er ikke et øjebliksbillede af Odense anno 1586. Både af bemærkninger til nogle bygninger, af tekstboksen nederst og af kortets tekst fremgår, at prospektet viser flere tidsperioder på én gang. Det var ikke blot et bykort, så fremmede kunne finde rundt. Det fortalte også byens historie og udvikling på samme måde som nutidens "Turen går til"-bøger fortæller turistmålenes historie. F.eks. er St. Albani Kirke stadig med, skønt den var helt eller delvist nedrevet, men den refererer

### Prospect of Odense in the 1580's

The prospect shows the only illustration of the Bishop's Palace prior to the 19th century. The prospect is part of the atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* produced by Braunius and Hogenberg, who had a large professional mapmaking workshop in Cologne. The information for the prospect was collected a few years previously when Chancellor Niels Kaas in July 1586 sent a map and a description of the city to the mapmaking workshop, which then completed the Odense sheet in 1593.<sup>17</sup>

It is not a snapshot image of Odense in the year 1586. Comments on certain buildings, the text box at the bottom and text on the map all make it clear that the prospect shows several time periods at once. It was not just a city plan for the convenience of strangers, but also described the history and development of the city, like a modern-day guide book might tell the history of a tourist destination. For example, St. Albani Church is still included, even though it had been wholly or





til tekstdelen med en beskrivelse af kongemordet 1086 og helgenkåringen.

Generelt er proportionerne noget forvrængede, men i hvert fald i Bispegaardens nabolag genfindes nutidens karreer. Hvad bygningernes udseende angår, er i det mindste nogle af dem pålideligt gengivet, f.eks. rådhuset på Flakhaven, opført 1482. Ved nedrivningen i 1880 blev det opmålt og svarer til prospektet.<sup>18</sup> Det samme gælder biskop Jens Andersens kancelli-bygning sammesteds, her kaldt *Myropolium*, idet den blev parfumeri og apotek efter Reformationen. Dens udseende kendes fra billeder, før den blev nedrevet i 1857.

Bispegaards-karreen ses lidt øst for prospektets midte på den nordlige bred af Odense Å, markeret med bogstavet **e** og beskrevet i tekstboksen som: *Hic sita erat Curia episcopalis ꝑ [quem] totam hanc plagā à ciuib[us] nunc ædificata antea complexa est: Her lå Bispegaarden. Nu [kort før 1586] er hele området bebygget med borgerhuse.*

Lidt forskelligt alt efter sprog beskrives Bispegaarden således i prospektets tekstdel:

*Latin:* Der fandtes også en bispegård i Odense med en prægtig beliggenhed. Den er nu lavet om til bolig for borgerne.

*Tysk:* Der har også i Odense været et bispepalads [Palatium], det ejede et stort, smukt område, men i nutiden har borgerne bygget deres boliger der.

*Fransk:* Biskoppen havde også i denne by et smukt palads [palais], der var af stor udstrækning og optog megen plads; nu har man bebygget det med huse.

Af teksten fremgår det, at der er tale om hele Bispegaards-karreen og ikke kun hovedbygningen, det nuværende Jomfrukloster. Oplysningen om borgerne var nærmest dugfrisk, da prospektet blev tegnet, idet der var sket forandringer i karreen i det foregående tiår. Administrationen af Fyens Stifts og Bispegaardens gods var fortsat styret herfra efter Reformationen, og kongerne boede her under ophold i Odense. I 1575 flyttede kongeboligen til St. Hans Kloster, og

partly demolished, but with a reference to the text and its description of the king's murder in 1086 and subsequent canonisation.

Generally speaking, the proportions are somewhat distorted, but the neighbourhood of the Bishop's Palace still shows the street blocks visible today. As far as the appearance of the buildings is concerned, at least some of them are faithfully rendered, e.g. the City Hall on Flakhaven, erected in 1482. When this was pulled down in 1880, it was measured, and corresponds to the prospect.<sup>18</sup> The same applies to Bishop Jens Andersen's chancellery building on the same street, here called *Myropolium*, as it became a perfumery and apothecary's premises after the Reformation. Its appearance is known from pictures from before its demolition in 1857.

The street block containing the Bishop's Palace can be seen just to the east of the centre of the prospect on the northern bank of Odense River, marked with a letter **e** and described in the text box as: *Hic sita erat Curia episcopalis - [quem] totam hanc plagā à ciuib[us] nunc ædificata antea complexa est: Here lay the Bishop's Palace. Today [just before 1586], the whole area is built over with the citizens' houses.*

The Bishop's Palace is described with slightly differing words in the different languages of the textual part of the prospect:

*Latin:* A bishop's palace also existed in Odense, with a magnificent location. It has now been altered into homes for the citizens.

*German:* A bishop's palace has also existed in Odense, which owned a large, attractive area, but in modern times the citizens have built their dwellings there.

*French:* The bishop had also in this city a beautiful palace of large extent and occupying a large area; nowadays this is built over with houses.

The text makes it clear that the subject is the whole Bishop's Palace street block and not just the main building, the present Jomfruklosteret. The information about the citizens was almost up-to-the-minute when

en del af karreen blev udstykket til en borgmester og et par andre borgere, mens Odense-købmanden Oluf Bager fik resten af ejendommen med hovedbygningen.<sup>19</sup>

Frederik II havde 1560-1561, måske også senere, bygget og ombygget i karreen, så enkelte af prospektets bygninger er muligvis fra den tid. Til gengæld var enkelte gamle bygninger, formentlig hovedbygningens fløje, nogle stalde og et nyt hus, som kongen selv havde opført på den nordlige del af grunden, blevet nedtaget i årene efter 1575 og genbrugt på St. Hans Kloster.

### **Bispegaards-komplekset**

Proportionerne i Bispegaards-karreen er i særlig grad forvrængede, eftersom der er angivet langt flere store bygninger, end der er plads til, men en lang række detaljer viser sig ved nøje gennemgang at være korrekte. Et bud på denne mærkværdighed kunne være, at de herrer, som samlede oplysninger til prospektet, har afleveret *både* en beskrivelse eller endda en afbildning af Jens Andersens anlæg, da det var nyt, og en beskrivelse af dets aktuelle udseende. Det har tegneren misforstået og indtegnet begge komplekser.

Det nordlige kompleks med den høje portbygning svarer nemlig nøje til det, Odense Bys Museer har fundet arkæologisk gennem de seneste 30 år.

Det sydlige kompleks og boderne ned mod åen viser de faktiske forhold i 1580'erne – og de følgende næsten 300 år, indtil Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster i 1870 solgte den del af grunden, hvor nu tre huse lå på de små boders plads. Hvis hypotesen holder, har de gamle herrer, som stod for formidlingen til kortværkstedet, fået lutendranken galt i halsen, da prospektet udkom i 1597.

the prospect was drawn, as the changes to the street block had taken place in the previous decade. The Funen Diocese and the Bishop's Palace estates were still administered from here after the Reformation, and the Kings stayed here during visits to Odense. In 1575, the Royal Residence moved to St. Hans Friary, and part of the street block was parcelled out to a mayor and a couple of other citizens, while Odense merchant Oluf Bager received the rest of the property, including the main building.<sup>19</sup>

In 1560-61, and maybe also later, King Frederik II carried out building and rebuilding work in the street block, so some of the buildings in the prospect possibly date from that time. On the other hand, certain of the old buildings, presumably the wings to the main building, a few stables and a new house which the King himself had erected on the northern part of the site were dismantled in the years following 1575 and reused at St. Hans Friary.

### **The Bishop's Palace**

The proportions of the Bishop's Palace street block are particularly distorted, as far more large buildings are indicated than there is space for, but, on close inspection, many of the details prove to be correct. One reason for this odd state of affairs could be that the gentlemen responsible for collecting information for the prospect provided *both* a description or even an illustration of Jens Andersen's buildings when they were new *and* a description of their current appearance. The artist misunderstood this and drew in both sets of buildings.

The northern complex with the high gate building turns out to correspond exactly to the archaeological discoveries made by City of Odense Museums over the past 30 years.

The southern complex and the cottages down to the river show the actual situation in the 1580's – and for almost the next 300 years, until 1870, when Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster sold off the part of the site containing the three houses which lay on the site of the cottages. If this hypothesis is true, the elderly gentlemen responsible for providing information to the mapmaking workshop would have choked on their hippocras when the prospect was published in 1597.



*Prospektets øverste kompleks. Fortandinger i hovedbygningens sydfacade viser, at muren udgjorde portens ene side, og at vestfløjen oprindeligt havde samme højde som østfløjen. Her er fløjen en hel etage højere end hovedfløjen, og porten mod Torvet ligger et andet sted, så den kan være en nybygning eller forhøjelse fra Frederik IIs tid.*

*I østfløjen er der signatur for en loggia eller korsgang, måske med murede søjler, et renæssancetræk. Den kan ikke være tilfældig, for den ses ikke andre steder på prospektet; Gråbrødre Kloster havde korsgange, men de kunne ikke ses fra prospektets vinkel. Kun fundamentet fra den oprindelige østfløj er tilbage under den nuværende bindingsværksbygning, endda med et lag jord imellem, så det kan ikke konstateres, om fløjens vestmur var udformet således.*

*Upper complex on the prospect. The toothing in the south facade of the main building shows that the wall formed one side of the gate and that the west wing had originally been the same height as the east wing. Here the wing is a whole storey higher than the main wing, and the gate towards Albani Torv is in a different position, so this may be a new or heightened building from the time of Frederik II.*

*The east wing shows the conventional signs for a loggia or cloister, possibly with brick pillars, a renaissance feature. This cannot be chance, as it appears nowhere else on the prospect. Greyfriars Monastery had cloisters, but these were invisible from the angle of the prospect.*

*Only the foundation of the original east wing remains under the present half-timbered building, and even this is covered with a layer of soil, so it cannot be confirmed that the west wall of this wing had this appearance.*



*Prospektets nederste kompleks. Enten er kun en del af den høje vestfløj tilbage, eller også er der opført en anden, mindre bygning, som ser ud til at have passage til Torvet.*

*Er prospektet korrekt, er den oprindelige vestfløj eller i det mindste dens sydlige ende nedrevet før midten af 1580'erne. Østfløjen er ligeledes blevet forkortet – eller gennembrudt – så der blev adgang til gårdsrummet fra Paaskestræde. Også i den senere bindingsværksbygning fra 1700-tallet var der en passage.*

*Mod syd ses en spærremur, efter signaturen teglhængt, eller en smal sydfløj. Rækken af små boder er ikke fri fantasi. I 1630 var der stadig fem boder ud til Bispegaardsstræde, senere Albanigade. Både i Odense og andre byer blev sådanne lejeboder til mindrebemidlede opført efter samme skabelon med én dør, ét vindue, ét rum og et ildsted.*

*Lower complex on the prospect. Either only part of the high west wing is left, or another smaller building, apparently with a passage to Albani Torv, has been erected.*

*If the prospect is correct, the original west wing, or at least its southern end, was pulled down before the mid 1580's.*

*The east wing has also been shortened – or broken through – to give access to the courtyard from Paaskestræde. The later 18th century half-timbered building also had a through-passage.*

*Towards the south is a dividing wall, tiled according to the drawing, or a narrow south wing. The line of small cottages is not the artist's impression. In 1630 there were still five cottages facing Bispegaardsstræde, later Albanigade. Both in Odense and other towns, rented cottages of this type for the less well-off were constructed to the same pattern, with one door, one window, one room and a hearth.*



## Bispehoffet

Bispegaarden var som nævnt ikke kun sæde for biskoppen og stiftets administration, men også centrum for Bispegaardens eget gods. Det bestod af ejendom, der gennem århundreder var skænket bispestolen af konger, adel og almindelige mennesker for deres sjæls frelses skyld.

Fyens Stift omfattede omkring år 1500 Fyn, Lolland-Falster, Als, Ærø og alle småøerne. Stiftet ejede foruden Bispegaarden borgen Ørkild ved Svendborg og borge på Lolland og Falster med tilliggende bøndergods samt borgen Kjærstrup med næsten hele Tåsinge. Den sidste havde dronning Margrethe I skænket specifikt til "bispebordet i Odense", mod at der til evig tid blev holdt årlige sjælemesser for hendes forfædre og efterkommere.<sup>20</sup> Bispebordet var ikke et møbel med fire ben, men hele biskoppens husholdning, ligesom kongens fadebur ikke var et spisekammer, men omfattede hele Hofholdningen.

En biskop var ikke nødvendigvis teolog, og han var først og fremmest stiftets administrator, hvilket faktisk var en del af hans fulde titel. Bispegaardskomplekset rummede derfor som alle bispegårde på den tid mange funktioner: Kancelli, administration af jordegodset, biskoppens bolig og hans store hushold.

Bispehoffet var opbygget som kongens og i nogle henseender som en miniatureudgave af pavehoffet i Rom, Curien. *Curia* betyder gård og kendes via fransk *cour* fra f.eks. nytårskur. Det er samme ord som det tyske *Hof*, Hoffet. Når der på Odense-prospektet står Curia ud for den tidligere katolske bispegård, var det latin for selve bygningskomplekset, dvs. en stor gård, og for funktionen.

I biskoppens kancelli sørgede hans kansler, sekretærer og skrivere for korrespondance med paven, gejstlige og verdslige fyrster, testatorer og Stiftets sognepræster om kirkevielser og genindvielser, aflad for besøg ved altre og i kirker og ejendomsforhold. Jurister tog sig af bandlysninger og navnlig ægteskabssager, og en arkivar holdt styr på skøder og breve. Biskoppens

## The Bishop's Court

As mentioned, the Bishop's Palace was not just the bishop's residence and seat of the diocesan administration, but also the centre of its own estate. This estate consisted of property donated to the bishopric over centuries by kings, nobility and ordinary people for the salvation of their souls.

About the year 1500, Funen Diocese encompassed the islands of Funen, Lolland, Falster, Als, Ærø and all the smaller islands. Apart from the Bishop's Palace, the diocese owned Ørkild Castle near Svendborg, castles on Lolland and Falster with associated tenant farms, and Kjærstrup Castle together with nearly the whole of the island of Tåsinge. This latter had been granted by Queen Margrethe I specifically to the "bishop's table in Odense" in return for perpetual annual masses for the souls of her ancestors and descendants.<sup>20</sup> The bishop's table was not a four-legged piece of furniture, but the whole of the bishop's household, just as the "King's Pantry" was not a larder, but included the whole Royal Household.

A bishop was not necessarily a theologian, but was first and foremost the administrator of the diocese, and this was in fact part of his full title. Like all other bishop's palaces of the period, the Odense Bishop's Palace comprised many functions: chancellery, administration of the landed property, the bishop's residence and that of his large household.

The Bishop's Court was organised like that of the king, and in some respects was a miniature edition of the Papal Court in Rome, the Curia. The word *curia* is the equivalent of the French *cour*, or the German *Hof*, meaning a yard or courtyard. When the Odense prospect writes Curia outside the former Catholic bishop's palace, this was Latin both for the actual building complex, i.e. buildings centred round a courtyard, and for the property's function.

In the bishop's chancellery, his chancellor, secretaries and clerks would handle correspondence with the pope, spiritual and temporal princes and the parish priests of the diocese regarding dedications of churches, indulgences



*I begyndelsen af 1500-årene kunne Bispegaarden ikke læn- gere rumme både Stiftets og Bispegaards-godsets administra- tion, og biskop Jens Andersen lod opføre en kancellibygning på Flakhaven. Det var et smukt ni-fags renæssancehus, som stod næsten uberørt til 1857 og kan give en forestilling om de arkitektoniske kvaliteter ved Jens Andersens bispegård, nu Jomfruklosteret. Kronen overtog bygningen sammen med Stiftets øvrige ejendomme efter Reformationen, hvorefter den blev apotek og siden adelsgård. Akvarel af J.H.T. Hanck, 1835. Odense Bys Museer.*

*By the early 1500's, the Bishop's Palace could no longer accom- modate the administration of both the Diocese and the episcopal estates, and Bishop Jens Andersen had a chancellery building erected in Flakhaven. It was a fine nine-bay renaissance house which remained almost untouched until 1857, and may give an impression of the architectural qualities of Jens Andersen's bishop's palace, now Jomfruklosteret. The Crown took over the building together with the Diocese's other buildings after the Reformation, and it became an apothecary's shop and later a nobleman's house. Watercolour by J.H.T. Hanck, 1835. City of Odense Museums.*

*camera*, skatkammeret, bestyrede indtægterne af det vældige bispegods og donationer, dvs. arv og gaver. Desuden var skatkammeret ansvarligt for biskoppens bordsølv og klenodier.

Til bispehoffet hørte sangere og musikere til li- turgisk brug, der også underholdt biskoppens gæster. På Bispegaarden boede og spiste tolv skoledrenge, der sang i nogle af byens kirker, og de var her endnu fyre år efter Reformationen.<sup>21</sup>

for visits to altars and churches and property matters. Lawyers would deal with excommunications and in particular marital cases, while an archivist kept control of deeds and letters. The bishop's *camera*, or treasury, controlled the revenues of the vast episcopal estates and the donations, i.e. bequests and gifts. The treasury was also responsible for the bishop's table silver and treasures.

The bishop's court included singers and musicians, both for liturgical use and for entertaining the bishop's



*Ligesom herremændene var biskoppen altid omgivet af væbnede svende. Det signalerede status i eget hus, som gæst og på rejser. På Bispegaarden hørte svendene hjemme i borgestuen, og den bibelske scene med fodvaskningen illustrerer tummelen. Claus Bergs altertavle, St. Knuds Kirke, Odense. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Like the great lords of the country, the bishop was always surrounded by armed retainers. These signalled his status in his own house, as a guest and on journeys. At the Bishop's Palace, the retainers would spend their time in the servant's hall, and this Biblical footwashing scene illustrates the hubbub. Altarpiece by Claus Berg, St. Knud's Church, Odense. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

### En herregård i byen

Omfanget af Bispegaardens jordegods kendes ikke, men det må have været af en vis størrelse, for efter Reformationen udgjorde det nogle år et selvstændigt len med egen lensmand. Senere blev det administreret sammen med snart et, snart et andet af de fynske len; først i 1575 blev Bispegaards Len lagt sammen med Næsbyhoveds og St. Hans Klosters Len til Odensegaards Len.<sup>22</sup>

Biskoppens hushold var meget pladskrævende. Bispegaardens jordegods leverede naturalier, så på gården var der stald til levende slagtenød, kornlofter, rum til malt og humle og forrådsrum til saltede dyrekroppe og smørtønder. Over hundrede dage om året var fastedage, hvor kødspiser var forbudt. Folkene fik tørret eller saltet fisk, mens der var fersk fisk på biskoppens bord, så der har været gravet en lille fiskedam som hyttefad. Her var stegers og et storkøkken til folkeholdet, bryggers med kar og kedler til ølbrygning, bageri, vaskeri, badstuer og dampbad, ligesom Roskilde-bispen havde det på sin gård i København. Alene brændeoplaget til kaminer, køkkener, baging, brygning, vask og bade har optaget en stor plads i karreen. Her var beboelse til fogeden og hans folk, portner, vægter og

guests. Residing and eating at the Bishop's Palace were twelve schoolboys, who sang in some of the city's churches. Forty years after the Reformation, they were still there.<sup>21</sup>

### A manor house in the city

The extent of the Bishop's Palace's estates is not known, but they must have been fairly large, as after the Reformation they were made a separate fief for a number of years with their own feudal lord. Later the estates were administered together with one or other of the Funen fiefs: for instance, in 1575 the Bishop's Palace fief was united with Næsbyhoved and St. Hans Friary Fief, to form the new Odensegaard Fief.<sup>22</sup>

The bishop's household required a great deal of space. The bishop's estates delivered goods in kind, so the palace included stalls for livestock awaiting slaughter, grain lofts, rooms for malt and hops and storerooms for salt meat and butter barrels. Over one hundred days per year were fast days on which meat dishes were forbidden. The people ate dried or salted fish, but there was fresh fish on the bishop's table, so a

*Udsigt til Odense Å fra rum 110. Klosteret 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*









*Folkekøkken og borgestue 1518. Johann Stoeffler: Calendarium Romanum. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*Servants' kitchen and servants' hall 1518. Johann Stoeffler: Calendarium Romanum. Royal Library.*

fyrbøder, biskoppens køgemester og køkkenfolk, hans mange væbnede svende og tjenere og en borgestue til måltider og dagligt ophold. Der var også opholdsrum til de kvindelige tjenestefolk, som tog sig af biskoppens klæder og ornater, bordhimle og -tæpper, sengeomhæng osv., og der blev spundet og vævet til husets behov ligesom på kongs- og herregårdene. Her var stor hestestald, med rum til høg og halm, og et vognskur, eftersom biskopperne og deres folk rejste meget mellem ejendommene i Stiftet og i Kirkens og Rigets anliggender. Ved udgravningen 2009-2010 er der fundet affald efter en smedie, som har sørget for beslaget.

### **Køkkenerne**

På Bispegaarden var der flere køkkener, ligesom der også var på kongeslottene og i klostrene, for de forskellige niveauer i hierarkiet fik ikke samme mad. I klostrene var der tre køkkener: Et til abbeden, et til munkene og et til lægfolkene. Abbederne havde pligt til at modtage fornemme folk, og manges borde var værd at gæste og vidt berømte. Sådan har det også været hos Odense-bispen, som selv levede godt og havde fornemme gæster, men også mange medarbejdere og stort folkehold på kost.

small fishpond was dug to store them in. The palace contained a roasting hearth and a kitchen for the bishop's retainers, a brewhouse with vats and coppers for beer brewing, a bakery, washhouse, bathhouses and steam bath, just as the Bishop of Roskilde had at his palace in Copenhagen. The fuel stores alone for the fireplaces and kitchens and for baking, brewing, laundry and baths would have taken up a large area of the street block. Here too were living quarters for the bailiff and his people, for gatekeeper, watchman and fire mender, the bishop's cook and kitchen staff, his many armed retainers and servants, who had a servant's hall for meals and daytime use. There were also rooms for the female servants who looked after the bishop's clothing and robes, the table canopies and cloths, the bed curtains etc., and who span and wove for the needs of the household just as in the homes of royalty and nobility. There were large stables with space for hay and straw and a coach shed, as the bishops and their people were always travelling between the diocesan properties or on service for the Church and the Realm. The excavations of 2009-2010 uncovered waste from a smithy which would have been responsible for carriage fittings.

*Fra Biblioteket, rum 101. 2013. På kisten ses Preben Gyldenstjernes våben i midten, flankeret af våbnene for hans to hustruer. Det vides ikke, hvad årstallet 1611 refererer til, da var de alle for længst døde. Gyldenstjernes datter Anne og hendes mand Jørgen Brahe ejede Bispegaarden 1630-1677. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*From the Library, room 101. 2013. Preben Gyldenstjerne's coat of arms are on the middle of the coffin flanked by the coat of arms for his two wives. It is not known what the year 1611 refers to, since they were all long dead by that time. Gyldenstjerne's daughter Anne and her husband Jørgen Brahe owned the Bishop's Palace from 1630-1677. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*





*Spør efter ildsted i hovedbygningens kælder; til venstre en af skorstenene. Ved restaureringen valgte arkitekterne at lade ildstedet være synligt. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Traces of a fireplace in the main building cellar; on the left, one of the chimneys. The conservation architects chose to leave the fireplace visible. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

Både som kongelig gård efter Reformationen og under de senere adelige ejere var der adskilte køkkener; når der er fundet to køkkener under udgravning og restaurering af Jomfruklosteret, har de således ikke afløst hinanden, men fungeret samtidig.

Der er spor efter et ildsted i den østlige ende af hovedbygningens kælder, men det vides ikke, hvor gammelt det er, eftersom de basale elementer som skorsten, røgfang og fundamenter til ildbænken ikke forandrede sig gennem mange århundreder. Et køkken inde i hovedbygningen har været biskoppens, hvor der tilberedtes udsøgte retter i mindre mængder af en særlig kok, svarende til kongens mundkok. Hvor der var faciliteter til spidstegning, der var ganske pladskrævende, kan dog ikke konstateres.

### **The kitchens**

The Bishop's Palace had several kitchens, just as in the Royal Palaces and monasteries, because the different levels of the hierarchy were served different food. The monasteries had three kitchens: one for the abbot, one for the monks and one for the laypeople. The abbots were obliged to receive distinguished guests, and many kept tables which were worth visiting and known far and wide. The same applied to the Bishop of Odense, who lived well and entertained distinguished guests, but also had many employees and a large household to feed.

Both as a royal manor after the Reformation and under the later aristocratic owners, the kitchens were kept separate. The two kitchens discovered during the excavation and restoration of Jomfruklosteret were

Maden til det øvre lag af biskoppens folk blev lavet af andre kokke, eventuelt i et nærliggende rum, mens storkøkkenet til folkene har ligget et tredje sted, ligesom bryggers, bageovn og badstuer i en isoleret bygning på grund af brandfaren. Hverken arkæologer eller restaureringsarkitekter har fundet middelalderlige bageovne og bryggerkedler inden for Jomfruklosterets mure, hverken under hovedbygningen eller i fløjene eller som spor i murværket.

Under udgravningen i østfløjen 2009-2010 er der fundet en fint opbygget stenrende, der løber mod syd og åen, men ikke har noget udløb i sydgavlen, som ville være mest logisk. I Jomfruklosterets regnskaber fra 1700-tallet nævnes imidlertid en rende fra køkkenet i østfløjen til den såkaldte baggård, den østligste del af grunden mod Paaskestræde, og herfra må det snarrede køkkenvand være ledt i åen.

### **Biskoppens bolig**

Hovedbygningen var indrettet med en række store, gennemgående rum, der først senere er delt op, med de største sale i gavlene. I den nuværende sal i vest, kaldet Biblioteket, er den oprindelige del malet med blymønje i mandshøjde over et mørkegråt, illusionsmalet fodpanel, og efter forlængelsen er hele salen malet med den billigere røde farve, jernoxid. Der var bjælkeloft, sikkert også rødmalet, og på gulvet lå store fliser, formentlig af Ølandssten.

Med Jens Andersens status og midler har han fulgt tidens mode. Bispegaarden blev indrettet samtidig med dronning Christinas gård i Odense, fra 1522 St. Clara Kloster, og de to boliger har uden tvivl haft samme stil og udstyr.<sup>23</sup> De enkle, malede vægge uden egentlige dekorationer var kun baggrund for boligudstyret af tekstiler som vægtæpper, bordhimle og bordtæpper, bænke- og stolehynder, og der har stået store udskårne skabe og skænke, hvor biskopperne kunne anbringe deres mange kostbarheder.

Ud over det bohavede, han selv anskaffede, har Jens Andersen sikkert ligesom tidligere biskopper overtaget

thus not successive sites, but were in function at the same time.

There are traces of a fireplace at the eastern end of the cellar to the main building, but it is not known how old it is, as the basic elements such as chimney, smoke canopy and hearth foundations never changed over many hundreds of years. A kitchen in the main building would be the bishop's, in which exquisite dishes in smaller quantities would be prepared by a special cook, corresponding to the King's personal cook. Where the facilities were for spit-roasting, an activity which required a great deal of space, cannot be confirmed.

The food for the upper class of the bishop's retinue was prepared by other cooks, perhaps in a nearby room, while the main kitchen for the people would be in a third location, and, like the brewhouse, bakery and bathhouses, would have stood separately because of the risk of fire. Neither archaeologists nor conservation architects have found medieval ovens or brewing coppers within the walls of Jomfruklosteret, whether under the main building, in the wings or as traces on the masonry.

During the excavation of the east wing in 2009-2010, a neatly constructed brick gutter was found, running southwards towards the river, but there was no outlet in the south gable end, as would have been logical. However, the 18th century accounts for Jomfruklosteret mention a gutter from the east wing kitchen to the so-called back yard, the eastern part of the plot facing Paaskestræde, and from here the dirty kitchen water must have been led to the river.

### **The bishop's home**

The main building was constructed as a series of large, continuous rooms, which were only later subdivided, with the largest rooms at the gable ends. In the present west room, called the Library, the original part was painted in red lead to head height over a dark-grey trompe-l'oeil skirting, while after lengthening, the



*Den skare borgere fra Svendborg, som midt i juli 1534 angreb Bispegaarden, var bevæbnet på samme måde som flokken på dette næsten samtidige træsnit af en ukendt kunstner.*

*The crowd of citizens from Svendborg who in mid-July 1534 attacked the Bishop's Palace were armed in the same way as the crowd on this almost contemporaneous woodcut by an unknown artist.*

en del af sin forgængers løsøre og klenodier. Han begik flere dødssynder som hovmod og vrede, men griskhed og begærlighed efter jordisk gods og luksus delte han med alle Europas kirkefyrster. På Bispegaarden udgjorde kostbarhederne måske ikke "a king's ransom", men dog en biskops. I 1519 blev en mordsag fra 1504 genrejst, og af politiske årsager blev Jens Andersen involveret og kastet i hårdt fængsel. Det blev først lempet lidt, så han fik en kande øl og et par timers frisk luft om dagen, efter at han tilbød at aflevere "sølv, guld og klenodier" til Christian II. En af kongens embedsmænd mødte op i Bispegaarden med en notar, der gjorde byttet op og fjernede det. Kongen tog desuden Bispegaarden og dens gods i pant for mandeboden. Senere blev Jens Andersen løsladt og fik gården tilbage mod at afgive 2/3 af Fyens Stifts indtægter til Kronen for resten af sin levetid. Den ekspropriation omgjorde Frederik I, men kostbarhederne var og blev borte.

### **Biskop Jens Andersen går af**

Det vides ikke, hvornår Jens Andersen var født, men i 1525 var han stadig sit sædvanlige, overmodige selv. Da adelen ved en lejlighed antydede, at han burde

whole room was painted with the cheaper iron oxide red paint. There was a beamed ceiling, probably also painted red, while the floor was covered with large paving stones, presumably from Øland.

Jens Andersen took care to match his status and means to the fashions of the times. The Bishop's Palace was fitted out at the same time as Queen Christina's Palace in Odense, from 1522 the St. Clara Convent, and the two residences doubtless exhibited the same style and fittings.<sup>23</sup> The simple, painted walls without actual decorations were just a background for textile furnishings such as tapestries, table canopies and cloths, and bench and chair cushions, while large carved cupboards and sideboards allowed the bishops to display their many costly treasures.

Apart from the possessions he acquired himself, Jens Andersen had, like former bishops, certainly taken over part of his predecessor's chattels and heirlooms. He may have committed deadly sins such as pride and anger, but those of greed and covetousness for earthly goods and luxury were sins he shared with every other European prince of the church. At the Bishop's Palace, the luxuries may not have amounted to a king's ransom, but they certainly amounted to a bishop's. In 1519 a murder case of 1504 was resurrected, and Jens Andersen was involved for political reasons and subjected to harsh imprisonment. Conditions were only mitigated to allow him a jug of ale and a few hours of fresh air a day after he offered to provide Christian II with "silver,

*Udsnit af afdækning i rum 217, bevaret efter restaureringen som et kig til husets historiske interiørlag. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Section of uncovering in room 217, retained after the restoration as a view into the historic interior layer of the building. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





træde tilbage, svor han ved den hellige ble – Jesu ligklæde – at han ville dø som en vældig biskop i Fandens navn. Det forskrækkede Victoriatidens blodfattige historikere, men kong Hans bandede også: Da Jens Andersen engang spillede ham et puds, udbød han: “Guds dros, bispen er en skalk!”

Et par år senere, da en reformation af kirken for alvor gærede, følte han sig imidlertid gammel og træt og fik en hjælpebiskop, der også skulle være hans efterfølger, Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne. I 1529 var Jens Andersen så “vanmægtig af sygdom”, skrev han, at han ikke kunne bevæge sig over til St. Knuds Kloster. Søndag før Palmesøndag indbød han derfor alle implicerede til sig i Bispegaarden for at overdrage bispeembedet til Gyldenstjerne. Han oplæste forskellige dokumenter, deriblandt om stiftets ejendomme, og stillede sine betingelser: En pension og ophold på Kjærstrup med underhold af alle naturalier, så længe han levede. Med sig fra Bispegaarden skulle han have kvæg, alle slags fødevarer og sine ejendele. Palmesøndag indsatte han i St. Knuds Kirke Gyldenstjerne, som skulle blive den sidste katolske biskop over Fyens Stift.

### **Bispegaarden angribes 1534**

Hvor lidt tykke mure, ja endog voldgrav og vindebro, i realiteten beskyttede, blev tydeligt under Grevens Fejde, et almueoprør, der også handlede om meget andet end religion og varede fra 1534 til 1536. Talrige herregårde og flere bispeborge blev ødelagt af almueskarer. De havde stort set kun høtyve, leer og begrafker til rådighed, men plyndrede, hærgede, slog undertiden adelige ihjel og drog hujende videre, mens flammerne steg op fra de brændende gårde. Nogle steder deltog købstadsborgere med luntebøsser og små kanoner, som de havde pligt til at have til lokalt forsvar mod landets fjender. Alligevel kan det undre, hvordan selv kraftige borge som kongens Næsbyhoved og biskoppens Ørkild kunne blive så ødelagte, at de aldrig kunne rejses igen.

Også Bispegaarden blev angrebet, og det gjaldt både biskop Gyldenstjerne og selve bispeinstitutionen.

gold and jewels”. One of the king’s officials attended the Bishop’s Palace with a notary who recorded the booty and removed it. The King also seized the Bishop’s Palace and its estates as surety for the blood money. Later Jens Andersen was released and retrieved his palace on pain of surrendering two thirds of Funen Diocese revenues to the Crown for the rest of his life. This expropriation was reversed by Frederik I, but the treasures had gone, and remained so.

### **Bishop Jens Andersen retires**

How old he was at the time is unknown, but in 1525 Jens Andersen was still his usual haughty self. When the nobility on one occasion suggested that he should retire, he swore, devil take him, that by the Sacred Shroud he would die a mighty bishop. This scared off milksop Victorian-age historians, but King Hans was also capable of swearing. Once when Jens Andersen played a trick on him, he exclaimed, “God’s Wounds, the bishop is a scoundrel!”

A few years later, however, with the reformation of the Church looming ominously on the horizon, he realised that he was old and tired and secured an auxiliary bishop with the idea of making him his successor. This was Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne. In 1529, Jens Andersen was so “impotent with sickness” as he wrote, that he was unable to make the short trip to St. Knud’s Monastery. For this reason he invited all the involved parties to the Bishop’s Palace on the Sunday before Palm Sunday to transfer his bishop’s office to Gyldenstjerne. He read out various documents, including one on the diocese’s property holdings, and laid down his conditions: a pension and the right to live at Kjærstrup with all its revenues in kind, as long as he should live. With him from the Bishop’s Palace he should have the right to take cattle, all kinds of provisions and his own possessions. On Palm Sunday he installed Gyldenstjerne as bishop in St. Knud’s Church. Gyldenstjerne would be the last Catholic bishop of Funen Diocese.

*Cornelius Hamsfort den Yngre, der var farmaceut og arvede sin faders apotek i biskoppens kancellibygning, var en habil amatørhistoriker. Han samlede kilder til blandt andet Fyens Stifts bispehistorie og illustrerede den selv. Her er det biskop Gyldenstjerne, der har aflagt mitra og bispestav og iført sig rustning for at leve resten af sit liv som den højadelige godsejer, han var født til at være. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*Cornelius Hamsfort the Younger, an apothecary and heir to his father's apothecary's shop in the bishop's chancellery building was an able amateur historian. His collection included sources for the history of the Diocese of Funen, which he illustrated himself. Here we see Bishop Gyldenstjerne, having laid aside his mitre and crozier and donned a suit of armour, in order to live the rest of his life as the distinguished noble landowner he was born to be. Royal Library.*



En gruppe borgere tog midt i juli 1534 fra Svendborg til den nærliggende Ørkild og brændte den af, hvorpå de ilede videre mod Odense og Bispegaarden. Gyldenstjerne havde tidligere absenteret sig, men der var selvfølgelig altid folk på gården. Arild Huitfeldt fortæller i *Danmarks Riges Krønike*:<sup>24</sup>

“Ud i lige måde plyndrede og indtog de Svendborg borgere Odense Bispegaard, de begav dem udi S. Albani Kirke straks hos og udi andre huse omkring Bispegaarden og skød af kirken og husene til hvem sig lod se eller ville stille til værn af vinduerne på Bispegaarden. Imidlertid fik de nogle ført på en båd over graven som førte ild og tjære udi porten som ikke var hvælvet og der med opbrændte porten og i så måde blev de gården mægtige [fik den i deres magt].”

St. Albani lå kun et par hundrede meter vest for Bispegaardens vestfløj og porten ud til kirkegården, og på den afstand kunne datidens håndvåben med deres ringe skudvidde ikke ødelægge en kraftig port

### **Attack on the Bishop's Palace, 1534**

The limited protection afforded by thick walls, and even moats and drawbridges, became painfully clear during the Counts' Feud, a popular uprising which involved much more than religion and lasted from 1534 to 1536. Numerous manor houses and several bishop's castles were destroyed by peasant bands. They had little more than hayforks, scythes and pitch torches at their command, but they plundered and ravaged, sometimes killing members of the nobility, before noisily moving on, as the flames rose from the burning farmsteads. In some places, the citizens of market towns joined in with their matchlocks and small cannons, which it was their duty to keep for local defence against the enemies of the Realm. Even so, it is surprising that even large castles such as the King's Næsbyhoved, or the bishop's Ørkild could be damaged so badly that they never rose again.

The Bishop's Palace was also attacked, and both Bishop Gyldenstjerne and his bishopric were to feel the effects. In mid-July 1534, a group of citizens advanced from Svendborg to the nearby Ørkild Castle and





i en muret bygning. Historien melder ikke noget om, at svendborgerne medbragte kanoner, og det lykkedes dem da heller ikke at trænge ind gennem vestporten.<sup>25</sup> Svendborgerne skød også fra husene, fortæller Huitfeldt, men de eneste huse inden for håndvåbnenes skudvidde lå nordvest og nord for hovedbygningen, så de har beskydt hovedporten mod Adelgade og økonomibygningerne. Den store hovedbygning kunne de slet ikke nå fra den position.

Biskoppens folk forsvarede sig, nogle af dem fra Bispegaardens vinduer. Forsvarernes våben havde lige så ringe skudvidde og kunne ikke nå kirken, så de kunne kun få ram på de angribere, der befandt sig på kirkegården eller lige foran porten i vestfløjen. Fra vinduerne ud til Adelgade var de derimod på skudhold af husene overfor.

Herefter fortæller Huitfeldt noget, som har undret flere historikere og bygningsarkæologer, nemlig at svendborgerne satte en båd over (vold)graven. En sådan grav er ikke påvist arkæologisk,<sup>26</sup> og der er hverken topografiske spor eller et naturligt vandløb, ligesom en grav ikke er nævnt hverken før eller siden. Hvis Huitfeldt ikke har været lokalkendt og blot har forestillet sig, at der måtte være en voldgrav, var scenariet nok snarere, at svendborgerne fik fat i en båd, lagde nogle tjæretønder i den og havde held til at lægge til åbredden neden for Bispegården. Herfra kunne de bære tjæren op til Adelgade ad Paaskestræde. Eller nemmere endnu, til en mindre port i den sydlige spærremur. Mens alle Bispegaardens folk var engagerede af angriberne oppe ved Adelgade-porten og i vestfløjen, kunne de listige svendborgere således i ro og mag åbne bagindgangen.

Så snart angriberne var inden for i karreen, var der fri adgang til at plyndre forrådene, og de kunne nærmest spadsere lige ind i biskoppens bolig midt på grunden. Det havde nok været en anden snak, hvis Gyldenstjerne med sine professionelle svende havde været der, men fogeden og hans karle kunne ikke forsvare hovedbygningen effektivt og havde desuden travlt alle vegne.

*Fra kælderen. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. 2013.*

*From the basement. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. 2013.*

burned it to the ground, before hurrying off to Odense and the Bishop's Palace. Gyldenstjerne had previously made himself scarce, but naturally there were always people at the Bishop's Palace. Arild Huitfeldt describes it in his Chronicle of the Danish Realm:<sup>24</sup>

“In similar fashion the citizens of Svendborg plundered and occupied the Bishop's Palace in Odense, they took up position outside St. Albani Church directly opposite and in other houses around the Bishop's Palace, and from the church and houses shot at whoever showed their face or tried to defend themselves at the windows of the Bishop's Palace. Meanwhile certain persons managed to get over the moat in a boat and placed fire and pitch in the unvaulted gate and thereby burned the gate and thus overpowered the palace.”

St. Albani was only a few hundred metres from the west wing of the Bishop's Palace and the gate leading out to the churchyards, but at that distance the small arms of the time with their short range would be unable to destroy a strongly-built gate in a brick building. History is silent as to whether the men from Svendborg had cannons with them, but they were unable to penetrate the west gate.<sup>25</sup> They also shot from the nearby houses, according to Huitfeldt, but the only houses within small-arm shooting distance were to the northwest and north of the main building, so they must have shot at the main gate onto Adelgade and the service buildings. From that position, the large main building was completely out of their reach.

The bishop's staff defended themselves, some from the Bishop's Palace windows. The defenders' weapons had just as short a range as the attackers', and could not reach as far as the church, so they could only hit assailants in the churchyard or right in front of the west wing gate. From the windows facing Adelgade, they were within range of the houses opposite.

Huitfeldt then introduces an element which has puzzled many historians and building archaeologists,

Angriberne er myldret op ad trappen til svalegangen og trængt ind gennem hoveddøren og vinduerne. De stak biskoppens kostbarheder i lommerne, bandt dyre stoffer omkring sig, tømte vinfadene og smadrede indboet, som det berettes, når landsknægte plyndrede.

Tidligere har historikere og arkæologer tolket Huitfeldts tekst sådan, at Bispegaarden brændte og blev ødelagt under angrebet. Han skriver imidlertid ikke noget om brand, men nævner udtrykkeligt, at bispens borg Ørkild brændte. Under restaureringen er der fundet sodpartikler i gulvfylde over hvælvingerne flere steder, dog ikke i den oprindelige vestlige ende, det senere Bibliotek, og i så små mængder, at den kan stamme fra nedtagelse af skorstenene i forbindelse med forlængelsen. Eller, idet soden primært er fundet langs ydervæggene,<sup>27</sup> måske fra en sørgebemaling med kønrøg og senere nedvaskning. Da Christian III døde i 1559, gav Frederik II lensmændene omhyggelige instrukser om at drage sale og kamre i alle de kongelige ejendomme med sort stof eller på anden vis klæde rummene i sorg. Det må også have omfattet Bispegaarden, den kongelige residens i Odense, hvortil den afdøde konge blev ført fra Koldinghus og bisat i St. Knuds Kirke. Først tyve år senere blev liget ført til Roskilde Domkirke. Da Frederik II døde i 1588, var Bispegaarden ikke længere offentlig ejendom.

### Den sidste katolske biskop

I Grevens Fejde lå magten snart hos den ene side, snart hos den anden. Gyldenstjerne var dybt involveret i politik og opholdt sig sjældent på Bispegaarden. Da Christian II's parti en overgang havde magten på Fyn, blev han afsat og en tidligere svensk ærkebiskop, Gustav Trolle, indsat. Trolle hørte efter nogle samtidiges mening ikke til Guds bedste børn, og i Skibbykrøniken kaldes han "denne urolige og ustadige mand med det vilde sind, der åndede død og fordærvelse."

Trolle skal have opholdt sig på Bispegaarden den følgende vinter, så enten var hovedbygningen stadig beboelig, eller der var andre passende huse i karreen.<sup>28</sup>

that the Svendborg contingent sent a boat across the moat. No such moat has been discovered in archaeological investigations,<sup>26</sup> and there are neither topographical traces nor a natural watercourse. No moat has ever been mentioned before or since. If Huitfeldt was unaware of local conditions and merely imagined there must have been a moat, the situation was probably that the Svendborg mob got hold of a boat, placed some tar barrels in it and succeeded in landing on the river bank below the Bishop's Palace. From here they could carry the tar up to Adelgade via Paaskestræde. Or, even more easily, to a smaller gate in the southern dividing wall. While all the Bishop's Palace staff were occupied by the attackers at the Adelgade gate end and in the west wing, the cunning Svendborgers could quietly enter by the back door.

As soon as the attackers had penetrated the outer walls, they would have free access for plundering the provisions, and they could almost stroll into the bishop's residence in the centre of the site. The situation would have presumably been different if Gyldenstjerne and his professional retainers had been there, but the bailiff and his men would be unable to defend the main building effectively, and were kept busy on all fronts.

