



The Arcade Room

Who lived in the so-called Arcade Room, 206, is not known before the end of the 1780's, but the room's appearance has changed completely several times – none of the other rooms on the first floor have had such different styles within the course of a few decades.

In 1785, the 38-year old Johanne de Leth of Sanderumgaard Manor became a conventional. She came from a family of 14 siblings, and of the eight daughters, one was dead and three had long been married. Her father had died a few years before, and she now lived at the manor together with her mother and two unmarried sisters in their thirties. This was not the present Sanderumgaard, whose main building dates from the 1870's. Johan von Bülow, who bought the manor after the mother's death in 1792, described it in his diary as a modest and very dilapidated house in one storey, with small leaded panes joined and sealed with yeast and paper, and doors so low that you had to bend to pass through them. The garden was also completely unlike the present one, and was just a bog.

Only when her home had been broken up did Miss de Leth take up her room at Jomfruklosteret. Whether she moved in with the brightly painted arcaded decorations and red dado is unknown, as is whether it was her who painted the small vignettes on the dado. Maybe she had already had the room

redecorated before moving in. The conservators estimate that the painted wooden walls were lined with canvas and wallpaper between 1780 and 1800, so it may have been Miss de Leth who had the room decorated – perhaps after 45 years at the dilapidated Sanderumgaard she needed to see something fresh and modern.

Johanne de Leth lived here until 1808 when she became Prioress and moved down to the ground floor. She died at the age of 77 in 1825 and was buried in St. Knud's Church. The church register states that the bells were rung – this was not otherwise done for Prioresses or ladies, no doubt because of the bell-ringer's fee.

One of Miss de Leth's unmarried sisters entered Vemmetofte Secular Convent for Noblewomen, but, even so, lived for a while with a sister and brother-in-law in Kerteminde. At Vemmetofte she became Prioress and remained so until her death at the age of 97.

Despite their modest finances, the many children from Sanderumgaard Manor received a solid upbringing and all of them did well. It was a big responsibility being Prioress, and even more so at Vemmetofte, which had landed estates and was far more complicated to administer than Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, but the two sisters were made of solid and durable stuff.

The wall canvases with wallpaper and several later coats of paint were conserved during the restoration of the Arcade Room and are now stored in the attic of Secular Convent for Noblewomen.

The free-hand painted arcades and pillars are left with tied sheaves and a trompe l'œil sky behind them.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

I østgavlen

Christiane Sophie Magdalene Mund flyttede ind i dette værelse, 208, som 34-årig, "efter at hun i 20 samfulde år havde været en værdig og elskværdig tantes alderdoms trøst og støtte kom hun i Odense Adelige Frøken Closter Ao 1771", fortæller en lang indskrift på hendes gravplade i Søndersø Kirke.

Det passer med konservatorernes datering af en nyindretning af rummet: Loftet blev pudset, der blev opsat bryst- og lysningspaneler med fyldinger, alt blev gråmalet, og der blev sat lærredsbetræk på overvæggene. Desuden blev der isat en ny dør til et rum ved trappen og skåret en tapetdør til et tilstødende rum. Det skete formentlig, efter at hendes nabo, frøken von Schleppegrell, var flyttet hen i vestgavlen.

Frøken Mund skrev et langt testamente, dateret Jomfruklosteret august 1785, fordi "jeg ved min tiltagende alder dagligen nærmer mig min fraskillelse" – hun mente fra jordelivet, skønt hun kun var 48 år. Frøkenen takkede sin svigerinde "for den kærlighed og godhed hun stedse har båret for mig."

Efter at gæld, regninger, begravelse og en lille rente til frøken Munds broder i Norge var betalt, skulle alt tilfalte en ung kvinde, der boede i svigerindens hus. Det var frøken Wibike Charlotte Trolle, der var klosterjomfru – i hvert fald på papiret – fra 1788, til hun blev gift i 1790. Og frøken Mund levede mod sin egen forventning endnu fjorten år, til 1799.





At the east gable end

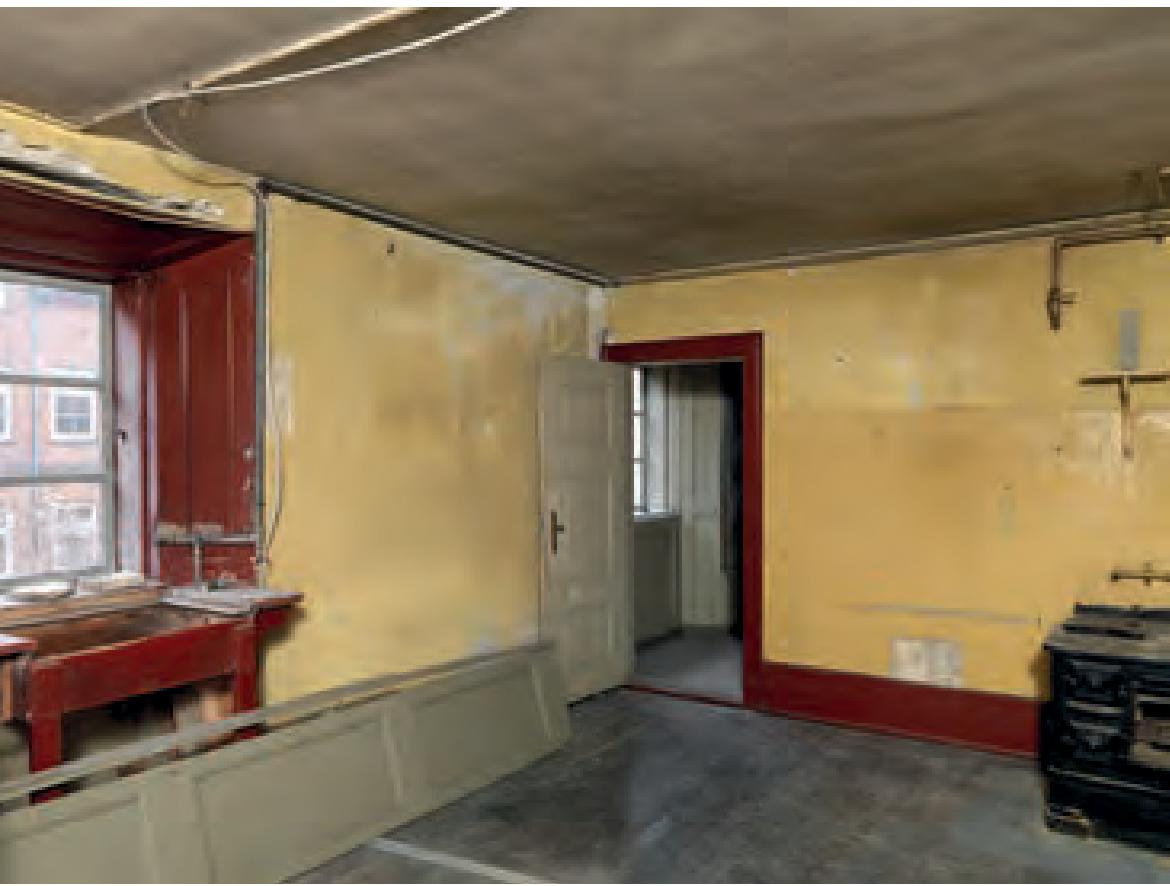
Christiane Sophie Magdalene Mund moved into this room, 208, at the age of 34, and “having for a full 20 years been the consolation and support of a worthy and lovable aunt in her old age, she moved to Odense Secular Convent for Unmarried Noblewomen in the year of our Lord 1771”, as a long inscription on her coffin plate states in Søndersø Church.

This matches the conservators’ dating of the refurbishment of the room: the ceiling was replastered, moulded dadoes and side casings were set up, the whole was painted in grey, and canvas lining was attached to the upper walls. A new door to a room by the staircase was also inserted, and a jib door into an adjacent room. This was presumably done after her neighbour, Miss von Schleppegrell, moved over to the west end.