The attackers would have swarmed up the staircase to the gallery and burst in through the main door and windows. They would pocket the bishop's treasures, wrap themselves in the expensive textiles, empty the wine casks and smash the household effects, as we learn from accounts of mercenary plundering.

Previous historians and archaeologists have interpreted Huitfeldt to mean that the Bishop's Palace was burnt and destroyed during the attack. However, he says nothing about a fire, though he expressly states that Ørkild Castle burnt down. During restoration, soot particles were found in the floor infill above the vaulting at various points, but not at the original west end, the later Library, and in such small quantities that they may stem from the taking down of the chimneys

*Udsnit af hjørneskab i trapperum 215. 2007. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*







*Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne, den sidste katolske biskop over Fyens Stift, sad fængslet et års tid efter Reformationen; da han blev løsladt, nu fri af cølibatet, giftede han sig med Jytte, en datter af den rige Predbjørn Podebusk til Nørre Vosborg.<sup>29</sup> Knap hundrede år senere, i 1630, købte parrets barnebarn, Anne Gyldenstjerne, og hendes mand Jørgen Brahe Bispegaarden, og i 1716 skænkede deres barnebarn igen, Karen Brahe, gården til brug for et adeligt jomfrukloster. Parrets gravplade i Aarhus Domkirke. Det Kongelige Bibliotek.*

*Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne, the last Catholic bishop of Funen Diocese, was imprisoned for a year following the Reformation; on his release, and now free from his vow of celibacy, he married Jytte, daughter of the rich Predbjørn Podebusk of Nørre Vosborg.<sup>29</sup> Just under 100 years later, in 1630, the couple's grandchild, Anne Gyldenstjerne and her husband Jørgen Brahe purchased the Bishop's Palace, and in 1716 their grandchild, Karen Brahe, donated the property for use as a Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The couple's monumental plaque in Aarhus Cathedral. The Royal Library.*

at the time the building was extended. Or, in as much as the soot was primarily found along the outer walls,<sup>27</sup> maybe from funeral decorations with lampblack which were later washed off. When Christian III died in 1559, his successor Frederik II gave his Lord Lieutenants careful instructions to have all the halls and chambers in the royal residences covered with black cloth or otherwise clad for mourning. This must also have included the Bishop's Palace, the royal residence in Odense, to which the deceased king was carried from Kolding Castle before interment in St. Knud's Church. Only twenty years later was the body transferred to Roskilde Cathedral. By the time Frederik II died in 1588, the Bishop's Palace was no longer state property.

### **The last Catholic bishop**

During the Counts' Feud, power shifted constantly from one side to the other. Gyldenstjerne was deeply involved in politics and was seldom in residence at the Bishop's Palace. When Christian II's party held Funen at one point, he was deposed as bishop and a previous Swedish archbishop, Gustav Trolle was installed. According to some of his contemporaries, Trolle was no angel, and the Skibby Chronicle describes him as "this unquiet and capricious man with an untamed mind who breathed death and destruction."

Apparently Trolle resided at the Bishop's Palace the following winter, so either the main building was still habitable or there were other suitable houses within the precincts.<sup>28</sup> The summer after, he was mortally wounded at the Battle of Øksnebjerg near Assens, the turning point of the civil war. On 29 July 1536, the besieged Copenhagen surrendered to Christian III and the war was over.

Gyldenstjerne was immediately reinstated, but his satisfaction was short-lived as all the bishops were imprisoned that very August. The Lord Lieutenant of Næsbyhoved and two other noblemen were sent to arrest Gyldenstjerne. If he barricaded himself in the

### **Den protestantiske biskop**

Bispeembedet blev ikke afskaffet ved Reformationen, men af modvilje mod den gamle betegnelse kaldtes stifternes leder i mange år superintendent, dvs. den, der havde overopsynet med de kirkelige forhold.

Den første superintendent over Fyens Stift flyttede ikke ind på Bispegaarden, men blev boende i St. Knuds Kloster som før udnævnelsen. I 1538 fik han embedsbolig i en del af det nedlagte St. Clara Kloster, dronning Christinas tidligere gård, og det varede længe, før man begyndte at kalde dén for bispegård.

### **The Protestant bishop**

The bishop's office was not abolished at the Reformation, but from an aversion to the old title, the leader of the diocese was for many years called the Superintendent, i.e. the person with oversight over ecclesiastical affairs.

The first Superintendent of Funen Diocese did not move into the Bishop's Palace but remained at St. Knud's Monastery as he had done before his appointment. In 1538 he was given an official residence in part of the abolished St. Clara Convent, Queen Christina's former palace, but it was many years before this came to be known as the bishop's palace.

Sommeren efter blev han dødeligt såret i Slaget ved Øksnebjerg ved Assens, der vendte borgerkrigen. 29. juli 1536 overgav det belejrede København sig til Christian III og krigen var forbi.

Gyldenstjerne blev straks genindsat, men fornøjelsen var kort, eftersom alle biskopper blev arresterede allerede i august. Lensmanden på Næsbyhoved skulle sammen med to andre adelsmænd arrestere Gyldenstjerne. Hvis han forskansede sig på Bispegaarden, lød ordren på at tage fogeder, andre lensmænd med deres svende, borgere og almue til hjælp. Sammen med det vellykkede angreb to år tidligere fortæller det, at hovedbygningen ikke var mere befæstet end enhver anden rigmandsbolig i Odense. Arrestationen kom imidlertid til at gå stiltfærdigt for sig: Efter en gudstjeneste trådte Gyldenstjerne ud af St. Albani Kirke for at begive sig tilbage til Bispegaarden, men blev standset af en adelsmand og en tysk officer. Han fik oplæst den kongelige arrestordre og fulgte fredsommeligt med dem. Bispegaardens katolske tid var forbi.

Bishop's Palace, the order was to enlist in aid bailiffs, other feudal lords and their retainers, citizens and peasantry. Together with the successful attack two years previously, this tells us that the main building was no better fortified than any other rich man's house in Odense. However, the arrest passed off without incident: following a church service, Gyldenstjerne left St. Albani Church to return to the Bishop's Palace, but was stopped by a nobleman and a German officer. The arrest order was read to him and he gave himself up without protest. The time of the Catholic Church at the Bishop's Palace was over.





# Odensegaard – Kronens ejendom

## Odensegaard – Crown property

Af / by Barbara Zalewski

På Reformationens officielle fødselsdag, 30. oktober 1536, blev Christian III's reces om de nye kirkelige forhold oplæst på et stændermøde i København. Herefter skulle "alle stifters gods, slotte, gårde, huse og jordegods, som bisperne nu har haft i hænde og værge herefter til evig tid være og blive med al deres indtægt og tilliggende (...) under Kronen". Almuen råbte begejstret ja. De ville af med biskopperne og håbede dermed, "at man ikke så ofte skulle skatte den fattige almue," fortæller Arild Huitfeldt. Men de glædede sig for tidligt. Året efter blev bispetienden forvandlet til kongetiende, og en tiendedel er nu engang en tiendedel.<sup>30</sup>

De fynske lensmænd, som havde arresteret biskop Gyldenstjerne, fik nu ordre til sammen med to tyske officerer og en væbnet styrke at sætte sig besiddelse af Stiftets ejendomme. Det var drabeligt, men kongemagten frygtede åbenbart stadig uro efter de år, hvor sindene havde været i kog. De skulle lave lister over inventaret, hvortil også hørte forrådene af landsbrugsprodukter, og på Bispegaarden skulle de tage Odenses magistrat med på gennemgangen.

### Bispegaards Len og stiftslenet

Når der overhovedet var inventar og forråd på Bispegaarden efter angrebet, var det fordi den fortsat fungerede som centrum for Bispegaards-godset. Fogeden og gårdens folk arbejdede, boede og spiste på gården, ligesom produktionen på bispegodset fortsatte; nu gik

On the official birthday of the Reformation, 30 October 1536, Christian III's "Recess" on the new ecclesiastical situation was read out at an assembly of the Estates General in Copenhagen. Henceforth, "all diocesan estates, palaces, farms, houses and manors now in the bishops' possession and custody shall for ever be and remain, with all their revenues and appurtenances (...) under the Crown". The Commoners applauded enthusiastically. They wanted the bishops abolished and hoped that as a result, "the poor commoners should no longer be taxed so often," Arild Huitfeldt explains. But they rejoiced too soon. The following year the Bishop's Tithe was converted into a Royal Tithe, and, after all, a tithe is a tithe.<sup>30</sup>

The Funen lords who had arrested Bishop Gyldenstjerne now received orders, together with two German officers and an armed force, to take possession of the Diocesan estates. This was a mighty show of force, but the Crown apparently still feared unrest after the many years of public agitation. Inventories were to be taken, including the stores of agricultural products, and at the Bishop's Palace, the Odense Magistrates were also to be invited.

### Bishop's Palace Fief and Diocesan Fief

That there were still possessions and stores left at the Bishop's Palace after the attack was due to the fact that the place still functioned as the centre of the Bishop's

*Vinter 2012. Foto Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Winter, 2012. Photo Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



Palace estates. The bailiff and the palace staff worked, lived and ate at the palace, and production on the estates continued as before: only now, all revenues went to the Crown. The twelve singing schoolboys also lodged and ate here, while fourteen poor scholars, who also sang, received half board. In 1537 the Bishop's Palace estates, including Tåsinge, hitherto a separate fief, were united under the name of Bishop's Palace Fief and received their own Lord Lieutenant.

With the confiscation of the country's episcopal estates, the Crown came into possession of vast territories – Funen Diocese alone owned 440 farms on Funen, the Ørkild Castle manor, most of Tåsinge and isolated estates on Langeland, Lolland, Falster, Als and Ærø. These properties could not operate without administration, so a new post was created, that of Diocesan Lord Lieutenant. In the first years, these conducted estate management and revenue collection and a number of other functions performed by the bishops, such as parish church matters and matrimonial cases in the church court. The final two functions only completely disappeared in the municipal reforms of 2007.<sup>31</sup> The Bishop's Palace became the headquarters of the Diocesan Lord Lieutenant over the Funen and Langeland parts of the Diocese, and the administrative and judicial apparatus based in the Bishop's Palace and Chancellery building continued as if the change in religion had never happened. From 1541, the whole country's episcopal estates were reorganised, and the small Bishop's Palace Fief was now administered together with one of the other Funen fiefs, Nyborg, Rugaard or St. Hans-Næsbyhoved, apparently according to whichever Lord Lieutenant seemed best suited. The composition of the fiefs is named specifically in the patents. Until 1575, a few Diocesan Lord Lieutenants resided at the Bishop's Palace, while others preferred to live in their other fiefs. In other words, the administrative details explain many of the difficulties in the history of the Bishop's Palace buildings and their use over the forty years they were in Crown ownership.

*Fra Salen, rum 104, med kig til gårdspladsen.  
2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*From the Hall, room 104, looking into the courtyard. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



alle indtægter blot i Kronens kasse. Desuden boede og spiste de tolv syngende skoledrenge her, mens fjorten fattige skoledrenge, der ligeledes sang, fik halv kost på gården. I 1537 blev Bispegaardens gods, herunder Tåsinge, et særskilt len, kaldet Bispegaards Len, og fik egen lensmand.

Med inddragelsen af landets bispegods kom Kronen i besiddelse af en vældig godsmængde – alene Fyens Stift ejede 440 fynske gårde, Ørkilds jordegods, det meste af Tåsinge og strøgods på Langeland, Lolland-Falster, Als og Ærø. Disse ejendomme kunne jo ikke være uden administration, så der blev oprettet et nyt embede, stiftslensmænd. De varetog de første år godsdrift og indtægter samt en række andre funktioner, der havde hørt under biskopperne, blandt andet sognekirkernes forhold og kirkeretten med ægteskabsager. De to sidste funktioner forsvandt først helt ved kommunalreformen i 2007.<sup>31</sup> Bispegaarden blev sæde for stiftslensmanden over den fynske og langlandske del af Stiftet, og det administrative og juridiske apparat, som havde domicil på Bispegaarden og i Kancellibygningen, fortsatte uanfægtet af religionsskiftet. Fra 1541 blev hele landets bispegods omorganiseret, og det lille Bispegaards Len blev nu administreret sammen med et af de øvrige fynske len: Nyborg, Rugaard eller St. Hans-Næsbyhoved, tilsyneladende alt efter hvilken lensmand, der egnede sig. Sammensætningen af len nævntes udtrykkeligt i bestallingerne. Indtil 1575 residerede nogle stiftslensmænd på Bispegaarden, andre foretrak at bo på deres andet len. De administrative detaljer oplyser med andre ord mange uklare punkter i Bispegaardens bygningshistorie og anvendelse i de fyrre år, hvor den var i Kronens eje.

Det har hidtil været antaget, at St. Hans Kloster blev administrationscentrum for dette klostres gods og Næsbyhoved og kongelig residens med navnet Odensegaard, da Christian III kom på tronen. Denne antagelse skyldes, at kongen daterede nogle breve på klosteret med "vor gaard", men det kaldte han også andre af Kronens nyhvervelser efter Reformationen, som f.eks. Kancellibygningen på Flakhaven, da han skødede

It has hitherto been assumed that when Christian III ascended the throne, St. Hans Monastery became the administrative centre for the estates of that monastery and Næsbyhoved as a royal residence called Odensegaard. This assumption stems from some letters from the king at the monastery signed as from "our house", but this was also his name for other new Crown acquisitions after the Reformation, for instance the Chancellery building on Flakhaven, when he made it over to his personal physician and apothecary in 1549. Royal letters have been signed in several locations in and around Odense right from the 15th century. Many official letters communicate decisions taken at meetings, and it appears that the locations were chosen according to the number of attendees, such as the Deanery, the Blackfriars Monastery, St. Hans Monastery, etc.

Moreover, St. Hans Monastery was still functioning as a monastery. The monks were not expelled at the Reformation, but under the new ecclesiastical organisation were allowed to remain until their death or until they choose to re-enter the secular world, while the feudal lords of the monastery estates had to maintain them for the remainder of their life. In return the monks of St. Hans were required to register deeds, titles, letters and treasures, so that the Crown had an overview of its new possessions. They worked on this until 1558, and the monastery function only ceased 20 years later.<sup>32</sup>

The kings had no fixed residences, but travelled round the country with a large retinue and part of the administration, so the primary need was for stabling for what sometimes amounted to 200 horses. The stabling was insufficient at the Monastery, but the Bishop's Palace had large stables. The Lord Lieutenant holding Bishop's Palace Fief was therefore under an obligation "as often as We or Our wife come to Odense" to supply "Our and Our attendants' horses with the necessary hay and litter". In 1578 he was ordered to prepare straw fodder, hay and litter for the king's, courtiers' and foreign guests' horses, as Frederik II was already



*Renæssancedør fra første del af 1600-tallet i stueetagen, rum 102, der på et tidspunkt er afskilt fra den store sal mod vest, Biblioteket. Døren er genbrug, idet der er mærker efter ældre hængsler; den er, sammen med en tilsvarende dør for enden af rummet, anskaffet enten til denne ombygning eller hentet et andet sted i huset. Konservatorerne har afdækket flere områder med en række senere overmalinger, blandt andet en accentuering af dens detaljer, og er nået ind til dørens egetræ og intarsia i forskellige træsorter. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Renaissance door from the first part of the 17th century on the ground floor, room 102, which at some point was separated from the great hall facing west, the library. The door has been reused, since there are markings from older hinges; along with another similar door at the end of the room, it was acquired either for this refurbishment or taken from elsewhere in the building. The conservators have uncovered several areas with a number of later repainting, among other things an accentuation of its details, and have gotten down to the door's oak and intarsia in various types of wood. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

den til sin livlæge og apoteker i 1549. Kongelige breve er daterede flere steder i og omkring Odense helt fra 1400-tallet. Mange officielle breve formidler beslutninger taget på møder, og det ser ud til, at der blev valgt lokaler alt efter antallet af mødedeltagere, på Provstegaarden, i Sortebrødre Kloster, på St. Hans Kloster osv.

St. Hans Kloster fungerede desuden stadig som kloster. Munkene blev ikke jaget bort ved Reformationen, men måtte ifølge den nye kirkeordning blive boende, indtil de døde eller selv søgte ud i verden, og lensmændene på klostergodset skulle underholde dem resten af deres levetid. På St. Hans Kloster skulle de til gengæld registrere skøder, adkomster, breve og klenodier, så Kronen havde overblik over sin nye ejendom. Det syslede de med til 1558, og først tyve år senere ophørte klosterfunktionen helt.<sup>32</sup>

Kongerne havde ikke faste residenser, men rejste rundt i landet med stort følge og en del af administrationen, så der skulle først og fremmest være staldplads til undertiden et par hundrede heste. Det var der ikke på klosteret, men på Bispegaarden var der store stalde. Den lensmand, som havde Bispegaards Len, var derfor forpligtet til, "så tit vi eller vor hustru komme til

planning the Ceremony of Homage of 1580, which led to the establishment of the Albani Torv square just outside the Bishop's Palace.

If the history of the Bishop's Palace in this period has often been difficult to work out, it is because only few, and only chance, official letters and documents have been preserved. Now and then, a glimpse emerges, but all the interim events have been lost, and only with a number of letters and patents from 1575 does the earlier status of the Bishop's Palace suddenly become intelligible.

In June of that year, Frederik II appointed a new Lord Lieutenant over "the Bishop's Palace in Odense, together with Næsbyhoved Fief, the Diocesan Estates and St. Hans Monastery Fief". The Lord Lieutenant was thus also Diocesan Lord Lieutenant. Five weeks previously, the King had already written to him, telling him to move to the Home Farm outside Odense, as "Odensegaard is to be demolished". St. Hans Monastery cannot here be Odensegaard, as that very day the King wrote to the same lord telling him that he had been to inspect St. Hans Monastery – with which he was apparently rather unfamiliar – and had



*Da væglærreder og spåntapet blev fjernet i den gennemgående sal, rum 104, kom Bispegaardens oprindelige indgangsdør til syne. Bag panelet blev fundet rester af et faststampet lergulv, der har været dækket af stenfliser. Den tilmurede dør ses tydeligt på ydermuren mod syd, øst for den nuværende hovedtrappe. Man kom op til døren ad en trappe, en svalegang eller et galleri af træ. Foto: Tv. Lundqvist Tegnestue. Th. Roberto Fortuna.*

Odense” at holde “vore og vore hofsinders heste med nødtørftigt hø og strøelse”. I 1578 skulle han have stråfoder, hø og strøelse til kongens, hoffolkens og de fremmede gæsters heste parat, idet Frederik II allerede var ved at planlægge lenshyldningen 1580, som førte til anlæggelsen af Albani Torv lige uden for Bispegaarden.

Når Bispegaardens historie i denne periode har været vanskelig at få rede i, skyldes det, at der kun er bevaret meget få og helt tilfældige breve og dokumenter fra officielt hold. Af og til kastes et strejflys ind, men alle mellemregningerne mangler, og først gennem en række breve og bestallinger fra 1575 bliver Bispegaardens tidligere status pludselig fortåelig.

Dette år udnævnte kongen en ny lensmand over “Biskopsgaarden i Odense med Næsbyhoved Len, Stiftets gods og St. Hans Klosters Len”. Lensmanden



*When the wall canvases and the straw wallpaper were removed in the continuous hall, room 104, the original entrance door of the Bishop’s Palace emerged. Remains from a tamped earthen floor, which has been covered with stone tiles, were found behind the panel. The walled-up door is clearly visible on the exterior wall facing south, east of the current main staircase. You came up to the door via a staircase, an outside gallery or a wooden gallery. Photo: Left, Lundqvist Architects. Right, Roberto Fortuna.*

decided to move there from the Bishop’s Palace. And, in fact the Monastery was not demolished but instead extended.<sup>33</sup>

However, the new Lord Lieutenant died in November of that year. The letters patent to his successor refer to “St Hans Monastery and the estates formerly under the Bishop’s Palace and Næsbyhoved Fief and the Diocesan Estates.” As the King wished to “have the Bishop’s Palace pulled down and St. Hans Monastery refurbished”, he was to devote his attention to this building work.<sup>34</sup> In other words, in the course of these few months, the King had merged the fiefs, after which St. Hans Monastery became known as Odensegaard, the present Odense Castle. Even so, the main building at the Bishop’s Palace was not pulled down, but a decision to the contrary has not survived.





*I den vestlige ende af den nye førstesal var væggene rødmaledede med sort og grå stregdekoration og illuderet fodpanel, malet næsten en halv meter op. Indhuggene er lavet senere for at sikre vedhæftning af puds. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. Th.: udsnit af loftdekoration 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*



*At the west end of the new first floor, the walls were painted in red with black and grey decorative lines and a trompe l'oeil skirting painted to a height of nearly half a metre. The notches were made later to help the adhesion of a plaster finish. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. Right: Section of the ceiling decoration, 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

blev således også stiftslensmand. Allerede fem uger senere skrev kongen til ham, at han skulle flytte til Ladegaarden uden for Odense, da "Odensegaard skal nedbrydes". Her kan St. Hans Kloster umuligt være Odensegaard, eftersom kongen selvsamme dag skrev til selvsamme lensmand, at han havde været henne at bese St. Hans Kloster – som han åbenbart ikke var særlig fortrolig med – og havde besluttet at flytte fra Bispegaarden dertil. Og klosteret blev som bekendt ikke nedbrudt, men tværtimod udbygget.<sup>33</sup>

Lensmanden døde imidlertid allerede i november. Hans efterfølgers bestalling lød nu på "St. Hans Kloster med det gods, som lå under Biskopsgaarden og Næsbyhoved Len samt Stiftets gods". Da kongen ville "lade Biskopsgaarden nedrive og istandsætte St. Hans Kloster", skulle han tage sig af dette byggeri.<sup>34</sup> Kongen havde altså i løbet af de få måneder fusioneret lenene, og herefter blev St. Hans Kloster til Odensegaard, i dag Odense Slot. Bispegaardens hovedbygning blev dog ikke nedbrudt.

The Bishop's Palace was thus known as Odensegaard for 40 years, until 1575. This is in line with the practice in Aarhus and Roskilde, where the Catholic bishop's palaces became the seats of the Diocesan Lord Lieutenant and were now known as Aarhusgaard and Roskildegård. The buildings had an important function as storage space for the tithe grain and manorial dues in kind from the diocesan estates, as can be seen from letters to the Lord Lieutenant and others at the Bishop's Palace.<sup>35</sup> The grain was to be used by the Royal Household or sold on the free market, and the fireproof main buildings were ideal grain lofts.

### **Royal residence**

During his stays in different parts of the country, the King, and sometimes the whole Royal Family and retinue, would live with the Lord Lieutenant. They would occupy several rooms and be sustained with the

Om det skyldes, at beslutningen ikke er bevaret, eller om kongen i virkeligheden mente Bispegaards-komplekset og ikke selve hovedbygningen, vides ikke.

Bispegaarden var således Odensegaard i fyrre år, indtil 1575. Det stemmer med, at de katolske bispegårde i for eksempel Aarhus og Roskilde blev sæde for stiftslensmændene og nu kaldtes Aarhusgaard og Roskildegård. Bygningerne havde en vigtig funktion som oplagsplads for tiendekorn og landgildeprodukter fra stiftsgodset, som det fremgår af breve til blandt andre lensmanden på Bispegaarden.<sup>35</sup> Kornet skulle bruges af Hofholdningen eller sælges på det frie marked, og de brandsikre hovedbygninger var ideelle kornlofter.

### **Kongelig residens**

Under ophold rundt om i landet boede kongen, eventuelt hele kongefamilien, og fulget hos lensmanden. De beboede nogle rum og fik hele deres underhold af stedets naturalier, mens resten af gården fungerede som den plejede. Bispegaarden var således ikke en residens på samme måde som senere, hvor slottene var forbeholdt kongefamilien, Hoffet og Hofholdningen og indrettede til repræsentation.

Et årstid efter at den unge, energiske Frederik II var kommet på tronen, Helligtrekongers Dag 1560, skrev han til lensmanden på Nyborg, som også havde Bispegaards Len, og henviste til en tidligere samtale om at "opbygge" Bispegaarden.<sup>36</sup> Ordet "opbygge" er blevet læst som "genopbygge" i lyset af den antagelse, at Bispegaardens hovedbygning var ødelagt under Grevens Fejde, men Kancelliets Brevbøger – den trykte kilde til tidens officielle breve – citerer ikke ordret; de refererer, og i andre breve bruges ordet "bygge". Meningen kan derfor udmærket være, at gården skulle opgraderes. Hovedbygningen var nu omkring 60 år og havde de sidste fjorten år rummet kontorer, så den var slidt af mange menneskers daglige færden, mens bygningerne på den nordlige del af grunden antagelig var endnu ældre.

Men Bispegaarden havde potentiale, den lå smukt og var – ligesom alle den katolske kirkes ejendomme –

products of the local estate, while the rest of the house functioned in the usual way. The Bishop's Palace was thus not a residence in the same way as was the case later on, when the palaces were reserved for the Royal Family, the Court and Household, and furnished for ceremony and entertainment.

A year after the young and energetic Frederik II had ascended the throne, at Epiphany 1560, he wrote to his Lord Lieutenant at Nyborg, who also held Bishop's Palace Fief, referring to a previous conversation about "building up" the Bishop's Palace.<sup>36</sup> The words "building up" have been understood to mean "restoring", under the assumption that the main building of the Bishop's Palace had been destroyed during the Counts' Feud, but the Correspondence Books – the printed source for the official letters of the period – do not quote the letters, they refer, and in other letters the word means "building". The meaning could simply be that the place was to be upgraded. The main building was now about 60 years old and for the previous 14 years had served as offices, so it would now be shabby from the daily work of many different people; the buildings on the northern part of the site were presumably even older.

But the Bishop's Palace had potential; it had a fine situation, and – like all the properties of the Catholic Church – was newer and more comfortable than most of the Crown's own possessions in Denmark. Frederik II was a modern Renaissance prince and an ambitious one, as his building work and interiors witness; the Bishop's Palace, with only one storey and shorter than today, would have been too small. The building was to be extended to give space for a large retinue and guests and there was to be more stabling. At least a large white building on the northern part of the land and new stables are explicitly mentioned 15 years later in connection with the move to St. Hans Monastery.

Building was to begin immediately after Shrove Tuesday, and the mother of the as-yet unmarried King, Queen Dorothea, had promised to go to Odense and oversee the building work. However, progress was



*I forbindelse med forhøjelsen blev der opsat trekantfrontoner af sandsten over vinduerne i sydfacaden og på vestgavlen. På facaden er de senere borthuggede, mens de stadig sidder på gavlen. Foto: Lundqvist Tegnesteue.*

*In connection with the heightening work, triangular sandstone pediments were erected above the windows in the south facade and on the west gable end. On the facade, they were later hacked off, but they still survive on the gable. Photo: Lundqvist Architects.*

slow: over the next few months the King wrote several reminders about materials and labour, and these give a small insight into the work.

If all letters from this period have been preserved, the problems related only to rafters, timber, wall anchors and nails, windows and window glass, while bricks are not mentioned. This could indicate that the building was to be half-timbered. The half-timbering had to be filled with something, but there were old bricks everywhere. The list of bricks from demolished buildings transported over long distances and re-used in new royal buildings is endless.

Lime was ordered from the store at Copenhagen Castle, but the Lord Lieutenant of Nyborg was to keep sufficient to limewash Nyborg Castle, so this was presumably intended for the same use here. Frederik II wanted white buildings, and as mentioned, a white building later stood in the northern part of the Bishop's Palace precinct. Ahead of the christening of Christian IV in 1577 – which the King hoped all the Protestant princes would attend – he had Copenhagen Castle limewashed.<sup>37</sup>

As completion of the work was dragging out, the King wrote to the Lord Lieutenant that on “St. John's Day Midsummer” he intended to hold an Assembly of Magnates in Odense, and, regardless of whether the house at the Bishop's Palace was ready or not by then, he intended to stay at St. Hans Monastery.<sup>38</sup> Apparently the Bishop's Palace could not be made presentable enough for the representatives of the Hanseatic Cities who were expected to attend the Magnates' negotiations.

Only sporadic letters about further building work at the Bishop's Palace have been preserved over



nyere og mere komfortabel end de fleste af Kronens egne rundt om i landet. Frederik II var en moderne renæssancefyrste og ambitiøs, hvad hans byggerier og interiører vidner om, og med kun én etage og kortere end i dag har Bispegaarden været for lille. Beboelsen skulle udvides med plads til et stort følge og gæster, og der skulle være mere staldplads, i hvert fald nævnes et hvidt hus på den nordlige del af grunden og nye stalde eksplicit 15 år senere i forbindelse med flytningen til St. Hans Kloster.

Byggeriet skulle påbegyndes straks efter Fastelavn, og den endnu ugifte konges moder, enkedronning Dorothea, havde lovet ham at tage til Odense og stå for byggeriet. Det gik dog trent: Kongen skrev de næste måneder adskillige rykkere om materialer og arbejdskraft, der giver et lille indblik i byggeriet.

Hvis alle breve fra denne periode ellers er bevarede, var der kun tale om spær, tømmer, murankre og søm, vinduer og vinduesglas, mens teglsten ikke nævnes. Det kunne tyde på, at der skulle rejses en bindingsværksbygning. Noget skulle bindingsværket dog udmures med, men der var gamle sten alle vegne, lister over sten fra nedrevne bygninger, der blev fragtet over lange afstande og genbrugt i nye kongelige byggerier er endeløs.

Der blev bestilt kalk fra lageret ved Københavns Slot, men lensmanden på Nyborg skulle beholde nok til at hvidte Nyborg Slot med, så det var formentlig til samme brug her. Frederik II ville have hvide bygninger, og som nævnt stod der senere en hvid bygning i den nordlige del af Bispegaards-karreer. Forud for Christian IVs døb i 1577 – som kongen håbede at alle protestantiske fyrster ville bivåne – lod han således også Københavns Slot hvidkalkes.<sup>37</sup>

Da det trak ud med færdiggørelsen, skrev kongen i juni til lensmanden, at han “St. Hans Dag Midsommer” ville holde Herredag i Odense og at han, uanset om huset paa Bispegaarden var færdigt til den tid eller ej, ville bo på St. Hans Kloster.<sup>38</sup> Bispegaarden kunne åbenbart ikke nå at blive præsentabel nok til de repræsentanter for Hansestæderne, som ventedes til forhandlinger på Herredagen.



*Mærkeligt nok er der ikke gjort noget forsøg på at camouflere udvidelserne ved at mure i samme forbandt, men hele bygningen skulle males eller kalkes. Bispegaarden har kun stået i blank mur de første årtier og igen fra slutningen af 1800-tallet, i mellemtiden har den været skiftevis hvid, rød og hvid.  
Foto: Lundqvist Tegnesteue.*

*Strangely, no attempts were made to camouflage the extensions by continuing the brickwork in the same bond, but the whole building was intended to be painted or limewashed. The Bishop's Palace remained with bare brickwork for the first few decades and again from the end of the 19th century. In the interim it changed from white, to red and to white again.  
Photo: Lundqvist Architects.*

the next few years, and thereafter nothing at all for a long period. This has been interpreted to mean that the King abandoned building work at the Bishop's Palace half-way through and thereafter stayed at St. Hans Monastery when he was in Odense, but this is incompatible with the fact that, fifteen years later, he decided to move *from* the Bishop's Palace.



*Den anden side af renæssancedøren mellem rum 102 og 103. Her fandt konservatorerne under forundersøgelsen en senere bemaling med fuglemotiv. På næste opslag ses hele bemalingen, efter at alle senere malingslag er fjernet. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*The other side of the renaissance door between rooms 102 and 103. Here, the conservators found a later coat of paint with a bird motif during the preliminary examination. The next presentation shows the entire coat of paint, after all later layers have been removed. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

Der er kun bevaret sporadiske breve om yderligere byggeri på Bispegaarden det næste par år og derefter intet i en lang årrække. Det er blevet tolket sådan, at kongen opgav byggeriet på Bispegaarden midt i det hele og derefter boede på St. Hans Kloster, når han var i Odense, men det stemmer ikke med, at han femten år senere besluttede sig for at flytte fra Bispegaarden.

### **The main building is extended**

It looks as if nothing was done to the old main building in 1560-61 apart from a presumed refurbishment. One of the few traces from this period is the decoration in the eastern hall, a base coat of yellow paint. With regard to the furnishings, these had not changed much since the bishops' time. A house was still made inhabitable with textiles, and when the King's Pantry was moved, the wagons contained practically everything that was needed – from bedding to table cloths, napkins, tapestries and cushions for chairs and benches.

On the other hand, there are plenty of indications that the extension and heightening of the main wing was undertaken in the following period – presumably before 1563 or after 1570, as Frederik II had other things to think about during the Seven Years War against Sweden. The side wings were demolished prior to the extension of the main wing, but there may have been a gap of several years, as otherwise the extension would probably have been made with bricks from the side wings. This is not the case, as the bricks from all the original parts of the buildings are slightly larger than those used for the extension, for which a dozen different types of brick were used.

During the extension, the original gable ends were pulled down, but their foundations still exist as dividing walls in the cellar. There must also have originally been gable-end fireplaces, but the chimneys were taken down and new ones erected for the large fireplaces in the new gable ends. One of these is still there in the Jomfruklosteret library, while the eastern one is visible but has been bricked up. The soot particles found in the floor fill during restoration are possibly from the demolition of the old chimneys.

The new first floor consisted of two large rooms, of which only one is decorated, albeit extremely simply. This may seem puzzling in what was a royal – and expensive – building, but the heightening was not done as ornamentation: it was intended to hold the tithe grain and other goods from Bishop's Palace Fief, and the conservators designate the other room as a store.



*Rum 103 i stueetagen, hvor Karen Brahe Selskabet havde hjemme nogle år, indtil Realdania Bygs restaurering begyndte. I baggrunden renæssancedøren med det delvist afdækkede fuglemotiv. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Room 103 on the first floor, home of the Karen Brahe Society for some years, until Realdania Byg's restoration began. The renaissance door in the background with the partially uncovered bird motif. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*





*Bemalingen af døren i rum 103 står nu helt afdækket: Det er fugle og landskaber – kineserier, som var meget yndede i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet. Gerichter og paneler har fået den temmelig mørke, grå farve, som er fundet i rummet fra samme periode. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.  
Modsatte side: foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The paint on door in room 103 is now fully uncovered: It is birds and landscapes - Chinoiserie, which was very popular in the beginning of the 18th century. Mouldings and panels have been given the rather dark, grey colour, which is found in the room from the same period. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.  
Opposite page: photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

## Hovedbygningen udvides

Det ser ud til, at der ikke blev udført noget på den gamle hovedbygning 1560-61, ud over formentlig en istandsættelse. Et af de få spor fra denne periode er dekorationen i den østre sal, en gul bundmaling. Hvad indretningen angår, havde den ikke ændret sig meget siden biskoppernes tid. Et hus blev stadig gjort beboeligt med tekstiler, og når kongens fadebur blev flyttet, rummede vognene stort set alt, hvad der skulle til – fra sengetøj til duge, servietter, vægtæpper og hynder til stole og bænke.

Derimod taler meget for, at forlængelsen og forhøjelsen af hovedfløjen skete i den følgende tid – formentlig før 1563 eller efter 1570, idet Frederik II havde andet at tænke på under Syvårskrigen mod Sverige. Fløjene er nedrevet før udvidelsen af hovedfløjen, men det kan være sket med flere års mellemrum, ellers ville udvidelsen nok være foretaget med sten fra fløjene. Det er dog ikke tilfældet, eftersom stenene i alle oprindelige dele af anlægget er lidt større end dem, der er brugt i udvidelsen, hvor der i øvrigt forekommer en halv snes forskellige slags mursten.

Ved udvidelsen blev de oprindelige gavle nedrevet, men deres fundamenter står stadig som skille-mure i kælderen. Der må også oprindeligt have været gavlkaminer, men skorstenene blev ikke stående, og der blev opført skorstene til de store kaminer i de nye gavle. Den ene står stadig i Jomfruklosterets bibliotek, den anden i øst kan ses, men er muret til. De sodpartikler, der er fundet i gulvfyldet under restaureringen, stammer muligvis fra nedrivningen af de gamle skorstene.

Den nye førstesal bestod af to store rum, hvoraf kun det ene er dekoreret, om end uhyre enkelt, og det kan undre i betragtning af, at det var et kongeligt – og dyrt – byggeri, men forhøjelsen var ikke til pynt: Den skulle rumme tiendekorn og andre varer fra Bispegaards Len, og konservatorerne betegner da også det andet rum som magasin.

Der var ikke indvendige trapper til den nye førstesal, så enten er der bygget en etage på galleriet eller



There were no internal stairs to the new first floor, so either a deck was built on the gallery or a staircase tower was constructed. Strangely enough, this is not marked on the otherwise detailed prospect of the 1580's, so it may have been erected later. The two present internal staircases are from their style to be dated to the 1720's, but are first mentioned in the account books around 1742.

Although an extension of five metres at each end of the main wing does not sound much, the total extension increased the floor area of the main wing by more than 100 per cent. But maybe even that was not enough: a single letter of 1570 has been preserved from the King to the Prior at the still functioning St. Knud's Monastery, who hoped to dig out the river and construct a dam, while the King thought that this would damage the "foundations of the building the King himself intends to erect at Odensegaard [the Bishop's Palace]".<sup>39</sup> With that location, this can only mean a south wing or – if the side wings were already demolished – a building parallel with the main wing, as it would seem foolish to build a new on the site of

også er der opført et trappetårn. Det figurerer mærkeligt nok ikke på det ellers så detaljerede prospekt fra 1580'erne og kan derfor være opført senere. De to nuværende indvendige trapper er efter stilen at dømme fra 1720'erne, men omtales først i regnskaberne omkring 1742.

Skønt en forlængelse på fem meter i hver ende af hovedfløjen ikke lyder af meget, øgede den samlede udvidelse hovedfløjens etageareal med mere end hundrede procent. Men det var måske ikke engang nok: Fra 1570 er der bevaret et enkelt brev fra kongen til prioren på det endnu fungerende St. Knuds Kloster, som ville fortage en oprydning af åen og bygge en dæmning, mens kongen mente, at det ville skade "grundvolden på den bygning kongen selv vil opføre til Odensegaard [Bispegaarden]".<sup>39</sup> Med den beliggenhed kan det kun dreje sig om en sydfløj eller – hvis sidefløjene allerede var nedrevet – en bygning parallelt med hovedfløjen, da det ville være halsløs gerning at bygge nyt på fløjenes plads. Der er ikke bevaret andet om dette byggeri, og kun fremtidige udgravninger kan vise, om det blev til mere.

### **Kronen sælger Bispegaarden**

Blandt de sparsomme kilder til Bispegaarden i 1500-tallet er der bevaret en række breve vedrørende Frederik II's beslutning om at fraflytte og afhænde den i 1575.

Kongen var i 1572 blevet gift med Sophie af Mecklenburg, og de havde allerede to døtre. Hofholdningen var opbygget således, at hvert medlem af kongefamilien, også spædbørnene, havde sin egen hofstat, og for hvert barn voksede antallet af ansatte med en halv snes personer, hvorfor der blev for trangt på Bispegaarden. Kongen drøftede sagen med den nye lensmand og stiftslensmand, Erik Rosenkrantz, der kendte komplekset fra en tidligere lensmandsperiode, var en dygtig administrator og selv i denne tid bygherre på Arreskov, så Frederik II kunne ikke få en bedre rådgiver.

the side wings. No further details of this building have been preserved and only future excavations will reveal whether anything came of it.

### **The Crown sells the Bishop's Palace**

Among the scanty sources for the Bishop's Palace in the 16th century, a series of letters have been preserved relating to Frederik II's decision to move from and sell the property in 1575.

In 1572, the King had married Sophie of Mecklenburg, and they already had two daughters. The Household was organised such that each member of the Royal Family, even babies, had their own Household Staff, so for each child the number of employees increased by ten or more, and the Bishop's Palace rapidly became too small. The King discussed the matter with the new Lord Lieutenant and Diocesan Lord Lieutenant, Erik Rosenkrantz, who knew the place from a previous Lieutenancy period. He was also an able administrator and himself at this time involved in building work at Arreskov, so Frederik II could not have had a better adviser.

In late July, the King wrote to him that he had now inspected St. Hans Monastery and concluded that it was "better to keep house at and live in than the Bishop's Palace". Rosenkrantz had apparently already presented him with a plan, for the King simultaneously gave him permission, in accordance with his request, to take down "the new stables and old houses at the Bishop's Palace" and erect them at the Monastery. These so-called old houses were not necessarily from the time of the bishops, and maybe were not even particularly old, but in former times the King and nobility were very quick to call things old and dilapidated and to replace them with the most up-to-date equivalent. Similarly, Rosenkrantz was allowed to take down "the new house at the Bishop's Palace" and to use bricks, timber and other materials for work at the monastery buildings. The new house must be the building erected in 1560-1561.<sup>40</sup> It sounds drastic to have all these buildings





*De karakteristiske kamtakkede gavle stammer fra udvidelsen af hovedfløjen, men er sat om og ændrede flere gange siden. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

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*The characteristic crow-stepped gables date from the extension of the main wing, but have been rearranged and altered several times since. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

Sidst i juli skrev kongen til ham, at han nu havde besat St. Hans Kloster og fundet, at det var “bedre at holde hus på og bo i end Biskopsgaarden”. Da havde Rosenkrantz åbenbart allerede præsenteret en plan, for kongen gav ham samtidig tilladelse til, sådan som han havde ønsket, at nedtage “de nye stalde og gamle huse på Biskopsgaarden” og opsætte dem på klosteret. Disse såkaldt gamle huse var ikke nødvendigvis fra biskoppernes tid og måske ikke engang særlig gamle, men konge og adel var tidligere meget hurtige til at kalde noget for gammelt og brøstfældigt og udskifte det med tidens mest moderne. Ligeledes måtte Rosenkrantz nedtage “det nye hus på Biskopsgaarden” og bruge sten, tømmer og andet materiale til at supplere klosterbygningerne. Det nye hus må være den bygning, som blev opført 1560-1561.<sup>40</sup> Det lyder voldsomt, at alle disse bygninger skulle nedtages, transporteres tværs gennem Odense og bygges op igen, men de har været af bindingsværk.

I april 1576 fik borgmester Rosenvinge skøde på en ubebygget grund ved siden af det hvide hus, som “er under nedbrydning”, og i 1581 nævnes det som nedbrudt, da borgmesteren blev fritaget for jordskyld, fordi hans grund stadig var ubebygget. Den følgende vinter noterede lensmanden, at der på Bispegaarden var brudt kampesten op, som sammen med jord, grus og andet var kørt til St. Hans Kloster. Hvorfor dette materiale skulle flyttes, melder historien ikke noget om.<sup>41</sup>

Sommeren efter var området stadig fyldt med fundamenter, måske kældre, og nedbrydningslag af samme slags som dem arkæologerne de senere år har fundet under og lige op ad Jomfruklosteret.

### **Købmand Oluf Bager**

I januar 1579 fik den odenseanske storkøbmand Oluf Bager skøde på resten af Bispegaards-komplekset med hovedbygningen, “den gamle Bispegaard med al sin gårdsrum og haverum”, som det fremgår af en oversigt over hans ejendomme 1584.

dismantled, transported through the streets of Odense and rebuilt again, but they were half-timbered constructions.

In April 1576, Mayor Rosenvinge obtained a deed for an unoccupied plot next to the white house which “is in the process of demolition”, and in 1581 the house is mentioned as demolished when the mayor was exempted from ground rent because his land had still not been built on. The following winter, the Lord Lieutenant noted that fieldstone had been dismantled and transported to St. Hans Monastery together with earth, gravel and other materials. What these items were needed for is not reported.<sup>41</sup>

The following summer the area was still filled with foundations, maybe cellars, and demolition layers of the kind that archaeologists have found in recent years beneath and directly adjacent to Jomfruklosteret.

### **Merchant Oluf Bager**

In January 1579, the leading Odense merchant Oluf Bager received the deeds for the remainder of the Bishop’s Palace complex with the main building, “the old Bishop’s Palace with all its courtyards and garden areas”, as a summary of his properties states in 1584.

In the deeds the property is identified as “the land on which the Bishop’s Palace stood”, and this passage has given scholars many a headache;<sup>42</sup> does it mean that Bishop Jens Andersen’s building had been pulled down? The explanation is that the deed is not referring to the building but to the area’s function as the centre of the Bishop’s Palace Fief.

Oluf Bager also took possession of “the old bricks and stones in the house”. These might be the floor cladding, a precious commodity, whether it was “astrag”, i.e. small glazed and unglazed tiles, traces of which have been found in the floor fill, or large Øland stone flags, the outlines of which have been found. It sounds as if the Bishop’s Palace complex was stripped of building materials when the King moved out, except for the floor slabs, which were valued in the sale.

*Oluf Bagers epitafium i Skt. Hans Kirke, Odense.  
Realdania Byg.*

*Oluf Bager's epitaph in St. Hans Church, Odense.  
Realdania Byg.*

I skødet anføres hans ejendom som “den grund, hvorpå Biskopsgaarden har stået”, og den sætning har voldt forskerne mange hovedbrud,<sup>42</sup> for betyder det, at biskop Jens Andersens bygningsanlæg da var nedrevet? Forklaringen er, at skødet ikke omtaler bygningen, men områdets funktion som centrum for Bispegaards Len.

Oluf Bager overtog også “de gamle sten, som findes i huset”. Det kunne være gulvfliserne, der var kostbare, hvad enten det var astrag, dvs. små glaserede og uglaserede fliser, som der er fundet rester af i gulvfyllet, eller store fliser af Ølandssten, som der findes aftryk af. Det lader til, at Bispegaards-komplekset blev ribbet for byggemateriale ved flytningen, blot ikke fliserne, der er indgået i købet som en værdi.

Oluf Bager havde siden 1573 forpagtet alt tiendekorn fra Odensegaard Len, og formentlig har kornet som hidtil ligget oplagret på Bispegaarden og blev solgt derfra. Samme år som Oluf Bager fik skøde på gården, 1579, indgik han en aftale med Kronen om levering af 500 amer “rigtig god rhinskvin” årligt i fem år, og de hvælvede kældre har nok været brugt til opbevaring af de store vinfade. Bager-familien beboede ikke Bispegaarden, de havde deres hjem i Overgade, så Oluf Bager har velsagtens udlejet stueetagen til boliger. Det er uvist, om Bager ejede Bispegaarden til sin død i 1602 eller afhændede den før, men i begyndelsen af 1600-årerne var den på adelige hænder.



Since 1573, Oluf Bager had leased the whole grain tithe from Odensegaard Fief, and probably the grain had been stored at the Bishop's Palace as always and sold from there. The year of the deed, 1579, Oluf Bager made an agreement with the Crown for the delivery of 500 amer of “very good Rhine wine” per year for five years, and the vaulted cellars were probably used for storing the large wine casks. The Bager family did not live at the Bishop's Palace but had their home in Overgade, so Oluf Bager may well have rented out the ground floor as dwellings. It is unknown whether Bager owned the Bishop's Palace until his death in 1602 or sold it off prior to this, but by the beginning of the 17th century it was in noble hands.



# Fynsk adel

## Funen Nobility

*Af/ by Barbara Zalewski*

Der er kun bevaret et par navne med tilknytning til Bispegaarden i begyndelsen af 1600-tallet, og det er ikke sikkert, at de ejede hele komplekset, der på det tidspunkt var opdelt i flere lodder. Noget lignende var sket på Sortebrødre Kloster ikke langt derfra, hvor tre lensmænd straks efter Reformationen havde fordelt bygningerne mellem sig og indrettet dem som byresidenser. Måske var det først nu, i forbindelse med opdelingen, at Bispegaardens hovedfløj blev forhøjet, forlænget og forsynet med nogle skillevægge i første etage.

Henning Gabrielsen Akeleye, af en gammel fynsk adelsslægt, skrev sig "til Odense Bispegaard". Han gjorde ligesom to af sine brødre karriere i Flåden og var blandt andet kaptajn på den ekspedition 1619-1622, som førte til oprettelse af kolonien Trankebar.<sup>43</sup> Hans livsløb kendes kun fra hans udkommandoer, og det vides ikke, om han var gift, om han havde børn, og om han nogensinde boede på Bispegaarden, når han ikke var til søs.

Det var sandsynligvis hans fader, Gabriel Knudsen Akeleye, der havde købt sig ind på Bispegaarden. Som landsdommer for Fyn i 1590'erne har han haft brug for en bolig i Odense. Han skrev sig til Nordskov, Krengerup og Hjularöd i Skåne, men i hans tid var både hovedbygninger og jordtilliggender ganske beskedne, så der blev ikke meget i arv til hver af de femten overlevende af seksten børn. En pæn bolig med staldplads på Bispegaarden kan have været en af arvelodderne, for det er ellers helt usædvanligt, at nogen skrev sig til en gård i byen.

Only a few names connected with the Bishop's Palace at the beginning of the 17th century have been preserved, and it is not certain that they owned the whole site, which at the time was split up into several shares. The situation was similar at the nearby Blackfriars Monastery, where, immediately after the Reformation, three feudal lords had split the buildings between them and furnished them as urban residences. Maybe it was only at this point, when the site was divided up, that the main wing of the Bishop's Palace was heightened, extended and provided with partition walls on the first floor.

Henning Gabrielsen Akeleye, of an old Funen noble family, styled himself "of Odense Bishop's Palace". Like two of his brothers, he had made his career in the Navy, serving as a Captain in the expedition of 1619-1622 which led to the founding of the colony at Tranquebar.<sup>43</sup> His life is only known from his appointments to new ships, and it is unknown whether he was married or had children or ever lived at the Bishop's Palace when he was not at sea.

It was probably his father, Gabriel Knudsen Akeleye, who had acquired the Bishop's Palace. As High Court Judge for Funen in the 1590's, he had needed a home in Odense. He styled himself "of Nordskov, Krengerup and Hjularöd in Scania", but in his time both main buildings and associated land holdings were quite modest, so there was not much of an inheritance for each of his 15 surviving children out of 16. A fine house with stabling at the Bishop's Palace may have been one



Slægts- eller våbenbøger med heraldik og genealogiske oplysninger havde praktiske formål, der pegede både tilbage og frem. I 1547 blev det forbudt adelige at ægte uadelige, og der skulle opvises seksten adelige aner, fire generationer. De mange våbener smykkede epitafier og tidens omfattende ligprædikener som bevis på herkomsten. Men bøgerne var også en hjælp, når slægtens fremtid skulle arrangeres i ægteskaber og ved arv. Det var oftest kvinder, der udarbejdede bøgerne, korresponderede for at få oplysninger og lod slægt og venner rette eller tilføje.

I Lisbet Bryskes Våbenbog står to slægter med tilknytning til Bispegaarden, Akeleye og Aschersleben, tilfældigvis på samme side. Om Aschersleben står, at det "er en tysk slægt som ikke været længe i Danmark den første som kom herind hed Jørgen Askersleben hans sønner var Moris Askersleben og Anders Askersleben han drog ud i Tyskland og giftede sig der".

Lisbet Bryske (1585-1674) skrev forrest i bogen i juni 1651, "da jeg var 66 år gammel", at hun havde "den selv malet og skrevet." Fru Lisbet blev i sit andet ægteskab farmoder til en svigerinde af Karen Brahe og oldemoder til hendes niece, Jomfruklosterets patronesse Susanne Brahe. Kort før sin død forærede fru Lisbeth bogen til en ugift datterdatter, og gennem arv endte den i Karen Brahes Bibliotek. Karen Brahes Bibliotek. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.

Genealogical tables and armorials with heraldic and genealogical information had practical purposes which pointed both to the past and to the future. In 1547, the nobility were forbidden to marry non-noble persons, and had to prove 16 noble ancestors over four generations. The many coats of arms decorating the epitaphs and lengthy funeral sermons of that time are evidence of noble origins. But these books were also of assistance in arranging the future of the family by means of marriage or inheritance. It was usually the women of the family who compiled these books, entered into correspondence for information, and asked family and friends for corrections or additions.

Lisbet Bryske's Armorial contains two families with a connection to the Bishop's Palace, the Akeleyes and the Ascherslebens, and by chance they are on the same page. About the Ascherslebens it is stated that they "are a German family who have not been long in Denmark, the first who came here was Jørgen Askersleben, his sons were Moris Askersleben and Anders Askersleben, he left for Germany and married there".

Lisbet Bryske (1585-1674) wrote at the front of the book in June 1651, "when I was 66 years old", that she had "painted and written it myself." In her second marriage Lady Lisbet became grandmother to a sister-in-law of Karen Brahe and great grandmother to Karen's niece, the patroness of Jomfruklosteret Susanne Brahe. Shortly before her death, Lady Lisbet gave the book to an unmarried granddaughter, and by inheritance it ended in Karen Brahe's Library. Karen Brahe's Library. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.





Rum 103 med kig til Salen, rum 104. Rummets udsmykning med fyldningspaneler og brystninger i vinduespartierne stammer fra 1700-tallet. Udsnit af det nye gulv, der er udformet som det eksisterende, der ikke stod til at redde, som det ellers er lykkedes i flere af husets øvrige rum. Det nye gulv er lagt i samme mønster med kantbort som det foregående, hvis alder ikke kendes. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



## Aschersleben og Gøye

I 1604 solgte Henning Akeleyes fader Nordskov til to brødre von Aschersleben; de kom fra Mecklenborg, integrerede sig på Fyn gennem godskøb og blev begge gift ind i den højere danske adel. I 1594 stod Jørgen von Ascherslebens bryllup med Maren Brockenhuus. Brylluppet blev noteret i brudens fader, Eiler Brockenhuus' indholdsrige kalender, der i dag findes i Karen Brahes Bibliotek.

Blandt parrets børn var Mourids, der fik tidens adelige opdragelse og opholdt sig længe rundt om i Europa for at studere, lære verdensmandsmanerer og det militære håndværk. I august 1625 stod Odense på den anden ende med tre adelige bryllupper: Aschersleben blev gift med Ellen Gøye, samme dag som hendes søster Ide blev gift med en Juel, og få dage senere blev brudenes broder, Eskild Gøye, gift med en Rosenkrantz.<sup>44</sup> De slægtsforbindelser fik betydning for Bispegaarden og senere Jomfruklosteret i næsten to hundrede år.

Bryllupperne blev holdt af den lærde Holger Rosenkrantz til Rosenholm på Djursland, der meget mod sin lyst var lensmand på Odensegaard en årrække. Mens Eskilds brud var en meget fjern slægtning, var de tre unge Gøyer hans hustru Sophie Brahes søsterbørn med Henrik Gøye og parrets protegéer. Skønt de selv fik tretten børn, hvoraf otte levede, havde de økonomisk og personligt overskud til efter tidens skik at opdrage snesevis af andre adelige børn og unge. Da fru Sophies søster blev enke, kom de fire sønner til Rosenholm, hvor de fik samme dyre uddannelse og rejser som familiens egne. Da deres moder døde nogle år senere, fulgte de seks døtre efter, og heller ikke her sparede det rige ægtepar på noget.

Næsten alle, der var i slægt med familien på Rosenholm eller havde opholdt sig dér, gjorde karriere og blev godt gift, og Aschersleben med sin fortrinlige

of the inherited shares, as it was otherwise unusual for anyone to style themselves with a town property.

## Aschersleben and Gøye

In 1604, Henning Akeleye's father sold Nordskov to two von Aschersleben brothers; they were from Mecklenburg, had integrated themselves in Funen through purchase of estates and both married into the higher Danish nobility. In 1594, Jørgen von Aschersleben's marriage to Maren Brockenhuus took place. The wedding was noted in the bride's father's, Eiler Brockenhuus's, voluminous diary, at present held in Karen Brahe's Library.

Among the couple's children was Mourids, who received the aristocratic upbringing of the day and spent years in Europe studying, learning to be a man of the world and imbibing the craft of warfare. In August 1625, the whole of Odense was turned upside down with three noble weddings. Aschersleben married Ellen Gøye the same day as her sister Ida married a Juel, and a few days later the brides' brother, Eskild Gøye, married a Rosenkrantz.<sup>44</sup> These family relations would have significance for the Bishop's Palace and the later Jomfruklosteret for almost 200 years.

The weddings were held by the learned Holger Rosenkrantz of Rosenholm on Djursland, who much against his will was Lord Lieutenant at Odensegaard for a number of years. While Eskild's bride was a very distant relative of Rosenkrantz's, the three young Gøyes were the children of his wife Sophie Brahe's brother Henrik, and were their protégés. Although they themselves had 13 children, of whom eight lived, they had the financial and personal resources to raise scores of other noble children and young people, as was the custom. When Sophie's sister was widowed, her four sons came to Rosenholm, where they received the same

Room 103 with view of the Hall, room 104. The wooden panels, covering all walls from floor to ceiling and the deep window recesses, originates from the 18th century. A section of the new floor, an exact replica of the former one of unknown age. It was the only floor throughout the building that could by no means be preserved. It has a rim and four square sections, joined in an uncommon way in the centre of the room. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



*Jørgen Brahe som officiel person. Han blev rigsråd 1644 og var blevet ridder af Elefantordenen i 1633; det år var den kombineret med Den væbnede Arms Orden for fortjenester i Kalmarkrigen. Brahes indsats er her illustreret ved de svenske hoffolks fane, som han erobrede og som blev ophængt ved hans gravsted i Horne Kirke. Tegningen forestiller muligvis fæstningen Stribsodde over for Frederiksodde, senere Fredericia, som Brahe var involveret i; den blev ikke til noget. Maleri og stik fra 1720'erne efter maleri før 1657. Det Kongelige Bibliotek.*

*Jørgen Brahe in his official capacity. He became Councillor of State in 1644 having been made a Knight of the Elephant in 1633; in that year it was combined with the Order of the Armed Fist for services in the Kalmar War. Brahe's contribution is here illustrated by the Swedish Household Banner, which he captured and which was hung at his tomb in Horne Church. The drawing possibly indicates the Stribsodde fortress opposite Frederiksodde, later Fredericia, which Brahe was involved with. The project came to nothing. Painting and print from the 1720's, after a painting dating from before 1657. The Royal Library.*

expensive education and travels as the family's own children. When their mother died a few years later, the six daughters followed their brothers, and the wealthy Gøye couple stinted them in nothing.

Almost all those who were related to the family at Rosenholm or who had stayed there went on to make careers and a good marriage, and Aschersleben with his impeccable background became through his marriage part of this network of well-educated active higher nobility. The Gøyes were an able and spirited family in which both men and women had intellectual interests, not least the large brood of brothers and sisters who have just been introduced.

Aschersleben and his wife Ellen had homes at his family's manors in Funen, but they lived at the Bishop's Palace – or a part of it – whenever they were in Odense. At this point it must have been in good condition, for not only were they themselves used to the best, they could also invite anyone they chose.

The property's later owner, Jørgen Brahe of Hvedholm, wrote in his almanac on 17 November 1625: "The Prince was Morids Aschersleben's guest at the Bishop's Palace."<sup>45</sup> This was Christian IV's eldest son, acting as Regent during the King's absence in the "Emperor's War" and who was mustering the Funen nobility with their armed men and horses. Both he and the King often ate and spent the night with common folk during their travels, but on this occasion the Prince was a guest – otherwise Brahe would not have thought it worth mentioning. It must have been a sight to behold when the newly married couple received the Prince and his retinue outside the Bishop's Palace and accompanied him to a table loaded with the great plenty of the fertile Funen, something the vigorous Prince appreciated above all else.

The couple's further life is worthy of a novel but is not played out at the Bishop's Palace, as, in 1630, this was sold to Jørgen Brahe and his wife, Anne Gyldenstjerne. However, the two families had a bond of affection: Brahe was godfather to their son, and his namesake, and they became related when in 1653



*Boligindretning, klædedragt og bord var ens i den europæiske overklasse i 15-1600-tallet. De fleste danske adelsmænd havde studeret i udlandet, opholdt sig ved andre hoffer og deltaget i krige, og som modne mænd rejste de i rigets ærinder – både de og deres fruer vidste, hvad der rørte sig. Den franske kunstner Abraham Bosses stik fra 1633 af en banquet hos en rigmand kunne være fra Mourids von Ascherslebens selskab på Bispegaarden for Den udvalgte Prins Christian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

*Furnishings, clothing and table were identical in the European upper classes in the 16th-17th centuries. Most Danish nobles had studied abroad, stayed at other courts and participated in wars, and in their maturity they travelled in the service of the Realm – so both they and their ladies knew the world. This print by French artist Abraham Bosse of 1633 showing a rich man's banquet could be of Mourids von Aschersleben's party at the Bishop's Palace for Heir Apparent Prince Christian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

baggrund blev ved giftermålet en del af dette netværk af veluddannet, aktiv højadel. Gøyerne var en dygtig og livlig slægt, hvor både mænd og kvinder havde intellektuelle interesser, ikke mindst den store søskendeflok, som nu er introduceret.

Aschersleben og fru Ellen havde deres hjem på hans families gårde rundt om på Fyn, men boede på Bispegaarden – eller en del af den – når de var i Odense. På det tidspunkt må den have været i fin stand, for

his own son Preben Brahe married a niece of Ellen's. Once again the Gøyes were regular visitors within the red-rendered walls – and for one of them it became a home. Almost 100 years later the Brahes returned the Rosenholm family's generosity by providing for its deeply impoverished descendants to the most distant degree. They were accommodated in the house and later in the Secular Convent established by Brahe's granddaughter Karen Brahe at the Bishop's Palace.



ikke blot var de selv godt vant, de kunne også byde hvem som helst indenfor.

Gårdens senere ejer, Jørgen Brahe til Hvedholm, skrev i sin almanak 17. november 1625: "Prinsen var Morids Ascherslebens gæst på Bispegaarden."<sup>45</sup> Det var Christian IVs ældste søn, der var regent under kongens deltagelse i Kejserkrigen og mønstrede den fynske adel med deres væbnede folk og heste. Både han og kongen spiste og overnattede ofte hos jævne folk under rejser, men i dette tilfælde var prinsen gæst – ellers havde Brahe heller ikke fundet det værd at nævne. Det har været festligt, da det nygifte par modtog prinsen og hans følge foran Bispegaarden og ledsagede ham til et bord, der bugnede af alt, hvad det rige Fyn formåede, noget den blodrige prins satte overordentlig pris på.

### **The Bishop's Palace as a noble guildhall?**

Aschersleben did not own the Bishop's Palace but perhaps held a share of it together with his maternal uncle, Claus Brockenhuus, just as the complicated inheritance rules of those times meant that they owned a number of farms in common. But it looks as if Brockenhuus had right of disposal over the Bishop's Palace – or thought that he had. In 15 January 1625, Jørgen Brahe noted that he had negotiated with "Claus Brockenhuus about his property called the Bishop's Palace on behalf of the lesser nobility; and let us have it for 3300 dalers in coin; but nothing finally decided, nor ever happened."

The "lesser nobility" was all nobility apart from the Councillors of State. To judge from the date, the two men



*Hvornår hovedindgangen blev flyttet mod vest vides ikke, men den nuværende statelige trappe med smedejernsgelænder og -lygte er opført i 1759. Odense Bys Museer.*

*It is not known when the main entrance was moved westward, but the present stately stairway with wrought-iron railings and lanterns was built in 1759. City of Odense Museums.*

Parrets videre skæbne er en hel roman, men den udspiller sig ikke på Bispegaarden, for i 1630 blev den solgt til Jørgen Brahe og hans frue, Anne Gyldenstjerne. De to familier havde dog en hjertelig forbindelse: Brahe var fadder til deres søn, opkaldt efter ham, og de kom i slægt, da sønnen Preben Brahe i 1653 blev gift med en broderdatter til fru Ellen. Gøyerne fik nu igen deres gang – og en af dem sin bolig – bag de røde mure. Og næsten hundrede år senere gengældte Braherne Rosenholm-familiens generøsitet ved at forsørge dens dybt forarmede efterkommere, helt ud i de fjerneste led. De blev optaget i huset og siden på det jomfrukloster, som Brahes barnebarn Karen Brahe oprettede på Bispegaarden.

### Bispegaarden som adelens hus?

Aschersleben ejede ikke Bispegaarden, men havde måske del i den sammen med sin morbroder, Claus Brockenuus, ligesom de på grund af datidens indviklede arveregler ejede nogle gårde sammen. Men det ser ud til, at Brockenuus kunne disponere over Bispegaarden – eller mente, at han kunne. Jørgen Brahe noterede 15. januar 1625, at han havde forhandlet med “Claus Brockenuus om hans gård, som kaldes Bisschopsgaarden på menige adelens vegne; og lod han os få den for 3.300 daler in specie; dog intet endeligt sluttet, skete ikke heller.”

“Menige adel” var hele adelen bortset fra rigsråderne. Efter datoen at dømme har de to herrer talt sammen under den fynske adels årlige landemode, som var dens egen institution til at håndtere skattebevillinger, rustninger og andet af fælles og national interesse. Møderne krævede plads til en stor forsamling, og et par gange, hvor store ting var på spil, måtte St. Knuds Kirke tages i brug. Adelen havde også egen retsinstans med en adelig landsdommer, kaldt landstinget (land betød region), der blev holdt i Gråbrødre kloster.<sup>46</sup> Og så var der livets store højtider med masser af gæster fra nær og fjern, som de tre omtalte bryllupper, der måtte holdes på rådhuset, da ingen adelsgård var stor nok. Adelen manglede kort sagt dét, som byens gilder og håndværkerlaug havde, sit eget forsamlingshus.



*Jørgen Brahe og Anne Gyldenstjernes våben, hugget i sandsten, over hoveddøren. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Jørgen Brahe and Anne Gyldenstjerne's coats of arms, carved in sandstone, above the main door. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

had spoken together at the annual assembly of the Funen nobility, which was their own institution for discussing tax concessions, armaments and other matters of common and national interest. These meetings required space for large numbers of people, and on occasions when major issues were at stake, St. Knud's Church had to be used. The nobility also had their own court with a noble high-court judge. This was called landstinget and was held in Greyfriars Monastery.<sup>46</sup> And then there were the high days and holidays of life with guests pouring in from near and far, such as the three weddings mentioned above, which had to be held at the City Hall, as no nobleman's town mansion was large enough. In a word, the nobility lacked what the City's livery companies and craftsmen's guilds possessed, their own guildhall.

When Jørgen Brahe could even mention the Bishop's Palace in that connection, this tells us even more than the royal visit about the condition and furnishings of the main building, as the high price also indicates. However, this was a cock that refused to fight. A few years later, the nobility bought a property opposite the Bishop's Palace on the narrow lane and met here until 1660, when the introduction of the Absolute Monarchy, almost at a stroke, deprived the provincial nobility of its independent role.

Når Jørgen Brahe overhovedet kunne tænke på Bispegaarden til det formål, fortæller det endnu mere end det kongelige besøg om hovedbygningens stand og indretning, hvad den høje pris også tyder på. Der blev imidlertid ingen bukser af det skind. Nogle år senere købte adelen en gård vis-à-vis Bispegaarden ud til det smalle stræde, og forsamledes der til 1660, hvor provinsadelen med Enevældens indførelse nærmest med ét slag mistede sin selvstændige rolle.

### **Jørgen Brahe køber Bispegaarden**

Nu havde Jørgen Brahe fået kig på Bispegaarden. Han havde ikke sin egen gård i Odense og må have boet hos slægtninge og venner under sine mange ærinder dér og på gennemrejse. I 1630 kom muligheden for at erhverve ejendommen, ikke blot hovedbygningen, men hele karreen bortset fra Rosenvinges Gård ud til Adelstræde og de små borgerhuse. Henning Akeleye var netop død, og Claus Brockenhuus solgte hele herligheden, hvorefter han blev trukket i retten af afdødes broder, der havde skøde på en lod. Det var ikke den eneste gang, Brockenhuus solgte en ejendom, som ikke med sikkerhed var hans. Det endte dog med forlig i Kongens Retterting, og Jørgen Brahe og fru Anne kunne som eneejere drage ind i gården og sætte tavlen med deres våbener op over hoveddøren, hvor den stadig sidder.

Særlig for fru Anne, der som alle adelsdamer på den tid havde fuldstændig rede på sin slægt, må Bispegaarden have været interessant: Hun var barnebarn af Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne, Odenses sidste katolske biskop, der 100 år tidligere var gået ud ad Bispegaardens port til gudstjeneste, blev arresteret på vej tilbage og afsat.

### **Brahe og Gyldenstjerne**

Jørgen Steensen Brahe havde fået en fremragende uddannelse, sprogligt, humanistisk og militært, over hele Europa, og Christian IV brugte denne verdensmand

### **Jørgen Brahe buys the Bishop's Palace**

But Jørgen Brahe now had the Bishop's Palace in his sights. He had no property in Odense and must have stayed with relatives and friends during his many errands there or while passing through. In 1630, the opportunity arose to purchase the property, not just the main building but the whole street block apart from the property known as Rosenvinges Gård on Adelstræde and the small private houses. Henning Akeleye had just died, and Claus Brockenhuus sold the whole thing, lock, stock and barrel, only to be dragged in court by the deceased man's brother who had a deed for one of the shares. This was not the first time Brockenhuus had sold a property which was not certainly his. However, the matter ended with a settlement in the King's Court, and Jørgen Brahe and his wife Anne were able to move in as sole owners and to set up the plaque with their coats of arms above the main door, where it remains to this day.

Especially for Lady Anne, who like all noblewomen of that time had the family history at her fingertips, the Bishop's Palace must have been of interest: She was the granddaughter of Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne, Odense's last Catholic bishop, who 100 years earlier had passed through the palace gate for a church service, been arrested on the way back and had been deposed.

### **Brahe and Gyldenstjerne**

Jørgen Steensen Brahe had received an excellent education in languages, the arts and military science, acquired all over Europe, and Christian IV used this man of the world as his representative at princely weddings, for receiving guests in Denmark and as a companion on his travels. After many adventures and a dramatic role in the Kalmar War, where he was wounded, Brahe left the service of the Court in 1614. For the rest of his life, apart from occasional honourable representative assignments, he remained linked to Funen as Lord Lieutenant and General War Commissioner and one of the island's biggest landowners.





*Fru Anne Gyldenstjerne bærer enkedragt og et kostbart Memento Mori-smykke; hvis portrætterne er malet samtidig, er pendanten af Jørgen Brahe posthum. De var begge dybt troende og strengt ortodokse og læste tidens salmer, bønnebøger og skrifter, der kredser om suk, tårer, anger, ruelse, anråbelse og først og sidst: døden. Deres barnebarn Karen Brahes Bibliotek indeholder en stor mængde af denne type litteratur og personlige optegnelser, som har tilhørt familien, slægt og venner eller ligefrem er skrevet af dem.*

*Malerierne hang antagelig på Hvedholm til Karen Brahes død i 1736. To år senere var de på Bispegaarden i "Den store Stue" i vestgavlen og 1762 i "Vinterstuen", den midterste sal. I dag kan de ses på Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*Lady Anne Gyldenstjerne wearing widow's weeds and a costly memento-mori jewel; if the portraits were painted at the same time, the parallel painting of Jørgen Brahe must be posthumous. They were both deeply devout and strictly orthodox, reading the hymns, prayer books and writings of the day, all of which centre on sighs, tears, repentance, contrition, supplications, and, above all, death. The Library of their granddaughter Karen Brahe contains a large quantity of this type of literature and of personal records belonging to the family, its relatives and friends, or even written by them. The paintings presumably hung at Hvedholm until Karen Brahe's death in 1736. Two years later they were in the Bishop's Palace in the "Great Room" at the west end, and in 1762 in the "Winter Room", in the centre. Today they can be seen at Roskilde Kloster. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*

som sin repræsentant ved fyrstelige bryllupper, til modtagelser herhjemme og som ledsager på sine rejser. Efter mange oplevelser og dramatisk deltagelse i Kalmarkrigen, hvor han blev såret, forlod Brahe i 1614 hoftjenesten. Resten af sit liv var han, bortset fra enkelte ærefulde repræsentative opgaver, knyttet til Fyn som lensmand og generalkrigskommissær og en af øens største jordbesiddere.

Perhaps his change of career was connected with a desire to marry. He sought an interview – "after diligent entreaties to God" and the advice of his honoured father and friends – with Councillor of State Preben Gyldenstjerne of Nørre Vosborg and bade for the hand of "his dear daughter", the 18-year old well-educated Anne.

For 45 years, the couple were devoted to each other and enjoyed a close family life with the four of



Måske hang karriereskiftet sammen med, at han gik på frierfødder. Han henvendte sig – “efter flittig Gudspåkaldelse” og sin hr. faders og sine venners råd – hos rigsråd Preben Gyldenstjerne til Nørre Vosborg og bad om “hans kjære datter”, den 18-årige veluddannede Anne.

Ægteparret havde i 45 år et hengivent forhold og et varmt familieliv med de fire af deres otte børn, der overlevede fødslen, og til sidst kun to sønner. Hvem der havde knæbukserne på, fremgår nok af, at Jørgen Brahe rådede børnene til altid at følge deres gode moders råd, “hvorved jeg stedse har befundet mig vel.”

Bortset fra tabet af børnene lykkedes og blomstrede alt for de to. De var med ved alle begivenheder over hele riget, og fru Anne var ofte indbudt som dragefru ved dåb, bryllupper og begravelser. Brahe havde i perioder travlt med militær økonomi og mønstringer, han deltog i Rigsrådsmøder, Herredage og den fynske adels forsamlinger, alt sammen en adelsmands pligter over for fædrelandet – han var en af de første, der brugte ordet – kongen og standsfællerne. Men først og fremmest var de som hele adelen knyttede til jorden. Foruden forleningerne drev parret mange gårde, som de arvede, købte eller selv byggede, over hele Fyn og i Jylland. Der var fogeder, skrivere og folkehold alle steder, tusind små og store ting at tage stilling til, og rejser mellem gårdene på tidens dårlige veje tog mange dage om året. Deres egne børn fik megen opmærksomhed, og efter tidens skik optog de også slægtnings børn i hjemmet i kortere og længere tid. Alligevel havde de begge tid til at både læse og skrive om tro og religion, og i Karen Brahes Bibliotek findes i dag 24 prædikener, oversat fra latin til dansk af Jørgen Brahe, og en bønnebog skrevet af fru Anne.

### **Bispegaarden som hotel**

Blandt de mange gårde var Hagenskov i alle årene familiens *hjem* – efter en rejse kunne Brahe skrive i almanakken: “Til Hagenskov. Gud være evig ære” eller

their eight children who survived birth, later reduced to just two sons. Which of them wore the trousers can be seen from Jørgen Brahe’s advice to his children always to follow the advice of their beloved mother, “by means of which I have always benefited.”

Apart from the loss of the children, the two succeeded and flourished in every department of their life. They attended all the events of the Realm, and Lady Anne was often invited to organize christenings, weddings and funerals in noble families all over the country. At times Brahe was kept busy with military finance and inspections, and he participated in Councils of State, Assemblies of Magnates and the meetings of the Funen nobility, all the duties of a nobleman to his fatherland – he was one of the first to use this word – and to his King and peers. But like all the nobility, he was first and foremost joined to his landed possessions. Apart from the enfeoffed possessions, the couple managed many farms and manor houses which they had inherited, purchased or built over the whole of Funen and in Jutland. Everywhere there were bailiffs, clerks and farm labourers, a thousand details large and small to decide, and travelling between the farms on the bad roads of the time occupied many days a year. Their own children received a great deal of attention, and according to custom they accepted their relatives’ children into their home for shorter or longer periods. Even so, both of them had the time to read and write about faith and religion, and in Karen Brahe’s Library there are 24 sermons translated by Jørgen Brahe from Latin to Danish, and a prayer book written by Lady Anne.

### **The Bishop’s Palace as a hotel**

Among their many manor houses, Hagenskov was always the family’s actual home – after a journey, Brahe could write in his almanac: “To Hagenskov. To God be eternal praise” or “So we arrived, praise God, at Hagenskov”. Brahe’s records contain many entries of how he and Lady Anne travelled – or rode – through Funen, to Jutland, Copenhagen and Scania, at all

*Fra hovedtrappen. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, 2013.*

*From the main entrance. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, 2013.*



“Kom vi Gud ske lov til Hagenskov”. Brahes optegnelser har mange notitser om, hvordan han og fru Anne rejste – red – året rundt, på Fyn, til Jylland, København og Skåne, sammen og hver for sig og sommetider “fulgte børnene med på mine heste”. De krydsede ustandselig Odense, og Bispegaarden var et hotel, hvor den ene, de begge eller hele familien kunne slå sig ned for en eller nogle dage, undervejs og under offentlige og private begivenheder i Odense. Sådan var Bispegaarden altid blevet brugt, den havde aldrig været nogens eneste hjem – heller ikke biskoppernes – og blev det ikke før den i 1717 blev indrettet til jomfrukloster.

Men gården stod ikke tom, når Brahe og fru Anne ikke var der. Der har altid været tjenestefolk, som boede der og når som helst på døgnet kunne tage sig af hestene og pakke ud, gøre ild på og tænde lyse- ne, tilberede et måltid og rede sengene op. Husholdet fungerede også, når familien ikke var der, for tjenestefolkene skulle jo også have mad og varme og lys og et sted at sove. Og så har der som i alle adelsgårde i byen og på landet boet slægtninge, når de havde ærinder i Odense eller brug for tag over hovedet i længere perioder. Det var en fornem pligt at stille hjem, husholdning, pengepung og netværk til slægtens rådighed i lyst og nød.

### **Inden for på Bispegaarden**

Med familiens gode økonomi har Bispegaarden været standsmæssigt indrettet med rigt udskårne borde, stole og mægtige kister til mængder af gæstesengetøj og vævede og broderede tapeter, hynder og duge, så de ikke falmede og blev mølædte. Til gengæld kan det undre, at der under restaureringen ikke er fundet spor af de dengang yndede malede væg- og loftsdekorationer. Brahe og fru Anne har set dem på slægternes gårde, som f.eks. Broholm, hvor noget stadig er synligt, og Næsbyholm, hvorfra et loft kan ses på Nationalmuseet – og de havde dem også selv. På Engelsholm ved Vejle var der på sommerstuens panel

times of the year, and both together and separately, while sometimes “the children accompanied us on my horses”. They passed constantly through Odense, where the Bishop’s Palace acted as a hotel where one or both or the whole family could settle for one or more days while on a journey or during public and private events in Odense. This was how the Bishop’s Palace had always been used; it was never anyone’s sole home – not even the bishops’ – and was not destined to be one before it was converted into a Ladies Convent in 1717.

But the buildings were not empty when Brahe and Lady Anne were not present. There were always servants living there, ready at any time of the day or night to take charge of the horses, unpack, light the fires and candles, cook meals and make the beds. The household continued to function when the family were not there, as the servants also need food and heat and light and a place to sleep. And as with all nobleman’s dwellings whether in town or country, relatives would stay there when they had business in Odense or needed a roof over their heads for a longer period. It was an aristocratic duty to provide relatives with a home, household, purse and network in times of pleasure or adversity.

### **Inside the Bishop’s Palace**

With the healthy state of the family’s finances, the Bishop’s Palace would have been furnished in accordance with its owners’ dignity, with richly carved tables, chairs and huge chests for bedlinen for guests, and for woven and embroidered wall-hangings, cushions and tablecloths where they would not fade and be safe from moths. However, it is surprising that during restoration no traces were found of the painted wall and ceiling decorations so favoured at that time. Brahe and Lady Anne would have seen them at their relatives’ houses, for example at Broholm, where some work is still visible or at Næsbyholm, from which a ceiling has been transported to the National Museum – and they possessed such decorations themselves. At Engelsholm near Vejle, the panelling in the Summer



*I den store sal i vest er der en gavlkamin med ægteparret Brahe-Gyldenstjernes initialer og årstallet 1673. Jørgen Brahe døde i 1661, men Anne Gyldenstjerne levede til 1677, og hun har naturligvis brugt Bispegaarden også som enke. At anføre den salig ægtemands initialer var almindeligt, dels var ægteskaber stiftede i Himmelen, dels var det ikke uden betydning, hvem enken havde været gift med. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*In the large room to the west there is a gable-end fireplace with the Brahe-Gyldenstjerne couple's initials and the year 1673. Jørgen Brahe died in 1661, but Anne Gyldenstjerne lived until 1677, and would naturally have used the Bishop's Palace after she became a widow. Including the late husband's initials was common practice; a marriage was made in Heaven and it was not without significance who the widow had been married to. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

malet sentenser med forgyldte bogstaver hele vejen rundt, og loftet i Fjellebros sommerstue var dækket med 71 figurer og sentenser. Sommerstuen var i reglen den største sal, der var svær at opvarme eller slet ikke havde kamin, men ellers var der ikke meget sommerligt ved datidens sommerstuer, selvom de lå i nederste etage havde de ikke senere tiders udgang til haven.

Vinterstuen var mindre og opvarmet, og her opholdt familien, slægtninge og gæster sig dagen igen-

Room is painted all the way round with maxims in golden letters, while the ceiling in the Summer Room at Fjellebro was covered with 71 figures and maxims. Generally summer rooms were the largest rooms, as they were difficult to heat, but otherwise they were not very summery, as even though they lay on the ground floor, they had no access to the garden as in later times.

The Winter Room was smaller and heated, and here the family, relatives and guests would spend their time during the day round a large table with room for



nem omkring et stort bord med plads til håndarbejder, bøger, papirer og de daglige måltider – sådan levede selv kongefamilien til daglig.

Omkring denne tid begyndte man i større hjem at differentiere funktionerne og indrette flere mindre rum i de gamle gårde. Jørgen Brahe nævner blandt andet fru Annes kammer – uvist på hvilken gård – hvor der gik ild i et stort, snoet vokslys, så flere blade af den bønnebog, som hun læste i, og af “den store bibel” brændte. I både kongelige og adelige instrukser om børnenes hverdag omtales amместuer, skolestuer, legværelser og et rum, hvor de spiste og sov. Først efter det syvende år var børnene lejlighedsvis sammen med de voksne. Borgestuen, folkenes opholdsrum, og deres fælles soverum, opdelt efter køn, lå som regel i husets modsatte ende eller en sidefløj.

På Bispegaarden ændredes indretningen efterhånden i anden halvdel af 1600-tallet, der er spor efter skillevægge, og der blev bygget ekstra skorstene, så flere rum kunne opvarmes.

needlework, books, documents and drawings and the daily meals – even the Royal Family lived like this.

It was about this time that the larger homes began to differentiate the functions and partition off several smaller rooms in the old houses. For instance, Jørgen Brahe mentions Lady Anne’s Chamber – though at what house is uncertain – in which a large twisted wax candle caught fire and several pages of the prayerbook she was reading and of the “big Bible” were burned. In both Royal and noble instructions for the routines for children, nurseries, schoolrooms, playrooms and a room for eating and sleeping are mentioned. Only after they reached the age of seven were children occasionally together with the adults. The Servants’ Hall and the servants’ dormitories, divided by sex, generally lay at the opposite end of the house or in a side wing.

At the Bishop’s Palace, the division of rooms gradually changed during the second half of the 17th century, as there are traces of partition walls, and extra chimneys were built to heat a greater number of rooms.



*Kig fra rum 110 gennem rum 111 til Salen, rum 104. De to rum 110 og 111 indgik i priorindens lejlighed, mens Salen var fællesrum. Det smaragdgrønne tapet med moirémønster er genskabt med inspiration i en rest fra begyndelsen af 1800-tallet, der blev fundet under undersøgelserne af rummet. De stærke farver har også tidligere præget dette rum, i slutningen af 1700-tallet var her et turkis tapet med mønster af blomsterfyldte medaljoner. Foto: Tv.: Roberto Fortuna. Th.: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



## Salen

Under restaureringen er der fundet et lag sort limfarve i den midterste sal, rum 104. Konservatorerne tolker det som sørgemaling, der i så fald er påført i de dage, der gik fra Brahes død på Hvedholm 12. februar 1661, til hans kiste 4. marts ankom til Bispegaarden, hvor den stod indtil bisættelsen.

Den senere biskop Jens Bircherod, der udarbejdede et katalog over Anne Gøyes bibliotek for Karen Brahe, så som lille dreng ud ad et vindue "salig hr. Jørgen Brahes lig, kommende fra Hvedholm, med stor proces[sion] circa horam qvartam pomeridianam at indføres i hans gård på Torvet, Bispegaarden kaldet."

Kisten stod kun tre dage på salen, så "blev bemeldte herres lig efter gammel adelig vis udi St. Knuds Kirke i Odense hæderligen begravet og ligprædiken holdt af bispen, Laurids Jacobsen [Hindsholm]." Herefter blev kisten ført tilbage til Hvedholm og nedsat i Horne Kirke.<sup>47</sup>



Sidst i 1500-tallet blev det på mode i adelen at drage sal, ligstue og efterhånden hele huset med sort klæde. Det var en bekostelig affære, og Christian IV prøvede at begrænse denne overdådighed i en forordning.

På det nu forsvundne Silkeborg Slot blev salen "sværtet" ved lensmandens død i 1641, og først et årstid senere fjernede en lokal maler den sorte farve, anstrøg loftet med hvidt og malede væggene.<sup>48</sup>

Da Christian IVs ældste søn – han, der havde gæstet Bispegaarden – døde i 1647, blev gipslofter, vægge og vindueskarme i sovegemakkerne, Stengangen og andre rum på Rosenborg anstrøget med sort. Lofter og vægge må have fået limfarve, for halvandet år senere, da det nye kongepar indrettede sig, blev det hele vasket ned.

Da Brahe døde, var det ikke længere forbudt at drage med klæde, men han var af den gamle skole, hvor ære og tro, ikke demonstrativt forbrug, var sande adelsmærker.

Det kan ikke konstateres, hvor hurtigt efter Jørgen Brahes død Salen blev malet med marmorerede kvadre. Dekorationen er kun fundet omkring skorstenen, idet resten af rummet på et tidspunkt er blevet pudset op.

*Salen, rum 104, før restaureringen begyndte.*

*Ved en tidligere konservatorundersøgelse var der fjernet et bryst-panel, og væglærred og spåntapet var rullet op, så den tidligere marmorering og resterne af sørgemaling blev synlige. Foto: Lundqvist Tegnesteue.*







## Reposing room

During restoration a coat of black distemper was found in the main room, room 104. The conservators interpret this as mourning paintwork, which would then have been applied in the days between Brahe's death at Hvedholm on 12 February 1661 until his coffin arrived at the Bishop's Palace on 4 March, where it remained until interment.

A later Bishop, Jens Bircherod, who was to compile a catalogue of Anne Gøye's library for Karen Brahe, recalled, as a little boy, seeing "His late Lordship Jørgen Brahe's body arriving from Hvedholm with a large procession at about the fourth hour post meridiem and entering his house on the Square, called the Bishop's Palace."

The coffin stood for three days in the main room, after which "the said nobleman's body according to ancient noble custom was honourably buried in St. Knud's Church in Odense and the funeral sermon preached by Bishop Laurids Jacobsen [Hindsholm]." After this the coffin was returned to Hvedholm and deposited in Horne Church.<sup>47</sup>

In the late 16th century it was the fashion among nobility to line halls, reposing room and, later on, the whole house, with black fabric. This was a costly affair and King Christian IV tried to limit this extravagance by decree.

At the now lost Silkeborg Castle, the hall was "blackened" at the death of the Lord Lieutenant in 1641, and only about a year later did a local painter remove the black paint, coat the ceiling in white and paint the walls.<sup>48</sup>

When the eldest son of King Christian IV – the one who had been a guest at the Bishop's Palace – died in 1647, plaster ceilings, walls and window frames in the bedchambers, the Stone Corridor and other rooms at Rosenborg Castle were painted black. The ceilings and walls must have been distempered, for six months later when the new Royal couple moved in, everything was washed down again.

When Brahe died, it was no longer forbidden to line rooms with cloth, but he was of the old school in which honour and faith and not conspicuous consumption were the true marks of nobility.

It cannot be determined how soon after Jørgen Brahe's death the room was painted with marbled squares. This decoration is only found round the chimney, as at some point the rest of the room was plastered.