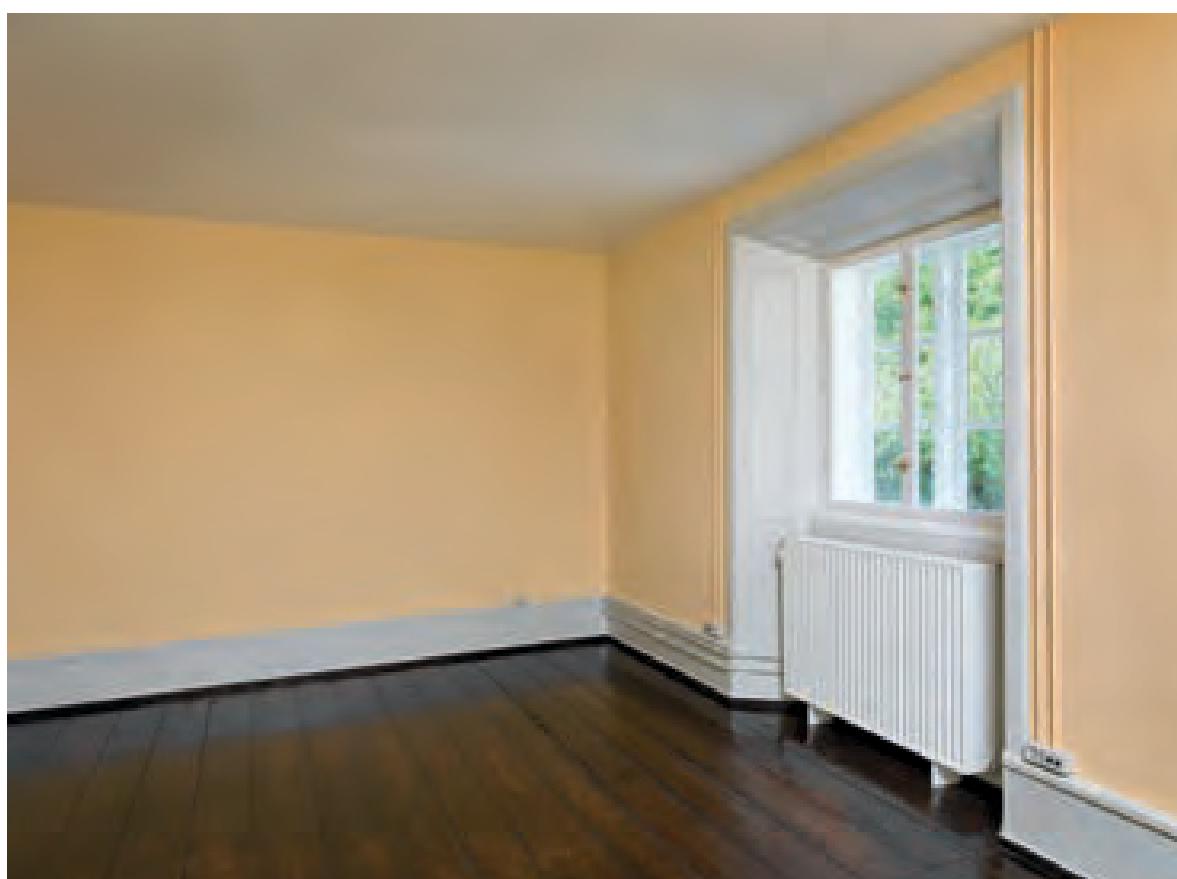
Miss Mund wrote a long will, dated at Jomfruklosteret in August 1785, because “I with my increasing age am daily approaching the time of my departure” – she meant from this life, even though she was only 48 years old. The lady thanked her sister-in-law “for the loving kindness she has always shown me”.

After paying for debts, bills, the funeral and a small pension to Miss Mund’s brother in Norway, everything was to go to a young woman who lived in the sister-in-law’s house. This was Miss Wibike Charlotte Trolle, who was a conventual – on paper at least – from 1788 until she married in 1790. And, contrary to her own expectation, Miss Mund lived another 14 years, until 1799.

*Room 208 before and after the restoration. The later modest room was decorated with a pattern to a large scale before canvas was put up in the 1770's.
Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*



Rum 202 før og efter restaurering. Det blev indrettet som køkken i 1898, da frøkenerne fik hver deres husholdning, med indbyggede skabe bag en ny skillevæg. Det lillebitte støbejernskomfur er nu istandsat, så det virker, og poleret med ovnsværte og Brasso, mens køkkenbordet med vask ved vinduet er fjernet. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.



Room 202 before and after the restoration. It was fit out as a kitchen in 1898, when the common household was abandoned, with built-in closets behind a new partition wall. The tiny cast iron cooking range has now been restored to work and polished with stove polish and Brasso, while the kitchen table with sink by the window has been removed.
Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



Rum 213 er et af de få, hvor et par af beboerne kendes, og den sidste af dem havde soveværelse her. Rummet stod formentlig

tomt fra 1891 til klosteret lukkede og var i meget dårlig forfatning. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

Frøkenerne i 1800-tallet

Der kunne være mange grunde til, at flere og flere frøkener fra begyndelsen af 1800-tallet ikke flyttede ind på Jomfruklosteret, når de blev oprykket til klosterjomfruer. De unge boede naturligvis hos forældrene, men det gjorde de ældre også og tog sig af gamle forældre. De hjalp gifte søstre og syge familiemedlemmer eller førte hus for ugifte brødre – de sagde jatak, når deres tur kom, men blev hvor de var og hævede blot årpengene.

Andre flyttede ind, når de blev ældre og forpligtelserne over for familien var afviklede. De få frøkener, der boede i Jomfruklosteret i dets sidste hundrede år, flyttede først ind i moden alder, længe efter opryningen. Indtil da boede de hos forældrene – da det dengang lå i luften, at en af døtrene uanset egne ønsker skulle afstå fra at gifte sig for at tage sig af dem på deres gamle dage. En af patronpladserne stod tom fra

The ladies in the 19th century

There might be many reasons why, from the beginning of the 19th century, more and more ladies failed to move into Jomfruklosteret when they were promoted to conventual. The young people would naturally live with their parents, but the older ones did so too, caring for their parents in their old age. They helped married sisters and sick family members or kept house for unmarried brothers – they accepted promotion when their turn came, but stayed where they were and merely drew on the allowance.

Others moved into the Convent when they too grew old and their duties towards their family were over. The few ladies who lived at Jomfruklosteret in its final 100 years moved in at a mature age, long after their promotion. Until that time they lived with their parents – it was an unwritten rule at the time that one of the daughters, regardless of her own wishes, would refrain



Room 213 is one of the few, where a couple of the residents are known, and the last of them had her bedroom here. The room

was probably empty from 1891 until the Convent was closed and in very poor condition. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

1816 til 1856, hvor en 44-årig frøken blev oprykket til den. Hun og en ugift søster boede imidlertid i Odense sammen med deres forældre, og der forblev hun. Efter deres død boede hun alene omkring fjorten år, før hun flyttede ind på Jomfruklosteret. Frøken von Fønss' liv var bundet endnu længere: Hun blev klosterjomfru som 40-årig i 1879, men blev hos forældrene i Grenå, hvor hun i folketællingen 1880 kaldes "husjomfru hos forældrene". Efter faderens død boede hun sammen med en ugift søster hos moderen. Først i 1918 flyttede hun ind på klosteret og døde der tre år senere, 82 år gammel.

I enkelte tilfælde ældedes en ugift søskendeflok sammen på den fædrene gård og deltog alle i egnens liv. De stod faddere til børn af godsets embedsmænd og større bønder, lod godsets kirker reparere og udsmykke, ligesom de udøvede den traditionelle velgørenhed. Selvom de ugifte søstre i flokken rykkede op

from marrying in order to look after them in their old age. One of the patronal places remained empty from 1816 to 1856, when a 44 year old lady was promoted to it. However, she and an unmarried sister were living in Odense with their parents at the time, and that is where she stayed. After the parents' death she lived alone for 14 years before moving into Jomfruklosteret. Miss von Fønss's life was tied up for even longer: she became a conventional at the age of 40 in 1879, but stayed with her parents in Grenå, where the census of 1880 describes her as a "housekeeper for the parents". After her father's death she and an unmarried sister lived with the mother. Only in 1918 did she move into the Convent, and died there three years later at the age of 82.

In some cases, an unmarried brood of brothers and sisters would all live together on their family manor and participate in local life. They would act as godparents to the children of the estate officials and



Loftbjælken langs ydervæggen i rum 213 var overtapetseret. Konservatorerne afdækkede den forsigtigt og genskabte den oprindelige dekoration, der var malet på frihånd. Foto: Roberto Fortuna. Modsatte side: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

som klosterjomfruer, på Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster eller et andet kloster, blev de i deres miljø.

Dertil kom, at patronerne og de andre indehavere af pladser oftere og oftere indsatte frækener, som de på forhånd vidste aldrig ville bosætte sig på Jomfruklosteret. De var måske allerede forlovede, som man dengang var i mange år, mens det store udstyr til et nyt hjem blev færdigt – eller de var i en alder, hvor ægteskab stadig var en mulighed og trivedes i deres miljø og dets sociale liv. Nogle havde måske ikke lyst til at bo i Odense eller i det gamle hus. Og mange yngre kan være veget tilbage for tanken om at bo sammen med en lille flok midaldrende og meget gamle damer og spise sammen med dem to gange om dagen.

Alt i alt var der ikke mange liebhavere til en bolig på Jomfruklosteret, men kun ganske få sagde nej tak til hævingen, når de blev oprykkede. Når patronerne eller pladsernes indehavere indsatte en ung, måske endda velhavende frøken, var det jo netop også for at få hævingen og ikke boligen. Denne trafik var til fordel for klosteret, hvis økonomi det meste af dets levetid var

The ceiling beam along the outer wall in room 213 was wallpapered. The conservators stripped it carefully and recreated the original decoration, which was painted in freehand. Photo: Roberto Fortuna. Opposite page: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

the more important farmers, have the estate churches repaired and ornamented, and practise the traditional forms of charity. Even though the unmarried sisters might be promoted to conventuals at Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen or elsewhere, they would remain in their environment.

Another aspect is that the Patrons and other owners of places would more and more frequently install ladies whom they knew in advance would never take up residence at Jomfruklosteret. They were perhaps already engaged, a state which could last for many years in those days while making the elaborate preparations for a new home – or they were of an age where marriage was still a possibility and were happy in their environment and social life. Perhaps some had no desire to live in Odense or in the old house. And many younger girls may have recoiled at the idea of living with a small group of middle-aged or very old ladies, and eating with them twice a day.

Generally speaking, there were few takers for an apartment at Jomfruklosteret, but hardly any refused the annuity when they were promoted. When the Patrons or the owners of the places installed a young, perhaps even wealthy, lady, it was for the sake of the annuity and not the apartment. These transactions were to the benefit of the Convent, which had rickety finances for most of its existence. True, the allowance had to be paid, but the finances would have been even poorer if all the conventuals had lived at the house, and required food, lighting, heating, laundry and lady's maids.

But the fact that the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen had developed into what was suspiciously like a charity fund would have surprised Karen Brahe greatly. Her primary aim had been to put a roof over the heads of unmarried ladies who had nowhere else to go.

Shadowy figures

Though it might be thought that there would be written sources for the life histories of the ladies before and after their entry to the Convent as we move through





dårlig. Årpengene skulle ganske vist udredes, men økonomien ville have været endnu ringere, hvis alle klosterjomfruer havde boet i huset og skulle have kost, lys, varme, vask og kammerjomfruer.

Men det, at Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster havde udviklet sig til noget, der betænkeligt lignede en pengestiftelse, ville have undret Karen Brahe såre, hendes øjemed var jo primært at skaffe tag over hovedet til jomfruer, der ikke havde andre steder at være.

Skyggetanter

Selvom man skulle tro, at der ville være kilder til frøkenernes livsløb før og efter deres indtrædelse i klosteret, når vi kommer op i 1800-tallet, har meget få af dem efterladt spor. De har ikke selv efterladt sig erindringer.

the 19th century, very few of them have left any trace. None of them left memoirs. They would undoubtedly have written letters – this was the golden age of letter-writing – but if these letters still exist, they have not found their way to the archives. Nor were any portraits of them made, and though they would probably have had personal photographs taken for their visiting cards, as everyone else did, even people on a low income, these now lurk in dusty albums at the back of the shelf or in junkrooms, generally without a name attached. The ladies rarely figure in the many genealogical lists which the recent boom in interest for family history has thrown up. This is not because they had no descendants; other unmarried women are present in the family lists.

It is extremely uncommon for the ladies to be mentioned in the memoirs, diaries and letters of relatives

*Jomfruklosteret set fra Blegepladsen, engen på den modsatte side af Odense Å.
Akvarel af O.J. Rawert 1819. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.*

“Den 6. januar 1816 holdt Fyns guvernør, Hs. Højhed Prins Kristian [VIII], og hans gemalinde, Prinsesse Karoline Amalie, deres indtog i Odense. Den lille Prins Frederik [VII] fulgte med parret. Det blev en mærkedag i stiftshovedstadens historie, thi når man senere så tilbage på den, erkendte man, at Prins Kristian ved guvernements overtagelse havde indviet en ny æra i dens historie. (...)

Mens den store parade fandt sted hos guvernøren, holdt prinsessen modtagelse i sit audiensgemak, hvor damer af det fynske aristokrati og andre kvindelige notabiliteter fremstillede sig for hende. Først modtog hun som deputation fra Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster priorinden, der var ledsaget af de to ældste klosterfrøkener. Hds. Højhed erkyndigede sig om klosterets forhold og ytrede, at hendes fader, hertugen, hyppig havde omtalt det store bibliothek, Karen Brahes Bibliothek, som klostret var i besiddelse af.

’Iøvrigt,’ bemærkede hun smilende, ’giver jeg mig ikke af med bibliografiske studier.’

De tre klosterdamer var betagne af prinsessens skønhed og ynde, og den sidstnævnte egen-

skab anerkendte alle de damer, der modtoges i audiens af hende.”

“Den 28. Juni 1816 var en festdag for Odense: det var nemlig Prinsesse Karoline Amalies fødselsdag, og hun fyldte på denne det tyvende år. (...) Kl. 2 var der militærparade på Torvet. (...) Vinduerne i alle torvets bygninger og i det adelige jomfrukloster var besat af damer i lyse eller hvide dragter. Disses konversation, der hyppig afbrødes af latter, som ledsagedes af skælmske blik, drejede sig væsenlig om militæret. Borgervæbningen og dragonerne havde en fornemmelse heraf, og de anstrengte sig derfor af al kraft for at gøre et rigtig mandigt indtryk på det smukke køn, hvis beundring de forfængeligt eftertragtede.”

Brudstykker af en novelle, Slottet i Odense, fra 1910. Forfatteren har fået rigtigt fat i priorindens og klosterfrøkenernes høje placering i rangen, til gengæld er hans forestilling om Jomfruklosteret som ”et rosenflor af unge piger” helt ved siden af!

Thorsøe, Alex.: Slottet i Odense. Under Prins Kristian som Fyens Gouvernør. Historisk Novelle. Kbh. 1910.

De skrev uden tvivl breve – det var brevskrivningens guldalder – men hvis de stadig findes, har de ikke fundet vej til arkiverne. Der blev heller ikke udført portrætter af dem, og selvom de sikkert fik taget visitkortfotografier som alle andre, også folk med små indtægter, sidder de i dag i støvede albums bagest i reoler og på pulterkamre, som regel uden navn på. Frøkenerne er sjældent med i de mange genealogiske oversigter, som de senere års store interesse for slægtsforskning har frembragt. Det er ikke fordi de ikke fik efterkommere, for der optræder andre ugifte i familiene.