*The hall, room 104, before the restoration was started. During a previous conservator examination, a dado and wall canvas were removed and the flock wallpaper was rolled up, so the earlier marbling and the remains of the mourning paintwork were visible. Photo: Lundqvist Architects.*



*Fra Salen, rum 104. Omkring 1750 blev Salen indrettet med pudset loft, brystninger og vinduesinddækninger, mens væggene blev overtrukket med lærred, hvorpå var malet en rokokodekoration i grisailleteknik i grå farver.*

*Efter restaureringen er et udsnit med personer og rocailler synligt på nordvæggen.*

*Siden er lærrederne overmalet flere gange med forskellige monokrome farver. Den nuværende gule oliemaling med hvid skabelondekoration er fra omkring 1800 og kom til syne, da de originale lærreder blev rensset i forbindelse med restaureringen. Det er den originale farve, nænsomt eftergået af konservatorholdet.*

*Foto: Th.: Roberto Fortuna. Tv.: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





*From the Hall, room 104. Around 1750, the Hall was fitted with a plastered ceiling, dados and shutters, while the walls were covered with canvas, upon which a rococo decoration was painted in grisaille technique in bluegrey colours. After the restoration, a section with persons and rocailles is visible on the north wall. The canvases have been painted over several times since then in different monochrome colours. The yellow oil-based paint with white stencil decoration seen today is from around 1800 and was brought to light, when the original canvases were cleaned during the restoration. It is the original colour, carefully retouched by the restoration team. Photo: Right: Roberto Fortuna. Left: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



*Preben Brahe, beskedent klædt med kalot og slåbrok. Ikke desto mindre havde han sin stands stolthed, og da han døde i 1708 blev han "med en anseelig og kostbar begængelse, efter gammel adelig vis, til jorden bestediget." Det skal have været den sidste af den type begravelser, ikke kun fordi moden skiftede, men den gamle adels stilling var fundamentalt forandret. En pendant med fru Susanne Gøyes portræt, som hang i Jomfruklosteret endnu i begyndelsen af 1900-tallet, findes ikke længere. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*Preben Brahe, modestly dressed in skullcap and dressing gown. Nevertheless he had the pride of his station, and when he died in 1708, he was "with stately and costly obsequies, after ancient aristocratic fashion, committed to the earth." This was apparently the last example of this type of funeral, not just because of changes in fashion, but because the position of the old nobility had fundamentally changed. A parallel portrait of his spouse Susanne Gøye, which still hung in Jomfruklosteret in the beginning of the 20th century, has disappeared. Roskilde Kloster. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*

### Preben Brahe og Susanne Gøye

Preben Brahe fik ligesom sin fader en omfattende uddannelse, primært inden for juraen og helt uden det militære element, og hans udenlandsrejse varede over fire år. Alligevel gjorde han ikke karriere og havde ingen offentlige hverv. Han var, hvad en senere tid kaldte *a gentleman of leisure*, men ikke *of pleasure*. Brahe var en alvorshand.

I 1653 blev han gift med Susanne Gøye, datter af Falk Gøye til Hvidkilde, en af de ti dygtige søskende fra Rosenholm, der endte sit liv som hofmester på det ridderlige akademi i Sorø. Susanne og hendes søskende var ualmindeligt veluddannede, fuldstændig hjemme i fransk kultur og sprog, og kunne begå sig overalt, hvad brødrene også gjorde, ved Hoffet og i diplomatiet herhjemme og udenlands.

Ved giftermålet fik de overladt Jørgen Brahes imponante gård Engelsholm. Efter forældrenes død fik Preben og hans broder hver en del af det store jordegods og arvede desuden noget af det i fællesskab, deriblandt Hvedholm. Bispegaarden tilfaldt Preben.

### Preben Brahe and Susanne Gøye

Like his father, Preben Brahe received a wide-ranging education, mainly within the law and completely lacking a military element. His foreign travels lasted over four years. Even so he embarked on no career and held no public office. He was what a later period would call a gentleman of leisure, though not one of pleasure. Brahe was a serious soul.

In 1653 he married Susanne Gøye, daughter of Falk Gøye of Hvidkilde, one of the ten able children from Rosenholm, and who ended his life as High Steward of the Knight Academy at Sorø. Susanne and her brothers and sisters were uncommonly well-educated, completely at home in French language and culture and able to perform successfully in every setting, as the brothers proved at the Court and in diplomacy at home and abroad.

On marrying the couple received Jørgen Brahe's impressive house at Engelsholm. After their parents' death, Preben and his brother each received part of the large landed estate, some of it, such as Hvedholm,







*Anne Gøye i 1647, da hun var 38 år og havde boet hos sin broder Falk Gøye og hans hustru Karen Bille i tyve år. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*Anne Gøye in 1647, when she was 38 and had lived with her brother Falk Gøye and his wife Karen Bille for 20 years. Roskilde Monastery. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*



Her boede han og fru Susanne med deres oprindeligt otte børn selvfølgelig, når de var i Odense, men de var ikke så ofte på farten som hans forældre og lod derfor slægtninge bo der.

### **Anne Gøye**

En af fru Susannes ugifte fastre var jomfru Anne Gøye. Hendes tilværelse formede sig som de fleste ugifte adelsdamers og pebersvendes i 15-1600-tallet: De boede hos slægtninge, nære eller fjerne, eller deres forældres venner. På denne tid var det ikke kun et spørgsmål om økonomi. Det gjaldt hos både høj og lav, at ingen blev overladt til sig selv. Nogle kunne som jomfru Anne have egne midler og være omgivet af tjenestefolk, men ugifte var alene, hvis de ikke levede sammen med deres egne. For eftertiden kan det lyde omsorgsfuldt, men det var et usikkert arrangement, for dels kunne den ugifte blive nødt til flytte ind hos en anden familie, hvis forholdene ændrede sig ved dødsfald eller giftermål, dels er det usandsynligt, at alle altid levede i skøn samdrægtighed.

*Rum 107, et lille køkken inde i priorindens lejlighed. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2013.*

*Room 107, a small kitchen in the prioress' flat. Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2013.*

held in common. The Bishop's Palace came to Preben. Here he and Lady Susanne naturally stayed whenever they were in Odense, together with what was originally eight children, but they did not travel as much as his parents and so allowed relatives to live there.

### **Anne Gøye**

One of Susanne's maiden aunts was Mistress Anne Gøye. Her life unfolded like those of most unmarried noblewomen and spinsters in the 16th-17th century. They lived with relatives, near or distant, or with their parents' friends. In those days it was not just a matter of finances. It was a rule for both low and high that no-one was left to their own devices. Persons like Mistress Anne could have their own means and be surrounded by servants, but as unmarried persons they would count as alone, unless they lived with their own people. To later generations this may sound caring, but it was an uncertain arrangement, as, on the one hand, an unmarried person might be forced to move in with

Jomfru Anne boede hos en af sine brødre, derefter hos en anden broder, fru Susanne Gøyes fader og hos hendes moder, da hun blev enke. Siden boede hun hos den unge Brahe-familie, som hun fulgte, uanset hvor de flyttede hen. I perioder opholdt hun sig hos sin søster Ellen og Mourids von Aschersleben på Jerstrup, hvor hun sad ved syge- og dødslejer og førte opbyggelige samtaler. I tretten år havde hun, med eller mod sit ønske, sit eget hjem i Næstved; her omgikkes hun med sin Rosenholm-baggrund byens lærde og samlede på danske bøger og håndskrifter af især religiøst indhold.

Da jomfru Anne var i 60'erne, i 1673, inviterede Preben Brahe og fru Susanne hende til at bo på Bispegaarden – ikke sammen med dem på Hvedholm, som nu var deres hjem. Anne Gyldenstjerne levede stadig og må netop have sat i stand, for kaminen i Biblioteket bærer dette årstal. På Bispegaarden boede måske også andre slægtninge og venner, men det vides ikke. Det er tilfældigt, hvad der er bevaret, især fordi Hvedholm brændte i 1681, og mange papirer gik tabt.

Når Anne Gøye er gået over i historien som beboer i Bispegaarden, er det fordi hun medbragte sit bibliotek på omkring 900 numre, heraf 388 ligprædikener. Adelen samlede på dem, nogle på grund af biskoppers og modepræsters lange udredninger af bibelord, andre for de fyldige biografiske og genealogiske afsnit.

Der var flere andre adelige biblioteker, hvoraf en del var meget større end dette. Flere var blevet ødelagt eller bortført under Svenskekrigene, andre blev spredt ved dødsfald eller social deroute. Jomfru Anne sørgede for, at hendes bibliotek i det mindste blev holdt samlet. I vinteren 1680-81 skrantede hun og skrev til en ven om de bøger, som hun “med så stor flid og glæde havde samlet” – hun havde givet dem alle sammen til Susanne Gøyes datter, Karen Brahe. Hun håbede, at hun ville “elske, agte og gøre sig nytte af dem”, som hun selv havde gjort. I begyndelsen af januar døde jomfru Anne under en visit hos niecen og hendes mand på Hvedholm. Vennen noterede i sin dagbog, at hun var “en højtbedaget og af sin eksemplariske gudsfrygt samt

another family if the situation changed as a result of death or marriage, and on the other it is improbable that all parties lived in constant harmony.

Mistress Anne lived with one of her brothers, then with another, Lady Susanne Gøye's father, and with his widow after his death. She then lived with the young Brahe family, whom she followed wherever they moved to. At periods, she stayed with her sister Ellen and Mourids von Aschersleben at Jerstrup, where she attended sick-beds and death-beds and held edifying conversations. For 13 years she had her own home in Næstved, whether by or against her own will. Here, with her Rosenholm background, she surrounded herself with the town's scholars and collected Danish books and manuscripts, especially those with a religious content.

When Mistress Anne was in her sixties, in 1673, Preben Brahe and Lady Susanne invited her to live at the Bishop's Palace – not together with them at Hvedholm, which was now their home. Anne Gyldenstjerne was still alive and must have recently refurbished the place, as the fireplace in the library bears this year. Other relatives and friends may also have lived at the Bishop's Palace, but this is unknown. What knowledge we have only survives by chance, as Hvedholm burnt down in 1681 and many papers were lost.

If Anne Gøye has gone down in history as a resident of the Bishop's Palace, it is because she brought with her her library of about 900 items, including 388 funeral sermons. The nobility was accustomed to collect these, some for the sake of the bishops' and fashionable priests' long expositions of the scriptures and other for the copious biographical and genealogical sections.

There were several other noble libraries, many of which were much bigger than this one. Several were destroyed or purloined during the Dano-Swedish Wars; others were dispersed after death or social disgrace. At least Mistress Anne ensured that her library was kept together. In the winter of 1680-81 she was ailing



*En af de illustrerede pragtbibler med sort fløjl og sølvspænder i Karen Brahes Bibliotek. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*One of the luxurious illustrated Bibles with black velvet and silver buckles in Karen Brahe's library. Roskilde Kloster. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*

store kuriositet med alle danske bøger at sammensænke vidt berømt jomfru.”<sup>49</sup>

### **Brahe-børnene**

Fru Susanne noterede de ni børns fødsel på et par ark, som ligger inden i et hæfte med trosbetragtninger og salmer af Preben Brahe, og for hvert barn skrev hun et fromt ønske. For Karen var det: “Gud lade hende leve og opvokse i Guds sande frygt, så hun kan være Gud og menneskene takkelig”. Det betød at takkes, ikke negativt som nu, men til behag.

Som det var gennemsnitligt for tiden, var ét barn dødfødt, ét døde som lille og ét som ganske ung. En af den unge mands søskende skrev om hans død på moderens liste og sluttede: “Jeg må bære Herrens vrede, thi jeg har syndet imod ham”. Ordene er fra Mikas Bog, og brugen af denne lidet kendte del af Gamle

and wrote to a friend about the books which she “had collected with such industry and pleasure” – she had given them all to Susanne Gøye’s daughter Karen Brahe. She hoped that she would “love, esteem and make use of them” as she had done. At the beginning of January, Mistress Anne died during a visit to her niece and her husband at Hvedholm. The friend noted in his diary that she was “advanced in years and a lady widely famed for her exemplary reverence and deep curiosity in collecting all Danish books.”<sup>49</sup>

### **The Brahe children**

Lady Susanne noted the births of her nine children on a couple of sheets in a booklet of religious reflections and hymns by Preben Brahe, and for each child she wrote a pious wish. For Karen this was as follows: “May God let her live and grow in the true fear of God, so she



Testamente viser blandt mange andre citater i slægtens efterladte papirer, hvor grundig Brahe-børnenes bibel-lærdom var.

De følgende år var det virkelig som om Herrens vrede ramte familien Brahe. Engelsholm og dens bøndergods var blevet ilde tilredt under Svenskekrigene og var så bekosteligt at genopbygge, at Brahe måtte søge skattefrihed for en del øde gårde. I 1681 brændte Hvedholm, der havde været familiens hjem de foregående fem år, og skulle genrejses. To år senere døde fru Susanne, og Preben Brahe blev "ked af verden", som Odense-biskoppen Thomas Kingo kort forinden havde formuleret det i en salme. Brahe skiftede med sine børn og lukkede sig inde på Engelsholm med de fire døtre og sine lærde og religiøse sysler.

Med tiden blev en af døtrene, Sophie, gift med en sachsisk adelsmand og officer i dansk tjeneste. De tre andre – storesøsteren Anne, Karen og lillesøsteren Birgitte – forblev ugifte. Anne boede nogle år hos morbroderen Marcus Gøye på Lolland, men efter hans død i 1698 flyttede hun ind på Bispegaarden, som døtrene havde fået i fællesskab ved faderens skifte. I 1700 købte Karen Brahe, der alle dage var den mest velhavende af dem, sine søstre ud af ejendommen. Det ser ud til, at der foruden Anne boede nogle fattige slægtninge. Hvor Birgitte var i disse år vides ikke. I 1700 boede hun på Bispegaarden en tid, og faderen forærede hende en kakkellovn til hendes værelse.

Karen blev hos faderen på Engelsholm og styrede husholdningen. Hun delte hans interesser og var, som der står i Preben Brahes ligprædiken 1708, hans hjælp og trøst i alderdommen. Den yngste broder arvede nu Engelsholm, mens Karen og Birgitte flyttede til Østrupgård på Sydfyn, som de også ejede i fællesskab, og her levede de resten af deres liv.

may be seemly to God and men". Seemly here means pleasing.

As was the average for the time, one child was stillborn, one died in infancy and one while still very young. One of this young man's brothers or sisters wrote of his death on the mother's list, closing with: "I will bear the indignation of the LORD, because I have sinned against him". The words are from Micah, and the use of this little-known Old Testament book, among many other scripture quotations in the family's papers, shows how thorough a knowledge of the Bible the Brahe children had.

In the following years it really was as if the Lord's indignation were directed at the Brahe family. Engelsholm and its tenanted estates had been badly damaged in the Dano-Swedish Wars and were so costly to repair that Brahe had to claim tax dispensation for a number of abandoned farms. In 1681, Hvedholm, the family home for the previous five years, burnt down and had to be rebuilt. Two years later, Lady Susanne died, and Preben Brahe became "tired of the world", as the Bishop of Odense, Thomas Kingo, had expressed it in a hymn just before. Brahe divided the family possessions among his children and shut himself away at Engelsholm with his four daughters and his learned and religious pursuits.

In time, one of the daughters, Sophie, would marry a Saxon nobleman and officer in Danish service. The three others – Anne the eldest, Karen and Birgitte, the youngest – remained unmarried. Anne lived for some years with her uncle Marcus Gøye on Lolland, but after his death in 1698, moved to the Bishop's Palace, which the daughters had received in common as part of their inheritance. In 1700, Karen Brahe, always the wealthiest of them, bought her sisters out of the property. It seems that, aside from Anne, some poor relatives also lived there. Where Birgitte was in these years is unknown. In 1700 she lived at the Bishop's Palace for a while, and her father presented her with a tiled stove for her room.

Karen remained with her father at Engelsholm and ran the household. She shared his interests and, as



Rum 103, et af de nordvendte rum i stueetagen, før og efter restaureringen. Rummet var først forsynet med brystpaneler i vinduesnichen og senere helt panelklædt; panelerne er dårligt tilpassede og er genbrug, hentet et andet sted i huset eller udefra. Bag panelet fandt konservatorerne kun en kalket væg fra husets opførelse 1504-1508. Under et linoleumsgulv lå et smukt fyrretræsgulv, delt i fire kvadrater med bræddeborter. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.



Room 103, one of the north-facing rooms on the ground floor, before and after the restoration. The room was first fitted with dados in the window recess and later completely covered with panelling; the panels fit poorly and had been reused, taken from another place in the building or from somewhere else. Behind the panel, the conservators found only a limewashed wall from the construction of the building 1504-1508. Under a linoleum floor was a beautiful pine floor divided into four squares by arrow shaped boards. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



*Lige efter nytår 1716 blev jomfru Anne Brahe båret over Albani Torv og nedsat i sit eget gravsted i St. Knuds Kirke. Det strenge epitafium, kun med nuancer af Brahe-slægtens heraldiske farver sort og sølv, er ren barok med sin sære sammenstilling af den lidende Kristus og kranier med englevinger. St. Knuds Kirke, Odense.*

*Just after New Year 1716, Mistress Anne Brahe was borne across Albani Torv Square and interred in her own tomb in St. Knud's Church. The austere epitaph, solely in shades of the Brahe family's heraldic colours of sable and silver, is pure baroque with its strange counterpoint of the suffering Christ and skulls with angel wings. St. Knud's Church, Odense.*

is told of her in Preben Brahe's funeral sermon of 1708, she was his help and consolation in his old age. The youngest brother now inherited Engelsholm, while Karen and Birgitte moved to Østrupgård in South Funen, which they also owned in common, and here they lived for the rest of their lives.

### **Karen Brahe and death**

Karen Brahe had her mother's list of wishes for her children, and kept it up to date, now striking out a name whenever death carried off one of her brothers and sisters, whereas Lady Susanne had added to it.

The first to go was Sophie, who had followed her husband into war, as officers' wives did at that time, and died in Flanders in 1695 during the Palatinate Wars of Succession. She had a little girl, Susanne, who could not be with her father in the field, and whom Karen Brahe took under her wing. Time flies and men are like grass; the wind blows over them and they are no more: In 1708 Susanne married an elderly Funen landowner, and nine months later died, only 19 years only, in childbed, together with the child.

In 1715 Karen Brahe had to take out the list again and write that "on 29 December my dear sister Mistress



### **Karen Brahe og døden**

Karen Brahe havde sin moders liste med ønskerne for søskendeflokken og førte den videre, men når døden bortrev hendes søskende, trak hun nu fra, hvor fru Susanne havde lagt til.

Den første var Sophie, der havde fulgt sin mand i krig, som officershustruer dengang gjorde, og døde i Flandern 1695 under Den pfalziske Arvefølgekrig. Hun havde en lille pige, Susanne, som ikke kunne være hos sin fader i felten, og som Karen Brahe tog til sig. Tiden iler og mennesket er som et græs, vinden farer hen over det, og det er ikke mere: Allerede i 1708 blev Susanne gift med en ældre fynsk godsejer,

*Anne Brahe, Karen Brahes storesøster, der boede på Bispegaarden knap tyve år. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*Anne Brahe, Karen Brahe's elder sister, who lived at the Bishop's Palace for nearly 20 years. Royal Library.*

Anne Brahe passed away at our house in Odense, where she lived for 17 years; blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, they rest from their labours and their deeds follow them." As she was ordering her sister's papers she found the latter's "Sundry godly thoughts" and wrote on them too the date of her sister's death and that God had called her dear sister home "by a very gentle, sweet and blessed death in her home in Odense".

Less than two weeks later, the eldest brother Jørgen died in Odense. His home was at Hvedholm, but, as High Court Judge for Funen, he probably stayed at the Bishop's Palace when he was in court. He had been weak for a time, "to the concern of us all," wrote Karen Brahe on the list. One night he suffered a "stikflod", a violent expectoration of mucus from an apoplectic attack which can suffocate the patient, as Moth's contemporary dictionary explains it. Jørgen Brahe's death was neither gentle nor sweet.

"Now that I must see most of my own gathered to peace, it will be long for my soul to dwell in the tents of Kedar [a desert]; Thou God are my trust, my hope from my youth, forsake me not, do not take Thy hand from me. God my blessing and strong protector," Karen Brahe concluded.

She wrote this on 21 March 1716 at Østrupgård. She was now nearly 60, and the circle of heirs to the family's estates was becoming smaller and smaller. There was only the unmarried sister Birgitte and the youngest brother Henrik left. This last had had eleven children with his wife, of whom two sons and three daughters were still alive. But however distressing all this was, the land and fortune available for each of them increased each time a family member or an unmarried or childless relative died.



*Den oprindelige store sal i østgavlen mod Paaskestræde blev tidligt opdelt. Det tværgående gulvbræt viser, hvor bygningen er forlænget. Gulvet i den oprindelige del er formentlig Danmarks ældste bevarede egetræsgulv – det er omhyggeligt repareret og lagt ned igen. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*The original large hall in the east end facing Paaskestræde was split up early on. The transverse floorboard show how the building was extended. The floor in the original part is probably Denmark's oldest preserved oak floor - it has been carefully repaired and put down again. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*



og ni måneder senere døde hun, kun 19 år gammel, i barselseng sammen med barnet.

I 1715 måtte Karen Brahe tage listen frem igen og skrive, at “29. dec. døde min kære søster jomfru Anne Brahe udi vores gård i Odense, hvor hun boede i 17 år; salige ere de døde, som dø i Herren, de hvile af deres arbejde, og deres gerning følger dem.” Da hun ryddede op i søsterens papirer, fandt hun hendes “Adskillige gudelige tanker” og skrev også på dem dødsdagen, og at Gud havde kaldt hendes kære søster hjem “ved en sær sagte sød og salig død udi hendes bopæl i Odense”.

Knapt to uger senere døde den ældste broder Jørgen i Odense. Hans hjem var Hvedholm, men som landsdommer for Fyn har han sikkert boet på Bispegaarden, når han var i landsting. Han havde været svag en tid, “os alle til bekymring”, skrev Karen Brahe på listen. En nat fik han et stikflod i halsen, en stærk slimafsondring ved apoplektiske anfald, der kan kvæle patienten, som det forklares i Moths samtidige ordbog. Jørgen Brahes død var hverken sagte eller sød.

”Nu jeg maa se de fleste af mine hensamlet til ro, bliver det min sjæl langt at bo i Kedars bolig [en ørken]; du Gud est min tillid, mit håb af min ungdom, forlad mig ikke, tag ikke din hånd fra mig. Gud min salighed og høje beskærmelse,” sluttede Karen Brahe.

Dette skrev hun 21. marts 1716 på Østrupgård. Hun var nu nær de 60 år, og kredsen af arvinger til slægtens jordegods blev stadig mindre. Tilbage var kun den ugifte søster Birgitte og den yngste broder Henrik, som med sin frue havde fået elleve børn, hvoraf to sønner og tre døtre endnu levede. Men hvor sørgeligt det hele end var, øgedes den enkeltes jordegods og formue, hver gang et familiemedlem eller en ugift eller barnløs slægtning døde.

Karen Brahe havde i sit religiøse liv altid sit endeligt for øje. Hun havde blandt andet allerede i 1704 købt et gravsted i St. Knuds Kirke, og det var på høje tid også at forberede sig i det jordiske, praktiske liv. Et halvt år senere havde hun tænkt færdig. Den 8. november 1716 underskrev hun en omhyggelig fundats til “et adeligt jomfrukloster” på Bispegaarden.



*Den såkaldte bandedekoration, de grønne og røde striber, var populær i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet og er blandt andet fundet på det nuværende Nationalmuseum, Prinsens Palais, fra en indretning i begyndelsen af 1720'erne. Rummet har haft flere typer dekoration, der nu kan ses i små felter rundt om på væggene. Stregerne skal illudere et træpanel med fyldinger. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The vertical green and red stripe decor, in Danish called "bänder" from French "bandes", was popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. It was e.g. used in the early 1720's in The Prince's Palace, today the National Museum of Denmark. The room has had several types of decoration, which can now be seen in small areas around on the walls. The lines create an illusion of wood panelling with inset panels. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

In her religious life Karen always had her own end in sight. As early as 1704, she had bought a grave in St. Knud's Church, and it was high time she prepared herself in her earthly, practical life. Six months later her thoughts were complete. On 8 November 1716 she signed a carefully worded trust deed for “a secular convent for noblewomen” at the Bishop's Palace.



*Jomfru Karen Brahe som 42-årig, flankeret af sine forældres våben: Brahernes til venstre og Gøyernes til højre. Portrættet kendes i tre udgaver, som Karen Brahe har foræret bort, eller som andre har ladet kopiere – portrætter var ikke unika, men skulle netop spredes ligesom portrætstik og senere fotografier. I Den blå Stue hang i 1738 hele to af klosterets tre malerier af Karen Brahe side om side, men inventariet fortæller ikke, om de var ens.<sup>50</sup> Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

# Jomfrukloster

## Jomfruklosteret – The Secular Convent

Af / by Barbara Zalewski

Hvordan kom Karen Brahe på den tanke at stifte et jomfrukloster – og hvad var et kloster overhovedet i 1716? Selve ordet virker ejendommeligt i datidens strengt protestantiske klima, og i dag forbinder vi det med den katolske tid. Men ordet har ikke noget religiøst indhold, det betyder blot et aflukket sted, af latin *claustrum*, hvor beboere og omverden er adskilte. Kloster refererede derfor til en organisationsform: Et beskyttet sted med bolig og underhold, som regel for hele livet.

De katolske nonneklostre var primært adelige institutioner. Deres beboere var gennem århundrederne kommet fra velhavende familier, som kunne give klosteret et indskud i form af penge og jordegods for at få en jomfru optaget. Nogle jomfruer aflagde klosterløfte og blev nonner, andre blev anbragt indtil et giftermål, og atter andre blev en periode opdraget hos slægtninge, der kunne være abbedissen, priorinden eller en af nonnerne.

Det var også muligt at købe sig ind i klosteret som pensionær for at få en betrygget tilværelse uden at skulle følge klosterets strenge regler, og især ældre kvinder og enker benyttede sig af muligheden.

Efter Reformationen fik de to birgittinske klostre, Mariager og Maribo, lov til fortsat at optage ugifte, adelige kvinder. De levede side om side med de oprindelige nonner, og alle kaldtes klosterjomfruer. Hverdagen mindede nu om pensionærernes, og gudstjeneste og bønner var naturligvis protestantiske. I 1551 døde

Where did Karen Brahe get the idea of founding a “Ladies’ Convent” – or Secular Convent as it is more technically known – and what was a convent in 1716? The word itself sounds strange in the strict Protestant climate of the time, and is something we would associate with Catholic times. But the word convent is not religious in itself, deriving from the Latin word for a community. The same applies to the Danish equivalent *kloster* (a convent or monastery; the form *klosteret* simply means *the convent* or *the monastery*), which comes from the Latin for an enclosed area. The words refer to an organisational method for providing a place of protection with board and lodgings, generally for a whole lifetime.

The Catholic nunneries were primarily aristocratic institutions. Down the centuries their residents had come from wealthy families who were able to endow the Convent with money and land in return for their acceptance of a young woman. Some women took religious vows and became nuns, while others were accommodated until the time of their marriage. Others again were educated for a time with relatives, who might be the abbess, prioress or one of the nuns.

It was also possible to buy a place in a convent as a boarder in order to enjoy a secure life without following the Convent’s strict rules, and especially elderly women and widows took advantage of this.

After the Reformation the two Bridgettine convents at Mariager and Maribo were permitted to

*Mistress Karen Brahe, at the age of 42, flanked by her parents’ coats of arms: that of the Brahes to the left and that of the Gøyes to the right. The portrait is known in three versions, which Karen Brahe gave away or which others had copied – portraits were not regarded as unique works of art, but were created for distribution, like the later prints and photographs. In 1738, the Blue Room contained two of the institution’s three paintings of Karen Brahe, but the inventory does not mention whether they were identical.<sup>50</sup> Roskilde Kloster. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*



*Maribo Kloster var blot et stednavn, da Maribo blev tegnet til et kortværk ca. 1670. Et halvt århundrede før var de bygninger nedrevet, som havde rummet nonneklosteret og det første protestantiske, adelige jomfrukloster. De resterende bygninger, der nu var Kronens ejendom, stod delvist tomme. Et tidligere gæstehus for klosterets fornemme besøgende blev udset som en passende bolig for Leonora Christina Ulfeldt, da Christian V løslod hende fra Blaataarn i 1685. Det ligger parallelt med kirken, op til en af de tidligere klosterhaver. Peder Hansen Resen: Atlas Danicus.*

*Maribo Convent was just a placename when Maribo was drawn on this map of around 1670. Fifty years previously the buildings containing the Convent and the first Protestant secular convent for noblewomen had been pulled down. The remaining buildings, now Crown property, were mainly empty. A former guesthouse for the Convent's distinguished visitors was selected as a suitable residence for aristocrat and diarist Leonora Christina Ulfeldt, when Christian V released her from the Blue Tower in 1685. It lies parallel with the church, adjoining one of the previous convent gardens. Peder Hansen Resen: Atlas Danicus.*

den sidste nonne, men Maribo Kloster lukkede ikke, og fem år senere fik det officielt status som "adeligt jomfrukloster".<sup>1</sup> Det fungerede til 1621 og blev således en overgangsform mellem de katolske klostre og en række nye protestantiske institutioner, der skulle sikre tilværelsen for ugifte, adelige kvinder.

continue accepting unmarried noblewomen. They lived side by side with the original nuns and all were called conventuals. Daily life was now similar to that of the boarders, and the services and prayers were naturally Protestant. In 1551 the last nun died, but Maribo Convent did not close down, and five years later received the official status of "secular convent for noblewomen".<sup>1</sup> It functioned until 1621 and was thus a transition between the Catholic convents and a number of new Protestant institutions for securing the life of unmarried noblewomen.

The first of these institutions, founded in 1699, continued the functions of Maribo under a similar name: Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen; its overseers were also known as the *Abbess and Prioress*. Karen Brahe and the royal and noble ladies who founded similar institutions in the first half of the 18th century used the same designations.

At the beginning of the 18th century there was strong distrust and disapproval of Catholicism in official quarters, so the pious Protestant ladies were not creating convents in a Catholic sense. Rather than a religious practice, they preserved a well-known organisational form which had previously proved its utility and benefit for the nobility.

### **Aristocratic convents**

In Catholic times there were some women, both young and older, who took the veil by their own wish; there were others who did not enter the Convent voluntarily. Many families placed their daughters there for financial reasons under the mask of piety. Where there were many children, and especially many girls, it made a difference if one or more no longer needed a dowry, would bring no new generations into the world to share the estate and who would not inherit themselves. They were in all respects "dead to the world", as the saying went.

The family eased its conscience by ensuring that the daughter lived as befitted her station. The wealthy



### **Klostrene efter Reformationen**

Loven om de nye kirkelige forhold efter Reformationen, Recessen af 1536, var meget human. Munke og nonner kunne blive boende i klostrene resten af deres liv. De skulle dog følge protestantisk religiøs praksis, og der måtte ikke længere optages novicer. Klostrene blev afviklet ved naturlig afgang, og de sidste munke og nonner døde først nogle år ind i Christian IV's regeringstid. Efterhånden som klostrene lukkede, blev formue og klostergoods overtaget af Kronen og omdannet til len, der med tiden blev solgt. Flere herregårde har rod i klostergoods, og nogle steder indgår bygningerne i den nuværende hovedbygning.

### **Monasteries after the Reformation**

The law on the new ecclesiastical situation after the Reformation, the Recess of 1536, was humanely drafted. Monks and nuns could remain in their monasteries for the rest of their life. However, they were obliged to follow Protestant religious practice and no new novices were to be accepted. The monasteries were wound down by natural wastage, and the last monks and nuns died a few years into Christian IV's reign. As the monasteries closed, their wealth and estates were taken over by the Crown and converted into fiefs, and over time sold off. Several great houses stem from the monastic estates and in some cases the old buildings are incorporated in the present main building.

Den første af disse institutioner, stiftet i 1699, videreførte Maribos funktion og klosterbetegnelsen: Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster, ligesom titlerne for dets øverste ledelse: abbedisse og priorinde. Karen Brahe og de kongelige og adelige damer, som stiftede lignende institutioner i første del af 1700-tallet, benyttede de samme betegnelser.

Der var i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet fra officiel side stærk mistro til og modvilje mod katolicismen, så nonneklostre i katolsk forstand var ikke forbillede for de fromme, protestantiske damer. De videreførte derfor ikke en religiøs form, men en kendt organisationsform, der tidligere havde været til hjælp og støtte for adelen.

### **Adelens klostre**

I den katolske tid havde nogle unge eller modne kvinder selv ønsket at tage sløret, andre gik ikke frivilligt i kloster. En del familier havde under fromheds maske anbragt døtre af økonomiske hensyn. Hvor der var

convents had beautiful buildings, a lovely garden and an excellent kitchen, and there were servants for all purposes. All the residents belonged to the nobility and were related more or less closely. The nuns at Maribo, and later the conventuals, lived in the same way as was done in the great houses: they read, wrote, drew, embroidered, made elixirs and preserved expensive fruits. Just as in the women's quarters back home, much time was spent on the news, recording the lives of both ancestors and living relatives and arranging marriages. And both before and after the Reformation, many families sent their small daughters for upbringing and education by a convent-living relative or friend.

But being sent to a convent was not just a matter of finances. A place in a religious convent or a secular convent of the 18th century was a solution to social changes in the young girls' homes, whether they lived with their parents, married brothers or sisters or relatives. One or both parents might die and the survivor contract a new marriage: Cinderella's situation

*Hand-painted map of Odense 1717, the same year the Secular Convent for Noblewomen was founded. It is marked as one of the city's important buildings. Across from the Convent there is the island and marsh, which Bishop Jens Andersen acquired in 1519 and which followed the owners of the Bishop's Palace and later Secular Convent for Noblewomen until about 1870. Royal Library.*

mange børn og navnlig mange piger, betød det noget, om en eller flere ikke skulle have medgift, ikke fødte nye generationer, som skulle dele jordegodset, og ikke selv arvede. De var på alle måder "døde for verden", som det hed.

Familien dulmede samvittigheden med, at datteren kom til at leve standsmæssigt. De rige klostre havde smukke bygninger, en dejlig have og et glimrende køkken, og der var folk til alt. Alle beboere tilhørte adelen og var beslægtede, nært eller fjernt. Nonnerne og senere klosterjomfruerne i Maribo foretog sig det samme, som man gjorde på herregårdene: Læste, skrev, tegnede, broderede, fremstillede eliksirer og præserverede dyre frugter. Ligesom i fruerstuerne gik megen tid med nyheder, med at holde styr på både aner og nulevende slægtninge og med at arrangere ægteskaber. Og både før og efter Reformationen sendte mange deres små døtre til opdragelse og oplæring hos en klostergivet slægtning eller veninde.

Men anbringelse drejede sig ikke kun om økonomi. En klosterplads var i nonneklostrene og i 1700-tallets jomfruklostre en løsning ved sociale begivenheder i jomfruernes hjem, hvad enten de boede hos forældre, gifte søskende eller slægtninge. Den ene eller begge ægtefæller døde, eller den efterladte indgik nyt ægteskab: Askepots tilværelse var ikke opdigtet. Der var påtrængende eller uønskede friere, ufordragelige jomfruer og nogle, der var uafsættelige på grund af fysiske eller psykiske skavanker. Jomfruerne kunne også selv betragte klosteret som en tilflugt: Ved ulykkelig kærlighed, et anstrengende liv med langvarige sygelejer i familien, pasning af familiens gamle, husfruens årlige barselseng og et mylder af små hel- og halv-søskende, hvoraf mange døde som børn. Det lod nogle ane i deres ansøgninger om en plads i Maribo Kloster, og sådanne forhold kan også helt op i 1800-tallet have spillet en rolle for de frøkener, der flyttede ind på Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster – fem-seks og helt op til femten søskende var ikke ualmindeligt.

At nonneklostrene havde tjent andre formål end det religiøse blev meget synligt efter Reformationen,

was not just a story. There were importunate or undesirable suitors, cantankerous girls and some who could not be married off because of physical or mental defects. The young girls might even see the Convent as a refuge, perhaps from unhappy love, an exhausting life with lengthy illnesses in the family, looking after the old people in the family, or attending to the lady of the household's annual childbirth and a myriad of small siblings or half-siblings, many of whom would die in childhood. These reasons shine through in some of the applications for a place at Maribo Convent, and the same considerations may have played a role right up to the 19th century for the unmarried women who moved into the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen – having five or six or even as many as 15 brothers and sisters was not uncommon.

That the convents had purposes other than religious became very plain after the Reformation, when, as mentioned before, the nobility could still have their daughters entered in the convents at Mariager and Maribo. In fact the noble classes found the convents so necessary, that, 25 years after the Reformation, they proposed that the King should found more of them. If not, they might be forced to marry off their unsupported daughters with non-nobles, a dreadful thought in those times. The conventuals did not come from poor homes, so unsupported must not be understood as without means – merely that there was no-one to look after them and protect them. Married women had a husband and his family, and, in perilous hours, his armed servants, moat and castle wall. Unmarried women had only convent walls to help them.

The number of daughters the nobility wished to place must have been astonishingly large, if Mariager and Maribo were insufficient. The convent buildings were dimensioned for an abbess, a prioress, 60 nuns and a few boarders, so there would have been about 150 places in all, while the whole Danish nobility did not consist of more than 2000 persons.

The King rejected the proposal, presumably because convent estates would not become Crown



Håndmalet kort over Odense 1717, samme år som Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster blev stiftet. Det er indtegnet som en af byens betydelige bygninger. Overfor klosteret ligger øen og engen, som biskop Jens Andersen erhvervede i 1519 og som fulgte ejerne af Bispegaarden og senere Jomfruklosteret helt til omkring 1870. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.

hvor adelen som nævnt stadig kunne sætte døtre i klostrene i Mariager og Maribo. Faktisk fandt standen som helhed jomfruklostre så nødvendige, at den 25 år efter Reformationen foreslog kongen at oprette flere. Hvis ikke, kunne man blive nødt til at bortgifte uforsørgede døtre til uadelige, hvilket var en frygtelig tanke efter datidens begreber. Klosterjomfruerne kom ikke fra fattige familier, så uforsørget skulle ikke forstås som ubemidlet – der var blot ikke nogen til at sørge for og beskytte dem. Gifte fruer havde en mand og hans slægt, og i farefulde stunder hans væbnede folk, voldgrav og borgmur. Jomfruerne havde kun klostermurene.

property. In the Golden Age of the nobility, as the 16th and the first decades of the 17th centuries are known, the nobility as a class or as individual persons could have erected one or more small convents. Later history shows that it would have been no problem at all. But the idea never came to anything. Family and relatives took care of the unmarried women, as was the case with the Gøye children, where only one of the sisters married, while the others stayed with her, with their brothers or with their relatives by marriage, the Brahe family.

And soon the nobility had other things to think about. War proceeded almost uninterruptedly from





Det var et forbløffende antal døtre, adelen ønskede anbragt, når Mariager og Maribo ikke var tilstrækkelige. Klosterbygningerne var dimensionerede til en abbedisse, en priorinde, 60 nonner og nogle pensionærer, så der har været omkring 150 pladser i alt, mens hele den danske adel bestod af knapt 2.000 personer.

Kongen afslog forslaget, formentlig fordi klostergodset således ikke ville blive krongods. I adelens gyldne tid, som 1500-tallet og de første årtier af 1600-tallet er blevet kaldt, kunne adelen som stand eller enkeltpersoner selv have oprettet et eller flere mindre klostre. Det viste sig senere, at det udmærket kunne lade sig gøre. Men det blev ikke til noget. Familie og slægt tog sig af de ugifte kvinder, som det var tilfældet i Gøyesøkendeflokken, hvor kun én af fire søstre blev gift, mens de ugifte på skift boede hos hende, deres brødre og Brahe-familien.

Og snart fik adelen andet at tænke på. Der var næsten uafbrudt krig fra Kalmarkrigen 1611-1612 til 1720, hvor Store Nordiske Krig sluttede, og efter Enevældens indførelse i 1660 skete der store forandringer i adelen.

### Fattig adel

Karen Brahe skrev i fundatsen til sit nye jomfrukloster i 1716, at hendes gård i Odense, Bispegaarden, skulle indrettes til et sted, der var "adelige jomfruer til nytte, særdeles de, som ikke uden venners hjælp, af egne midler kunne subsistere".<sup>2</sup>

Den sidste sætning beskriver det, der var sket, siden Maribo Adelige Jomfrukloster lukkede: Mange adelige var nu nærmest subsistensløse og måtte ty til venners hjælp – ordet omfattede ligesom i lovgivningens familie – og det skulle kun blive værre i løbet af 1700-tallet. Samtidig med krigen medvirkede mange faktorer til at fjerne fundamentet under den gamle jordadel, som Karen Brahe tilhørte. Rige og magtfulde slægter blev forarmede på en generation eller to, og kun nogle få af dem – eller enkelte familier i slægterne – red stormen af med økonomien nogenlunde i behold.

*Kig til rum 204. Værelset er et af de rum på førstesalen, der har færrest dekorationslag. Værelset stod ved Realdania Bygs overtagelse med den dekoration, som det fik i ca. 1890: papirtapet med blomstermønster i lys og mørk brun og mørke prikker på grå bund. Foto tv.: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, th.: Roberto Fortuna.*

*A glimpse of room 204, one of those on the first floor with the fewest decorations. When Realdania Byg acquired the building, this room still had the wallpaper hung around 1890: light and dark brown with a floral pattern and dark dots on a grey background. Photo, left: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, right: Roberto Fortuna.*



the Kalmar War of 1611-1612 to 1720 when the Great Northern War ended, and after the introduction of absolute monarchy in 1660, there were big changes to the circumstances of the nobility.

### Impoverished nobility

In the trust deed of 1716 for her new Ladies Convent, Karen Brahe instructed that her house in Odense, the Bishop's Palace, should be fitted out as a place for the "benefit of noble maidens, especially those unable to subsist on their own means without the help of friends".<sup>2</sup>

The last few words describe what had happened since the Maribo Secular Convent for Noblewomen had closed. Many nobles were now almost destitute, and had to turn to friends for help (this word included family, in the legal terminology of the day) – and matters would only worsen during the 18th century.



Mange adelsmænd faldt i krigene som bl.a. Preben Brahes broder, Steen, i 1677 i Skånske Krig. Nogle døde af de febre og farsoter, der altid fulgte hærene, sådan som det skete for de ti Gøye-søskendes fader i 1611. Hver krig betød nedgang i antallet af adelige, for de gifte fik ikke flere efterkommere, de ugifte fik slet ingen. Det medførte et forsørgelsesproblem, ikke blot for deres enker og børn, men for alle de slægtninge, unge og gamle, mænd og kvinder, som disse familier traditionelt havde taget sig af.

Adelen havde tidligere været forpligtet til at gå i krig med deres egne folk. Den rolle var helt udspillet sidst i 1600-tallet, men da der blev oprettet en stående hær, valgte en del af den gamle adel en militær karriere og var nu statsansatte. Karen Brahes yngste broder og en nevø fulgte den bane. Fra 1720 var der hundrede års fred i landet, bortset fra et par småskærmysler. Hermed var officersfamilierne kun truede ved faderens død af naturlige årsager, men de boede på tjenestestedet og mistede foruden lønnen også deres hjem. Efter hændervridende breve til kongen kunne enkelte enker allernådigst få en lille pension. Såvel i Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster i København, stiftet 1735, som i Karen Brahes jomfrukloster blev der efterhånden overvægt af enker efter og døtre af officerer.<sup>3</sup>

Parallel with the wars, many other factors conspired to undermine the old landed nobility of which Karen Brahe was part. Powerful and wealthy noble houses fell into poverty within a generation or two, and only a few of them – or individual families within them – were able to ride the storm with their finances more or less intact.

Many nobles fell in the wars, as was the case for Preben Brahe's brother, Steen, who died in 1677 in the Scanian War. Some died of the fevers and epidemics which always followed the armies, and such was the fate of the father to the ten Gøye children in 1611. Every war meant a reduction in the number of nobles, because the married survivors would have no further descendants, and the unmarried none at all. This gave rise to the problem of support, not just of the widows and their children but of all the relatives, young and old, men and women, which these families had traditionally looked after.