Det er yderst sjældent, at frøkenerne nævnes i slægtninges og familievenners erindringer, dagbøger og breve, skønt de efter tidens skik må være indbudt til alle livets begivenheder ligesom deres forældre, søskende og deres børn. Deres nærmeste slægtninge

and family friends, even though, after the custom of the time, they must have been invited to the events of life, in common with their parents, brothers and sisters and nephews and nieces. Their closest relatives did not live far off, as three of the four Prioresses from 1786 to 1856 were from Funen, and two of them had previously been conventuals for a score of years, and the last for ten or so years – and generally speaking there was a predominance of ladies from Funen manors.

But the ladies lived in the shadows and were “dead to the world”, almost like the Catholic nuns. This applies both to those who chose to live at Jomfruklosteret and those who made ends meet by drawing the allowance, either while staying with their family or alone with a maid-servant, as occurred in several cases, also in the other convents.

“On 6 January 1816, the Governor of Funen His Highness Prince Kristian [later Christian VIII], and his consort, Princess Karoline Amalie, made their entrance into Odense, with little Prince Frederik [later Frederik VII] accompanying them. This was a red-letter day in the history of the diocesan capital, as in retrospect it could be seen that Prince Kristian had in assuming the governorship inaugurated a new era in its history. (...)

While the grand parade was under way for the Governor, the Princess received guests in her audience chamber, at which ladies of the Funen aristocracy and other female notabilities paid their respects. First she received a deputation from the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen consisting of the Prioress and the two senior conventuals. Her Highness inquired as to the affairs of the Convent and observed that her father the Duke had frequently mentioned the large library, Karen Brahe's library, which the Convent had in its possession.

‘But for all that,’ she remarked with a smile, ‘I do not occupy myself with bibliographical studies.’

The three convent ladies were entranced with the Princess's beauty and grace, and the latter

quality was acknowledged by all the ladies who were received in audience by her.”

“June 28 1816 was a day of celebration for Odense: it was Princess Karoline Amalie's birthday, on which she reached the age of twenty years. (...) At two o'clock there was a military parade on the Square. (...) The windows of all the buildings on the Square and in the Secular Convent for Noblewomen were occupied by ladies in light-coloured or white costumes. Their conversation, often interrupted by laughter and accompanied by coquettish glances, centred largely on the military. The civic guards and dragoons seemed to perceive this, and consequently exerted themselves with all their might to make a truly manly impression on the fair sex, whose admiration they fondly sought.”

Extracts from a short story, *The Castle of Odense*, of 1910. The author has rightly gauged the high ranking of the Prioress and conventuals, but his idea of Jomfruklosteret as the home of “young girls in flower” is pure fantasy!

Thorsøe, Alex.: *The Castle of Odense. Under Prince Kristian as Governor of Funen. Historical Short Story*. Copenhagen 1910.

var ikke langt borte, tre af fire priorinder fra 1786 til 1856 var fynboer, to af dem havde forinden været klosterfrøkener i en snes år og den tredie i en halv snes år – og generelt var der overvægt af frøkener fra de fynske gårde.

Men frøkenerne var skyggetanter og som “døde for verden” næsten ligesom de katolske nonner. Det gælder både dem, der valgte at bo i Jomfruklosteret og dem, der blot hævede årpengene og brugte dem til at leve for, hos familien eller alene med en tjenestepige, som der er flere eksempler på, også fra de øvrige klostre.

Trods et stort detektivarbejde er det kun lykkedes at finde frøkenernes stamdata: Fødsels- og dødsår, forældre og søskende. Ved hjælp af fædrenes karriere, antallet af sønner og døtre og deres giftermål, familiens bopæl i København, i en købstad eller på en herregård,

Despite a great deal of detective work, it has only been possible to find the barest outlines of their lives: their year of birth and death, their parents and their brothers and sisters. By looking at the father's career, the number of sons and daughters and their marriages, the family's home in Copenhagen, in a market town or a manor house, whether the old people in the family lived in it and when the parents died, it is possible to create a kind of silhouette of the ladies. But this says nothing of their daily life at Jomfruklosteret, how they spent their time, who they associated with in Odense and elsewhere, or what they looked like and what they were like. For instance, we know nothing of their financial situation, which otherwise might explain why some of the rooms at Jomfruklosteret were better kept than others or provided with particularly expensive wall



om familiens gamle boede hos dem, og hvornår forældrene døde, kan der tegnes en slags silhouet af frøkenerne. Men det fortæller ikke, hvordan deres dagligliv var i Jomfruklosteret, hvad de fik tiden til at gå med, hvem der var deres omgangskreds i Odense og andre steder, og hvordan de selv så ud og var. Vi kender for eksempel ikke deres formueomstændigheder, som ellers kunne forklare, hvorfor nogle af rummene i Jomfruklosteret var mere velholdte end andre eller udstyrede med særlig dyre tapeter. Nogle har måske fået dem som gaver af familien, andre har haft formue eller har pludselig arvet – for som nævnt var alle lige, når indskrivningspengene var betalt, og Jomfruklosteret blandede sig ikke i frøkenernes privatøkonomi. Vi må lade os nøje med det lidt, vi kan gætte ud fra sporene i frøkenernes rum, og et par glimt af dem fra den litterære verden.

coverings. Some might have received them as gifts from the family, others may have had their own fortune or suddenly come into an inheritance – for, as previously mentioned, all were equal once the enrolment money was paid, and Jomfruklosteret did not pry into the ladies' private finances. We have to be content with the little we can guess from the evidence in the ladies' rooms and a few glimpses from the world of literature.

Lionised at Jomfruklosteret

The writer Hans Christian Andersen apparently visited Jomfruklosteret often when he was in Odense in the mid-1830's. His visits were possibly to the Prioress, Louise Catharine Sophie Heide, who grew up at Lavindsgaard Manor near Rønninge and was in her

Akvarel på silkepapir af Jomfruklosteret 1868-69. Ukendt oprindelse.
Odense Stadsarkiv.

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Watercolour on silk paper of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen 1868-69.
Unknown origin. Odense City Archives.



Jomfruklosteret set fra øen i Odense Å 1866. Taget på stald- og bryggersbygningen ses til højre for de tre søjlepopler, og til venstre for dem skimtes gavlen af et af de små huse ned mod åen langs Albanigade. Damerne nød deres eftermiddagsthe på bådebroen. Odense Bys Museer.

Jomfruklosteret seen from the island in Odense River in 1866. The roof of the western stable and brewhouse building is seen to the right of the fastigate poplars, and to their left the gable of one of the small houses in Albanigade, can be glimpsed. The ladies enjoyed their afternoon tea at the platform at the river bank. City of Odense Museums.

Feteret i Jomfruklosteret

H.C. Andersen kom tilsyneladende jævnligt på Jomfruklosteret, når han var i Odense i midten af 1830'erne. Besøgene gjaldt muligvis priorinden, Louise Catharine Sophie Heide, opvokset på Lavindsgaard ved Rønninge og nu først i fyrrerne. Men der var åbenbart også fælles samvær med de øvrige frøkener, for digteren fik en stor beundrerinde i en af frøkenerne, Christine Charlotte Louise von Schleppegrell, kaldet Louise. Hun var født 1774, kom i klosteret som 25-årig og døde der 50 år senere. I juni 1835 skrev han til en veninde: "En gammel klosterfrøken Schleppegrell, vist henved 60, sværmer for mig, hun er næsten forlæbt! I dag er jeg inviteret til hende i klosteret. Se, de gamle, kan jeg nok få! de se på det solide, men de unge! Ak, var man dog meget smuk, eller meget rig! O Gud bevares!"

early forties. But there was obviously also interaction with the other ladies, and the writer acquired a strong admirer in one of the ladies, Christine Charlotte Louise von Schleppegrell, called Louise. She was born in 1774, entered the Convent at the age of 25 and died there 50 years later. In June 1835, Andersen wrote to a female friend: "An old Miss Schleppegrell at the Convent, probably around 60 years old, makes much of me, she is almost infatuated! Today I am invited to her at the Convent. See, I can still attract the old people! They look at the solid foundation, whereas young people! Oh to be very beautiful or very rich! Heavens preserve us!"

In June 1836, Andersen wrote to a friend: "Last night I was with the Prioress at the Secular Convent, a very cultured lady. Miss Schleppegrell, who, as you know, showed me last year what she had never

H.C. Andersens erindring om Jomfruklosteret, med muren, den vestvendte del af haven og en gavl på stald- og bryggersbygningen ud mod gaden – tegningen er lavet efter hukommelsen, for han har fået vendt dens gavl forkert. Desuden har Andersen bemærket indefra, at vinduerne i Biblioteket var blændede bag ved bogskabene, men har senere ikke helt kunnet huske, hvordan det så ud udefra og derfor ikke trukket blyantsstregene op med pen. Odense By Museer.

The writer Hans Christian Andersen's memory of Jomfruklosteret, with the wall, the western-facing part of the garden and a gable of the stable and brewhouse building facing the street – the drawing is done from memory, as he has the gable at the wrong end. Also, Andersen had noticed inside that the windows in the Library were blocked off behind the bookcases, but later he could not quite remember how they looked from the outside, and has therefore not inked in his pencil strokes. City of Odense Museums.



I juni 1836 skrev Andersen til en ven: "I aftes var jeg hos priorinden i frøken klostret, en meget dannet dame. Frøken Schleppegrell, der, som De ved, viste mig i fjer, hvad hun endnu aldrig havde vist noget mandfolk, var klædt i blåt, den farve, som hun gav mig en sløjfe af i fjer da jeg rejste. Hun havde vist ventet at se sløjfen thi hun talte om 'den skønne riddertid, da ridderen sank for damens fod, sprang ned til løver' og andet sludder. Hun er gal! Pastor Bentzien hørte det og morede sig kosteligt, vi grinede ordentligt bag de tætte hække. Der var ellers stort dameselskab, alle sad de ved åen, pludseligt sprang tre gode karle ud i vandet og svømmede forbi, så flygtede hele klostrets besætning. 'Det ser ud som tritoner!' sagde frøken Schleppegrell." Det, frøkenen viste digteren, var sit soveværelse. Desværre kan vi ikke få det samme at se som H.C. Andersen, vi ved ikke, hvor hun boede.

Frøkenens passion varede ved. Et par år senere opholdt H.C. Andersen sig på Lykkesholm og skrev til en ven: "I Odense var jeg for et par dage siden, jeg boede hos Hancks; du kender vist af min beskrivelse en klosterfrøken, Schleppegrell, hun som gav mig, for et par år siden, en blå sløjfe, hun sagde til jomfru Hanck: "Gud, hvor De er lykkelig! De har ham". Jomfru Hanck

previously shown any man, was dressed in blue, the colour of the bow she gave me last year when I went away. She had no doubt expected to see the bow because she spoke of 'the wonderful age of chivalry when the knight knelt at his lady's feet, jumped down on lions' and such like balderdash. She is crazy! Pastor Bentzien overheard this and was much amused, and we laughed heartily behind the thick hedges. There was otherwise a large number of ladies present, all sitting down by the river, when suddenly three strapping fellows dived into the water and swam by, causing the whole convent contingent to take flight. 'They look like tritons!' said Miss Schleppegrell." What the lady showed the writer was her bedroom. Regrettably, we have not the advantages of Hans Christian Andersen, as we do not know which room she lived in.

The lady's passion did not wane. A few years later, Hans Christian Andersen was staying at Lykkesholm Manor, and wrote to a friend: "I was in Odense a few days ago and stayed at the Hancks; you are probably aware from my description of a conventional, Miss Schleppegrell, who gave me a blue bow a few years ago, and she said to Miss Hanck: "Heavens, how fortunate you are! You have him." Miss Hanck replied: "Yes, but



svarede: "Ja, men han er næsten ude hele dagen!!" – "De har ham dog om natten!" sagde nonnen. Var det ikke naivt?"

I 1839 skrev han til sin litterære veninde, jomfru Henriette Hanck om en udgivelse og bad hende fortælle frøken von Schleppegrell "at mit nye eventyr Rosen-Alfen bestemt er et eventyr hun vil synes om, skønt jeg forud hører at hun siger 'Uh, det er skrækkeligt!'"¹⁵

Det er selvfølgelig letkøbt at gøre sig lystig over en gammel peberman, men det var en type i klostrene: Romantisk, sværmerisk, eksalteret og med lidt klassisk dannelse. Det kunne løbe helt af med dem, de levede med i andres liv og ville så gerne det hele, at ingenting blev til noget – man holdt af dem, men hverken nogen mand eller deres egen familie kunne holde dem ud ret længe ad gangen.

Frøkenen i østgavlen

De to rum i Jomfruklosterets østgavl har været konstant beboede, og her er flere lag maling og tapet end i noget andet rum. I begyndelsen af 1830'erne boede der kun to-tre frøkener i klosteret, så hver kunne få to rum, en lille lejlighed. Wilhelmine Charlotte Bielefeldt blev klosterjomfru 41 år gammel i 1832, men

he's out nearly all day!!" – "But you have him at night!" the nun said. A naive remark, don't you think?"

In 1839, he wrote to his literary friend Miss Henriette Hanck about a book he was publishing, and asked her to tell Miss von Schleppegrell "that my new story The Rose Elf is definitely one she will enjoy, even though I can already hear her saying 'Oh, but it's frightful!'".¹⁵

Naturally old spinsters are an easy target, but the convents did have a special type who were romantic, over-imaginative, overwrought and with a smattering of a classical education. They could get completely carried away, lived their lives through other people and wanted so much of everything that they never achieved anything – they were well-loved but neither a husband nor their own family could bear them for too long at a time.

The lady of the east gable

The two rooms at the eastern gable end of Jomfruklosteret have been continuously occupied, and here there are more layers of paintwork and wallpaper than in any other room. At the start of the 1830's, only two or three ladies lived at the Convent, so each could have two rooms, forming a small apartment. Wilhelmine





Rum 209, hvor en tidligere skabelonmaling er genskabt. Til højre ses tapetdøren ind til rum 208. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

flyttede ikke ind med det samme, for hun er ikke med i folketællingen 1834, der også oplyste fraværende. Hun boede i lejligheden til 1873.

Frøken Bielefeldt var født i Norge, hvor faderen var oberst. Ved arv fra to af faderens slægtninge og moderens forældre fik familien i løbet af et par år en vældig formue og kappedes nu med den legendarisk rige Bernt Anker i overdådig selskabelighed og materielle goder, blandt andet havde de en kok, "der vidste at forskaffe artiskokker, ananas og mere sådant, der næppe tilforn var frembåret paa norske taffeler." Der var to sønner og to døtre; den ene søn var "moderens afgud",

Charlotte Bielefeldt became a conventual at the age of 41 in 1832, but did not move in at once, as she is not included in the census of 1834, which also noted persons who were absent. She lived in the apartment until 1873.

Miss Bielefeldt was born in Norway, where her father was a colonel. By inheritance from two of the father's relatives and the mother's parents, the family accumulated a large fortune within a couple of years, and now competed with the legendarily wealthy Bernt Anker in sumptuous sociability and material possessions. Among other things, they had a cook



Room 209, where a previous stencil painting has been re-created. To the right, the jib door to room 208 is seen.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

fortæller en norsk litterær dame i sine erindringer,¹⁶ de andre børn brød hun sig lidet om, og hun behandlede døtrene med kulde; den yngste var livlig og tækkelig, den ældste ”var halt og så ilde ud” – det var Wilhelmine Charlotte.