In previous times the nobility had been under a duty to go to war with their own men. This role was completely obsolete by the end of the 17th century, but when a standing army was created, a number of the old nobility chose a military career and were now employees of the state. Karen Brahe's youngest brother and a nephew chose this course. From 1720 on, there were a hundred years of peace in Denmark, apart from a couple of minor skirmishes. In this situation, the families of officers were only threatened by the death of the father from natural causes, but they lived in the service location and his death meant the loss of his salary and their home. Hand-wringing letters to the King could only secure a few widows a grudging pittance of a pension. Both in the Harboeske Enkefruekloster, a widows' convent in Copenhagen, founded in 1735, and in Karen Brahe's Ladies Convent, the residents gradually came to consist largely of officers' widows and daughters.<sup>3</sup>

Many officers desisted from marrying. The institution was ill-matched to life in the services, as the French Maréchal Maurice de Saxe expressed it at

En del officerer giftede sig slet ikke. Det lod sig ikke godt forene med tjenesten, sådan som den franske marskal Moritz af Sachsen sagde netop på denne tid: “Une femme n'est pas un meuble propre à un soldat” – en kvinde er ikke et passende møbel for en soldat.<sup>4</sup> En af de ugifte officerer var oberstløjtnant Preben Brahe, en nevø af Karen Brahe og Odense Adelige Jomfruklostets patron, dvs. beskytter, der døde som slægtens

the time: “Une femme n'est pas un meuble propre à un soldat” – a wife is no suitable furniture for a soldier.<sup>4</sup> One of the unmarried officers was Lieutenant-Colonel Preben Brahe, a nephew of Karen Brahe and the Patron, i.e. protector, of the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, who died as the last man in the family in 1786. With his sister's death three years later, the Brahe family in Denmark was extinct.



*Værelse på første sal, rum 204, efter restaureringen. Tapetet er moiré, der var meget populært fra 1830'erne og de følgende hundrede år. I afdækningen ses en mønstret bræddevæg, opsat da førstesalens to store rum blev delt i værelser i første halvdel af 1700-tallet. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Room 204 on the first floor, after the restoration. The wallpaper is moiré, very popular the 1830's and the following century. In the uncovered area in the corner, a patterned partition wall is visible, put up when the two large halls on the first floor were divided into rooms in the first half of the 18th century. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



*I ovnkrogen i rum 204 er marmoreringen genskabt, en praktisk foranstaltning, hvor røg, sod og aske ikke sås så tydeligt.*

*Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*In the stove nook in room 204, the marbling – a practical measure to make traces of smoke, soot and ash less visible – is recreated. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

sidste mand i 1786. Da hans søster døde tre år senere, var Brahe-slægten i Danmark uddød.

Det århundredgamle indtægtsgrundlag, jordegodset, smuldrede også sidst i 1600-tallet, dels på grund af arveloven, dels fordi den såkaldte nye adel, brevadel eller embedsadel, der var adlede af kongen eller havde embeder med privilegier svarende til adelens, ønskede at blive godsejere. Den gamle adels jordegods havde på en måde blot været til låns af en stor slægts-pulje, og arvegangen gik helt op til tipoldeforældres efterkommere. Blandt andet derfor var genealogien så vigtig i adelsfamilierne. Alle arvede lige meget; når søsterlodder var halvt så store som broderlodder, var det fordi, piger i hvert fald teoretisk fik medgift. Hver arving skulle have sin part af alt. Det kunne løses ved sameje, som det skete med



*Jomfruklosteret fik først indlagt el efter 1914. I rum 204 er de rør, som stofledningerne dengang blev ført i, og den klassiske messingafbryder ved døren bevaret. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Electricity was installed in the Convent after 1914. In room 204 there are tubes, which the textile wiring was routed through, and the classical brass switch near the door has been preserved. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

The centuries-old bedrock of revenue, the landed estates, also crumbled in the late 17th century, both as a result of inheritance laws, and also because the so-called new nobility who had been created by letters patent or by office (i.e., ennobled by the King or holding offices with privileges similar to the nobility) desired to become estate owners. For each generation of the old nobility, the estates were on loan so to speak from a large pool, gathered and inherited through generations, and rights of succession were traced all the way back to great great grandparents. This was one reason why genealogy was so important in noble families. Everyone inherited an equal share; if sisters' shares were only half as large as brothers' shares, this was because at least theoretically the girls received a dowry. Each heir was meant to receive a share of



Brockenhuus og Akeleye ved Jørgen Brahes køb af Bispegaarden, og senere med Karen Brahe og hendes søstres sameje af Bispegaarden og Østrupgård.

På den tid, hvor Anne Gøye boede på Bispegaarden, ejede hun Hvidkildes jorder, mens ladegården og borggården med beboelsen var ejet i fællesskab af hendes nevø Marcus Gøye og dennes svoger Preben Brahe, gift med Susanne Gøye. Sådanne ejerforhold førte let til stridigheder om drift, vedligeholdelse, nybyggeri og salg, og nogle steder førte samejet til så besynderlige løsninger som på Vallø, hvor borggården 1554-1651 var delt i to med en mur til tagskægget.

For at mindske antallet af arveberettigede havde de samme slægter giftet sig ind i hinanden i generationer. Jo hurtigere slægterne nåede til fælles forfædre, jo færre parter skulle arven deles i. Det svimler helt, når slægtsrelationerne for de jomfruer, der boede i Karen Brahes adelige jomfrukloster, skal udredes: Ved hvert slægtsnavn skal man blot en eller to generationer tilbage eller se på de besvoglede, så viser de samme navne sig igen. Det gælder ikke kun de første klosterjomfruer af den gamle jordadel, som fik plads i Jomfruklosteret, men også den nye adel op gennem 1700-tallet. Den nye adel fulgte den gamle adels traditioner, og der var hele klaner af indgiftede familier i flere generationer i Jomfruklosteret. Dette indgiftede må have haft genetiske konsekvenser, men det betød i hvert fald, at hvis det gik økonomisk galt for én familie, havde det dominoeffekt på hele deres slægtsgren. I Jomfruklosteret boede flere nært beslægtede, hvis familier det var gået sådan.

Med oprettelsen 1671 af en ny adelsgruppe, grever og baroner, fulgte en ny arveform. Som kongen frejdigt udtrykte det, så fordrede sådan ære og værdighed "stor middel og formue, hvilken let forsvinder, når den i mange små lodder deles". Grevskabet eller baroniet skulle derfor gå udelt til ældste søn eller datter, mens de øvrige børn skulle fyldestgøres af andet jordegods og løsøre, men det kunne jo ske, at der kun var ganske lidt til overs. Derefter så man ofte søskendeflokke, hvor den ældste sad på et stort gods, mens de øvrige fristede en kummerlig tilværelse.

everything. This could be achieved by joint ownership, as happened with Brockenhuus and Akeleye at the time of Jørgen Brahe's purchase of the Bishop's Palace, and later with Karen Brahe and her sisters' joint ownership of the Bishop's Palace and Østrupgård.

At the time Anne Gøye lived at the Bishop's Palace, she owned the land at Hvidkilde, while the home farm and manor house buildings with associated residence were owned in common by her nephew Marcus Gøye and his brother-in-law Preben Brahe, married to Susanne Gøye. Ownership titles of this kind easily led to disputes regarding management, maintenance, new building and sale, and in some places, joint ownership led to such strange arrangements as at Vallø, where, from 1554-1651, the castle yard was divided into two by a wall up to the eaves.

To reduce the number of persons entitled to inherit, the same families had intermarried for generations. The sooner the families could find a common ancestor, the fewer the parties who could share the inheritance. The mind boggles when working out the family relations of the unmarried ladies who lived in Karen Brahe's secular convent for noblewomen. For each family name it is only necessary to go back one or two generations or look at their relatives by marriage to notice a repetition of the same names. The same applies not just to the first conventuals from the old landed nobility who found a place at Jomfruklosteret, but also to the new nobility all the way down the 18th century. The new nobility followed the traditions of the old, and there were whole clans of intermarried families represented for several generations at Jomfruklosteret. This intermarriage must have had genetic consequences, but at all events it meant that if one family suffered financially it had a domino effect on the whole of their branch of the family name. Jomfruklosteret housed several closely related persons whose families had suffered in this way.

With the establishment of a new group of nobles in 1671, the counts and the barons, a new type of succession was introduced. As the King nonchalantly expressed it, such honour and dignity demanded



Tidligere havde adelen haft eneret på embeder i lokal- og centraladministration, og især var embedet som lensmand et glimrende supplement til indtægterne fra ens eget jordegods. Jørgen Brahe havde Hagenskov i 44 år og fik meget ud af det. Efter de ødelæggende og ruinerende Svenskekrige blev hele administrationen imidlertid radikalt omlagt for at redde landet, og adelens forrettigheder blev ophævet, så alle med evner kunne få embede. Nogle af de nye embedsmænd fik en kométkarriere, og mange blev adlede eller fik våbenbrev og privilegier “lige med adelen”, dvs. ret til at eje jord og skattebegunstigelser for den. De begyndte nu

“great means and fortune, which can easily dwindle when divided into many small shares.” Countships and baronies would therefore pass undivided to the eldest son or daughter, while the other children would be provided with other land and chattels, though of course it might be that there was very little left. For this reason it became common to see broods of brothers and sisters, of whom the eldest possessed a large estate while the others led a life of misery.

Previously the nobility had had a monopoly of positions in local and central administration, and in particular the post of Lord Lieutenant had been a splendid supplement to the revenues from the landed estates. Jørgen Brahe was Lord Lieutenant of Hagenskov for 44 years and derived great benefit from it. However, after the destructive and ruinous Dano-Swedish Wars, the whole administration was radically reorganised to save the country, and the privileges of the nobility were abolished, so that anyone of ability could obtain a post. Some of the new officials enjoyed a meteoric career, and many were ennobled or received the right to armorial bearings and privileges “equal to the nobility”, i.e. the right to own land with tax privileges. They now began to buy up the farms and manors of the old landed nobility. The ambition to be a landowner always emerges when one social group comes into money, as happened with the merchants in the “flourishing” times of Danish overseas trade or with the manufacturers and wholesalers of the late 19th century.

The race was on to acquire landed estates, because the new titles of counts and barons demanded respectively 2500 and 1000 “tønder hartkorn” (land valuation units). The smallest manors were valued at 25 tønder hartkorn, so many farms were needed to reach the target. However, these were not the estates of the same name that we know today. Most manor houses were very modest, with two or three wings, and often half-timbered, and it was the new owners who united the lands around the main house and erected buildings of international standard, with interiors and gardens to match the latest fashion.

*Dekorationer af denne type skulle illudere tapet – her i rum 209 er den genskabt under restaureringen ved brug af flere skabeloner. En oprindelig bemaling af bræddeskillevæggen er synlig i den lille åbning. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

Ludvig Holberg:  
Don Ranudo  
eller Fattigdom og Hoffart  
Skrevet 1723

ACTUS I. SCEN. 1

Den nyadlede Don Gonzalo de las Minas har forelsket sig i den adelsstolte, men ludfattige Don Ranudos datter og siger til sin søster:

Det er sandt min hierte Søster! jeg seer ingen fordeel ved saadant partie, men I skall viide, at min kierlighed ikke grundes paa interesse. Deres familie er vel ældere og anseeligere, men vores er derfor ikke mindre adelig, kand de regne flere store folk i deres slegt, saa kand vi derimod regne vor rigdom, og sætte den imod deres elendige armod, som er større end den kand beskrives.

Men jeg siger min hierte Søster, jeg sigter ikke till nogen fordeel, mit hierte er optændt af en pur og reen kierlighed till deres dotter Donna Maria, som jeg beklager ikke mindre for hendes fattigdom, end som for hendes urimelige forældre, som ved deres hovmod er bleven fabel over den hele bye, og maa derfor den heele Spanske Nation ved saadant uskyldig lide.

Ludvig Holberg:  
Don Ranudo  
or Poverty and Arrogance  
Written 1723

ACT 1. SCENE 1

The newly ennobled Don Gonzalo de las Minas has fallen in love with the aristocratically haughty but poverty-stricken daughter of Don Ranudo, and remarks to his sister:

It is true, my dearest sister! I see no advantage in such a match, but you should know that my love is not based on my own self-interest. Their family is no doubt older and more distinguished, but ours is no less noble for all that, and if they can count many great men in their family, we can count our riches and contrast them with their wretched poverty, which is too deep to be described.

But I tell you, my dear sister, I am not looking for an advantage, my heart is inflamed with pure and unalloyed love for their daughter Donna Maria, whom I pity not less for her poverty than for her unreasonable parents, who by their arrogance have become a byword throughout the town, and thereby are a cause of suffering for the whole Spanish nation.

at opkøbe den gamle jordadels gårde. Det at blive godsejer har altid været en ambition, når en samfundsgruppe kom til penge som f.eks. købmændene i den florissante handelsperiode og fabrikanter og grosserere i slutningen af 1800-tallet.

Der var kapløb om at erhverve jordegods, for de nye titler greve og baron krævede henholdsvis 2.500 og 1.000 tdr hartkorn. De mindste herregårde var på 25 tdr hartkorn, så der skulle mange gårde til for at nå målet. Det drejede sig dog ikke om de godser af samme navn, som vi kender i dag. De fleste herregårde var ganske beskedne, to eller tre fløje, ofte i bindings-

The new nobility dangled their new money in front of the old landed nobility, including the Gøyes, Brahes and Rosenkrantz's, and, especially because of the inheritance laws, many families were in a situation where they had to sell. They then moved in with married children, or rented places in the market towns or modest houses in the country. If the old manor had not been heavily indebted, the family could maybe live more or less satisfactorily on the proceeds of the sale, but there was rarely anything to pass on as an inheritance.

The overall effect of these changes naturally hit men just as hard as women, but even though the men of

*Decorations of this type were meant to give the illusion of wallpaper. Here in room 209 the pattern is restored, using a number of stencils. An original coat of paint on the wooden partition wall is visible in the small opening. 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*



*Rum 205 efter restaureringen med kig til rum 204 og trapperum 215. I 1800-tallet var stærkt grønne tapeter populære, men de var lavet med arsenholdige pigmenter og udsendte giftige gasser, især i fugtige rum; her er det dog en moderne kopi af et historisk tapet. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Room 205 after the restoration with a view of room 204 and Stairway 215. Loud green wallpapers were popular in the 19th century, but they were made from pigments containing arsenic and released toxic gases, especially in damp rooms; however, here is a modern copy of an historic wallpaper. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



værk, og det var de nye ejere, som dels samlede godset omkring hovedgården, dels satte bygninger af international standard på, med interiører og haveanlæg efter sidste mode.

Den nye adel viftede den gamle jordadel, også Gøyer, Braher og Rosenkrantz, om næsen med deres nye penge, og mange familier var på grund af især arveloven kommet i en situation, hvor de var nødt til at sælge. Herefter rykkede de ind hos gifte børn eller boede til leje i købstæderne eller i småhuse på landet, og havde der ikke været større gæld i gården, kunne familien måske leve nogenlunde af salget, men der var sjældent noget at give i arv.

Den samlede vægt af alle disse forandringer ramte naturligvis mænd lige så hårdt som kvinder, men selvom adelsmændene havde fået konkurrence til embederne, var de ikke ligefrem udelukkede. De kunne som sagt også gå i militærtjeneste, hvorved boligproblemet var løst, i det mindste så længe de var duelige i tjenesten. Kun få var helt subsistensløse. Kvinderne var meget dårligere stillede, fordi de ikke kunne tage embeder. Uden medgift havde jomfruerne ingen udsigt til ægteskab, og de hverken ville eller måtte gifte sig under deres stand, idet de og deres eventuelle børn dermed mistede deres adelskab. Desuden havde mange familier ikke længere økonomi og plads til ugifte, unge eller ældre, i hjemmet. Disse kvinders situation var allerede sidst i 1600-tallet et stort problem, og velhavende standsfæller besluttede at afhjælpe det, i første omgang inden for deres egne slægter.

I 1681 oprettede et ægtepar Juul og Friis en pengestiftelse for deres slægters ugifte kvinder, Den Thaarupgaardske Stiftelse, som trådte i kraft ved den længstlevendes død i 1698; efter en fundatsændring i 1815 optog den alle døtre af dansk adel og mænd i de fire første rangklasser, og den eksisterer endnu.

Pengestiftelsen dannede dog ikke straks forbillede. I de følgende knap 40 år blev *klosteret* den foretrukne form for støtte til ubemidlede jomfruer: Bolig og forsørgelse i ét, daglige andagter og et stilfærdigt liv tiltalte samtiden.

noble origin now had to compete for the official posts, they were not actually excluded. As mentioned, they could also make a career in the military, which solved the problem of where to live, at least, as long as they were fit for service. Only very few were completely destitute. The women were much worse off, because they were excluded from the official posts. Without a dowry, the young women had no prospect of marriage, and they were neither willing nor permitted to marry beneath their station, as this would mean that they and any children they might have would lose their noble status. In addition, many families no longer had the finances or space for unmarried women in the home, whether young or old. As early as the late 1600's, the situation of these women had become a severe problem, and wealthy members of their class decided to do something about it, in the first instance within their own families.

In 1681, a wealthy couple called Juul and Friis founded a charity fund for the unmarried women in their extended family, the Thaarupgaardske Stiftelse, which came into force on the death of the longer lived of them in 1698; according to a trust deed amendment in 1815, it would accept all daughters of the Danish nobility and the top four ranks, and it exists to this day.

However the charity fund concept was not immediately followed. For just under 40 years, the convent became the preferred form of support for unmarried ladies without means: the idea of combined lodgings and subsistence, daily prayers and a quiet existence appealed to contemporary society.

### **Karen Brahe's inspiration**

In 1716, Karen Brahe was not the first to think of founding a secular convent. She was following one of the movements of the time.

Although it had long been closed down, the Maribo Secular Convent for Noblewomen was not forgotten. At family get-togethers, children and young people had heard about it from the old conventuals, and the



*Et af de nordvendte værelser, rum 205. Bræddeskillevæggen er fra begyndelsen af 1700-tallet, alkoven til højre er indbygget senere. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*



*One of the north-facing rooms, room 205. The partition wall is from the beginning of the 18th century, the alcove to the right was built-in later. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

### **Karen Brahes inspirationer**

Karen Brahe var i 1716 ikke den første, der fik den tanke at indrette et jomfrukloster. Hun fulgte en bevægelse i tiden.

Skønt nedlagt for længe siden var Maribo Adelige Jomfrukloster ikke glemt. Ved sammenkomster har børn og unge hørt de gamle klosterjomfruer fortælle, og i familiernes brevkister lå breve og dokumenter, måske endda selve klostrets fundats, som den øverste adel, Rigsrådet, havde vedtaget. Også Karen Brahe har kendt til Maribo, som husede flere Braher, Gyldenstjerner og Gøyer. Det var desuden almenviden, at der i Hertugdømmerne lå fire jomfruklostre, der ligesom Maribo var fortsat hen over Reformationen og stadig trivedes i bedste velgående, fordi adelen dér, Ridder-skabet, var godt organiseret og ordnede standens anliggender i fællesskab.

Dronningernes og prinsessernes hofdamer og andre adelige, der færdedes ved Hoffet, har selvfølgelig talt om jordadelens situation. Christian Vs dronning, Charlotte Amalie, var så vidt vides den første, der tog skridt til at genoplive institutionen adeligt jomfrukloster, og allerede i 1694 købte hun godset Vemmetofte i Sydøstsjælland til formålet. Hun nåede ikke at

families' letter chests contained letters and documents, maybe even the convent's trust deeds approved by the higher nobility, the Council of State. Karen Brahe would also have known of Maribo, which had housed several Brahes, Gyldenstjernes and Gøyes. It was also common knowledge that there were four secular convents in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, which, just like Maribo, had lived on after the Reformation but were still in the best of health, because the nobility of the Duchy, the Knighthood, was well organised and acted together to respond to the concerns of its class.

Naturally, the Ladies-in-Waiting to the Queens and Princesses and other nobles who frequented the Court would have discussed the situation of the landed nobility. Christian V's Queen, Charlotte Amalie, was, as far as is known, the first to take steps to revive the institution of the secular convent for noblewomen, and as early as 1694 bought the estate of Vemmetofte in Southeast Zealand for the purpose. She was unable to establish the Convent before her death in 1714, but her unmarried children, Prince Carl and Princess Sophie Hedvig, moved to Vemmetofte and left it as a secular convent in their wills. It opened after the Princess's death in 1735 and still exists.

*Førstesalen bestod oprindeligt af to store rum med en tværgående væg. Ved indretningen til værelser måtte der opsættes langsgående skillevægge til korridorer, så frøkenerne ikke skulle gennem hinandens værelser. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*The first floor originally consisted of two large rooms with a transverse wall. When the rooms were designed, corridors were made with longitudinal partitions, so that the ladies would not have to pass through one another's rooms. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*



etablere klosteret før sin død i 1714, men hendes ugifte børn, prins Carl og prinsesse Sophie Hedvig, flyttede til Vemmetofte og testamenterede det til et jomfrukloster. Det åbnede ved prinsessens død i 1735 og eksisterer stadig.

I 1699 stiftede to meget velhavende enker, fru Margrethe Ulfeldt og fru Berte Skeel – lidt ældre end Karen Brahe og fra samme miljø som hun – det nævnte Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster, hvis organisation var kalkeret over Maribos. Det findes endnu under navnet Roskilde Kloster.

To år senere bestemte grev Christian Gyldenløve, en af Christian Vs uægte sønner, i sit testamente, at Gisselfeld på Midtsjælland skulle være adeligt jomfrukloster med 16 jomfruer og en abbedisse. Han var netop blevet gift med Dorothea Krag, i sit første ægteskab svigerinde til en af Roskildes stifterinder. Klosteret skulle først træde i kraft ved grevindens død og var tænkt med boliger, men året efter hendes død i 1754 blev Gisselfeld oprettet som pengestiftelse. Også den findes stadig.

Der skete således noget i de højere kredse. Karen Brahe har kendt disse personer mere eller mindre og været i selskab med dem i København, på Fyn og hos slægt og venner i hele landet. Der er næsten ingen bevarede breve til og fra Karen Brahe, så det vides ikke, om hun korresponderede med nogen om sin plan, men i hendes bibliotek ligger en festsang fra stiftelsen af Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster, og i 1717 havde hun kontakt med fru Berte Skeel.

Karen Brahe havde allerede i 1700 købt sine medarvinger ud af Bispegaarden i Odense, måske som økonomisk støtte. Nu i sen vinteren 1716, da hendes søster og broder så pludseligt var gået bort, stod hun uventet med et skrummel af et hus, som hun ikke selv ville bebo, eftersom hun havde sit liv og sit udkomme på Østrupgård. Mens hun gik rundt i huset og sorterede boets papirer, har hun uden tvivl tænkt på de ugifte kvinder, som havde haft deres hjem her: Moderns faster, Anne Gøye, og hendes egen søster, Anne Brahe. De havde begge opholdt sig hos familie i mange

In 1699, two very rich widows, Lady Margrethe Ulfeldt and Lady Berte Skeel – both a little older than Karen Brahe and from the same background as her – founded Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen, the organisation of which copied that of Maribo, as mentioned above. It still exists under the name Roskilde Kloster.

Two years later, Count Christian Gyldenløve, one of Christian V's illegitimate sons, determined in his will that Gisselfeld in Mid-Zealand was to become a secular convent for noblewomen, with 16 conventuals and an abbess. He had just married Dorothea Krag, who in her first marriage had been sister-in-law to one of the foundresses of Roskilde. The convent was to start operation after the Countess's death, and the idea was to set up a residence. However, the year after her death in 1754, Gisselfeld was established as a charity fund. It too still exists today.

Matters were being taken in hand in the higher circles. Karen Brahe knew these people to a greater or lesser extent and had socialised with them in Copenhagen, on Funen and at the houses of friends and family throughout the country. There are almost no preserved letters to or from Karen Brahe, so it is unknown whether she corresponded with anyone about her plan, but in her library there is a song written for the inauguration of Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen, and in 1717 she was in contact with Lady Berte Skeel.

Karen Brahe had already bought her co-inheritors out of the Bishop's Palace in Odense in 1700, perhaps to provide them with financial support. Now, in late 1716, with her sister and brother suddenly dead, she was unexpectedly left with a monstrosity of a house she had no intention of living in, as she herself had her life and livelihood at Østrupgård. While she wandered round the house sorting out the estate papers, she no doubt thought of the unmarried women who had had their home there: her mother's aunt, Anne Gøye, and her own sister, Anne Brahe. They had both lived with family for many years previously, which had probably







*Dekorationen i alkoven i rum 205 er en bemaling, der imiterer tapet. Skabelonen er skabt efter en tidligere bemaling, der blev fundet under restaureringen. Alkoven er en senere tilføjelse til rummet. Foto tv.: Lundqvist Tegnesteue.*

*Foto th.: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The decor in the alcove in room 205 is paintwork imitating wallpaper. The pattern was created from a painting layer found during the restoration. The alcove is a later addition to the room. Photo, left: Lundqvist Architects.*

*Photo, left: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

år forinden, hvilket sikkert ikke altid havde været lige fornøjeligt for nogen af parterne.

De ældre to damer boede ikke alene på Bispegaarden. De havde hushold med flere tjenestefolk ude og inde som alle på deres niveau, og de havde sandsynligvis selv slægtninge boende hos sig. Meget tyder på, at de tre unge kvinder, som Karen Brahe indsatte som de første klosterjomfruer, da Jomfruklosteret officielt åbnede i 1717, allerede boede på Bispegaarden, da Anne Brahe døde. De skulle naturligvis blive, for de og deres familier havde intet at falde tilbage på. Men en bolig var ikke tilstrækkeligt. De unge kvinder skulle også leve af noget, og det skulle sikres dem på livstid. Et jomfrukloster på Bispegaarden lå snublende nær, en elegant form, der ikke havde karakter af almisse.

### **Fundatsen**

Ligesom foreninger har vedtægter, har alle stiftelser og legater en fundats, der oplyser stifternes tanker

not always been a pleasant experience for any of the parties.

The two elderly ladies had not lived alone at the Bishop's Palace. They had their households with several servants both outside and in, as did all persons of their level, and they had probably themselves had relatives staying with them. There is much to indicate that the three young women whom Karen Brahe installed as the first conventuals when Jomfruklosteret officially opened in 1717 were already living at the Bishop's Palace when Anne Brahe died. They would naturally stay where they were, for they and their families had nothing else to fall back on. But a home in itself was not enough. The young women also needed something to live on, and it would have to secure them for life. Establishing a secular convent at the Bishop's Palace was an obvious step, an elegant construction without the character of almsgiving.

### **The trust deed**

Just as clubs and associations have bylaws, all charities and trusts have a trust deed describing the founders' purposes for their endowment, the conditions and finances etc. The trust deed drawn up by Karen Brahe in 1716 was very practically framed. She had a reputation for a good understanding of finances, and this topic occupies many of the trust deed's 33 clauses.



med donationen, betingelser, økonomi osv. Den fundats, som Karen Brahe udarbejdede i 1716, var meget praktisk anlagt. Hun havde ry for at have forstand på økonomi, som da også fylder mange af fundatsens 33 punkter.

Karen Brahe skænkede “min grundmurede gård udi Odense, liggende på Torvet, kaldet Bispegaarden” til formålet. Her skulle ubemidlede jomfruer “have hus og ophold, hvor de sømmelig og skikkelig deres levned

Karen Brahe endowed “my brick house at Odense on the Square, called the Bishop’s Palace” for the purpose. Here unmarried ladies without means should “have board and lodgings, where they fittingly and worthily can live out their days.” In modern terms, it was a home where the residents received all they needed for maintaining life, namely food, lighting, heating, a small allowance, transportation and personal service – the latter then counted as a basic necessity –





### Fattig jomfru med løn

Før Reformationen blev det anset for særlig fornemt at lade døtre opdrage hos slægtninge i kloster, men det var generelt skik at sende børnene til andre hjem i kortere eller længere tid.

I mange familier var døtrene bogligt veluddannede, havde gode manerer og mange færdigheder inden for musik og håndarbejde, ligesom de havde lært at føre hus på det organisatoriske plan. Hvis det gik dårligt for familien, kunne de derfor træde i tjeneste hos heldigere stillede adelsfamilier som selskabsdamer og lærerinder. Jomfruerne brugte selv ordet "tjene", som det var tilfældet for en af Gøye-søstrene, der var hos en Sehested-familie, og for en jomfru Parsberg hos grev Danneskiold-Laurvig først i 1700-tallet.

En jomfru af den gamle adelsslægt Urne var husbestyrerinde hos Leonora Christine Ulfeldt, da hun kom ud af Blaataarn og boede i Maribo; hun blev anbefalet af en admiralinde, som hun måske tidligere havde tjent hos.

Det var ingen skam at modtage løn for det, man udrettede – det fik dronningens hofdamer også. De var sekretærer og indkøbere, hjalp hofmesterinderne med at opdrage de kongelige børn, udførte kostbart håndarbejde, læste højt og var generelt selskabelige ved Hoffet.



kan fremdrage". Med nutidige ord var det et hjem, hvor beboerne fik alt til livets ophold: Kost, lys, varme, lompepenge, befordring og opvartning – det sidste hørte dengang til de basale fornødenheder – og hvor de var sikre på at kunne tilbringe resten af livet. *Sømmelig* og *skikkelig* var nærmest synonyme og betød 'som det sømmede sig' efter jomfruernes stand, både i omgivelser og personlig adfærd.

Med til donationen hørte Bispegaardens "tilliggende boder og haver". De lå dels nord for hovedbygningen ud mod Torvet, dels langs Bispegaardsstræde, i dag Albanigade, mens en stor eng lå på den anden side af åen. Disse ejendomme skulle ikke benyttes af klosteret, men gav lejeindtægter.

Karen Brahe skrev udtrykkeligt, at hun "har skænket og givet [ejendommen] fra mig og mine arvinger". Fundatsen svarede således til et testamente, der satte arvelovens bestemmelser ud af kraft og derfor skulle

and where they could be certain of spending the rest of their life. Fittingly and worthily were almost synonyms and meant whatever was fitting for the unmarried ladies' station, both with regards to benefits received and their own personal behaviour.

The endowment included the Bishop's Palace's "adjoining cottages and fields". Some of these lay north of the main building alongside the Square, some along Bispegaardsstræde, today Albanigade, and there was also a large meadow on the other side of the river. These properties were not for the use of the secular convent, but provided rental income.

Karen Brahe expressly states that she "has donated and surrendered [the property] from myself and my heirs". The trust deed thus corresponded to a will which set aside the provisions of the inheritance law, and as such, needed to be confirmed by the King. In similar fashion, everything that Karen Brahe, or others



### Noblewomen on a salary

Prior to the Reformation it had been viewed as particularly distinguished to have daughters raised by relatives in a convent, but it was the general custom to send the children to other homes for shorter or longer periods.

In many families the daughters had a good literary education, refined manners and many skills in music and needlework; they had also learned how to run a house at the organisational level. If the family fell on hard times, they could therefore enter into service with better-off noble families as companions and governesses. These young women themselves used the word “service”, as was the case for one of the Gøye sisters, who worked for the Sehested family, or for a Mistress Parsberg with the Danneskiold-Laurvigs in the early 18th century.

An unmarried woman of the old noble family of Urne was housekeeper to Leonora Christine Ulfeldt when she left the Blue Tower to live at Maribo; she was recommended by the wife of an admiral, with whom she had perhaps been in service previously.

There was no shame in being paid for the work one did – even the Queen’s Ladies in Waiting received a salary. They acted as secretaries and buyers, helped the Queen’s Mistress of the Robes to raise the royal children, did expensive needlework, read aloud and generally made themselves sociable at the Court.

konfirmeres af kongen. Ligeledes var alt, hvad Karen Brahe selv eller andre sidenhen skænkede klosteret, urørligt. Hverken hendes egne eller andre gives arvinger kunne gøre krav på midlerne. Kong Frederik IV ændrede et par småting i fundatsen, inden han konfirmerede den 15. marts 1717. Først fra denne dato var Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster officielt stiftet, og herefter blev de første jomfruer indsat.

Jomfruklosteret var ikke blot beskyttet ved Frederik IV’s og alle følgende kongers konfirmation, Karen Brahe kaldte endnu højere magter til hjælp: Hvis nogen misbrugte klosterets midler, var det “under Guds strafs forventelse”. Tog de derimod flittigt vare på midlerne, kunne de være sikre på “Guds velsignelse, den jeg og[så] hjertelig vil ønske over dem” – et magtfuldt forbund.

at a later date, would donate to the Convent would be untouchable. Neither her own heirs nor the heirs of other donors would be able to lay claim to them. King Frederik IV made a few minor alterations to the trust deed before confirming it on 15 March 1717. This was the official date of foundation of the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, after which the first conventuals could be installed.

Jomfruklosteret was not merely protected by Frederik IV’s confirmation and that of all future kings. Karen Brahe called even higher powers in aid: should anyone misuse the Convent’s funds, it would be “in the expectation of God’s punishment”. But if they managed the funds diligently, they could be sure of “God’s blessing, which I also cordially wish for them” – a compelling combination.

*Rum 201 inden restaureringen. Den oprindelige, røde bemaling fra førstesalens opførelse anes tv.; der er hugget i pudsen for at få et senere pudslag til at hæfte. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

### **Jomfruklostrenes organisation**

Klosteret og dets jomfruer skulle ledes af en priorinde. Det var en struktur, der stammede fra de katolske klostre og via Maribo var bibeholdt i Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster og alle senere jomfru- og frøkenklostre, også de ikke-realiserede.

Ligeledes var det sådan i alle de nye klostre, at stifterinden oprettede et bestemt antal pladser, vel-sagtens dimensioneret efter den pågældende byg-nings størrelse. Disse pladser blev, med mindre der var undtagelser i fundatsen, besat efter anciennitet med jomfruer, der var indskrevet, dvs. havde betalt et beløb og stod på venteliste. Også her fulgte stif-terinderne en meget gammel tradition: Velhavende mennesker oprettede en seng eller købte plads i en eksisterende seng i stiftelser eller hospitaler, hvor-efter de kunne disponere over den.<sup>5</sup> I den katolske tid gjorde man det for sin sjæls frelse, et motiv, der faktisk ses helt til slutningen af 1700-tallet, hvor den syge eller fattige ofte skulle bede for giveren. Men der var også både før og efter Reformationen et reelt ønske om at give gamle tjenestefolk eller godsets folk en tryk alderdom eller generelt hjælpe syge og gamle, og i jomfruklostrene var køb af en plads således en hjælp til ugifte adelige.

En plads i et jomfrukloster bestod af bolig og et årligt pengebeløb, kost, lys, varme, vask og øv-rig husholdning samt tjenestefolk. Alt blev betalt af klosterets midler og indtægter. Indtægterne udgjor-des af det, som stifterinden havde skænket, renter af indskrivningspengene, en tiendedel af det, som frøkenerne efterlod sig ved deres død, testamentari-ske gaver fra priorinderne og frøkenerne samt gaver fra udenforstående. Desuden havde Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster lejeindtægter af sine boder og haver. Flere af de andre klostre var godser med landbrug, kirker og andre herligheder, hvis overskud gik i klo-strets kasse, men Karen Brahe holdt Jomfruklosterets økonomi og sit jordegods adskilt, det skulle hendes yngste broder og hans børn arve ifølge hendes testa-mente.<sup>6</sup>

### **Organisation of the secular convents**

The convent and its conventuals were to be led by a Prioress. This was a structure which goes back to the Catholic convents, and via Maribo was preserved at Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen and all later secular convents, even those never realised.

Similarly, in all the new convents, the foundress established a definite number of places, presumably dimensioned according to the size of the building in question. Barring exceptions in the trust deed, these places would be filled in order by the enrolled unmarried ladies, i.e. those who had paid a sum of money and were on a waiting list. Here too the foundresses followed a very old tradition: wealthy persons would establish a bed or buy a place in an existing bed in charities or almshouses, after which they had free disposal of them.<sup>5</sup> In Catholic times this was done for the salvation of one's soul, a motive which can be seen right down to the end of the 18th century, where the sick or poor person often had to pray for the donor. But there was also, both before and after the Reformation, a genuine desire to give aged servants or estate workers a secure old age or generally to help the sick and aged, and in the secular convents the purchase of a place was thus a way of helping unmarried noblewomen.

A place in a secular convent consisted of an apartment and an annual allowance, food, lighting, heating, laundry and other housekeeping and servants. All was paid from the Convent's funds and revenues. The revenues consisted of what the foundress had donated, the interest from the enrolment money, a tenth of what the conventuals left at their death, bequests from the Prioress and conventuals and gifts from outsiders. Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen also had rental income from its cottages and fields. Some of the other convents were estates with farms, churches and other delights, the surplus from which went to the Convent's coffers, but Karen Brahe kept the finances of Jomfruklosteret and her landed estates separate, as her younger brother and his children were to inherit them under her will.<sup>6</sup>

	Fundats/ testamente Trust deed/ will	Konfirmeret/ i funktion Confirmed/ in function
Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster	1699	1699
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Sammenlagt med Roskilde Kloster 1974 / Combined with Roskilde Kloster 1974	1716	1717
Frøkenkloster Vemmetofte	1710erne / 1710's *	
Frøkenkloster Lellingegaard under grevskabet Vallø / Frøkenkloster Lellingegaard under the Countship of Vallø	1720erne / 1720's *	
Gisselfeld Adelige Jomfrukloster	1701	1755
Krenkerup	1731 *	
Frøkenkloster Lellingegaard (Vallø)	1733 *	
Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster	1735	1735
Støvringgaard Jomfrukloster	1735	1760
Vemmetofte Adelige Jomfrukloster	1735	1735
Vallø Kongelige Frøkenstift / senere Vallø Adelige Jomfrukloster / later Vallø Adelige Jomfrukloster	1737	1738
Estvadgaard Kloster. Nedlagt 1804. Closed 1804	1745	1745

\* Ikke realiseret / \* Not realised

Fotokredit / Photocredit:

Roskilde Kloster: Roskilde Kloster

Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster: Realdania Byg

Støvringgaard Kloster: O.J. Rawert 1819. Det Kgl. Bibliotek

Vallø Stift: Vallø Stift

Gisselfeld Kloster: Gisselfeld Kloster

Vemmetofte Kloster: Anders Sune Berg





*Roskilde Kloster*



*Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster*



*Støvringgaard Kloster*



*Vallø Stift*



*Gissfeld Kloster*



*Vemmetofte Kloster*



## Jomfru og frøken

Da Karen Brahe i 1716 skrev fundatsen til sit adelige jomfrukloster, lød jomfru allerede altmodisch. Nu kaldtes en ugift adelig kvinde for frøken.

Brugen af de to ord var vandret nedad i løbet af 1600-tallet. Christian IVs døtre kaldtes frøkenner, også efter giftermål, men fra 1650 skulle Frederik III's døtre kaldes prinsesser, og frøken gik helt ud af brug.

Jomfru havde siden middelalderen betegnet en ung, ugift adelig. Ved Hoffet kaldtes de hofjomfruer, men omkring 1700 dukkede ordet frøken op igen, og de kaldtes nu hoffrøkenner. Snart kaldtes alle ugifte af adel eller i rangen for frøken.

Herefter blev jomfru i stedet betegnelse for det bedre borgerskabs døtre, men det varede ikke længe, før ordet gled nedad og blev benyttet om finere tjenestepiger som for eksempel kammerjomfru. I komedien *Melampe* fra 1727 skrev Ludvig Holberg, at det nu var kommet så vidt, at man

kaldte "borgerdøtre frøkenner, stuepiger jomfruer, kokkepiger mamseller" – det var den finere franske madlavning, der gjorde det sidste.

I anden del af 1800-tallet blev frøken knyttet til erhverv, der krævede en vis dannelse som skolefrøken, spillefrøken og barnefrøken. De, der havde fødevarer som erhverv, forblev jomfruer: Der var husjomfruen, som også kunne stå for madlavningen – omtalt og tiltalt som "jomfruen" uden navn – smørrebrødsjomfruer og bagerjomfruer.

Karen Brahe vidste naturligvis udmærket, at det nu hed frøken, så brugen af jomfru må have været bevidst: Det pegede ligesom i Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster tilbage til Maribo og solid, gammeldags standsbevidsthed.

Dronning Sophie Magdalenes kloster på Valø kaldtes med velberåd hu frøkenkloster. Her gav kun 16 adelige aner adgang, men ikke rang som i jomfruklostrene.

## Et adeligt projekt

Karen Brahe havde beregnet pladsen i Bispegaarden til otte jomfruer, men selv oprettede hun kun de to første pladser. Hun stiftede således ikke et komplet kloster, men stillede så at sige Bispegaarden til rådighed for andre, der ønskede at få anbragt en jomfru straks eller på længere sigt ville medvirke til at genoplive denne nyttige institution.

At Karen Brahe har set Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster som et projekt af fælles interesse fremgår af, at det ikke var hvem som helst, der kunne oprette en plads. Man skulle være enten af dansk adel, af naturaliseret udenlandsk adel eller benådet med adelsbrev og ret til "hjelm og skjold at føre". Klosteret var altså ikke oprettet som redning for den gamle jordadels forarmede jomfruer, som det ofte fremstilles, ligesom Karen Brahe selvfølgelig var bekendt med, at også nogle i den nye adel kom i klemme, når kun den ældste arvede grevskabet eller baroniet. Desuden har hun ikke været blind for, at den nye adel i ét og alt fulgte den gamles traditioner, også hvad angik velgørenhed,

## An aristocratic project

Karen Brahe had reckoned on space at the Bishop's Palace for eight conventuals, but she herself only established the first two places. Thus she did not establish the secular convent complete, but, as it were, made the Bishop's Palace available so that others who wished to accommodate an unmarried lady immediately or in the longer term could do their part in reviving this useful institution.

That Karen Brahe saw the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen as a project of common interest is shown by the fact that establishing a place was not open to all. Interested parties should be from the Danish nobility or naturalised foreign nobility or have been granted letters of nobility and the right "to bear helmet and shield". The convent was thus not founded in order to rescue the impoverished spinsters of the old landed nobility, as is often stated, and Karen Brahe was naturally aware that members of the new nobility could also get into difficulties, with only the eldest child inheriting the countship or barony. She was also

*Der er gentagne gange flyttet rundt på dørene på Jomfruklosteret, og nogle døre er genbrug udefra – det kan man blandt andet se på hængslerne, der ofte er fra en helt anden tidsperiode end dørbladet.*

*Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The doors of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen were repeatedly moved around, and some doors came from other places. This can be seen e.g. on the hinges, often from another period of time than the door leaf. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

### **Jomfru and frøken**

When Karen Brahe in 1716 wrote the trust deed for her secular convent for noblewomen, Jomfruklosteret, the word she used for an unmarried woman, jomfru, was already old-fashioned – like a “maiden” or “damsel”. By her time an unmarried noblewoman was called frøken.

The use of the two words had come down in the world during the course of the 1600’s. Christian IV’s daughters were called frøken, even after their marriage, but from 1650, Frederik III’s daughters were to be called Princesses, and the term frøken went out of use.

The word jomfru had since the Middle Ages designated a young unmarried noblewoman. At the Court they were called Hofjomfru – Court Maiden – but around 1700, the word frøken emerges again and they became known as Hoffrøken. Soon all unmarried noble or high-ranking girls were called frøken.

The word jomfru instead became the designation for the daughters of the higher middle classes, but it was not long before the word slid down the scale again and was used for the better class of servant, such as the kammerjomfru (lady’s maid). In his comedy *Melampe* of 1727,

Ludvig Holberg wrote that things had gone so far that “burghers’ daughters are called frøken, parlourmaids are called jomfru and kitchen maids mamselle” – the last under the influence of French haute cuisine.

In the second half of the 19th century, the term frøken became associated with occupations which required a certain amount of education such as school teachers, music teachers and nannies. Jomfru remained associated with jobs to do with food: a housekeeper, who might also be responsible for cooking, was addressed and referred to as plain “Jomfru”, and girls in fine bakeries and opensandwich makers were also thus designated.

Naturally, Karen Brahe was well aware that the current term was frøken, so the use of jomfru must have been deliberate: just as with the Roskilde foundation, also a “Jomfrukloster”, it pointed back to Maribo and a good old-fashioned consciousness of social rank.

Queen Sophie Magdalene’s convent at Vallø was studiously called a “Frøkenkloster”. Here, at least 16 noble ancestors were required to be admitted, while rank was not taken into account before 1838.