Forældrene blev, usædvanligt for tiden, skilt, og Wilhelmine Charlotte kom i et pigeinstitut, mens søsteren blev gift. Faderen kom tilbage til København og blev vicekommandant kort før det engelske bombarde-
ment og Flådens ran i 1807. Han fik sammen med kom-
mandanten skylden for begivenhederne og blev dømt
fra liv, ære og gods. Selvom han blev benådet, var alt

“who was able to procure artichokes, pineapples and the like, such as had scarcely ever graced a Norwegian banqueting table before”. There were two sons and two daughters; one son was the “mother’s idol”, a Norwegian literary lady recounts in her memoirs,¹⁶ while the other children were little loved, and she treated the daughters coldly; the younger was lively and winsome, while the elder was “lame and ill-favoured” – this was Wilhelmine Charlotte.

Unusually for the time, the parents were divorced and Wilhelmine Charlotte entered an institution for girls, while her sister married. The father returned to



tabt. At faderens synder ikke nedarvedes på frøkenen ses af, at hun 1843-44 var indbudt til kronprins Frederik (VII) og kronprinsessens hof på Odense Slot – men det var alle frøkenerne måske, og hendes invitationer er blot de eneste bevarede.

Frøken Bielefeldt boede antagelig hos faderen og søsteren, indtil hun fik plads i Jomfruklosteret, hvor vides ikke. I hendes sidste år på Jomfruklosteret boede søsteren, nu enke efter en major, i Paaskestræde sammen med en efterhånden midaldrende, ugift datter, og levede af en pension efter majoren.

Frøkenen vidste nok, hvordan en standsmæssig bolig så ud: På familiens gård i Oslo var salenes vægge betrukket med silke. Gården blev siden solgt til fattighus, og fattigkonerne rev silketøjet af og lavede det til huer, fortæller den norske dame. Men frøken Bielefeldt har ikke haft de store midler, i hendes tid var lejligheden i østgavlen yderst beskeden, med beige tapet og lysegråt træværk – det er værelsets senere beboere, der står for de fjorten lag tapet, som konservatorerne har fundet.

Copenhagen and became Vice Commandant shortly before the English bombardment and the plunder of the Fleet in 1807. Together with the Commandant he received the blame for the events and was sentenced to deprivation of life, honour and possessions. Even though he was later pardoned, all he owned was lost. That the father's sins were not held against the daughter can be seen by the fact that in 1843-44 she was invited to the court of Crown Prince Frederik (later Frederik VII) and his wife at Odense Castle – but perhaps all the Convent residents were invited and her invitation is the only one preserved.

Miss Bielefeldt apparently lived with her father and sister until she received a place at Jomfruklosteret, though where this might have been is unknown. In her last years at Jomfruklosteret, her sister, now a major's widow, lived in Paaskestræde together with what was now a middle-aged unmarried daughter, supporting herself on the major's pension.

This conventional presumably knew what a home befitting one's station looked like: at the family's house

Rum 209. Under restaureringen blev samtlige vinduer sat grundigt i stand, og imens blev åbningerne dækket med en plade. Kakkelovnen i den marmorerede niche havde rør til gavlkaminens skorsten; den fungerer ikke længere, hvorfor der ikke er sat nogen ovn op her.

Foto: Roberto Fortuna. Modsatte side nederst: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Room 209. During the restoration, all windows were thoroughly reconditioned, the openings being covered for the duration. The stove in the marbled niche had pipes to the chimney of the gable end fireplace; it no longer works, which is why no stove was put up here after the restoration.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna. Bottom: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.





Indersiden af døren ind til rum 206, Arkaderummet. Konservatorerne har afdækket en bemaling, der tilsyneladende stammer fra en anden periode end brædddevæggernes dekoration. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The inside of the door to room 206, the Arcade Room. The conservators have uncovered a paintwork, which appears to come from a different time period than the decoration on the partition wall. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Af uægte fødsel

Sophie Laura Løvensøn flyttede ind i Arkaderummet, 206, i 1854. Hun var den eneste klosterjomfru af uægte fødsel – og af kongeligt blod, skønt efterhånden temmelig fortyndet. Hun nedstammede fra Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve, Frederik III's són, og Sophie Urne, som man nok husker fra J.P. Jacobsens *Marie Grubbe*; deres sønner og alle efterkommere gik i udenlandsk tjeneste. Frøkenens fader, kammerherre, greve af Danneskiold-Løvendal, fik fire børn med forskellige mødre. Frøkenens moder var ukendt, hun lå på Fødselsstiftelsen som N.N. Faderen giftede sig aldrig af den besynderlige årsag, at det var bedre at ”lade navnet uddø” end at give det videre til børn, som måtte kæmpe med fattigdom og modgang, idet familiens formue var konfiskeret under Den franske Revolution. Han legitimerede dog børnene og fik kongelig resolution på navnet Løvensøn og ”adelige rettigheder”, således at han blandt andet kunne indskrive døtrene i et adeligt jomfrukloster.

Da frøken Løvensøn som 49-årig kom til Odense, havde hun en årrække været lærerinde i en privat døtreskole i Nakskov. Her boede hun hos sin halvsøster, der var gift med en præst, senere biskop over Lolland-Falsters Stift, som også havde to af sine slægtinge i huset.

I Jomfruklosteret fik frøken Løvensøn til overflod to rum. Arkaderummet var dagligstue, det næste værelse mod øst var soveværelse. Det var lidt besværligt, for der var ikke dør imellem rummene, så man skulle hen over det store trapperum, til gengæld var der ovn i begge rum. Frøken Løvensøn døde i 1875.

I frøken Løvensøns soveværelse var der på et tidspunkt opbygget et rum med en firfløjet foldedør. Den kunne ligne en alkove til tjenestefolk, som dengang ofte fandtes på slotte og herregårde – her til kammerpigen. Men under restaureringen blev det opdaget, at alkoven engang mellem 1825 og 1835 er tapetseret overalt med kostbart fransk tapet, så måske var det frøkenens diminutive sovekammer.

At one point, Miss Løvensøn's bedroom contained within it a room with a four-leaved folding door. This might look like an alcove for servants, such as were often found in castles and country houses – in this case for the lady's maid. But during the restoration it was found that, sometime between 1825 and 1835, the alcove was papered all over with a costly French wallpaper, so maybe it was the lady's diminutive bedchamber.



in Oslo, the walls in the reception rooms were lined with silk. The house was later sold off as a poorhouse, and the female paupers tore the silk off the walls and made it into caps, the Norwegian lady states. But Miss Bielefeldt did not have extensive means, and in her time the apartment at the east end was extremely modest, with beige wallpaper and light-grey woodwork – it was the room's later inhabitants who were responsible for the 14 layers of wallpaper which the conservators have charted.

Of illegitimate birth

Sophie Laura Løvensøn moved into the Arcade Room, 206, in 1854. She was the only conventional of illegitimate birth – and of royal blood, though fairly diluted by this time. She was a descendant of Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve, Frederik III's son, and Sophie Urne, as is related in J.P. Jacobsen's novel *Marie Grubbe*; their sons and all subsequent descendants went into foreign service. The lady's father, Royal Chamberlain and Count of Danneskiold-Løvendal, had four children with different mothers. The identity of the lady's mother was unknown, as she gave birth anonymously at the Copenhagen Fødselsstiftelsen Maternity Hospital. The father never married, with the odd justification that it was better to "let the name die out" than to pass it on to children who might struggle with poverty and adversity, as the family's fortune had been confiscated under the French Revolution. However, he had the children legitimated and obtained a royal resolution for the name Løvensøn and "noble privileges", so that he was able to enrol his daughters in a secular convent for noblewomen.

When Miss Løvensøn came to Odense at the age of 49, she had for a number of years been a teacher in a private girls' school in Nakskov. Here she lived with her half-sister, who was married to a priest, later Bishop of the Diocese of Lolland-Falster, who also had two of his relatives staying in the house.

At Jomfruklosteret Miss Løvensøn had two whole rooms at her disposal. The Arcade Room was her



Alkoven i rum 207 var tapetseret både ind- og udvendigt med et af de fineste tapeter, der er fundet i Jomfruklosteret, med et iridiserende skær. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

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The alcove in 207 was wallpapered both inside and outside with one of the finest wallpapers found in Secular Convent for Noblewomen with an iridescent glimmer. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Den østligste ende af priorindelejligheden, ud mod Paaskestræde. Den smukke laverede pennetegning er fra maleren Wilhelm Bendz' skitsebog fra 1820'erne og mærket "Stue i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster". Bendz var født 1804 i Odense, hvor hans fader blev borgmester, så han kom ofte på besøg, efter at han som 16-årig blev optaget på Kunstakademiet. Proportionerne passer ikke, der kan ikke være en seng på den væg, med mindre det er en af de udtrækssenge, der var populære i empiren. Der er heller ingen skorsten her – skillevæggen er af brædder – men det var ikke ualmindeligt at trække skorstensrør tværs gennem tilstødende rum.

Tegningen er i det hele taget mystisk: På knagen hænger noget tøj og en hovedbeklædning, der ligner en moderne murers arbejdstøj, og der står en spyttebakke, som ikke rimer med jomfrukloster. Derimod kan værelserne udmærket have haft denne på én gang robuste og spartanske stemning, før stormønstrede tapeter og tæpper, overpolstring, tunge gardiner og portierer holdt deres indtog i boligindretningen.

Statens Museum for Kunst.

The eastern end of the Prioress's apartment, facing Paaskestræde. This lovely pen and wash drawing is taken from painter Wilhelm Bendz's sketch book in the 1820's and is marked "Room at Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen". Bendz was born in 1804 in Odense, where his father became mayor, so he visited the town often after entering the Academy of Arts in Copenhagen at the age of 16. The proportions are not correct, as there is no room for a bed on that wall, unless it is one of the pull-out beds popular during the Empire period. Nor was there a chimney here – the partition wall is made of boards – but it was not uncommon to lead chimney flues across adjacent rooms.

The drawing is rather puzzling in many ways: on the coat pegs there hang clothing and a headdress which resemble those of a modern plasterer, and a spittoon is shown, though this seems unlikely for a secular convent. On the other hand, the rooms may well have had this simultaneously robust and spartan atmosphere, before large-patterned wallpapers and carpets, overstuffed furniture and heavy window and door curtains made their appearance in home furnishing. National Gallery of Denmark.

Priorindens lejlighed

Priorindelejligheden lå i stueetagens østlige ende og skulle ifølge fundatsen bestå af et kammer og et kabinet, dvs. en dagligstue. Det lyder ikke af meget, men rummene var store, de blev først delt op senere. Priorinden møblerede selv lejligheden, men møblerne tilfaldt klosteret ved hendes død – det skulle man have in mente, når man udvalgte de stykker, der skulle med ind i Jomfruklosteret, for der kunne jo være familieknodier, som man gerne ville give i arv.

Allerede mens Anne Brahe levede, havde Karen Brahe uden tvivl haft et rum på Bispegaarden, som hun kunne bruge, når hun var i Odense, og i Jomfruklosterets tid var der et "Patronessens Kammer". Som tidligere nævnt boede her en pensionær i ti år. Da Susanne Brahe var død i 1760, og patronen fik hendes gård bag Jomfruklosteret til rådighed, blev Patronessens Kammer lagt til priorindelejligheden.

Priorinderne skulle selv vedligeholde lejligheden, og det kan forklare, at den ifølge konservatorene har været meget beskeden udstyret. I 1868 gav Justitsministeriet, der var tilsynsførende med Jomfruklosteret,

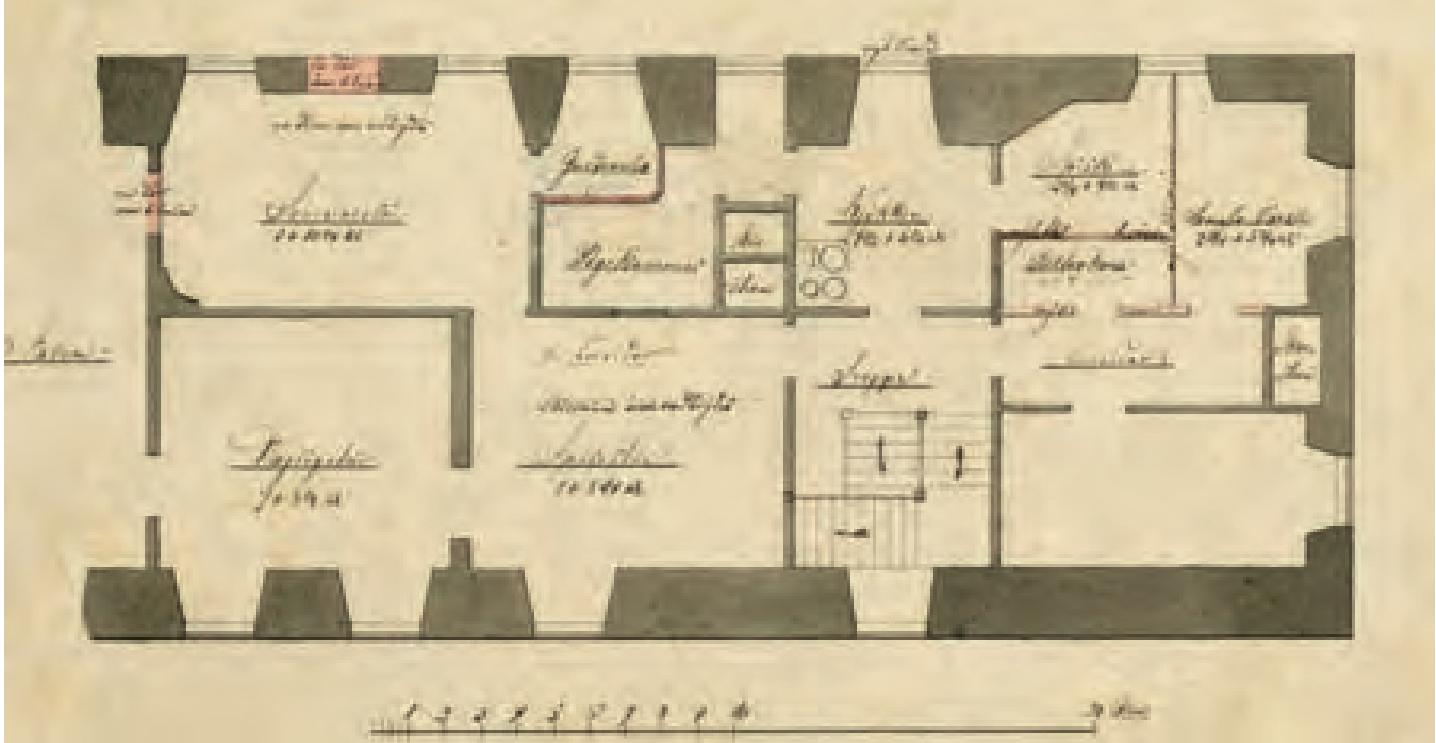
drawing room, while the next room to the east was her bedroom. This was rather inconvenient, as there was no door between the rooms, so it was necessary to walk across the large landing, but on the other hand, both rooms had a stove. Miss Løvensøn died in 1875.

The Prioress's apartment

The Prioress's apartment lay at the eastern end of the ground floor, and according to the trust deeds was to consist of a chamber and a cabinet, i.e. a drawing room. This does not sound so impressive, but the rooms were large and were only subdivided later on. The Prioress furnished the apartment herself, but the furniture would become the property of Jomfruklosteret at her death – something to bear in mind when selecting the pieces to take into Jomfruklosteret, because they might include family heirlooms which the person would like to bequeath to another.