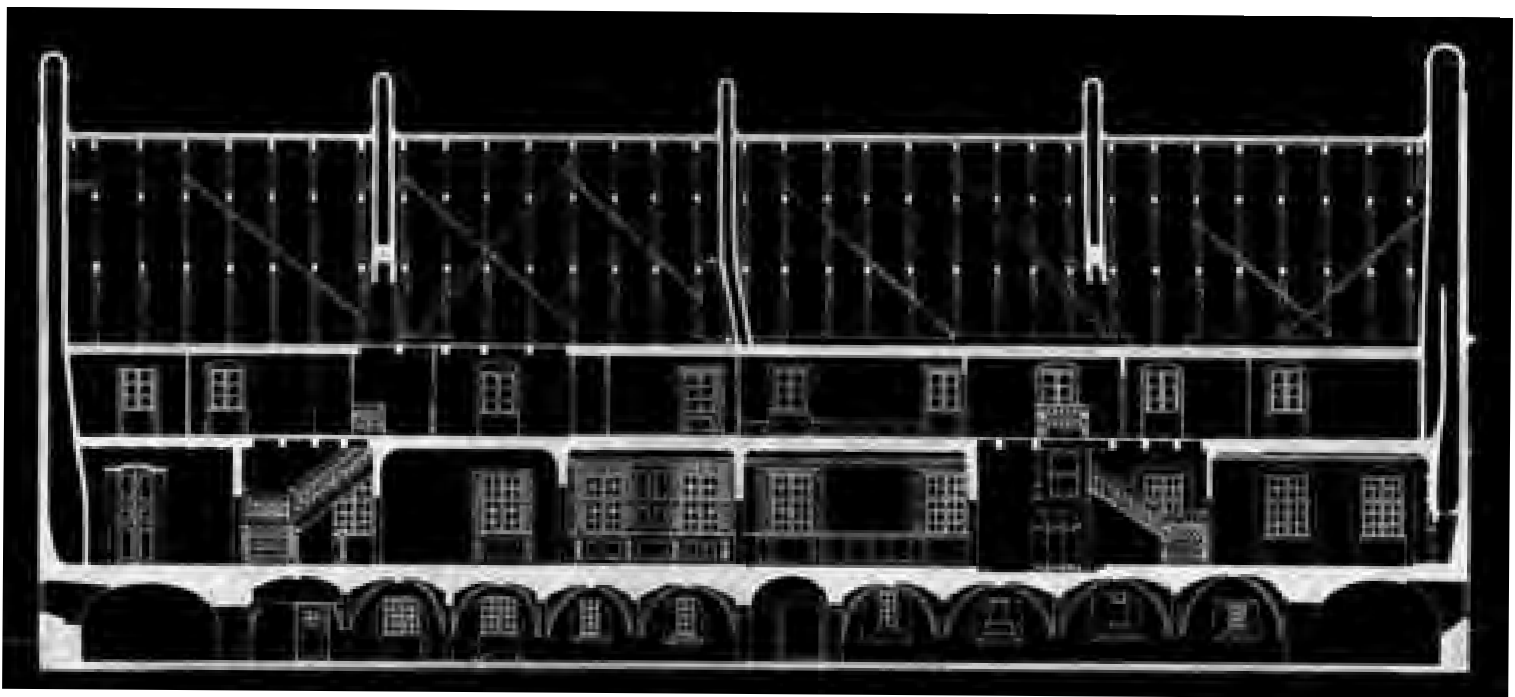
og derfor ville ønske at deltage i et sådant eksklusivt, adeligt projekt.

Derimod nævnte Karen Brahe ikke den såkaldte rangadel, et begreb, der fandtes 1693-1730: De, der i kraft af deres embede stod i de tre første rangklasser og automatisk fik privilegier “lige med adelen”. I nogle af de senere klostre fik rangadelen eller de fem første rangklasser adgang. Vallø derimod krævede seksten adelige aner, her var den nye adel udelukket indtil en fundatsændring i 1838.<sup>7</sup>

not blind to the fact that the new nobility consistently followed the old traditions, not least with regard to charity, and would therefore be anxious to participate in an exclusive, aristocratic project of this nature.

On the other hand, Karen Brahe did not mention the so-called “nobility by rank” a concept which existed from 1693-1730: it consisted of those who by virtue of their post occupied the first three rank classes and automatically received privileges “equal to the nobility”. In some of the later convents, the nobility by





*Længdesnit gennem hovedbygningen, set fra nord mod facaden i syd. Opmålt 1925 af arkitekt og kunstmaler Thorvald Nygaard, Odense.*

*Longitudinal section through the main building, seen from the north against the façade in the south. Measured up in 1925 by architect and artist Thorvald Nygaard, Odense.*

### **Oprettelse af pladser**

Karen Brahe ønskede selv at indsætte de tre første jomfruer, og hvis nogen af dem gik bort eller blev gift, ville hun genbesætte disse pladser, så længe hun levede. Derefter skulle hendes arvinger eller den, som hun i sit testamente udpegede til patron, besætte disse pladser. Efter de første tre jomfruer skulle der dog betales indskrivningspenge af jomfruens familie, af jomfruen selv eller af velgørere, som i flere tilfælde var patronerne. Eftersom Karen Brahe selv kun havde oprettet to pladser, måtte nogen allerede have lovet at oprette en tredje plads og givet Karen Brahe lov til at indsætte en af de første tre jomfruer i den.

Desuden oprettede den ene af Roskilde Adelige Jomfruklosters stifterinder, fru Berte Skeel, og nogle slægtninge to pladser. Siden blev Plads I-III altid besat af patronen, deraf navnet patronpladser. Plads IV blev besat to gange af Scheel-Plessen og tredje gang af Jomfruklosterets patron, mens den grevelige familie Scheel besatte Plads V.

Desuden indskrev Berte Skeel to jomfruer kort efter, at kongen havde konfirmeret fundatsen, og Jomfruklosteret var en realitet. I Roskilde var de 16 pladser hurtigt blevet fyldt op, og der måtte findes boliger til en del af de berettigede andre steder, så det nye kloster i Odense betød en aflastning.

rank or the first five rank classes were admitted. Vallø, on the other hand, required 16 noble forebears, and here the new nobility was excluded until a trust deed amendment of 1838.<sup>7</sup>

### **Establishment of places**

Karen Brahe herself wished to install the first three conventuals, and if any of them died or married, she would refill these places as long as she lived. Subsequently her heirs or the person appointed in her will to be Patron would fill these places. However, after the first three conventuals, an enrolment fee would have to be paid by the conventual's family, the conventual herself, or by benefactors, which in several cases were the Patrons. As Karen Brahe only established two places herself, someone must have already promised to establish a third place and allowed Karen Brahe to install one of the first three conventuals in it.

One of the Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen's foundresses, Lady Berte Skeel, and some relatives, also established two places. Since that time Places I-III were always filled by the Patron and were known as patronal places. Place IV was twice filled by Scheel-Plessen and on the third occasion by Jomfruklosteret's Patron, while Count Scheel's family filled Place V.



*Ældre væglærreder med tapet blev rullet op i dette rum, 203, under en kort konservatorundersøgelse i 1970'erne. Bag dem var en bræddevæg, oprindeligt med rød og gul bandebemaling. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Older wall canvases with wallpaper was rolled up in this room, 203, during a short conservator examination in the 1970's. Behind them was a partition wall, originally with red and yellow striped painting. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

Det var den velstående del af adelen, som Karen Brahe appellerede til om oprettelse af flere pladser, for det var dyrt. Prisen svarede til 1½ års admiralsløn. For dette beløb fik køberen og dennes arvinger ret til i al fremtid at besætte pladsen, dog mod betaling af indskrivningspenge hver gang.

En anden model kostede en tredjedel mindre. Til gengæld kunne køberen kun indsætte én jomfru efter den første, som pladsen var oprettet til. Derefter ville kapitalen tilfalde klosteret, og det kunne selv besætte pladsen. Det var en satsning, for hvis de to jomfruer efter kort tids ophold døde, havde køberen ikke længere selv nytte af sin investering, men han eller hun kunne trøste sig med at have støttet klosteret som institution. Omvendt: Hvis nogle jomfruer levede endog meget længe, og hvis det skete i denne type plads, kunne der gå langt over 100 år, før klosteret fik kapitalen og pladsen til egen rådighed. Det skete i et par af pladserne.

Berte Skeel also enrolled two women shortly after the King had confirmed the trust deed and Jomfruklosteret was a reality. At Roskilde the 16 places were quickly filled, and homes had to be found for a number of the eligible candidates in other places, so the new convent in Odense was a means of accommodating them.

Karen Brahe's appeal for the establishment of more places was directed at the wealthier section of the nobility, as it was an expensive business. The price was equivalent to 1½ years of an admiral's pay. For this sum, the purchaser and his or her heirs received the perpetual right to fill the place, though with the payment of the enrolment fee each time.

Another model cost a third less, but, by contrast, the purchaser could only install one conventual after the first one for which the place was established. Thereafter the capital would fall to the Convent and it could itself fill the place. This was a gamble, because if the two conventuals died after only a short while,



*Bindingsværksvæggen i den modsatte ende af rum 203 er antagelig skillevæggen mellem de oprindelige to store rum på førstesalen. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*The half-timbered wall in the opposite end of room 203 is probably the partition between the original two large rooms on the first floor. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

I 1700-tallets anden halvdel var der oprettet yderligere syv pladser, så der i alt var elleve. Kun køberen af den ene af disse syv pladser er kendt, mens det fortaber sig, hvem der oprettede de øvrige. Pladserne blev fortløbende nummereret, uden skelen til, hvilken model det var: Den dyre, hvor køberen og dennes arvinger kunne besætte den til evig tid; den billigere, hvor pladsen kun kunne besættes to gange – eller endelig en plads oprettet med klosterets egne midler, som fundatsen gav adgang til. Derefter blev der ikke oprettet flere nye pladser, og samtidig blev færre og færre pladser besat.

### **Indskrivning – et lotteri**

En tredje mulighed for at få en frøken i Jomfruklosteret var indskrivning “til forventning at komme i klosteret, når ledige pladser falde”. Det kunne trække længe ud, eftersom Karen Brahe havde besat de første tre pladser,

the purchaser would no longer have the benefit of the investment, though he or she could console themselves that they had supported the convent as an institution. On the other hand, if the conventuals under this model lived to be very old, it might take well over 100 years before the Convent got the capital and control of the place. This happened for a couple of the places.

During the second half of the 18th century, a further seven places were established, bringing the total to 11. Only the purchaser of one of these seven places is known, while the identity of the others is lost. The places were numbered by sequence, without regard to which model they were formed under: the expensive model where the purchaser and heirs filled the place for ever, or the cheaper model, where the place could only be filled twice – or finally, a place established with the Convent’s own funds, as the trust deed allowed. After this no further new places were established, and at the same time, fewer and fewer places were filled.

mens de følgende var oprettede til bestemte frøkener, og de kunne jo sagtens blive meget gamle. Den sidste af de jomfruer, som Karen Brahe selv indsatte, døde først i 1779.

Indskrivningsbeløbet var 300 rdl, hvilket svarede til årslønnen for en kaptajn i Søetaten. Det blev senere forhøjet, så det dog fulgte lidt med prisudviklingen. Der var klækkelig rabat for at indskrive flere på én gang, og det benyttede mange sig af.

### **Enrolment – a lottery**

A third option for getting an unmarried lady into Jomfruklosteret was enrolment “in expectation of entering the Convent when places become vacant”. This could take a long time, as Karen Brahe had filled the first three places, while the following ones were established for particular women, and they might live until they were very old. The last of the conventuals installed by Karen Brahe died as late as 1779.





I princippet kunne en frøken også indskrive sig selv. Havde hun kun et lille beløb, kunne hun med indskrivningen investere det i bolig og forsørgelse på livstid, uanset hvor gammel hun blev, hvad formuen måske ikke ellers havde rakt til. Men der var den risiko, at hun enten ikke nåede at få ret til en plads, eller at der ikke blev en bolig ledig i hendes levetid. I det sidste tilfælde kunne hun dog få årpengene som hæving, dvs. udbetaling af et årligt beløb fra et kloster.

De indskrevne jomfruer kom ikke ind efter tur i den første ledige plads, for klosterets kasse ville på den måde hurtigt blive tømt, hvis man for 300 rdl kunne blive standsmæssigt forsørget i 70 år eller mere. Jomfruklosteret satte derfor indskrivningspengene på rente, og først når der stod lige så meget på kontoen, som det kostede at oprette en plads, kom jomfruen ind næste gang, der blev ledigt.

I mange tilfælde var pigerne derfor blevet midaldrende, før der var sammenfald mellem den fulde sum og en ledig plads. Det fik naturligvis familierne til at indskrive døtrene "på vuggen", som det hed, så der blev sparet op så længe som muligt. Havde familien midlerne, kunne chancerne optimeres ved at indskrive døtrene i flere klostre: Før eller siden måtte de jo få bolig eller hæving et af stederne. Flere i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster fik med tiden hæving fra andre klostre til at supplere årpengene her, mens beboerne i nogle af de andre klostre ikke måtte modtage andre hævinger. Et par frøkener, der var oprykkede til klosterjomfruer i Odense, rykkede senere op til fuld hæving eller en bolig på Vallø og foretrak det, og de frasagde sig derfor Jomfruklosteret, som det kaldtes.

Der var status i at have døtre indskrevet i et eller flere klostre. Et af incitamenterne til adling var netop retten til at indskrive døtre i de nye jomfruklostre, og det gjaldt især de familier, der ikke købte jordegods og derfor ikke havde glæde af de skattefordele, som var forbundet med det.

Indskrivning var et lotteri. Det siger sig selv, at familien havde tabt pengene, hvis datteren blev gift, og havde familien indskrevet flere døtre, der alle blev

The enrolment fee was 300 rixdollars, equivalent to the annual pay of a Navy captain. This was later increased, so it did follow price rises to a certain extent. There was a hefty discount for enrolling more than one person at a time, and many people took advantage of this.

In principle, an unmarried lady could also enrol herself. If she only had a small sum at her disposal, she could by enrolling invest it in a home and maintenance for life, however old she became, something her capital might otherwise not have permitted her to do. But there was a risk that she might not achieve entitlement to a place, or that no apartment became vacant in her lifetime. In the latter case, however, she could receive the allowance as an annuity, i.e. payment of an annual sum from the Convent.

The enrolled women were not granted the first vacancy by order of application, as the Convent's funds would be quickly exhausted if it were possible to gain maintenance befitting one's station for 70 years or more on payment of 300 rixdollars. Instead Jomfruklosteret put the enrolment money out at interest, and only when there was enough on the account to establish a place would the candidate be accepted the next time there was a vacancy.

In many cases, the girls were thus middle-aged before there was a match between the full cost and a vacant place. Naturally, this encouraged families to enrol their daughters "from the cradle", so the money could be saved up for as long as possible. If families had the means, they could optimise their chances by enrolling their daughters in several convents. Sooner or later they would be bound to be given an apartment or an annuity at one convent or another. Over time, several residents of Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen received annuities from other convents to supplement their annual allowance, while residents in some of the other convents were not allowed to receive other annuities. A couple of ladies who were promoted to conventuals at Odense, were later promoted to full annuity or an apartment



gift, var tabet betragteligt. Var datteren eller døtrene desuden indskrevet i et dyrt kloster som Vallø, drejede det sig om en meget stor sum. Men frøkenen kunne også dø, før hun opnåede ret til en plads. Det skete for en halv snes af de ca. 65 piger, der blev indskrevet på ventelisten til Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster.<sup>8</sup>

Nogle ganske få frøkener takkede nej til pladsen, for når de omsider opnåede den, passede det ikke til deres livssituation. En blev for eksempel besidder af et stamhus og ville selv drive godset. To halvkusiner, de Lasson og de Rosenørn, sagde fra i 1772, hvor den ene havde arvet, og den anden havde mistet sin fader. Den sidste kunne antagelig heller ikke klare Jomfruklosterets trapper, for det hedder om hende i 1770, at hun var "kontrakt [sammenkrummet] og kunne aldeles ikke gå".

### Optagelseskriterierne

I fundatsen var der fire betingelser for at blive optaget i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster: Man skulle være enten af dansk adel, af naturaliseret udenlandsk adel eller benådet med adelsbrev, altså de samme grupper, der som nævnt måtte oprette pladser. Desuden skulle man være opdraget i den lutherske tro, ægtefødt og over fjorten år.

Jomfruernes religion var ikke kun vigtig for den meget troende Karen Brahe; den blev nævnt i alle tidens klosterfundatser. I Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster skulle jomfruerne være opdraget i den lutherske tro

at Vallø, and preferring this, renounced their places at Jomfruklosteret.

There was status in having daughters enrolled at one or more convents. One of the incitements for seeking ennoblement was precisely the right to enrol daughters in the new secular convents, and this was particularly the case for the families who had not bought landed estates and so did not benefit from the associated tax benefits.

Enrolment was a lottery. It is clear that the family would lose the money if the girl married, and if the family had enrolled several daughters who all married, the loss would be significant. And for daughters enrolled at an expensive convent such as Vallø, the sums were very large indeed. But the girls could also die before they achieved entitlement to a place. This happened to a dozen or so of the approximately 65 girls enrolled on the waiting list at Odense Secular Convent for noblewomen.<sup>8</sup>

A very few unmarried ladies declined their places, because when they were finally offered they did not suit the ladies' life situation. One lady became owner of an entailed estate and wished to manage it herself. Two half-cousins, de Lasson and de Rosenørn, declined in 1772, as one had inherited and the other had lost her father. Probably the latter of these could not manage the steps at Jomfruklosteret, as it is stated of her in 1770 that she was "doubled up and unable to walk at all".

### Acceptance criteria

The trust deed names four conditions for acceptance at the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Persons should be from the Danish nobility or naturalised foreign nobility or have been granted letters of nobility, i.e. the same groups who were allowed to establish places. They should also be brought up in the Lutheran faith, be of legitimate birth and over 14 years of age.

The religion of the conventual was not just an important factor for the very devout Karen Brahe; it



*Korridor mod østgavlen rum 217a, hvor man ser skorstenen med renselem fra den tilmurede gavlkamin i stueetagen. Ligesom mange steder i huset gemmer sig her elegante, håndmalede motiver under senere tiders monokrome overmaling. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Corridor facing the east end room 217a, where one sees the chimney with the cleanout door from the bricked-in gable-end fireplace on the first floor. Like many places in the building, elegant, hand-painted motifs are hidden here under the monochrome painting over from later years. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*



og “ved den forblive”. Umiddelbart er det en mærkelig formulering, eftersom det dengang ikke var muligt at konvertere, men man kunne være reformert, som dronning Charlotte Amalie havde været, eller blive det. Karen Brahe ville måske have brugt ordet konfirmeret om alder og tro under ét, men konfirmation blev først indført det år, hun døde.

Efter Grundloven 1849 måtte man frit konvertere, og det kunne blive et problem for dem, der allerede var klosterjomfruer. I Jomfruklosteret blev det aktuelt i 1887, hvor en 64-årig frøken udtrådte efter 13 år, fordi hun ikke længere var “luthersk”. Først i 1904 fastslog Højesteret, at Vemmetofte Adelige Jomfrukloster begik kontraktbrud ved at nægte en frøken forsørgelse for indskrivningspengene, da hun konverterede.<sup>9</sup>

Hvad alderen angår, var de første jomfruer, som Karen Brahe selv og Scheelerne indsatte, alle over tyve

is named in all the convent trust deeds of the time. At Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, the conventuals had to be brought up in the Lutheran faith and “remain in it”. At first sight, this is a strange formulation, as it was not possible to convert at the time, but it was possible to be Reformed, as Queen Charlotte Amalie had been, or to become Reformed. Karen Brahe might perhaps have used the word confirmed for the combined criteria of faith and age, but confirmation was only introduced in the year she died.

Under the Constitution of 1849 there was a freedom to convert, and this might be a problem for those who were already conventuals. This came to the fore at Jomfruklosteret in 1887, when a 64 year old lady left after 13 years because she was no longer “Lutheran”. Only in 1904 did the High Court lay down that Vemmetofte Secular Convent for Noblewomen was in



### Priorinde, patroner og patronesser

“Så længe Gud under mig livet og helbred dertil, vil jeg selv forestå klosteret og dets midler”, skrev Karen Brahe i fundatsen til Jomfruklosteret, og hun ville selv udnævne en priorinde som klosterets daglige leder. Det gjorde hun dog ikke, men styrede klosterets økonomi og andre affærer til sin død i 1736, og først i 1740 blev der udnævnt en priorinde.

I fundatsen omtalte Karen Brahe sin efterfølger som “klosterpatron og forsvar”. Patron var en institutions eller en kirkes beskytter og vellynder, i dag svarende til protektor. Patronen varetog Jomfruklosterets interesser udadtil, men var også øverste instans indadtil i samarbejde med priorinden, der havde ansvar for klosterets dagligdag og hushold.

Patronen og priorinden samarbejdede om klosterets overordnede anliggender, navnlig om økonomien, der i lange perioder var temmelig vaklevorn.

Karen Brahe tog ikke stilling til, om patronen skulle være en mand eller en kvinde, ej heller om

patronen eller patronessen skulle være af Braheslægten, men i praksis kom Jomfruklosterets patronat til at følge den. Ved hendes død blev hendes 36-årige ugifte broderdatter og hovedarving, Susanne Brahe, Jomfruklosterets patronesse, den feminine form af ordet.

Efter Susanne Brahes død i 1760 overgik patronatet til hendes broder, oberstløjtnant Preben Brahe til Hvedholm, som efter hende arvede Østrupgaard, Steensgaard og Damsbo samt flere ejendomme i Jomfruklosterets karré. Hele dette jordegods blev til Stamhuset Hvedholm, da Brahe døde barnløs i 1786. Det gik i arv til de beslægtede Biller, som ændrede navn til Bille-Brahe. Denne slægt overtog patronatet for Jomfruklosteret. 1787-1810 var stamherrens hustru patronesse, siden har klosteret kun haft patroner.

Patronen for de sammenlagte Odense og Roskilde Adelige Jomfruklostre, Den Skeel-Juel-Brahe'ske Stiftelse, er stadig et medlem af denne slægt, der siden 1873 har båret navnet Bille-Brahe-Selby.

år, og det gælder også for de pladser, der blev oprettet senere. I hele klosterets levetid var de yngste frøkener i 20'erne, de fleste mellem 30 og 50 år og enkelte nær de 60 år, når de rykkede op som klosterjomfruer og kunne flytte ind.

En pige kunne dog optages før de fjorten år, hvis hun havde egne midler til at “oplæres i hendes kristendom og andre fornødne videnskaber, som hendes stand kan tilkomme.” Videnskaber betød dengang viden eller kundskaber, og det krævede betalt skolegang eller undervisere udefra. Det er dog ikke forekommet, at en klosterjomfru fik sin opdragelse i Jomfruklosteret.

Derimod skete det sporadisk fra 1790'erne, at patronen, patronessen eller ejeren af en plads besatte pladserne med piger under fjorten år, faktisk helt ned til to år. Der blev også indsat enkelte lidt ældre piger, men stadig under tyve år. Nogle af dem var døtre af

breach of contract for denying a woman maintenance for her enrolment fee when she converted.<sup>9</sup>

As far as age is concerned, the women whom Karen Brahe and the Scheeles installed were all over 20 years old, and the same is true for the places established later. Over the whole life of the Convent, the youngest ladies were in their 20's, most were between 30 and 50, and some were nearly 60 when they were promoted to conventual and could move in.

A girl could, however, be accepted before the age of 14, if she had her own funds for being “trained up in her Christian faith and other necessary sciences to which her station entitles her.” Science then meant knowledge or proficiency and required paid school attendance or tutors from outside. However, it never happened that a conventual was educated at Jomfruklosteret.



patronessen eller patronen eller nære slægtninge. Pigerne boede ikke på Jomfruklosteret, men hos deres forældre og fik årpengene som hæving. Kun én af dem kom til at bo på klosteret; det var en niece af patronen, som efter en familietragedie fik en patronplads som seksårig og flyttede ind som 22-årig. Hun havde pladsen i 65 år, men boede ikke i huset de sidste femten år. Hun var den sidste frøken i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster.

Det var formelt set ikke forkert at indskrive piger under fjorten år, for ejerne havde jo rådighed over pladserne, indskrivningspengene var betalt, og aldersgrænsen kunne som nævnt fraviges, når pigernes familier kunne betale for skolegang og den religiøse opdragelse, efter 1736 konfirmationsforberedelsen. Desuden blev adskillige piger af familier, der udmærket var i stand til at sørge for deres døtre, indsat i

On the other hand, there were sporadic instances from the 1790's onwards where the Patron, Patroness or owner of a place filled the places with girls under 14 years old, in fact as young as two years. A few slightly older girls were also installed, but still under 20 years. Some of them were daughters of the Patroness or Patron or close relatives. The girls did not live at Jomfruklosteret but with their parents and received the annual allowance as an annuity. Only one of them ever came to live at the Convent; this was a niece of the Patron, who after a family tragedy was given a patronal place at the age of six and moved in at the age of 22. She kept the place for 65 years but did not live in the house for the last 15 years. She was the last conventual of Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen.

Formally speaking, it was not wrong to enrol girls under 14 years, because the owner had free disposal

*Konservatorholdet er i gang med konserveringsarbejdet i rum 104, Salen. 2013.*

*Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The restoration team is in the progress of restoring room 104, the Hall. 2013.*

*Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

### **Prioress, patrons and patronesses**

“As long as God may grant me life and health, I shall myself manage the Convent and its funds,” Karen Brahe wrote in the Jomfruklosteret trust deed, and she herself was to appoint a Prioress as the daily manager. However, she did not do so, but controlled the Convent’s finances and other affairs until her death in 1736; only in 1740 was a Prioress appointed.

In the trust deed Karen Brahe described her successor as the “convent’s patron and protector.” A patron was a protector and benefactor of a church or institution. The Patron looked after Jomfruklosteret’s outside interests, but was also the highest authority inside the institution, in cooperation with the Prioress, who was responsible for daily life and housekeeping in the Convent.

The Patron and Prioress cooperated over the Convent’s general affairs, especially the finances, which for long periods were rather fragile.

Karen Brahe expressed no preference as to whether the Patron should be a man or a woman, or from the Brahe family, but in practice the

patronage of Jomfruklosteret would run in the family. At her death, her 36 year old unmarried niece and principal heir, Susanne Brahe, became Patroness of Jomfruklosteret.

After Susanne Brahe’s death in 1760, the patronage went to her brother Lieutenant Colonel Preben Brahe of Hvedholm, who inherited from her Østrupgaard, Steensgaard and Damsbo, together with various properties in the Bishop’s Palace street block. All these landed estates became the Hvedholm Entailed Estate when Brahe died childless in 1786. The estate passed to the related Bille family, who changed their name to Bille-Brahe. This family too overtook the patronage of Jomfruklosteret. From 1787-1810, the wife of the head of the family was Patroness; subsequently all Patrons were male.

The Patron of the combined Odense and Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen, the Skeel-Juel-Brahe’ske Stiftelse, is still a member of this family, which since 1873 has borne the name of Bille-Brahe-Selby.

pladserne nogle år før deres bryllup. De fik årpengene som hæving, der således blev en slags brudeudstyslegat.

Der er nemlig det ejendommelige ved Jomfruklosterets organisation, at når blot indskrivningspengene var betalt, havde hverken trang, familie- eller formueforhold nogen betydning. Disse piger, der reelt ikke havde behov for det, optog derfor en plads, indtil de blev gift. Det er blot at håbe, at de ikke spærrede for frøkener fra ventelisten, som i mellemtiden havde opnået ret til en klosterplads, for skønt formalia var i orden, stred denne kreative udlægning af fundatsen fuldstændig mod Karen Brahes formål med Jomfruklosteret.

Når trang ikke var blandt optagelseskriterierne – skønt man skulle have troet, at det var det vigtigste – kunne de allerfattigste frøkener ikke komme ind, med

over the places, the enrolment fee had been paid, and, as mentioned, the age limit could be waived if the girl’s family could pay for schooling and religious education, or, after 1736, preparation for confirmation. Not only this, but several girls of families who were fully able to maintain their daughters installed them for some years prior to their wedding. They received the annual allowance as an annuity, which thus became a kind of bridal trousseau charity fund.

The strange thing about the organisation of Jomfruklosteret is that once the enrolment fee was paid, necessity or family situation or wealth considerations had no significance. These girls, who in reality had no need for a place, would occupy one until they married. It can only be hoped that they did not stand in the way of ladies on the waiting list who had achieved the right to a convent place, because although the formal details

### **Oprykning til klosterjomfru**

Når en plads blev ledig, kunne patronen eller patronessen selv besætte den med en frøken, som var særlig trængt, eller de kunne tage den næste fra ventelisten. Vedkommende skulle dog have været indskrevet så længe, at indskrivningspengene havde forrentet sig til samme beløb, som det kostede at oprette en plads. Når summen var nået, blev frøkenen oprykket til klosterjomfru, som det hed.

### **Promotion to conventual**

When a place fell vacant the Patron or Patroness could themselves fill it with an unmarried lady in particular distress, or they could take the next name from the waiting list. However, the person must have been enrolled so long that interest on the enrolment fee had increased it to the same amount it would cost to establish a place. Once the sum was reached, the candidate was promoted to conventual, as the expression went.

mindre de var i stand til at finde nogen, der ville betale indskrivningspengene for dem. Det er et paradoks i al filantropi for såkaldt "værdigt trængende", at hjælpen ofte går til dem, der har ressourcer og ikke til de mest trængende.

### **Fællesskab**

Med kun de fire nævnte adgangsbetingelser: Adel, tro, legitimitet og alder tyder intet i fundatsen på, at Karen Brahe eller frøkenerne selv opfattede Jomfruklosteret som et kvindefællesskab. Frøkenerne var der ikke, fordi de var kvinder, men fordi de havde brug for forsørgelse, i betydningen at blive sørget for.

Havde frøkenerne kunnet vælge helt frit, ville mange sikkert helst have haft mand og børn, hvilket dengang var det eneste, der gav status. Eller, hvis de ikke ønskede at blive gift, i det mindste deres eget hjem, hvor de selv kunne bestemme, hvem de ville være sammen med. Fundatsen nævner da heller ingen fælles aktiviteter eller retningslinjer for, hvad frøkenerne skulle bruge tiden til, ud over de to-tre timer dagligt, hvor de var nødt til at være sammen: Til morgen- og aftenbøn og måltiderne.

Der er i de senere år opstået en fortælling om, at Jomfruklosteret var oprettet som et kulturelt centrum for lærde kvinder, hvor de kunne blive uddannede og dyrke litteraturen i Karen Brahes bibliotek. Men opdragelse og uddannelse indgik som nævnt slet ikke i klosterets formål. Desuden boede Karen Brahe ikke på

were in order, this creative interpretation of the trust deed was completely against Karen Brahe's aims in establishing Jomfruklosteret.

Since necessity was not among the acceptance criteria – although one would have thought that it was the most important one of all – the poorest unmarried ladies could not come in unless they could find someone who would pay the enrolment fee for them. It is a paradox of all philanthropy for the so-called "deserving poor", that the help often goes to those with resources and not to the neediest.

### **Community life**

With only the four stipulated admittance conditions of noble birth, faith, legitimacy and age, nothing in the trust deed indicates that Karen Brahe or the ladies themselves regarded Jomfruklosteret as a women's collective. The ladies were not there because they were women, but because they needed providing for.

If the ladies had had a free choice, many of them would probably have preferred a husband and children, the only situation which gave status at that time. Or, if they did not wish to marry, at least their own home, in which they could decide who they would be together with. The trust deed names no common activities or guidelines for how the ladies should spend their time, apart from the two or three hours a day in which they were forced to be together, i.e. morning and evening prayers and mealtimes.





*Formentlig i 1720'erne blev der bygget en stor, moderne trappe i hver ende af hovedbygningen. De såkaldte italienske trapper var meget kostbare og hævede hele huset op i en ny klasse. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

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*Probably in the 1720's, a large, modern staircase was built in each end of the main building. The so-called Italian stairs were very expensive and raised the standards of the entire building. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



*Rum 111, priorindens spisestue, og døren ind til Salen, rum 104. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Room 111, the prioress' dining room, and the door into the Hall, room 104. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

Jomfruklosteret, men på Østrupgård, hvor hun havde sit bibliotek, og hvor det efter alt at dømme forblev efter Jomfruklosterets stiftelse. Hun brugte biblioteket og foretog nyanskaffelser indtil kort før sin død. I 1725 må dog en del af det være overført til klosteret, idet en magister takkede for et besøg der, men den første halve snes år efter stiftelsen fandtes muligheden for litterære studier ikke i Odense.

Frøkenene og biblioteket nævnes faktisk kun i sammenhæng i fundatsens sidste paragraf, der handler om biblioteket. Biblioteket skulle stå til rådighed for frøkenene, men det var omstændeligt at bruge det. Priorinden havde nøglen til rummet og skulle spørges,

In recent years, the idea has arisen that Jomfruklosteret was set up as a cultural centre for learned women, where they could pursue their education and study literature in Karen Brahe's library. But, as mentioned, cultivation and education are not named in the Convent's objectives. Not only this, but Karen Brahe did not live at Jomfruklosteret, but at Østrupgård, where she had her library and where it remained, as far as can be told, after the foundation of Jomfruklosteret. She was using her library and making new acquisitions until shortly before her death. For the first 10 years or so, there was thus no opportunity for literary studies in Odense.

når en frøken ville læse eller låne en bog, og lån og aflevering skulle noteres af den såkaldte skoleperson, der kom en gang imellem for at passe biblioteket. Hvor meget frøkenerne har benyttet sig af muligheden er uvist – udlånsbogen synes ikke at være bevaret.<sup>10</sup>

De 3.400 trykte bind havde desuden altovervejende teologisk indhold, med overvægt af en særlig type religiøs litteratur med suk, tårer, anger og anråbelsler, mens de 1.150 håndskrifter hovedsagelig var ligprædikener. Selv for adelskvinder med tidens gode uddannelse, som den frøkenerne i Jomfruklosteret havde fået, var de fleste af bøgerne fuldstændig ulæselige. Mange af dem, trykt sidst i 1600-tallet og først i 1700-tallet, var skrevet af og rettet til mennesker med så brændende en tro, at det nærmede sig det vellystige. Man kan selvfølgelig ikke afvise, at enkelte frøkener har haft et sådant trosforhold, men det er noget ganske andet end at være litterært interesseret.

Hvis Karen Brahe havde ønsket, at livet i hendes jomfrukloster skulle pivotere omkring biblioteket, og at jomfruerne skulle drive lærde studier, havde hendes fundats omtalt det. Som den er, giver den kun en række lavpraktiske løsninger på, hvordan man opretter en institution, får den til at løbe rundt økonomisk og holder styr på et hushold.

### **Priorinderne**

Jomfruklosterets daglige leder, priorinden, skulle være en adelig enkefrue af "dansk familie". Her kan Karen Brahe specifikt have ment af den gamle adel. Hun skulle være skikkelig, der ikke betød et skikkeligt skrog, men vel skikket, velegnet. Også dronninger og kronprinsesser valgte adelige enker som hofmesterinder til deres og de kongelige børns hofstater: En erfaren og myndig dame, vant til at forestå et stort hushold, men nu uden egne forpligtelser.

Karen Brahe har sikkert erkendt, at det kunne være vanskeligt at finde nogen, der både passede til profilen og havde lyst til at bo sammen med otte frøkener i et ældgammelt hus. Alternativt kunne

The ladies and the library are only mentioned in connection with the trust deed's last clause, which is to do with the library. The library was to be at the disposal of the ladies, but using it was a long-winded procedure. The Prioress had the key to the room and was to be asked when a lady wished to read or loan a book, and the loan and delivery had to be noted by the so-called "school person", who came once in a while to look after the library. How often the ladies took advantage of this offer is unknown – the loans book does not appear to have been preserved.<sup>10</sup>

The 3400 printed volumes in the library are also of predominantly theological content, with a preference for a special type of religious literature of sighs, tears, repentance and supplications, while the 1150 manuscripts were mainly funeral sermons. Even for noblewomen with what was considered a good education at the time, as was the case for the ladies of Jomfruklosteret, most of the books would have been totally unreadable. Many of them, printed in the late 17th century and early 18th century were written by and addressed to persons with so fervid a faith that it approached the libidinous. Naturally, individual ladies may well have had a faith of this nature, but that is very different from an interest in literature.

If Karen Brahe had wished life in her secular convent to revolve round the library or that the conventuals were to devote themselves to learned study, it would have been mentioned in her trust deed. As it is, the deed contains only a series of severely practical solutions for establishing an institution, ensuring it could make ends meet and for keeping track of the household.

### **The Prioresses**

The daily manager of Jomfruklosteret, the Prioress, was to be a noble widow of a "Danish family". Here Karen Brahe may specifically have had the old nobility in mind. She was to be worthy, which presumably meant well suited to the position. Even queens and crown princesses would choose noble widows as Mistress of



*Rum 216 under restaureringen, med skygger efter den sidste frøkens tætte ophængning af billedrammer. Omkring vinduet er man nået ind til det oprindelige pudslag. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Room 216 during the restoration, with shadows after the last woman's dense hanging of picture frames. Around the window, the original plaster coat has been reached. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

priorinden derfor vælges blandt de fire ældste jomfruer af "dansk adel". Jomfruen skulle egne sig til stillingen og have færdighed i at "forestå regnskab og andet, som priorinden tilkommer at forrette."

Ordet "ældste" refererede ikke til frøkenernes alder, men til deres anciennitet i klosteret ifølge fundatsens § 20 om jomfruernes indbyrdes rang og stand. Det var klogt af Karen Brahe at vælge optagelsestidspunktet som indiskutabelt kriterium, for placeringen i et hvilket som helst hierarki var dengang altafgørende for selvfølelsen, og alle havde det som havkongens moder i H.C. Andersens *Den lille Havfrue*, der var "stolt af sin adel, derfor gik hun med tolv østers på halen, de andre fornemme måtte kun bære seks". Det ville dog have været umuligt at afgøre hvilken af de gamle slægter, der var ældst eller mest fornem og derfor havde forrang. Faktisk havde der været evindelige skænderier og ligefrem korporligheder om dette emne i Maribo Adelige Jomfrukloster.

the Robes for their personal households and those of the royal children: as an experienced and authoritative lady, used to managing a large household, but now without obligations of her own.

Karen Brahe had probably learnt that it could be hard to find someone who both matched the profile and had a desire to live together with eight unmarried ladies in an antique building. Alternatively, therefore, the Prioress could be chosen from among the four oldest conventuals from the "Danish nobility". The conventual should be suitable for the position and have skills in "the control of accounts and other matters which it is the Prioress's duty to perform."

The word "oldest" did not refer to the ladies' age, but to their length of time in the Convent, in accordance with Clause 20 of the trust deed on the mutual ranking and status of the conventuals. It was wise of Karen Brahe to select the date of acceptance as the indisputable criterion,





*Efter restaureringen. Til træværket er valgt en farve fra konservatorernes farvetrappe, der matcher marmoreringen omkring ovnen, og til væggene et tapet fra samme periode. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*After the restoration. For the woodwork, a colour from the conservators' archaeological studies concerning colour has been selected, which matches the marbling around the oven, and for the walls, a wallpaper from the same period. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

Jomfruklosterets første priorinde blev udnævnt i 1740, fire år efter Karen Brahes død. Det blev ikke en enkefrue, men den jomfru, som Karen Brahe i 1717 selv havde indsat som den første i Plads I og som derfor havde højest anciennitet. Susanne Parsberg var nu 48 år og havde i alle årene haft kontakten til Karen Brahe på Østrupgaard om praktiske og økonomiske forhold på Jomfruklosteret. Priorinde Parsberg døde 66 år gammel i 1758, et mærkeligt år i Jomfruklosterets historie, hvor også tre jomfruer, tjeneren, kusken og en kammerpige døde mellem februar og november.

Indtil 1856 var priorinden altid en af de frøkener, der havde boet længst i klosteret. Det er jo ikke i sig selv en kvalifikation, og man kender ikke disse frøkeneres baggrund og uddannelse, men de må have været yderst kvalificerede, for det var ikke så lidt, der hvilede på dem: Klosterets kapitaler på rente. Fjorten lejemål i karreen rundt om hovedbygningen og engen. Vedlige-

for an individual's position in any kind of hierarchy was then vital for a person's self-understanding, and everyone imitated the sea-king's mother in Hans Christian Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*, who was "proud of her noble birth and therefore wore 12 oysters on her tail, while the other aristocrats might only wear six". However, it would have been impossible to determine which of the old families was oldest or most distinguished and therefore had precedence. In fact, there had been never-ending arguments and even blows on this topic at Maribo Secular Convent for Noblewomen.

Jomfruklosteret's first Prioress was appointed in 1740, four years after Karen Brahe's death. She was not a widow, but the conventual whom Karen Brahe herself had installed in 1717 as the first in Place I, and who thus had greatest seniority. Susanne Parsberg was now 48 years old and during all those years had been in contact with Karen Brahe at Østrupgård regarding



holdelse af det store hus og lejeboligerne og styring af til- og ombygninger nævnes eksplicit i fundatsen. Priorinden førte regnskaberne vedrørende håndværkere og husholdningen med indkøb af råvarer, brænde og tjenesteydelser. Desuden var hun daglig leder af et hushold på en halv snes mennesker, og det har krævet sit at få hverdagen til at forløbe gnidningsløst med helt op til otte vidt forskellige frøkener i alle aldre med deres vaner og uvaner og særheder.

Priorinden skulle rådføre sig med patronen om alle forhold, men skønt patronerne altid var meget velvilligt stemte og konstruktive, var de sjældent tilgængelige i det daglige. De havde deres godser, var involverede i politik, og en af dem var diplomat og posteret i årevis. Priorinden måtte tage de fleste beslutninger på egen hånd.

Priorinden fik alt – årspenge, lys og brænde – i dobbelt mål, ligesom på Maribo og senere de øvrige nye klostre. Hun havde ansvar, besvær og repræsentative pligter, både over for enkelte gæster og med selskabelighed, ligesom hun var Jomfruklosterets ansigt i Odense. Til daglig fik priorinden kosten ligesom jomfruerne, og de skulle alle spise sammen “ved et bord”.

practical and financial matters at Jomfruklosteret. Prioress Parsberg died at the age of 66 in 1758, an unusual year in Jomfruklosteret’s history, as three ladies, the servant, the coachman and a ladies’ maid died between February and November.

Until 1856, the Prioress was always one of the ladies who had lived longest at the Convent. This was no qualification in itself, and the background and education of these ladies is unknown, but they must have been highly proficient, as their responsibilities were not light: the Convent’s capital put out at interest; fourteen tenancies in the street block round the main building and the meadow; maintenance of the large house and tenanted properties and control of additions and rebuilding work are mentioned explicitly in the trust deed. The Prioress kept accounts relating to building work and to the household, with purchases of commodities, fuel and services. She was also the daily manager of a household of ten or so persons, and it would have been a big job to ensure a friction-free day for up to eight ladies of widely differing personalities and of all ages, with their good and bad habits and peculiarities.



*Et linoleumstæppe i rum 216 er istandsat og bevaret på sin plads. Disse tæpper kom på mode efter 1860, med blomster, mønstre som ægte tæpper eller, som her, med såkaldt parketteri.  
Foto: Roberto Fortuna. Modsatte side: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

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*A linoleum rug in room 216 has been restored and preserved in its place. These rugs were in fashion after 1860, with flowers, oriental rugs patterns or, as in this case, so-called parketteri.  
Photo: Roberto Fortuna. Opposite page: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



Det skal tages bogstaveligt, for ved Hoffet og i store huse spiste man ved mange borde: Herskabet og dets nærmeste ved ét bord, kavalerer og damer ved et andet, ofte i et andet rum, og resten af husholdet fordelt i huset og køkkenregionerne. Men Karen Brahe ønskede altså ikke, at priorinden spiste inde hos sig selv eller ved et særligt bord.

Hun forestillede sig dog ikke, at priorinde og jomfruer skulle leve som en familie med priorinden som moderligt overhoved, for det kunne sagtens forekomme, at priorinden var yngre end flere af jomfruerne. Om deres indbyrdes forhold nævner fundatsen kun, at jomfruerne ikke må svare priorinden studst eller på nogen måde vise sig modvillige eller genstridige over for hende. Opsætsighed ville blive straffet ved fradrag af halvdelen af årpengene, anden gang med trefjerdedele og tredje gang med bortvisning. Det blev dog aldrig nødvendigt at tage denne paragraf i brug.

### **Pensionærer**

Ifølge fundatsen kunne Jomfruklosteret også optage pensionærer, "kostgængere" som det hed i fundatsen, hvis der var plads. Personer af samme adelige herkomst som jomfruerne kunne således bo i klosteret et år og betale kostpenge; det arrangement havde også

The Prioress was to consult with the Patron in all matters, but although the Patrons were always kindly disposed and constructive, they were rarely present on a day-to-day basis. They had their estates, were involved in politics and one of them was a diplomat and posted abroad for years. The Prioress had to take most decisions on her own.

The Prioress received all the benefits – annual allowance, lighting and fuel – in double measure, just as at Maribo and later the other new convents. She had the responsibility, the difficulties and entertainment duties, both with regard to individual guests and at social events, and was Jomfruklosteret's face in Odense. In daily life, the Prioress received meals like the conventuals, and they all had to eat together "at one table". This must be taken literally, because at the Court and in great houses, people ate at many tables: The master and mistress and those close to them at one table, gentlemen and ladies at another, often in a different room, and the rest of the household, spread throughout the house and kitchen regions. But Karen Brahe did not wish the Prioress to eat in her own quarters or at a special table.

However, she did not envisage the Prioress and conventuals living like a family, with the Prioress as a kind of mother figure, as it might well be the case that the Prioress was younger than some of the conventuals. Regarding their mutual relations, the trust deed only mentions that the conventuals must not be short with the Prioress or otherwise behave grudgingly or stubbornly towards her. Insubordination would be punished by deduction of half of the annual allowance, and on a second occasion by three quarters and on a third occasion by expulsion. However, it was never necessary to put this clause into practice.

### **Boarders**

According to the trust deed, Jomfruklosteret could also accept "boarders" as they are called in the trust deed, if there was room. Persons of the same noble origins as the conventuals could thus stay at the Convent for a





*Et kig gennem tre rum enfilade langs stueetagens sydside (rum 110 gennem rum 111 mod salen, rum 104). Her i rum 110 lå priorindens spisestue efter en ombygning i 1869. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*A look through a suite of three rooms along the south side on the ground floor (room 110 through room 111 into the hall, room 104). The prioress had her dining room here in room 110 after a renovation in 1869. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

været brugt i de katolske klostre og i jomfruklosteret i Maribo. Det benyttede en håndfuld sig af, alle med tilknytning til frøkenerne og navnlig i de første år.

En af priorinden Susanne Parsbergs fire søstre var pensionær i godt og vel et år. Hendes ophold blev betalt af svigersønnen til Karen Brahes fætter, Marcus Gøye, der var gift med Parsberg-søstrenes grandkusine, og denne søster var opkaldt efter grandkusinens moder. Det lyder usandsynlig indviklet, men er helt

year and pay board money; an arrangement which had also existed in the Catholic convents and in the secular convent at Maribo. A handful of women made use of this scheme, all with some connection to the ladies, and especially in the early years.

One of Prioress Susanne Parsberg's four sisters was a boarder for just over a year. Her stay was paid for by the son-in-law of Karen Brahe's cousin, Marcus Gøye, who was married to the Parsberg sisters' grand-cousin,

karakteristisk for tidens vidtstrakte forpligtelser over for slægtninge og dem, som et familiemedlem havde været fadder for. Søsteren var selv indskrevet i Jomfruklosteret, men døde, mens hun ventede på en plads.

I 1730 overlod Karen Brahe sin bolig i Jomfruklosteret, det såkaldte Patronessens Kammer, til frøken Anne Brahe Rosenkrantz. Hendes fader var en af Karen Brahes fætre, der fik seksten børn og var på fal-

and this sister was named after the grand-cousin's mother. This all sounds extraordinarily complicated, but is entirely characteristic of the wide obligations to relatives in those days, and also to godchildren. The sister was herself enrolled at Jomfruklosteret, but died while waiting for a place.

In 1730 Karen Brahe handed over her apartment at Jomfruklosteret, the so-called Patroness's Room, to



littens rand, og senere fik både en af frøkenens søstre og hendes faster, Karen Brahes kusine, plads i Jomfruklosteret. Frøken Rosenkrantz må have fået dispensation fra det ene år, for hun var pensionær i ti år. Da Susanne Parsberg blev priorinde i 1740, rykkede frøken Rosenkrantz ind i hendes plads og fik hendes værelse, da hun flyttede ned i priorindelejligheden.

En af frøken Rosenkrantz' søstre blev i 1760 den første priorinde på Støvringgaard Adelige Jomfrukloster. Hun havde som ung boet i København hos baronesse Christine Fuiren, der stiftede dette kloster samtidig med Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster. Hun opholdt sig vistnok hos en søster i Odense fra baronessens død i 1735 til 1751, hvor den første priorinde for Støvringgaard døde.<sup>11</sup> Endnu en søster var indskrevet i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, men blev gift, og da hun blev enke, kom hun i Enkefrueklosteret.

En ældre enkefrue boede her som pensionær, da der blev holdt folketælling i 1769. Hun og hendes afdøde mand var indbyrdes nært beslægtede, og de havde haft ikke mindre end fire fælles tanter i Jomfruklosteret, der dog alle var døde flere år forinden.

I 1840 boede her en "kostgængerinde", som der står i folketællingen. Hun var 16 år og niece til en frøken. Hendes fader havde været guvernør på De vestindiske Øer og var død seks år tidligere fra syv børn. Hvor længe hun boede i Jomfruklosteret vides ikke, hun var borte ved den næste folketælling fem år senere.

### **Klosterets tjenestefolk**

Husførelsen på Jomfruklosteret var indrettet som på et pensionat, hvor alt blev gjort af husets folk. Hvordan husholdningen i øvrigt skulle organiseres, berørtes ikke i fundatsen, for det forventedes priorinden at have forstand på. Desuden var der ansat personlig opvartning til frøkenerne. I 1700-tallet kaldtes de frøkenpiger, i 1800-tallet kammerpiger eller kammerjomfruer, til forskel fra stuepigerne og de piger, der gjorde rent og hjalp til i køkkenet.

Miss Anne Brahe Rosenkrantz. Her father was one of Karen Brahe's cousins who had 16 children and was on the brink of bankruptcy; later it was somehow managed to secure places at Jomfruklosteret for both one of the lady's sisters and her aunt, Karen Brahe's cousin. Miss Rosenkrantz must have been granted dispensation from the condition of one year, as she was a boarder for ten years. When Susanne Parsberg became Prioress in 1740, Miss Rosenkrantz was promoted to her place and received her room when she moved down to the Prioress's apartment.

In 1760, one of Miss Rosenkrantz's sisters became the first Prioress at Støvringgaard Secular Convent for Noblewomen. As a young woman she had lived in Copenhagen with Baroness Christine Fuiren, who founded this convent at the same time as the Harboeske Enkefruekloster Widows' Convent. She probably stayed with a sister in Odense from the time of the baroness's death in 1735 until 1751 when the first Prioress of Støvringgaard died.<sup>11</sup> Another sister was enrolled at Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, but married and entered the Widows' Convent when her husband died.

An elderly widow was living here as a boarder at the time of the census in 1769. She and her deceased husband were closely related to each other and had no fewer than four common aunts at Jomfruklosteret, though these had all died several years before.

In 1840 a "boardress", as it says in the census records, was living here. She was 16 years old and the niece of one of the ladies. Her father had been a governor in the Danish West Indies and had died six years previously, leaving seven children. How long she lived at Jomfruklosteret is unknown, but she was gone at the next census five years later.

### **Servants at Jomfruklosteret**

Jomfruklosteret was organised like a boarding house, where all work was performed by the staff. Other aspects of the housekeeping were not mentioned in the trust deed, as it was assumed that the Prioress



### Prototyper på klosterjomfruer

Susanne Parsberg, der var klosterjomfru 1717 til 1740 og derefter priorinde til sin død 1758, var prototypen på de ubemidlede adelige, som Karen Brahe havde tænkt på, da hun stiftede klosteret.

Parsberg-familien, med seks levende af ti børn, heraf fem døtre, var fuldstændig forarmet, da faderen døde i 1710, og enken måtte overlade gården, Brandholm ved Vejle, til en kreditor i 1717.

En af Susanne Parsbergs søstre døde i 1738, mens hun ventede på en plads i Jomfruklosteret. I 1747 levede de tre øvrige søstre, hvoraf den ene var lam, i yderste fattigdom i Vejle. De havde tilsammen kun en lille rente fra den solgte gård, et beløb, der var mindre end en klosterjomfrus årpenge. Den ene af dem kom ind i Jomfruklosteret på en patronplads i 1760 og døde her som 82-årig i 1785, men de to andre hutlede sig igennem, til de døde i en høj alder.

At Parsberg-pigerne havde behov for hjælp allerede i 1710'erne var evident, og Susanne boede muligvis allerede på Bispegaarden i Anne Brahes tid, eftersom hendes mormoder var kusine til Anne og Karen Brahes moder, Susanne Gøye. Der står intet om slægtskab i fundatsen, men så længe Braherne var Jomfruklosterets patroner, kom endog meget fjerne led af Gøye-familien ind på patronpladser. Det samme gjaldt flere familier af Rosenkrantz-slægten, hvoraf det gik nogle ilde under tidens forandrede forhold.



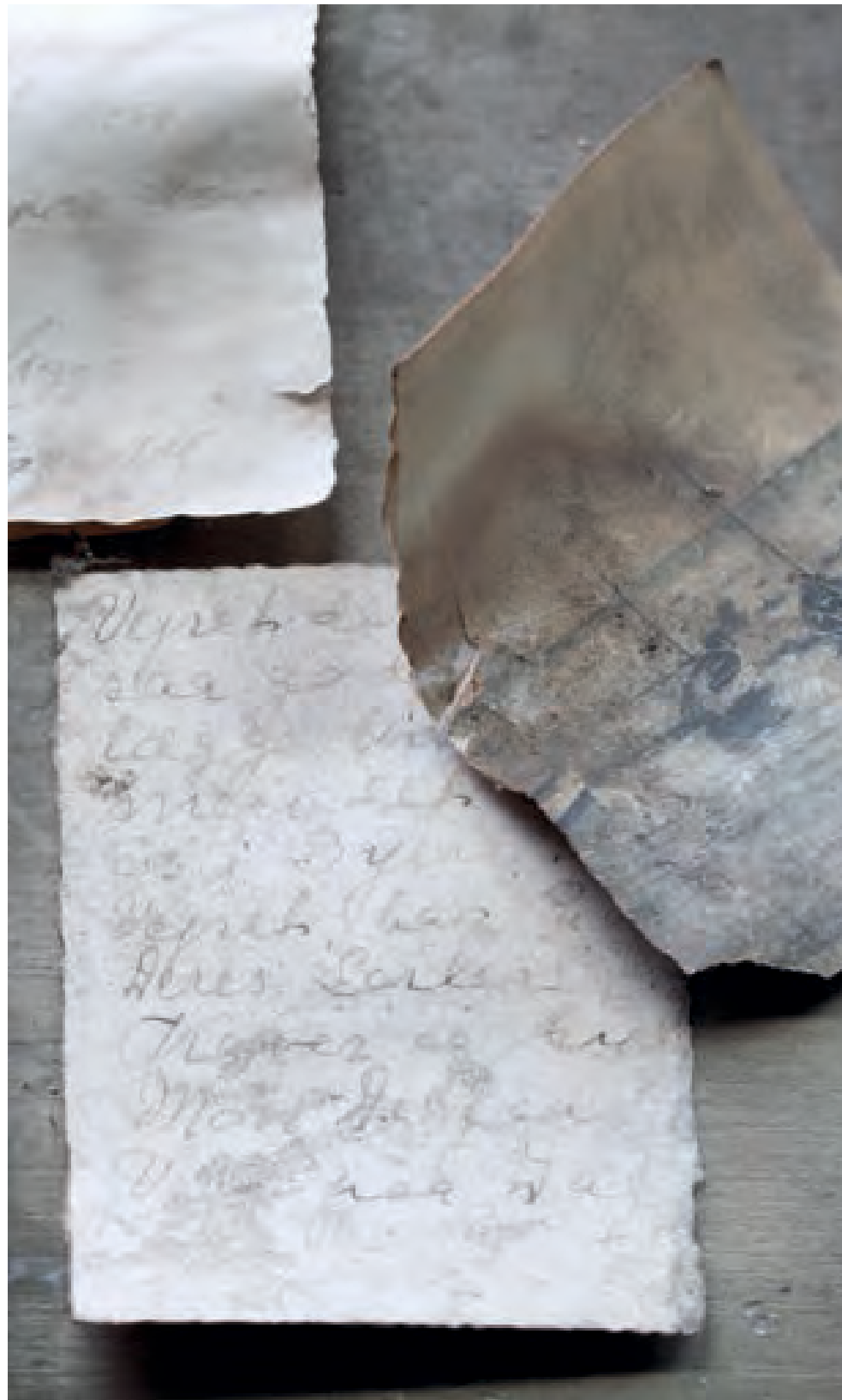
### Prototype conventuals

Susanne Parsberg, who was a conventual from 1717 to 1740 and then Prioress until her death in 1758, was the prototype of the noblewoman without means whom Karen Brahe had in mind when founding the Convent.

The Parsberg family, with six surviving children out of ten, five of whom were daughters, was completely impoverished when the father died in 1710, and his widow had to make over the manor, Brandholm near Vejle, to a creditor in 1717.

One of Susanne Parsberg's sisters died in 1738 while waiting for a place at Jomfruklosteret. In 1747 the three other sisters, one of whom was paralysed, were living in the utmost poverty in Vejle. Together, they only had a small income from the sale of the manor, a sum which was less than a conventual's annual allowance. One of them entered Jomfruklosteret in a patronal place in 1760, and died there at the age of 82 in 1785, while the other two struggled on until their deaths at a high age.

That the Parsberg girls needed help was evident even in the 1710's, and Susanne possibly already lived at the Bishop's Palace in Anne Brahe's time, as her grandmother was a cousin of Anne and Karen Brahe's mother, Susanne Gøye. There was nothing about family relations in the trust deed, but as long as the Brahes were Patrons of Jomfruklosteret, even rather distant members of the Gøye family were admitted to the patronal places. The same applied to several families related to the Rosenkrantz's, some of whom fell on hard times as a result of the age's changing circumstances.



*The alcove, 213b, in room 213. The upper part of the wall is decorated with a wavy pattern originating from textiles, the so-called Bargello or point d'Hongrie. It was popular during the Renaissance, and in the Baroque period it was often used as upholstery for furniture and walls. 2007. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



*Alkove, 207 a, bygget ind i rum 207 og lukket af med en firfløjet foldedør. Til venstre er et meget senere køkkenelement under nedtagning i forbindelse med restaureringen.*

*Foto: Lundqvist Tegnestue.*

*The alcove, 207 a, built into the room 207 and closed off with a four-leaved folding door. To the left is a much later kitchen unit being taken down in connection with the restoration.*

*Photo: Lundqvist Architects.*

Alle priorinder havde deres egen kammerjomfru, som de selv lønnede, men som fik kosten af Jomfruklosteret. Hun boede ikke blandt de øvrige kammerjomfruer, men inde i priorindens lejlighed. Priorinderne tog hierarkiet nøje, hvilket fremgår af folketællingerne, som de udfyldte fra 1769. Her stod deres personlige kammerjomfru og senere klosterets husjomfru eller oldfrue altid øverst blandt tjenestefolkene og dernæst fulgte frøkenernes kammerjomfruer, en for hver to frøkener.

Kammerjomfruer lyder som en luksus på et kloster for ubemidlede, men for kvinder af stand var moden sådan, at det ikke kunne lade sig gøre selv at klæde sig på eller sætte håret, og det gjaldt – bortset fra en kort periode i empiren – frem til omkring Første Verdenskrig. Kammerjomfruen ordnede desuden gangklæderne, vaskede personligt linned og kniplinger og holdt boligens finere indbo. Rengøring og storvask derimod var under hendes værdighed. Desuden gik en dame ingen steder uden ledsagelse. Kammerjomfruen gik med, men var der flere tjenestefolk, fulgte en pige damen ud og hentede hende igen, efter mørkets frembrud med en lygte – hun kunne godt gå alene.

Nogle kammerjomfruer fik efterhånden en ny rolle, for frøkenerne kunne måske ikke klare sig selv, når de blev gamle. Flere af Jomfruklosterets beboere

would know about this. Personal servants for the ladies were also engaged. These were called lady's maids, in contrast to the parlourmaids and the maids who did the cleaning and helped in the kitchen.

All Prioresses had their own lady's maid, whom they paid out of their own salary but who received her food from Jomfruklosteret. These girls did not live with the other lady's maids, but in the Prioress's apartment. The Prioresses were keen on hierarchy, as can be seen from the census forms they filled out from 1769. In these, their own personal lady's maid, and later the Convent's housekeeper, always stood at the head of the list of servants, followed by the personal maids for the ladies, one for every two ladies.

Lady's maids sound like a luxury at a convent for persons without means, but, for women of station, fashion dictated that they could not dress themselves or set their own hair, and this remained the case – apart from a short period during the Empire period – right up to World War I. The lady's maid would also see to clothing, wash personal linen and lace and maintain the finer possessions in the home. Cleaning and general laundry were below her dignity, however. Nor would a lady go anywhere unaccompanied. The lady's maid would accompany her, but if there were other servants available, a maid would follow her on her way out and bring her home again, taking a small lamp after dark – there was no rule against her walking alone.

As time went by, the lady's maids took on a new role, as the ladies might not be able to manage on their own as they grew old. Several of Jomfruklosteret's residents lived into their eighties. They would need help with personal hygiene, eating and moving about the house, so over the years the rooms would become a nursing home, just as happened in other homes of the period. Naturally, the ladies could not reserve a daughter for personal help as most parents did then,

blev op i 80'erne. De skulle have hjælp til personlig hygiejne, spisning og til at færdes i huset, og værelserne blev således med årene et plejehjem, ligesom andre hjem i datiden. Frøkenerne kunne af gode grunde ikke reservere en datter til personlig hjælp, som de fleste forældre dengang gjorde, og efter deres lebenslauf at dømme var flere tværtimod flyttet ind på Jomfruklosteret efter at have haft den rolle, til de selv blev gamle.

Frøkenerne måtte desuden gerne holde deres egne piger, men skulle betale klosteret for kosten. Karen

and, to judge from their personal histories, many of the residents moved into Jomfruklosteret after having had that role until they became old themselves.

It was permitted for the ladies to keep their own maids, but they had to pay the Convent for their food. Karen Brahe knew that obligations might arise towards a maid who had been employed for many years or to an elderly maid whom the family could no longer provide for.

In the 18th century and the early 19th century, several maids were also employed to see to the common areas,



*Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster set fra åen, et meget yndet motiv i 1800-tallet. Jomfruklosteret var dengang hvidkalket. Farvelagt litografi, 1860'erne. Odense Bys Museer.*

*The Secular Convent for Noblewomen viewed from the stream, a very popular motif in the 1800's. The Secular Convent was white-washed. Coloured lithograph, 1860's. City of Odense Museums.*



*Den høje klostermur med port og dør eksisterede frem til 1970, hvor Albanigade blev udvidet. Det var anden gang, der blev taget en bid af Jomfruklosterets grund mod vest. Første gang var 1858, hvor Albanibroen og gaden blev anlagt, og denne mur blev opført. Indtil da havde der kun været et stræde ned til åen, og Jomfruklosterets vestskel lå omtrent midt i kørebanen her. Odense Bys Museer.*

*The high convent wall with gate and door existed right up to 1970, when Albanigade was extended. This was the second time a bite was taken from the western side of the Jomfruklosteret site. The first occasion was in 1858, when the Albani Bridge and Albanigade were created and this wall was erected. Until then there had only been a lane down to the river, and the Jomfruklosteret western boundary was approximately in the middle of the street. City of Odense Museums.*

Brahe vidste, at man kunne være forpligtet over for en pige, som man havde haft i mange år eller en gammel pige, som ens familie ikke længere kunne forsørge.

I 1700-tallet og først i 1800-tallet var der desuden ansat flere tjenestepiger til at ordne fællesområderne, sørge for lys og lamper og servere. Efter tidens skik tog den yngste i hierarkiet sig af de ting, som kammerjomfruerne ikke var ansat til: De bar natpotter ned til latrinen bag østlængen, bar varmt vand op og snavset vand ned, lagde i kakkellovne og fjernede asken. I køkkenet var der en kokkepige og en bryggerspige. Til storvask brugtes vaskekoner, som ikke boede på klosteret, men blev hyret til vaskedagene af oldfruen eller husjomfruen.

Af mandligt personale var der en kusk, som kørte med arbejdsvogn efter varer, og i en periode har Jomfruklosteret også haft vogn til frøkenerne. Kusken boede i staldbygningen. Desuden var der en gårdskarl til alt forefaldende, herunder havearbejde. Indtil Jomfruklosteret 1869-1871 af økonomiske årsager måtte sælge huse og jord fra, var haven en del større end i dag mod både nord og vest. Fra 1850'erne var der ikke længere råd til en gårdskarl, og der blev indgået kontrakt med en gartner, som foruden havearbejde, snerydning og flugning også sørgede for at fordele høsten fra havens frugttræer og buske.

to attend to candles and lamps and to serve food. Under the custom of the time, the youngest in the hierarchy would take charge of the things the lady's maids were not employed for: They would take the chamber pots to the privy behind the east wing, carry hot water up and dirty water down, put wood in the stoves and remove the ashes. In the kitchen there was a kitchen maid and a scullery maid. Washerwomen would take care of the general laundry; they did not live at the Convent but were hired by the housekeeper for washing days.

The male staff consisted of a coachman who drove the cart for provisions, while for a period Jomfruklosteret also had a carriage for the ladies. The coachman lived in the stable building. There was also a yardman for general work, including gardening. Until Jomfruklosteret had to sell off buildings and land for financial reasons in 1869-1871, the garden had stretched much further than today both towards the north and the west. From the 1850's there was no longer the money for a yardman, and a contract was made with a gardener, who, apart from gardening, snow clearance and raising the flag, would also distribute the harvest from the garden's fruit trees and bushes.

All the permanent servants lived at Jomfruklosteret. It is not known where the kitchen was situated and where



Alle de faste tjenestefolk boede på Jomfruklosteret. Man ved ikke, hvor køkkenet lå, og hvor tjenestefolkene sov, før den nuværende bindingsværksbygning blev opført omkring 1749. Måske i en separat, gammel bygning, der lå på grundens vestlige del, bag rækken af små huse ud til Bispegaardsstræde. Denne bygning blev i 1747 erstattet af en ny 15 fags stald- og bryggersbygning. Tjenestefolkene kan dog også have boet inde i huset. I 17-1800-tallet sov de lavere placerede tjenestefolk mange sammen og på de underligste steder, selv på kongelige slotte: I aflukker på loftet, i skabe med hylder, under trapper, på pjalter og gamle sække i et hjørne af køkkenet. Det hører en senere tid til med en seng bag en tynd bræddevæg og efterhånden et rigtigt værelse til kvindeligt tyende.

Tjenestefolkene fik naturligvis kosten på klosteret, og Karen Brahe understregede også her, at de skulle spise ved ét bord. Hun tog ikke hensyn til tjenestefolkenes indbyrdes hierarki, for det har sikkert ikke passet kammerjomfruerne at sidde sammen med bryggerspigen og gårdskarlen. Derimod levede denne jævne, landlige form op til hendes påbud om, at tjenestefolkene skulle leve skikkeligt, bære tarvelige, dvs. enkle klæder og være flittige og lydige. Var de ikke det, kunne patronen idømme dem bøder.

Ingen af tjenestefolkene måtte forlade klosterets grund uden tilladelse af priorinden og jomfruerne. De skulle være tilbage, før porten blev lukket, og de måtte under ingen omstændigheder blive ude om natten.

### **Begrænsninger og straffe**

Man skulle tro, at Karen Brahe selv og senere priorinderne kun ville ansætte ordentlige mennesker. Ikke desto mindre indeholdt fundatsen drakoniske straffe: Hvis nogen blev taget i løstgighed, vankede der for mændene et år på Bremerholm, Flådens værft – det værste af alle steder, hvor mænd i jernlænker sled som heste og døde som fluer. Løstgige kvindelige tjenestefolk ville komme et år i Spindehuset, som var et tugthus. Men den straf kunne man også få for at bande ad

the servants slept, as the present half-timbered building was erected around 1749. Perhaps it was in a separate old building in the western part of the plot, behind the terrace of small houses facing Bispegaardsstræde. In 1747, this building was replaced by a new 15-bay stable and brewhouse building. However, the servants may also have lived in the house. In the 16th and 17th centuries, lower ranked servants would often sleep together in large numbers, and in the strangest locations, even in royal palaces: in attic cubicles, in cupboards with shelves, under stairs, on piles of rags and old sacks in a corner of the kitchen. It would take until later times to receive a bed behind a scanty partition, and even later, a proper room for the female servants.

Naturally, the servants received their food at the Convent, and here too, Karen Brahe emphasised that they should eat at one table. She took no notice of the servants' internal hierarchies, as it would certainly not have suited a lady's maid to sit with the scullery maid and the yardman. On the other hand, this simple, country style matched her injunctions that servants should live worthily, wear humble, i.e. plain clothing and be diligent and obedient. Otherwise they might be fined by the Patron.

None of the servants might leave the Convent grounds without permission from the Prioress and the ladies. They had to be back before the gate was closed and under no circumstances stay out at night.

### **Restrictions and punishments**

It might be thought that Karen Brahe herself, and later the Prioresses, would only employ trustworthy people. Even so, the trust deed contained draconian punishments. If anyone was caught in loose behaviour, the men could get a year at Bremerholm, the Navy yard – the worst of all places, where men in shackles worked like horses and died like flies. Loose-living female servants would spend a year at Spindehuset, a house of correction. Committal there could also result from swearing at one's parents or disobedience, and might



*Det østlige trapperum, 215. Alle flader er marmorerede og ådrede i forskellige tidsperioder.  
Til venstre for hjørneskabet et kig ind i rum 214. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*The east staircase, 215. All surfaces have been marbled and grained at different periods of time.  
A glance into room 214 left of the corner cabinet. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



be for life, so the people at Jomfruklosteret were getting off lightly. As far as is known, it was never necessary to use these sanctions at Jomfruklosteret.

The ladies too were subject to a number of restrictions. First of all, they were not allowed to leave the Convent without the Prioress's permission. This had been a core demand at Maribo Secular Convent for Noblewomen, and would remain so in all the later secular convents. It was on this point that daily life most resembled a Catholic nunnery. The residents were shut in, concealed behind walls and locked gates. But the rules must have been administered less strictly than the trust deed demanded, as it seems very unrealistic that the Prioress should be troubled for the sake of a brief social call or a trip to the dressmaker. Shopping has always been a pleasure and the ladies would apparently visit the shops in Odense. In one of the few preserved letters to Karen Brahe, a 31-year old lady promised not to buy on credit again. This was in itself forbidden in the trust deed, but the next line appears to contradict this, as it states that everything the ladies bought during the year must be paid for by the year end.

The ladies had to be back before the gate was closed, which was 9 p.m. in summer and 4 p.m. in winter. The latter time seems particularly disheartening, as 4 p.m. was the time when winter's social life began, with at-homes in the houses of the nobility and upper middle classes and dinner parties, theatrical performances and concerts. Karen Brahe never mentions her thoughts behind this restriction, as she cannot have intended living in her secular convent to be a punishment... and it was presumably never enforced. Family and friends were to apply to the Patron himself for permission to have the lady stay with them, and she was not allowed to be away longer than agreed unless the Patron had been asked for an extension.

“If, contrary to expectations, any lady should be discovered in an unworthy and scandalous way of life” – this might be drunkenness, gambling, indebtedness and bad company – she would have to leave the Convent immediately. If she was “wanton”, i.e. loose-



*I Karen Brahes Bibliotek ligger en bog med salmer til fire uger og denne lille bog, der indeholder "Morgenbøn som daglig bruges udi Klosteret", andre bønner og åndelige sange. Karen Brahes Bibliotek. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*Karen Brahe's library contains a book with hymns for four weeks and this small book, containing "morning prayers as daily used at the Convent", other prayers and spiritual songs. Karen Brahe's Library. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*

sine forældre eller være ulydig og det endda på livstid, så folkene på Jomfruklosteret ville slippe billigt. Så vidt vides blev det aldrig nødvendigt at tage disse midler i brug på Jomfruklosteret.

Også frøkenerne var underlagt en række restriktioner. Først og fremmest måtte de ikke forlade klosteret uden priorindens tilladelse. Det havde været et kernepunkt i Maribo Adelige Jomfrukloster og blev det også i alle de senere jomfruklostre, og det var dér, at dagliglivet mindede mest om et katolsk kloster: Beboerne var lukket inde, skjult bag mure og aflåsede porte. Men reglerne må have været håndhævet mindre strengt end fundatsen forlangte, for det virker helt ure-

living or even immoral, all her means inside or outside the Convent would be forfeit. Whatever was meant by that, whether possessions or cash, Frederik IV found it too harsh, and modified the clause when confirming the trust deed in 1717, such that the wicked lady would only lose half of the means which she owned outside the Convent.

### **Prayer twice daily**

It would have been unrealistic to make demands on the sincerity of the ladies' faith, but they had to manifest it outwardly. They and their lady's maids were not to



alistisk, at priorinden skulle ulejliges for en visit eller et besøg hos dameskrædderinden. Indkøb har til alle tider været en fornøjelse, og frøkenerne gik tilsyneladende rundt og handlede i Odense. I et af de få bevarede breve til Karen Brahe lovede en 31-årig jomfru, at hun ikke igen ville tage på kredit. Det var ganske vist forbudt i fundatsen, men i næste linje står lidt selvmodsigende, at ved årsskiftet skulle alt, hvad jomfruerne havde købt i årets løb, være betalt.

Frøkenerne skulle være tilbage, når porten blev lukket, om sommeren kl. 21, om vinteren kl. 16. Navnlig det sidste lyder trist, for det var efter dét klokkeslæt, at vinterens selskabelighed begyndte, med modtagelsesdage hos adel og højere borgerskab og med middagsselskaber, teaterforestillinger og koncerter. Hvad Karen Brahes dybere mening med denne restriktion var, nævner hun ikke, for hun har vel ikke opfattet det som en straf at bo i hendes jomfrukloster... Den blev næppe heller håndhævet. Familie og venner skulle anmode selveste patronen om at lade en frøken rejse på besøg hos dem, og hun måtte ikke blive væk længere end aftalt, ellers skulle patronen søges om forlængelse af opholdet.

“Hvis nogen jomfru i klosteret befindes, imod forhåbning, udi et uskikkeligt og forargeligt levnet” – det kunne betyde druk, hasard, gældsstiftelse og dårligt selskab – skulle hun straks forlade klosteret. Var hun “løsagtig”, dvs. letfærdig eller ligefrem usædelig, skulle desuden alle hendes midler i og uden for klosteret tilfalde det. Hvad der end mentes med dét, løsøre eller rede penge, fandt Frederik IV det nu alligevel for hårdt og modificerede det, inden han konfirmerede fundatsen i 1717, således at den slemme frøken kun kunne miste *halvdelen* af de midler, som hun ejede uden for klosteret.

### **Bøn to gange dagligt**

Det ville være urealistisk at stille krav til inderligheden i frøkenernes tro, men udadtil skulle de manifestere den. De og deres kammerpiger måtte ikke forsømme

miss any sermon unless they were ill. St. Knud's was their parish church, and here Jomfruklosteret rented in 1727 a gallery and a closed pew, as the ladies and their servants did not sit together.

The ladies also had to hold morning and evening prayers together every day – the only common activity apart from the day's two meals. How these prayer times were organised was apparently down to the Prioress. The trust deed gives no guidelines for format and content, and neither hymn singing, Bible readings or special books are mentioned.

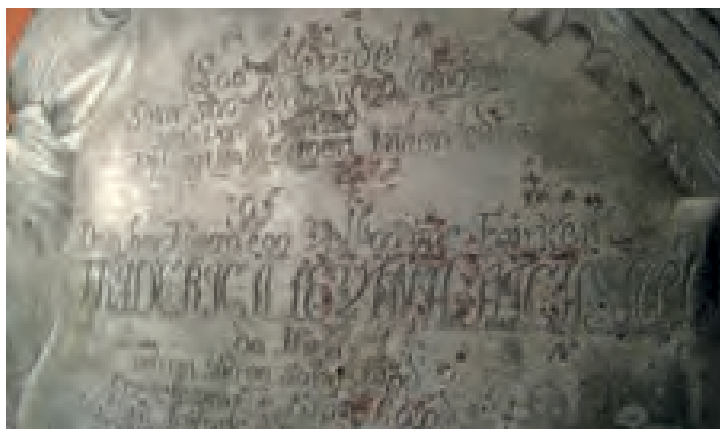
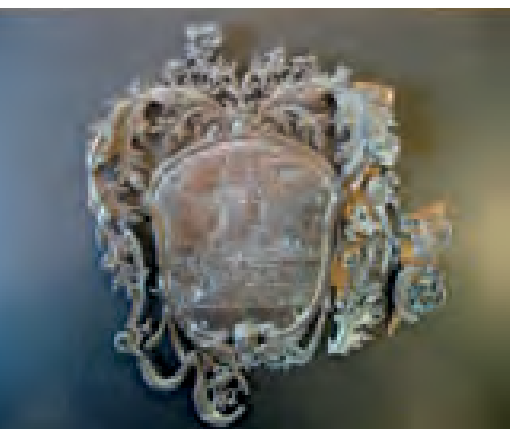
The whole household had to be present, so the ten or so servants would have to interrupt their work at 8.30 in the winter and 8.00 in the summer, when they would already long have been at work. Evening prayers took place at 4 p.m. in winter and 5 p.m. in summer, when the servants' work would not yet be done.

The prayers should be held “in the place in the Convent which shall be ordained thereto”. In other words, in 1716 Karen Brahe had not yet decided where this should be. In an inventory of 1738, the largest rooms in the house are called “the big room”, “the blue room” and “the prayer room”. These designations are not used consistently, as in later inventories “the big room” can mean both the large hall to the west, which became the library, and the transversal hall more or less in the middle of the house, room 104. An ante-room outside the prayer room is mentioned, but what was meant by ante-room is hard to tell. Maybe it was one of the two stairwells, most probably the left-hand one. In 1793, a room is called “the prayer chamber”, which sounds like a smaller room.

As in all other places, in private homes, secular convents and almshouses, joint prayer began to disappear at the start of the 19th century.

### **A fitting funeral**

Karen Brahe had also thought about the conventuals' funerals. If the lady was over 18 years old, the Convent would pay for the funeral. Who was to pay if the person



nogen prædiken, med mindre de var syge. St. Knuds var deres sognekirke, og her lejede Jomfruklosteret i 1727 et pulpitur og en lukket stol, idet frøkenerne og pigerne ikke sad sammen.

Desuden skulle frøkenerne hver dag holde morgen- og aftenbøn sammen – den eneste fælles aktivitet ud over dagens to måltider. Hvordan denne bønnestund forløb var åbenbart op til priorinden. Fundatsen har ingen retningslinjer for form og indhold, hverken salmesang, oplæsning af Bibelen eller særlige skrifter nævnes.

Hele husholdet skulle være til stede, så den halve snes tjenestefolk måtte afbryde deres arbejde kl. 8.30 om vinteren og kl. 8 om sommeren, hvor de allerede havde været i gang længe. Aftenbønnen fandt sted kl. 16 om vinteren og kl. 17 om sommeren, hvor de ikke var færdige endnu.

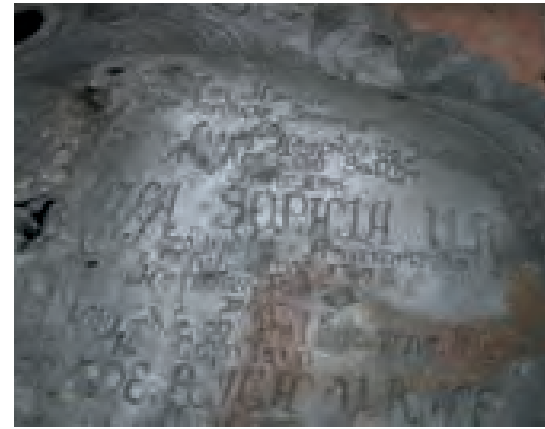
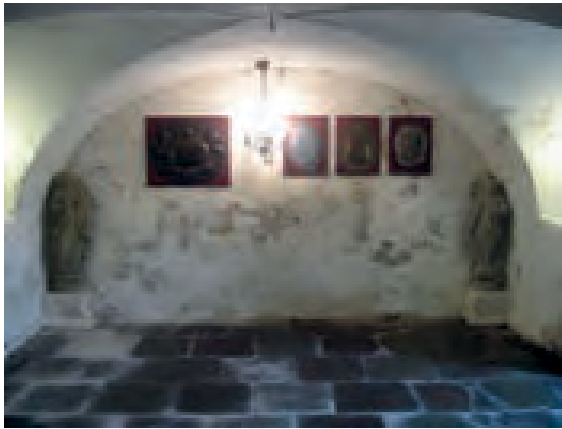
Bønnen skulle holdes “på det sted i klosteret, som dertil ordineret bliver”. Karen Brahe havde altså i 1716 endnu ikke besluttet, hvor det skulle foregå. I et inventarium 1738 benævnes husets største rum som “Den store Stue”, “Den blå Stue” og “Bedestuen”. Benævnelserne er ikke brugt konsekvent, for i senere inventarier kan “Den store Stue” betegne både den store sal i vest, der blev bibliotek, og den gennemgående sal omtrent midt i huset. Der nævnes en forstue foran bedestuen, men hvad man regnede for en forstue er ikke til at sige. Måske var det et af de to trapperum, mest sandsynligt det vestre. I 1793 kaldes et rum “Bedekammeret”, hvilket lyder som et mindre rum.

Som alle andre steder, i private hjem, klostre og stiftelser, gled den fælles bøn ud i begyndelsen af 1800tallet.

was between 14 and 18 is not mentioned, but luckily this was never the case. Nothing is said about where or how the ladies are to be buried. Generally the landed estates would have one or more churches attached to them, inside which the owners had had their burial place for centuries, either under the floor, marked with large monumental plaques, or in side chapels. Towards the end of the 17th century, a funeral ceremony and tomb could not be lavish enough, and the final generation of the rich nobility provided themselves with monuments with swelling marble curves, huge sarcophagi and gilded gratings – such as the tomb of Karen Brahe’s uncle, Marcus Gøye, whose widow had one of the most magnificent monuments in the country erected at Herlufsholm Church. The ancestors of the Convent’s ladies, including the unmarried daughters, had thus been laid to rest in a manner befitting their station; but now many families of the old landed nobility had lost their churches together with their estates, and only a few of the ladies at Jomfruklosteret were buried in a family grave. The others could look forward to being interred in St. Knud’s Churchyard like ordinary people, a thought which would doubtless have been another nail in their coffin at a time when funerals, more than any other event in life, signalled a person’s station.

The ladies’ salvation was to be Beate Margrethe Bielke, widow of Anders Bille of Løgismose. She wished to give them a fitting burial, and in 1732 donated to Jomfruklosteret the Bille family’s brick-built burial chamber at Haarby Church, which belonged to her estate.

*Ejeren af Haarby Kirke skænkede Jomfruklosteret en gravhvelving, og næsten alle frøkener blev nedsat her fra 1758 til 1788, hvor der ikke var plads til flere kister. Kistepladerne af bly og blik findes stadig i kirken, de fleste i så dårlig forfatning, at de er næsten ulæselige. 2013. Fotos: Rasmus Agertoft.*



### Standsmæssig begravelse

Karen Brahe havde også tænkt på klosterjomfruernes begravelse. Var afdøde over atten år, betalte klosteret begravelsen. Hvem der betalte, hvis afdøde var mellem fjorten og atten år, nævnes ikke, men det blev heldigvis ikke aktuelt. Der står intet om, hvor og hvordan frøken-erne skulle begraves. Til godserne hørte som oftest en eller flere kirker, hvor ejerne gennem århundreder havde deres gravsteder inde i kirken, enten under gulvet, markeret med store gravplader eller epitafier, eller i kapeller. I slutningen af 1600-tallet kunne begravelsesceremoni og gravsted ikke blive overdådige nok, og den sidste generation af rig adel fik gravmæler med svulmende marmor, store sarkofager og gitre med forgyldninger – som f.eks. Karen Brahes morbroder, Marcus Gøye, hvis enke lod opføre et af landets prægtigste gravmæler i Herlufsholm Kirke. Frøkenernes forfædre, også de ugifte døtre, var således stedt standsmæssigt til hvile, men nu havde mange familier af den gamle jordadel mistet deres kirker sammen med godset, og kun nogle få af frøkenerne i Jomfruklosteret blev nedsat i et familiegravsted. De øvrige kunne se frem til at blive jordet på St. Knuds Kirkegård ligesom jævne folk, og den tanke har uden tvivl været en pind til deres ligkiste i en tid, hvor begravelse mere end nogen anden livsbegivenhed signalerede ens stand.

Frøkenernes redning blev Beate Margrethe Bielke, enke efter Anders Bille til Løgismose. Hun ønskede at give dem en standsmæssig begravelse, og i 1732 skænkede hun Jomfruklosteret slægten Billes murede familiegravsted i Haarby Kirke, som hørte under hendes gods.

The tomb was used for the first time in 1758 when Prioress Parsberg died. Over the next 30 years, St. Knud's church register records 14 times, almost as a fixed expression, that on such and such a date, "the Honourable Miss XX's body at Jomfruklosteret was carried off at eight o'clock in the morning for interment in their burial plot in the country." And in the Haarby church register on the same day: "Graveside ceremony for the Honourable Miss XX" and the lady's age. The whole ceremony was in accordance with the ancient noble fashion of bringing the coffin to the estate church.

Almost 30 years later, Prioress Parsberg's sister was the second-last person to be entombed at Haarby. But after a burial in 1788 there was no more room, and the burial chamber was bricked up. In 1856, the crypt and coffins were found during a restoration of the church. In 1943 the ladies' coffins were buried in the churchyard and marked with a common gravestone. The coffin plates in lead and silver with their long and movingly devote texts, now hardly readable, are kept in Haarby Church.<sup>12</sup>

Burial inside churches was forbidden in 1805, and from 1811 the ladies who died at the Convent were buried at the Assistens Cemetery like all other Odense citizens. Some of the ladies did not die at Jomfruklosteret, either because they were away at the time of death or because they lived elsewhere, as mentioned before, generally with family or friends. Some families had perhaps completely forgotten that the lady was a conventual – in one case it was four years before a brother informed the Patron about her death.

*The owner of Haarby Church donated a burial vault to the Secular Convent for Noblewomen, and almost all the ladies were buried here from 1758 to 1788, when there was no room for more coffins. The lead and tin coffin plates are still in the church. Most of them are in such poor condition, that they are almost unreadable. 2013. Photos: Rasmus Agertoft.*

Gravstedet blev brugt første gang i 1758, da priorinde Parsberg døde. De næste 30 år stod der fjorten gange som en nærmest fast vending i St. Knuds kirkebog, at den og den dato “blev velbårne frøken X.X.s lig på Jomfruklosteret bortført om morgenen klokken 8te til at indsættes udi deres begravelse på landet” – og i Haarbys kirkebog ud for samme dag: “Kast[et] jord paa velbåren Frøken X.X” samt hendes alder. To frøkener blev ført direkte til Haarby. Det var som på Jørgen Brahes tid, hvor adelen lod kisterne føre lange veje fra dødsstedet til St. Knuds, som kunne rumme de mange begravelsesgæster, og derefter tilbage til den kirke, hvor kisten skulle ned sættes.

Næsten 30 år senere var priorinde Parsbergs søster den næstsidste, der blev gravsat i Haarby. Da frøken Schleppegrell var sat ind i 1788, kunne der ikke være flere kister, og gravkrypten under koret blev til muret. I 1856 blev krypten og kisterne genfundet under en restaurering af kirken, og i 1943 blev kisterne genbegravet på kirkegården. I dag findes kun kistepladerne som minde om frøkenernes fornemme hvilested.<sup>12</sup>

Det blev forbudt at begrave inde i kirkerne i 1805, og fra 1811 blev de frøkener, som døde på klosteret, begravet på Assistens Kirkegård som alle andre Odense-borgere. Adskillige af frøkenene døde ikke på Jomfruklosteret, enten fordi de var bortrejste, da døden indtraf, eller fordi de som nævnt boede andre steder, som regel hos familie og venner. Nogle familier havde måske helt glemt, at frøkenen var klosterjomfru – i et tilfælde varede det fire år, før en broder sendte patronen besked om dødsfaldet.

### **Frøkenene i 1700-tallet**

Fundatsen havde retningslinjer for frøkenernes påklædning, selvom Karen Brahe ikke forlangte ensartede dragter eller – som senere på Vallø Frøkenkloster – en ordensdragt ved særlige lejligheder. Men de måtte “ingen overdådighed bruge i klædedragt med guld og sølv,

### **The ladies in the 18th century**

The trust deed had guidelines for the ladies' clothing, though Karen Brahe did not demand uniforms or – as later at Vallø Royal Convent – a habit for special occasions. But they were not permitted “any luxury in raiment with gold and silver or costly edging; when they are in the Convent, their best clothing shall be black silk”. Karen Brahe wanted to prevent the ladies from competing to be the best dressed on festive occasions within the Convent walls, but like several of her rules, this one is unclear: does it mean that it is permitted to wear coloured clothing for family events and the like outside the Convent? The provision was in any case a drastic one, as in the 18th century, black was solely used for mourning and only for a limited period. Only in the mid-19th century did black and other dark colours become fashionable for older women, not just widows, but spinsters as well. There was no prohibition on colours for daily wear.

### **Marriage**

The ladies could freely choose to leave Jomfruklosteret, but it apparently never occurred to Karen Brahe that anyone would want to do so, as no guidelines for withdrawal are given. However, there is a description of how marriages should be handled.

A lady was permitted to get engaged, but not secretly, as otherwise she would lose all that she brought with her into the Convent. Like several other provisions in Karen Brahe's trust deed, this one is rather unclear; does it refer to what the lady owned when she was promoted to conventual or what she owned when she became secretly engaged? Even the ladies without means in the patronal places could inherit, be it little or much, while they were at Jomfruklosteret.

The suitor must be “a person of her station” and openly ask her parents for her hand. If she had no parents or family or friends, she should first ask the advice of God, and then the Patron or Patroness. With regard to station, the ladies became less noble, if





*I Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster fandtes en stor samling portrætter, som nu befinder sig i Roskilde Kloster. Størstedelen af dem viser Brahe-familien og indgiftede slægter, og således var flere af de portrætterede også slægtninge til de første frøkener i Jomfruklosteret. Men der er ikke et eneste billede af en frøken. En af dem, Hylleborg Arenfeldt, har imidlertid efterladt eller foræret klosteret portrætter af to af sine fire søstre, som hun sikkert har lignet. Pigerne er malet i 1690'erne, og den ene er kun 8 år, står der på maleriet. Deres fader var Jørgen Arenfeldt til Rugaard, kendt for sine hårde hekseprocesser og for at have ruineret familien, der omfattede tolv børn.*

*Karen Brahe indsatte Hylleborg Arenfeldt i en af de tre patronpladser i 1717, da hun var 27 år. To søstre kom i Roskilde Kloster. En fjerde søster blev gift med en Pentz til Meilgaard. To døtre af hans første ægteskab kom i Jomfruklosteret, den ene indsat af Karen Brahe ligeledes i 1717. Selv døde Pentz forarmet i en lejevåning i Sæby i 1729, og hans enke kom i Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster.*

*Den femte søster blev gift von Dewitz og dermed svigerinde til en rig generalinde, som skænkede Jomfruklosteret en stor pengegave og oprettede en plads til en grandniece.*

*Frøken Arenfeldt og den ene af frøkenerne Pentz døde i 1758, hvor Jomfruklosteret ser ud til at have været ramt af en epidemi. Foruden de to frøkener døde nemlig også priorinden og endnu en frøken, en kammerpige, tjeneren og kusken mellem februar og november 1758. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.*

*Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen contained a large collection of portraits, which are now at Roskilde Kloster. Most of them show the Brahe family and intermarried relatives, and thus several of the subjects were also relatives of the first ladies at Jomfruklosteret. But there is not a single portrait of an actual lady. One of the ladies, however, Hylleborg Arenfeldt, left or gave to the Convent portraits of two of her four sisters, and she would probably have resembled them. The girls were painted in the 1690's, and one is only eight years old, as is stated on the painting. Their father was Jørgen Arenfeldt of Rugaard, known for his harsh witch trials and for ruining the family, which counted 12 children.*

*Karen Brahe installed Hylleborg Arenfeldt in one of the three patronal places in 1717, when she was 27 years old. Two sisters went to Roskilde Kloster. A fourth sister was married to a Pentz of Meilgaard. Two daughters of his first marriage entered Jomfruklosteret, one of them installed by Karen Brahe, again in 1717. Pentz himself died in poverty in a rented flat in Sæby in 1729, and his widow entered the Harboeske Enkefruekloster Widows Convent.*

*The fourth sister married a von Dewitz, and thus became sister-in-law to a rich general's wife who gave Jomfruklosteret a large gift of money and established a place for a grandniece.*

*Miss Arenfeldt and one of the Misses Pentz died in 1758, when Jomfruklosteret seems to have been struck by an epidemic. Apart from the two ladies, the Prioress and one other lady died, and also a lady's maid, the waiter and the coachman, all between February and November 1758. Roskilde Kloster. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*



*Salen, rum 104, i Jomfruklosterets tid det fornemste fællesrum. 1901.  
Foto: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*The Hall, room 104, the most elegant common room in  
the Secular Convent for Noblewomen. 1901.  
Photo: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. The Royal Library.*

eller kostbare bræmmer; når de er i klosteret, skal deres bedste klæder være sort silketøj”. Karen Brahe har villet undgå, at frøkenerne konkurrerede om at være den bedst klædte ved festlige lejligheder inden for klosterets mure, men som flere af hendes regler er den uklar: Betød det, at de måtte bære broget festtøj ved familiebegivenheder og andet uden for klosteret? Bestemmelsen var i øvrigt dramatisk, for sort blev i 1700-tallet udelukkende brugt ved sorg og kun i et begrænset tidsrum. Først midt i 1800-tallet kom sort og andre mørke farver på mode for ældre kvinder, ikke kun enker, men også ugifte. Til daglig var der ikke forbud mod farver.

### **Giftermål**

Det stod frøkenerne frit for at fraflytte Jomfruklosteret, men det faldt øjensynligt ikke Karen Brahe ind, at nogen skulle ønske det, eftersom der ikke er angivet retningslinjer for udtrædelse. Derimod er det beskrevet, hvordan der skulle forholdes ved giftermål.

En jomfru måtte gerne forlove sig, men ikke hemmeligt, for så ville hun miste alt, hvad hun havde med ind i klosteret. Denne bestemmelse er som flere andre i Karen Brahes fundats temmelig uklar, for mentes der dét, som jomfruen ejede, når hun blev oprykket til klosterjomfru, eller det hun ejede, når hun indgik en hemmelig forlovelse? Selv de ubemidlede i patronpladserne kunne jo arve, lidt eller meget, mens de boede i Jomfruklosteret.

Frieren skulle være “en person af hendes stand” og åbent anmode om hendes hånd hos forældrene. Havde hun ingen forældre og heller ikke slægtninge eller venner, skulle hun rådføre sig først med Gud og dernæst med patronen eller patronessen. Hvad stand angår, blev frøkenerne om man så må sige mindre adelige i løbet af 1800-tallet, idet manges mødre var borgerlige, men med et par undtagelser giftede frøkenerne sig tilbage i faderens adelige miljø.

one can put it like that, during the course of the 19th century, as many had non-noble mothers; but with few exceptions the ladies married back into their fathers’ noble environment.

Of the 85 ladies who received a place as conventuals, 18 married, some at a mature age, but it is not known whether any of the other ladies had one or more suitors who simply were not accepted by the parents or the Patron.

As mentioned before, being promoted to conventual did not necessarily mean moving into Jomfruklosteret. A number of the ladies only had their place for a few years before marrying, and most remained with their families until their wedding day. This particularly applied to those installed in Places IV, VII and VIII, which were the domain of two branches of the Scheel family.

### **Rococo wedding**

In 1744, one of the ladies was married at Jomfruklosteret, apparently the only time this ever happened. From the end of the 17th century, marrying in church was seen by the nobility as vulgar, and they were therefore able to obtain royal consent for a wedding in the hall at home. As the nobility were exempted from banns in church, the wedding was wholly private.

In this case, the bride was the 22-year old Geromine Henriette de Lamare (or le Maire), daughter of a colonel who, according to a document and a letter in the library, knew both Anne Brahe and Karen Brahe. Miss Geromine and her sister became orphans, and in 1737 received 3000 rixdollars each from their grandmother’s sister, Margrete von Levetzau. She was the widow of general von Dewitz, related by marriage to four ladies of the Convent, two Arenfeldts and two Pentz’s. The widow was very wealthy, and as she had lost her own children, she made large donations to various



*Susanne Brahe, Jomfruklosterets patronesse fra 1736, blev i 1737 gift med godsejer Frederik Hein til Stensgaard ved Faaborg. Han købte i 1745 den store gård nord for Jomfruklosteret, som fyldte hele hjørnet og gik langt ned ad Adelgade. Gården havde tilhørt Rosenvinge-familien, som fik en stor grund i Bispegaards-karreen, da Frederik II fraflyttede den. Susanne Brahe og Hein boede dels der, dels på Østrupgaard, og Susanne Brahe benyttede også gården som enke fra 1751 til sin død i 1760. I sit testamente bestemte hun, at gården skulle følge Jomfruklosterets patroner, og den kaldtes derefter Patrongaarden. Hendes broder, patronen Preben Brahe, benyttede gården, mens hans efterfølger, patronessen Caroline Agnese Raben, gift Bille (fra 1788 Bille-Brahe) derimod boede i Vindegade med sin familie, når de ikke var på Egeskov. Siden var Patrongaardens hovedbygning altid udlejet til en eller to familier af Odenses højere embedsstand. Odense Bys Museer.*

*In 1737, Susanne Brahe, Patroness of Jomfruklosteret from 1736, married landowner Frederik Hein of Stensgaard near Faaborg. In 1745 he bought the large house north of Jomfruklosteret, which filled the whole corner and stretched a good distance down Adelgade. The house had belonged to the Rosenvinge family, who received a large plot in the Bishop's Palace street block when Frederik II moved away. Susanne Brahe and Hein lived both here and at Østrupgaard, and Susanne Brahe also used the house from the time she became a widow in 1751 until her death in 1760. In her will she determined that the house should follow the Patrons of Jomfruklosteret, and it was thereafter called Patrongaarden. Her brother, the Patron Preben Brahe, used the house, while his successor, Patroness Caroline Agnese Raben, who married into the Bille family (from 1788 Bille-Brahe), lived in Vindegade Street with her family when they were not at Egeskov Castle. Since then the main building at Patrongaarden was always rented out to one or two families from among Odense's higher functionaries. City of Odense Museums.*



Af de 85 frøkener, der fik plads som klosterjomfruer, blev 18 gift, enkelte i moden alder, men det vides ikke, om nogle af de øvrige frøkener havde en eller flere friere, som blot ikke blev accepteret af forældrene eller af patronen.

At rykke op som klosterjomfru betød som nævnt ikke nødvendigvis, at man flyttede ind på Jomfruklosteret. En del af frøkenene havde kun pladsen ganske få år, før de blev gift, og de fleste blev boende hos deres familie indtil bryllupsdagen. Det gjaldt navnlig dem, der blev indsat i Plads IV, VII og VIII, som to grene af Scheel-slægten rådede over.

### Rokokobryllup

I 1744 stod en frøkens bryllup på selve Jomfruklosteret, hvilket formentlig er den eneste gang, det er sket. Fra slutningen af 1600-tallet anså adelen det for vulgært at blive gift i kirken og kunne derfor få kongelig tilladelse til at blive viet hjemme "på salen" eller "i stuen", som det hed. Da adelen var fritaget for lysning i kirken, blev brylluppet en helt privat begivenhed.

Bruden var den 22-årige frøken Geromine Henriette de Lamare (le Maire), datter af en oberst, der ifølge et skrift og et brev i biblioteket kendte både Anne Brahe og Karen Brahe. Frøken Geromine og hendes søster blev forældreløse, og i 1737 fik de 3.000 rdl hver af deres mormoders søster, Margrete von Levetzau. Hun var enke efter en general, der var besvogret med fire klosterjomfruer, to Arenfeldter og to Pentzer. Generalinden var meget velhavende, og da hun havde mistet sine børn, skænkede hun store gaver til forskellige institutioner i Odense, blandt andet 3.000 rdl til Jomfruklosteret. Det oplyses ikke, om det var til oprettelse af en plads, men Jomfruklosteret har måske oprettet en, som patronerne selv kunne råde over på samme måde som over patronpladserne.

Frøken Geromine var svagelig og fik derfor yderligere 5.000 rdl af generalinden, og i 1744, da hun var 22 år, blev der købt en plads til hende i Jomfruklosteret. Frøkenen flyttede ind i maj, men hendes frøkenstand blev kort: En person af hendes stand, som fundatsen



*I 1869 blev Patrongaarden solgt til Odenses katolske menighed, der indrettede den store baroksal med høje vinduer ud mod Torvet til kapel. Siden 1908 har St. Albani Kirke, præstegård og sognekantor ligget på grunden. Odense Bys Museer.*

*In 1869, Patrongaarden was sold to the Catholic congregation in Odense, who converted the large baroque hall with high windows facing the Square into a chapel. Since 1908, St. Albani Church, presbytery and parish office has lain on the site. City of Odense Museums.*

institutions in Odense, including 3000 rixdollars to Jomfruklosteret. It is not stated whether this was for the establishment of a place, but Jomfruklosteret may have established one for the use of the Patrons in the same way as the patronal places.

Miss Geromine was of delicate health, and for this reason received a further 5000 rixdollars from the general's wife, and in 1744, when she was 22, a place was purchased for her at Jomfruklosteret. Geromine moved in in May, but her time as a convent lady was a short one. A man of her station, as the trust deed demanded, Major Heidenreich Cramohn, proposed to her, and they were married in December of the same year. No other resident of the Convent was there for such a short period.

The Major was a good friend of the poet Ambrosius Stub, who threw off a fine little rococo fragment, a

*Allerede ved en kort undersøgelse i 1977 var der afdækket et stykke af vægbemalingen i rum 105. Ved restaureringen blev væggen vasket ned som klargøring til efterbehandling, og motivet kom til syne på stort set hele væggen. Det blev derfor besluttet at afdække og konservere den maledede dekoration, som skal forestille tapet. Her er konservatorholdet fra Nationalmuseet i gang med det minutiøse arbejde. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

forlangte, major Jørgen Heidenreich Cramohn friede, og i december samme år blev de gift. Ingen anden har været så kort tid i klosteret.

Majoren var gode venner med digteren Ambrosius Stub, der er mester for et fint lille glimt af rokoko, en couplet "Til Major Cramohn, just som han kørte forbi et vist lystigt Selskab med sin Brud, Frøken L'Amare, fra Closteret i Odense":

Ved vinen den klare  
Her skænkes i nu  
Den lille la Mare  
bør kommes i hu;  
Du, Closterets Due,  
Fløy parret herfra;  
Af Frøken bliv Frue,  
Af Frue Mama!

Den svagelige frøken blev snart mor, og to år senere boede parret i Assens med en lille dreng på et år. De oplyste til de såkaldte Stiftsrelationer, en undersøgelse af adelen i hele Danmark-Norge, at de begge var af gammel adelig familie på fædrene og mødrene side.

Den gamle generalinde Dewitz døde kort efter, at hun havde købt pladsen i Jomfruklosteret, og først to år senere blev den besat for anden gang, sådan som hendes arvinger havde ret til. Den nye frøken var Marie Hedvig Pentz, som man ikke ved andet om, end at hun blev priorinde 33 år senere. Derefter hjemfaldt generalindens indskud og besættelsesret ifølge bestemmelserne til klosteret, men pladsen blev nedlagt. Tiderne var igen skiftet. Der var ikke længere så stærkt brug for Jomfruklosteret, og der var i forvejen tomme pladser.

## **Ideal og virkelighed**

Ét var Karen Brahes smukke tanke bag stiftelsen af Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster til otte ubemidlede jomfruer, noget andet var virkeligheden.

Der blev ikke oprettet otte pladser i Karen Brahes levetid, og der boede kun tre, måske fire jomfruer på

couplet "To Major Cramohn, as he rode by a certain merry company with his bride Miss L'amare, from the Convent in Odense":

Ved vinen den klare  
Her skænkes i nu  
Den lille la Mare  
bør kommes i hu;  
Du, Closterets Due,  
Fløy parret herfra;  
Af Frøken bliv Frue,  
Af Frue Mama!

With wine so clear we fill our glass – spare a thought for little la Mare; you, convent dove, flew off with your mate; from Miss, become Madame, from Madame, Mama!

The weakly young lady did soon become a mother – two years later the couple were living in Assens with a little boy of one year. They informed the so-called Stiftsrelationer, a survey of the nobility of Denmark and Norway, that they were both of old noble families on both sides.

The widow died shortly after buying the place for her grandniece at Jomfruklosteret, and it was two years before it was occupied for the second time, according to her heirs' entitlement. The new lady was Marie Hedvig Pentz, of whom nothing more is known than that she became Prioress 33 years later. After this, the widow's deposit and right of installation reverted to the Convent, in accordance with the regulations, but the place was abolished. Times had changed yet again, and there was no longer such a pressing need for Jomfruklosteret, which already had spare places.

## **Ideal and reality**

One thing was Karen Brahe's noble intentions in founding the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen for the use of eight unmarried ladies without means, but the reality was another.

*A section of the wall painting in room 105 was exposed already during a brief investigation in 1977. During the restoration, the wall was washed down as preparation for finishing, and the motif emerged on virtually the entire wall. It was therefore decided to expose and preserve the painted decoration, which was to look like wallpaper. Here the restoration team from the National Museum is in the middle of the thorough work. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*





*Prospect af Odense, tagen fra den sönder Side, Anno 1756. Af Johann Jacob Bruun. Jomfruklosteret er blandt de kun ni navngivne bygninger på prospektet. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

*Painting of Odense, seen from the south, Anno 1756. By Johann Jacob Bruun. The Secular Convent for Noblewomen is one of the only nine named buildings in the painting. Royal Library.*

klosteret. Når tallet er usikkert, er det fordi den ene frøkens indflytningsår ikke kendes. I det hele taget er oplysningerne om Jomfruklosteret sparsomme i Karen Brahes tid, og de begynder først at flyde lidt rigeligere med de første, bevarede, men enkle regnskabsbøger fra 1738. Her nævnes flere navne, men kun tilfældigt i forbindelse med noget aktuelt som for eksempel en reparation i eller uden for værelset, og det er endda noget usikkert, for der boede flere med samme efternavn på klosteret, samtidig eller lidt forskudt. Kun ved en minutøs kortlægning af hver enkelt frøkens årstal og familieforhold kan man få en nogenlunde pålidelig liste over beboerne.

Underligt nok viste det sig, at der ikke var den store interesse for Karen Brahes adelige projekt, måske fordi oprettelse af en plads kostede en stor sum. Hun åbnede ganske vist muligheden for at stille garanti, men pengene var immervæk bundet, og dertil kom, at pladsens ejer yderligere skulle betale indskrivningspenge. Det var ikke, fordi Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster var i konkurrence med og måske mindre attraktivt end andre klostre, for de næste blev først stiftet midt i 1730'erne.

The eight places were not established in Karen Brahe's lifetime, and only three, or maybe four ladies lived at the Convent. If the number is uncertain, it is because the year in which one of the ladies moved in is not known. Generally speaking, information about Jomfruklosteret is scanty in Karen Brahe's time, and only starts to become slightly more abundant with the first preserved simple account books from 1738. Here several names are mentioned, but only by chance in connection with some matter of business, for example a repair in or outside a room, and even here the information could be uncertain, as several people with the same surname lived at the Convent, either at the same time or within a short interval. Only by minutely following each lady's date of entry and family situation is it possible to arrive at a more or less reliable list of residents.

Strangely enough, there proved to be little interest for Karen Brahe's aristocratic project, perhaps because establishing a place cost so much. The deeds offered the possibility of merely providing a guarantee, but the money was still tied up, and on top of this the owner



**Frøkener, der boede på  
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster,  
inklusive priorinden**

1746	8	1906	3
1758	11*	1911	4
1761	8	1916	4
1769	6	1921	3 **
1787	5	1926	3
1801	4	1930	3
1834	4	1935	2
1840	7	1940	3
1845	7	1945	1***
1850	5	1950	1***
1855	4	1955	2
1860	4	1960	1****
1870	6	1965	1
1880	4	1970	1
1890	3	1972	1
1901	3		

\* Optalt før marts 1758. Efter fire dødsfald og en indflytning var der ved årets udgang ni personer

\*\* En logerende (lærerinde) boede på førstesalen 1921-1973

\*\*\* Kun en frøken, ingen priorinde

\*\*\*\* Kun priorinden. Det sidste år inden nedlæggelsen boede her desuden en slægtning af hende, ligesom den ovennævnte logerende på førstesalen også havde en slægtning boende

**Ladies who lived at Odense Secular  
Convent for Noblewomen,  
including the Prioress**

1746	8	1906	3
1758	11*	1911	4
1761	8	1916	4
1769	6	1921	3 **
1787	5	1926	3
1801	4	1930	3
1834	4	1935	2
1840	7	1940	3
1845	7	1945	1***
1850	5	1950	1***
1855	4	1955	2
1860	4	1960	1****
1870	6	1965	1
1880	4	1970	1
1890	3	1972	1
1901	3		

\* Count prior to March 1758. After four deaths and one occupation of a place, there were nine persons at the end of the year.

\*\* A schoolmistress lived as a lodger on the first floor 1921-1973

\*\*\* Only a lady, no Prioress

\*\*\*\* Only the Prioress. The final year before closure, one of the old lady's relatives lived with her. The above-mentioned lodger on the first floor also had a relative to stay.

Der blev heller ikke indskrevet ret mange frøkener på ventelisten. Der kan være huller i materialet, men indtil 1742 var det kun fem, hvoraf to søstre kom ind, en i 1740 og en i 1758, ni år efter den første søsters død. I resten af 1740'erne blev indskrevet i alt fjorten frøkener, to eller tre søstre ad gangen, hvoraf seks kom ind. De øvrige blev gift, døde eller opgav pladsen. Alt i alt blev der fra 1717 til 1903 indskrevet 64 eller 65 frøkener, og sytten af dem nåede at få plads.<sup>13</sup>

Allerede fra 1758 stod pladser ubenyttede i årevis, hvilket må være en konsekvens af, at hver frøkens indskrivningspenge skulle forrentes til en sum svarende til

of the place also had to pay the enrolment fee. It was not as if Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen was in competition with and maybe less attractive than other secular convents, because the next ones were not founded until the 1730's.

Nor were many young ladies entered on the waiting list. The documentation may have gaps, but until 1742 there were only five on the waiting list, of whom two sisters came in, one in 1740 and one in 1758, nine years after the first sister's death. During the rest of the 1740's, a total of 14 ladies were enrolled, two or three sisters at a time, of whom six came in. The



others married, died or surrendered their places. All in all, from 1717 to 1903, 64 or 65 ladies were enrolled, and of these, 17 managed to receive a place.<sup>13</sup>

As early as 1758, places were left empty for years at a time, which must be due to insisting that each lady's enrolment fee increase in value to the cost of a place before she could be promoted to conventual.

It was not necessary to save up for the patronal places, but strangely enough, even these were unoccupied for long periods. From 1772, one patronal place was unoccupied for 11 years – or 17 years, as one person's promotion year is unknown. Subsequently this place was regularly occupied for around 100 years, but in 1874 completely fell out of use. It had thus been empty for 100 years when Jomfruklosteret closed down. Another patronal place was empty from 1816 to 1856, after which one lady had it for 35 years and the next lady for 65 years until the Convent closed down.

It gives pause for thought that the Patrons were unable to find subjects who needed a home and life suited to their station. The need for support and provision was not just a passing phenomenon to which Karen Brahe had spontaneously reacted. In the first decades of the 18th century, the problem grew even greater than when she founded the secular convent.

The needs are clearly apparent in the so-called *Stiftsrelationer*, which in 1746-1747 surveyed all the nobility of Denmark and Norway.<sup>14</sup> These contain the most heart-rending stories, related by the local authorities or the noble persons themselves about members of the old families, successors of previous kings' favourites, officers' widows and retired officers – bachelors and widowers, young women and aged spinsters. They lived with relatives, in rooms in the homes of strangers or in small rented cottages in the country. Some lived on a diminutive royal pension granted for a long-dead father's services at war, some on a small legacy, some on trifling sums from relatives, while others were practically destitute. But they all had their pride: they were of noble birth. Many emphasised that they were of the "old nobility", and if they did not

prisen for en plads, før hun kunne oprykkes til klosterjomfru.

Der skulle imidlertid ikke spares op til patronpladserne, men også disse pladser var mærkeligt nok ubesatte i lange perioder. Fra 1772 var en patronplads ubesat i elleve år – eller sytten år, den enes oprykningsår kendes ikke. Derefter var denne plads flittigt besat i omkring hundrede år, men gik i 1874 helt ud af brug. Den havde således været tom i hundrede år, da Jomfruklosteret blev nedlagt. En anden patronplads var ubesat fra 1816 til 1856, hvorefter en frøken havde den i 35 år og den næste frøken i 65 år, indtil klosteret blev nedlagt.

Det er tankevækkende, at patronerne ikke kunne finde nogen, som trængte til en standsmæssig bolig og levevis. Behovet for støtte og forsørgelse var nemlig ikke et forbigående fænomen, som Karen Brahe havde reageret spontant på. Det voksede sig i de første årtier af 1700-tallet endnu større, end da hun stiftede klosteret.

Behovet aflæses tydeligt i de såkaldte Stiftsrelationer, som i 1746-1747 opgjorde alle af adel i Danmark-Norge.<sup>14</sup> Her findes de mest hjerteskerende historier, fortalt af den stedlige myndighed eller adelspersonerne selv: Om medlemmer af de gamle familier, efterkommere efter tidligere kongers yndlinge, officersenker og afdankede officerer – ugifte og enkemænd, unge kvinder og ældgamle pebermøer. De boede hos slægtninge, på værelser i fremmedes hjem eller i små lejhuse på landet. Nogle levede af en diminutiv kongelig pension, givet for en længst afdød faders fortjenester i krig, nogle af et lille legat, nogle af lidt penge fra slægtninge, mens andre var nærmest subsistensløse. Men de havde alle deres stolthed: De var af adel. Mange understregede “af gammel adel”, og havde de ikke selv adelspatenterne, kunne de på stående fod gøre rede for flere slægtled på begge sider eller fortælle om deres egne eller deres forfædres tjeneste for de danske konger. Rundt om i landet levede fædre, mødre og søskende til frøkener i Jomfruklosteret på den måde. Og det var måske humlen: At de, der havde størst behov, ikke var i stand til at



*Detaljer fra østfløjen, der er opført ca. 1749 i bindingsværk med murede tavler. Under restaureringen kom den røde farve frem under mange lag hvid kalk. 2013 Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Details from the east wing, which was built around 1749 using a timber frame construction with masonry panels. The red colour under many layers of white limestone emerged during the restoration. 2013 Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

have the patents of nobility themselves, they could recite their ancestry for several generations back on both sides, or relate their own or their forefathers' services for the Danish kings. Round about the country, fathers, mothers and siblings of ladies at Jomfruklosteret were in this situation. And this was perhaps the heart of the problem: the people who had the greatest need were unable to enrol all their daughters, or maybe even one daughter, and even less able to establish places.

As mentioned, in the mid-18th century there were at one time 11 places, because, according to the trust deed, as many could be established as there was money for, but as not all the places – not even the patronal places – were occupied at any one time, the house never became crowded. Some of the places were subsequently abolished. Place X was used for 30 years, until the lady became Prioress, after which it was

## Pladser og værelser

At blive klosterjomfru var ikke ensbetydende med, at man flyttede ind på Jomfruklosteret. Fra slutningen af 1700-tallet valgte flere og flere at bo andre steder og blot modtage årpengene som hæving. De gik glip af værdien af logi, kost, varme og lys. Til gengæld sparede klosteret disse udgifter, for værelserne blev ikke givet til andre: Til en plads hørte et værelse, og frøkenen kunne jo ombestemme sig og flytte ind. Det gjorde nogle frøkenener, der havde boet hos forældre eller søskende, som nu var døde.

Der hørte dog ikke ét bestemt værelse, senere en toværelses lejlighed, til den enkelte plads. Den kabale ville ikke kunne gå op. En plads var imaginær og bestod i retten til Jomfruklosterets ydelser, mens den konkrete bolig var det eller de rum, der var ledige, når frøkenen blev oprykket. Desuden hændte det, at en frøken fik lov at flytte til andre værelser, som hun syntes bedre om.

Man kan derfor ikke umiddelbart forbinde alle værelser gennem de godt 250 år med et navn. Det ville ellers have været interessant og øget forståelsen for de forandringer, der gennem tiden er sket i de forskellige rums dekoration og udstyr.

## Places and rooms

Becoming a conventual was not the same as moving into Jomfruklosteret. From the end of the 18th century, more and more chose to live elsewhere, and merely to accept the allowance as an annuity. They would lose the value of the accommodation, food, heating and lighting. On the other hand, the Convent would save these expenses, as the rooms were not given to others: each place had a room attached to it, and the lady might of course change her mind and move in. This was done by some ladies, who had lived with parents or brothers and sisters who were now dead.

However, the individual places were not assigned to a particular room or, later, a particular two-room apartment. That would have been impossible to arrange. A place was an imaginary concept and consisted of the right to the Jomfruklosteret's services, while the actual apartment was the room or rooms which were available when the lady was promoted. It also sometimes happened that a lady was allowed to move to other rooms which she liked better.

It is thus impossible to connect all rooms with a definite name during the more than 250 years of Jomfruklosteret's existence. This would otherwise have been of great interest and increased our understanding of the changes which occurred over the years to the different rooms' decoration and woodwork.

indskrive alle døtre eller bare én og endnu mindre til at oprette pladser.

Midt i 1700-tallet var der som nævnt en overgang elleve pladser, for ifølge fundatsen kunne der oprettes lige så mange, som der var penge til, men da ikke alle pladser – heller ikke patronpladserne – var besat på én gang, var der ikke på noget tidspunkt trængsel i huset. Nogle af pladserne blev nedlagt igen: Plads X blev benyttet i 30 år, indtil frøkenen blev priorinde, hvorefter den blev nedlagt, og Plads XI fungerede kun nogle få år, til den først indsatte døde.

abolished, and Place XI only functioned for a few years until the first conventual died.

Although information about some of the first ladies' year of occupation is lacking, their names and year of death are known, and thus a complete list of everyone who was promoted to conventual and those who lived at Jomfruklosteret can be compiled. From 1746, the list can be reconstructed in its entirety from Jomfruklosteret's own books, topographical descriptions, directories and censuses. The first census took place in 1769. Subsequently a generation would







*Rum 217 i vestgavlen før restaureringen. Det sidste lag tapet var meget simpelt, men har været helt dækket af malerier og stik. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*Room 217 in the west gable end before the restoration. The last layer of wallpaper was very simple, but has been completely covered by paintings and engravings. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

Skønt oplysningerne om nogle af de første frøkeneres indflytningsår mangler, kendes deres navne og dødsår, og således kan der opstilles en komplet liste over alle, der blev oprykket til klosterjomfruer og de af dem, der boede i Jomfruklosteret. Fra 1746 kan listen fuldstændig rekonstrueres ud fra Jomfruklosterets egne bøger, topografiske beskrivelser, vejvisere og folketællinger. Den første folketælling fandt sted i 1769. Derefter var der en generation mellem de tre næste, men trods disse huller hænger oplysningerne sammen, fordi nogle frøkener boede på klosteret i flere årtier. Når alt er stykket sammen, viser det sig, at kun nogle få af de i alt 85 frøkener, der blev oprykket til klosterjomfruer, i virkeligheden har haft deres hjem på Jomfruklosteret, og at tallet begyndte at falde allerede sidst i 1700-tallet. De øvrige boede andre steder og modtog blot årpenge som hæving. Man kan ikke lægge de nedenstående

pass between the next three, but despite these gaps, the information is satisfactory because some ladies lived at the Convent for decades. With all the records pieced together, it can be seen that only a few of the total of 85 ladies who were promoted to conventuals actually had their home at Jomfruklosteret, and the number began to fall as early as the late 18th century. The others lived elsewhere and received their allowance as an annuity. The following figures cannot be added together, as some ladies lived in the Convent for up to 60 years, and in that time experienced others moving in, living in the house for some years and then leaving or dying.

### **The ladies' rooms**

The many rooms on the first floor were not always there, but when the owners of the Bishop's Palace began



*Den modsatte ende af rum 217, med bræddevæggen fra første del af 1700-tallet. Brystpanelerne med enkle fyldinger blev opsat lidt senere for at isolere og pynte. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.*

*The opposite end of room 217, with the partition wall from the first part of the 18th century. The dados with simple panels were set up a little later to insulate and adorn. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*

tal sammen, for nogle frøkener boede i klosteret helt op til 60 år, og oplevede i den tid, at andre flyttede ind, levede i huset nogle år og derefter gik bort.

### **Frøkenernes værelser**

De mange værelser på førstesalen har ikke altid været der, men hvornår Bispegaardens ejere begyndte at opdele de to oprindelige store rum, er svært at konstatere. Før de to nuværende, såkaldt italienske trapper blev indsat, skal adgangen til overetagen i en periode have været et udvendigt trappetårn midt på facaden, med indgang i det gennemgående rum, 104, omtrent midt i huset.

Det er heller ikke til at sige, om det var Karen Brahe eller hendes efterfølger som patronesse, Susanne Brahe, der lod de nuværende værelser indrette. Set

to divide up the two original large rooms is hard to tell. Before the two existing so-called Italian staircases were inserted, access to the first floor must at some period have been via an external staircase tower in the centre of the facade, entering the transversal room, 104, approximately at the centre of the house.

There is no way of telling whether it was Karen Brahe or her successor as Patroness, Susanne Brahe, who had the present rooms constructed. From the viewpoint of previous generations, and bearing in mind how the house was used, the Bishop's Palace was an excellent building with many attractive large rooms, and this is probably how Karen Brahe saw it. In her time there was room on the ground floor for the three, maybe four conventuals, especially if the two later stairwells are included in the floor area. According to the trust deed, the ladies should only have one room,

med de foregående generationers øjne og ud fra den måde, hvorpå boligen blev brugt, var Bispegaarden et godt hus med mange dejlige, store rum, og sådan har Karen Brahe nok også betragtet den. I hendes tid var der plads nok i stueetagen til de tre, måske fire klosterjomfruer, især hvis de to senere trapperum regnes med. Ifølge fundatsen skulle jomfruerne kun have ét kammer, og det er endda uklart, om de fik et hver eller skulle dele et. Det sidste var almindeligt, og selv på Københavns Slot sov hofjomfruerne sammen to og to. Klosteret sørgede for "seng og hvad andre møbler, der behøves i deres kammer for dem og deres piger". Der

and it is even unclear whether they each received a room or had to share one. The latter possibility was a common one, and even at Copenhagen Castle, the ladies-in-waiting shared double rooms. The secular convent would provide a "bed and whatever other furniture is necessary in their chamber for them and their maids". There was one maid for every two ladies, so this may indicate that they shared a room and that the maid slept with them.

But – quite apart from style and fashion – lifestyles and thus house layouts changed at the start of the 18th century. The use of rooms became differentiated, so







var én pige til to jomfruer, så det kunne tyde på, at de delte et kammer, og at kammerpigen sov inde hos dem.

Men livsformen og dermed boligindretningen – helt bortset fra stil og mode – ændrede sig i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet. Brugen af rummene blev differentieret, så man ikke længere sov og spiste i samme rum, og man ønskede ikke længere at opholde sig sammen med andre i alle vågne timer. Boligen blev derfor ændret, så den enkelte kunne trække sig tilbage. Der skulle være længere mellem herskab og tjenestefolk, og i mange huse blev der indlagt korridorer og geheimetrapper, så al trafik ikke skulle gå gennem alle rum.

På Jomfruklosteret egnede de store rum i stueetagen sig ikke til den nye livsform, men der var til gengæld hele overetagen at gøre godt med. I syv af de femten rum på førstesalen har konservatorerne fundet rester af den samme bandebemaling af væggene, hvilket tyder på, at de er indrettet på én gang, men denne vægdekoration var længe populær og er vanskelig at datere præcist. Restaureringsarkitekterne har derfor brugt trapperne som udgangspunkt for dateringen af førstesalens indretning, idet de store trapper først da blev nødvendige: Ud fra forskellige stiltræk er de indsat i 1720'erne.

Dele af indretningen er dog nogle årtier yngre, og det kan være Susanne Brahe, der har stået for en

people no longer slept and ate in the same room and it was no longer felt desirable to spend all waking hours in the company of others. The house was therefore altered so that each person had a place in which to withdraw. There was now a greater distance between masters and servants, and in many houses corridors and backstairs were created so that traffic no longer passed through all the rooms.

At Jomfruklosteret, the large rooms on the ground floor no longer suited the new way of life, but, on the other hand, the whole first floor could be taken into use. In seven of the 15 rooms on the first floor, the conservators have found remains of the same striped painting of the walls, indicating that they were constructed at the same time. But this wall decoration was long popular, so it is hard to date it precisely. The conservation architects have therefore used the staircases for dating the creation of the first floor rooms, as it was only at this point that the large staircases became necessary. On the basis of various stylistic details, they are estimated as being from the 1720's. However, parts of the house layout are a few decades later, and it may have been Susanne Brahe who was responsible for a refurbishment. She was unmarried at the time of Karen Brahe's death, but was married the following year to Frederik Jensen Hein of Stensgaard near Faaborg. They lived both at





istandsættelse. Hun var ugift ved Karen Brahes død, men blev året efter gift med Frederik Jensen Hein til Stensgaard ved Faaborg. De boede dels på Østrupgaard, som hun havde arvet efter Karen Brahe, dels i hans gård i Odense, som lå nord for Jomfruklosteret. Efter at være blevet enke i 1751 tog hun fat på at modernisere det næsten middelalderlige Stensgaard og give opholdsrummene rokokopræg med blandt andet flere vinduer og stuklofter. Hun kan ligeledes – før eller efter – have syntes, at Jomfruklosteret trængte til en modernisering. Huset var vedligeholdt, fremgår det af regnskaberne, men dekorationen stammede fra begyndelsen af 1720'erne, og i nogle rum måske endda fra Jørgen Brahes og Preben Brahes tid. Desuden flyttede fem nye frøkener ind mellem 1740 og 1758, mens to af de allerførste frøkener stadig levede, så der var brug for at indrette flere rum.

Der har været rumsteret helt umådeligt på førstesalen gennem et par århundreder. Der er opbygget og flyttet skillevægge, opsat bryst- og lysningspaneler for komfortens skyld og indbygget alkover og skabe. Da den fælles husholdning blev ophævet i 1898, blev der indrettet køkkener med støbejernskomfurer, og køkkenerne er senere lavet lidt om. Hvad dekorationerne angår, er der ingen ende på, hvor mange gange de enkelte rum er sat i stand – enten fordi de trængte til det, eller fordi frøkenene trængte til det. Efter den første, ensartede dekoration er ikke to rum længere ens. Rummene har det mest forskelligartede udstyr, og flere af dem har været meget festlige med store mønstre og kraftige farver, ofte i sammensætninger, man nok ikke ville vælge i dag.

Der er i og for sig ikke noget specielt ved Odense Adelige Jomfruklosters interiører, for hvert lag repræsenterer det, der var mode på det pågældende tidspunkt, og som man kunne se i alle andre hjem hos adelen og det højere borgerskab. Det unikke er, at alle lagene stadig findes, så man kan oprulle flere hundrede års historie og – selvom der ikke kan sættes navne på alle rum i alle perioder – få et indblik i frøkenernes måde at indrette sig på.

Østrupgaard, which she had inherited from Karen Brahe, and in his house in Odense, which lay to the north of Jomfruklosteret. After becoming a widow in 1751, she started to modernise the almost medieval Steensgaard, and to give the reception rooms a rococo feel with more windows and plaster ceilings. She may similarly – at an earlier or later date – have felt that Jomfruklosteret needed modernisation. The house had been maintained, as can be seen from the accounts, but the decoration was from the beginning of the 1720's, and, in some rooms, maybe even from Jørgen Brahe's or Preben Brahe's time. Not only this but five new ladies moved in between 1740 and 1758 while two of the very first ladies were still alive, so it was necessary to create further rooms.

There were tremendous transformations on the first floor for a couple of centuries. Partition walls have been created and moved, dadoes and side casings have been installed as an amenity, and alcoves and cupboards have been inserted. When the common housekeeping was abandoned in 1898, kitchens with cast iron stoves were installed, and the kitchens were later altered slightly. With regard to decoration, there is no end to the number of times the rooms have been refurbished – either because they needed it or because the ladies needed it. Subsequent to the first, uniform decoration, no two rooms were ever the same again. The rooms were refurbished in widely differing ways, and some of them were very debonair, with bold patterns and strong colours, often in combinations one would not choose today.

In themselves, there is nothing unusual about the interiors at Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, as each layer represents what was in fashion at the time, and what could be seen in all other homes of the nobility and upper middle classes. The unique thing about them is that all the layers are still there, making it possible to roll back several hundred years of history and – even though it is impossible to put names to all the rooms at all periods – to gain an impression of the ladies' way of ordering their lives.

*Detalje af ovn i rum 204. Husets ovne er sat i stand og suppleret med historiske ovne af forskellige typer fra 1790'erne til midten af 1850'erne, så de svarer til den periode, som er valgt for det pågældende rum. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

*Detail of the stove in room 204. The wood burning stoves in the building have been restored and supplemented with historic stoves of various types from the 1790's to the mid-1850's, corresponding the period selected for that particular room. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*

## Arkaderummet

Hvem der har boet i det såkaldte Arkaderum, 206, indtil slutningen af 1780'erne vides ikke, men rummets udseende er ændret fuldstændig flere gange – ingen af de øvrige rum på førstesalen har haft så forskelligt udtryk i løbet af få årtier.

I 1785 blev den 38-årige frøken Johanne de Leth fra Sanderumgaard klosterjomfru. Hun kom fra en familie med fjorten søskende, og af de otte døtre var en død og tre for længst gift. Hendes fader var død et par år før, og hun boede nu på gården sammen med moderen og to ugifte søstre i 30'erne. Det var ikke nutidens Sanderumgaard, hvis hovedbygning er fra 1870'erne. Johan von Bülow, der købte gården efter moderens død i 1792, beskrev i sin dagbog det beskedne og meget forfaldne hus i ét stokværk, med små blyruder, der var sat fast og tætnet med gær og papir, og døre så lave, at man måtte bukke sig for at passere. Heller ikke haven havde nogen lighed med den nuværende, den var et morads.

Først da hjemmet blev opløst, indtog frøken de Leth sit værelse på Jomfruklosteret. Om hun flyttede ind i den festlige arkadedekoration og det røde brystpanel, ved man ikke, ej heller om det er hende, der har malet de små vignetter på panelet. Måske

fik hun lavet om allerede ved indflytningen. Konservatorerne anslår, at de bemalede trævægge blev dækket af lærred med papirtapet mellem 1780 og 1800, så det kan være frøken de Leth, der lod rummet udstyre – måske trængte hun efter 45 år på den forfaldne Sanderumgaard til at se på noget frisk og moderne.

Johanne de Leth boede her, indtil hun i 1808 blev priorinde og flyttede ned i stueetagen. Hun døde som 77-årig i 1825 og blev begravet i St. Knuds Kirke. I kirkebogen står, at der blev ringet – det blev der ellers ikke for hverken priorinder eller frøkener, sikkert på grund af udgiften til klokkeren.

Den ene af frøken de Leths ugifte søstre kom ind på Vemmetofte Adelige Jomfrukloster, men boede alligevel en periode hos en søster og svoger i Kerteminde. På Vemmetofte blev hun priorinde og var det til sin død, 97 år gammel.

Trods den beskedne økonomi fik de mange børn fra Sanderumgaard en fortrinlig ballast, og det gik dem alle godt. Det var et stort ansvar at være priorinde, størst på Vemmetofte, der havde jordegods og var langt mere kompliceret at administrere end Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, men de to søstre var gjort af solidt og holdbart stof.

*Arkaderummet illustrerer kompleksiteten i valget af hvilket af de mange lag, der skal stå fremme efter istandsættelsen. Det blev besluttet at vise laget oven på den oprindelige bandemaling og forneden det tredje lag, det røde illuderede panel, mens perioden med lærreder vises omkring loftstrappen. Resten af lærrederne med papirtapet og adskillige senere lag maling er konserverede og opbevares nu i magasin på Jomfruklosterets loft.*

*Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.*