Even during Anne Brahe's lifetime, Karen Brahe almost certainly had a room at the Bishop's Palace which she could use while in Odense, and in the time





Plan for ombygning af priorindelejligheden 1869.

Alt, hvad der skulle laves, er markeret med rødt. Hvis Bendz' tegning er korrekt i store træk, blev den nord-sydgående skillevæg flyttet hen midt i et vindue. Der var overalt kun tale om opsætning af bræddewægge, som delte den oprindelige østsali en labyrinth af små rum. Den blev også foretaget et par større indgreb i østenden, idet der blev hugget en hel meter af den 1,75 m tykke nordmur i 105, og i 106 blev der udhugget et nyt vindue. Den underlige form på muren og forskellen i murtykkelser i tegningens "Spisekammer" viser, hvor hovedbygningen blev forlænget i anden halvdel af 1500-tallet.

Rum 108a, det rum som Bendz tegnede, var skilt af fra rum 108 og 108c med en væg af genbrugsbrædder – vandrette på den ene side og lodrette på den anden. De brædder, der vender ind mod rum 108, er brugt flere gange: de er fyldt med med gamle sø og har spor efter marmorering og illuderede paneler, et eksempel på en sparsommelighed, der præger klosteret overalt. Odense Bys Museer.

Plan for rebuilding of Prioress's apartment in 1869.

The work to be done is marked in red. If Bendz's drawing is largely correct, the north-south partition wall was moved to the centre of a window. The work only involved the erection of wooden partition walls, which divided the original eastern hall into a labyrinth of small rooms. A couple of more major alterations were made at the east end, as a whole metre of the 1.75 m thick northern wall was hacked out in 105, and in 106 a new window was hacked out. The strange shape of the wall and the difference in wall thicknesses in the drawing's "Spisekammer" (larder) shows where the main building was extended in the second half of the 16th century.

Room 108a, the room on Bendz' drawing, was separated from rooms 108 and 108c with a wall of reused boards – horizontal on the one side and vertical on the other. The vertical boards, facing room 108, have traces of marbling and trompe l'oeil panels and are filled with old nails, an example of the thrifty recycling of materials seen throughout the Convent.

City of Odense Museums.

Modsatte side: Jomfru Bredsted var født i Odense 1840 og blev ansat som kammerjomfru af priorinden i 1860'erne. I 1869 fik hun sit eget pæne værelse med blomstret tapet i østgavlen. Hun blev efterhånden husjomfru og oldfrue boede på klosteret hele sit arbejdsliv. Hun lod sig først pensionere i 1913, da priorindens datter, der efterfulgte sin mor som priorinde, gik bort. Foto: Lundqvist Tegnestue.



tilladelse til at bruge af en såkaldt reservefond til ombygning og istandsættelse af lejligheden, der formentlig var helt utidssvarende.

Til priorindernes hushold hørte hendes personlige kammerjomfru, der fungerede som husholderske, og en tjenestepige. Med ombygningen fik de nu deres egne rum ved opdeling af salen i østgavlen, så der blev et værelse til jomfruen, og desuden ved en skillevæg i køkkenet, hvor tjenestepigen kunne havde det lidt for sig selv.

Priorindens datter var nu nær de 30 år, men det ser ikke ud til, at hun havde sit eget rum, med mindre hun fik soveværelse i et af de nye små rum, uden at det er angivet på tegningen. Men hun kan sagtens have sovet inde hos moderen, det var ikke ualmindeligt i datiden.

Justitsministeriet gav tilladelse til istandsættelse igen i 1898 – da havde datteren, som nu var priorinde, boet i lejligheden i 42 år, og det var en snes år siden der var gjort noget sidst. I 1914, hvor en ny priorinde tiltrådte, blev der igen sat i stand. Samtidig blev der givet tilladelse til at indlægge vand og afløb i klosterets bygninger, og der blev opsat toilet i priorinde-lejligheden.

of Jomfruklosteret, there was a “Patroness’s Room”. As previously mentioned, this was inhabited by a boarder for ten years. When Susanne Brahe died in 1760 and the Patron acquired the use of her house behind Jomfruklosteret, the Patroness’s Room was added to the Prioress’s apartment.

The Prioress was responsible for maintenance of the apartment, and this may be the reason why, according to the conservators, it was always modestly refurbished. In 1868, the Ministry of Justice, which supervised Jomfruklosteret, gave permission for the use of a so-called reserve fund for altering and refurbishing the apartment, which presumably was badly out of date.

The prioress’s household included her personal lady’s maid, who acted as housekeeper, and a maid-servant. After the rebuilding work they now both received their own room, by the sub-division of the hall at the east end to make a room for the lady’s maid, and by a partition in the kitchen, to allow the maid-servant a little privacy.

The Prioress’s daughter was now almost 30 years old, but it does not seem that she had her own room, unless she received a bedroom in one of the new small rooms without this being stated on the drawing. But

Miss Bredsted was born in Odense in 1840 and employed as lady’s maid by the Prioress in the 1860’s.

In 1869 she was given her own nice bedroom with floral wallpaper at the eastern gable end. She lived at the Convent for the whole of her working life, eventually becoming housekeeper, and only retired in 1913, when the Prioress’s daughter, herself appointed Prioress, passed away. Photo: Lundqvist Architects.



Rum 108 var en del af den store sal, der opstod i østgavlen ved forlængelsen af bygningen i 1500-tallet. Som det eneste sted i klosteret er der her fjernet skillerum, så salen til dels er genskabt. Den hvide væg på det nederste billede er en rest af den senere opdeling, hvorfor den rød-grønne bandemaling er afbrudt her – men den fortsætter på den anden side af skillevæggen. Døren på endevæggen er også en senere tilføjelse og derfor blændet. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

Room 108 was part of the original great hall to the east, enlarged by the 16th century extension of the building. This is the only place in the Convent where partitions have been removed during the restoration, thus partly re-creating the hall. The white wall in the picture below is a remainder of this partition; the red-green striped decor is discontinued here to proceed on the other side of the wall. The door on the end wall is a later addition as well and therefore shut permanently.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

Priorindens køkken

I 16-1700-tallet var det almindeligt at lave småretter og varme drikke i kaminen, som det ses på mange malerier og stik, eller på en lille ildbænk. Det har Bispegaardens beboere også gjort, typisk i de rum, hvor husets kvinder og de små børn med deres ammer og barneviger opholdt sig. Disse faciliteter fandtes i et af priorindens rum, 107, hvor der under restaureringen er fundet en lys gul kalk, den gængse farve i køkkener og omkring ildbænken i 1700-tallet. Når priorinden havde gæster, kunne hendes kammerjomfru lave vasler, krumkager og æbleskiver og de nye drikke kaffe, the og chokolade – så skulle det store køkken ikke sættes i sving, nårilden var dækket og kokkepigen gået til ro.

Den daglige madlavning til frøkenerne og tjene-stefolkene foregik ikke i priorindens køkken før muligvis sidst i 1800-tallet, da der kun var tre frøkener, men i et stort køkken i østfløjen. Bortset fra brandfaren lavede man ikke større mængder mad, der skulle steges og brases, inde i selve huset på grund af lugt, støj og griseri – råvarene var dengang virkelig rå. Det er heller ikke sandsynligt, at man har slæbt dyrekroppe og jordfyldte grøntsager ind i priorindens lejlighed og lavet to forskellige slags mad, til frøkenerne og til tjenestefolkene, i alt omkring tyve personer, derinde. Desuden var der ikke murede bageovne inde i hovedbygningen.

Rummet med ildbænken havde oprindeligt ikke dagslys eller kun et meget lille vindue, så i forbindelse med ombygningen i 1869 blev der hugget ud til et

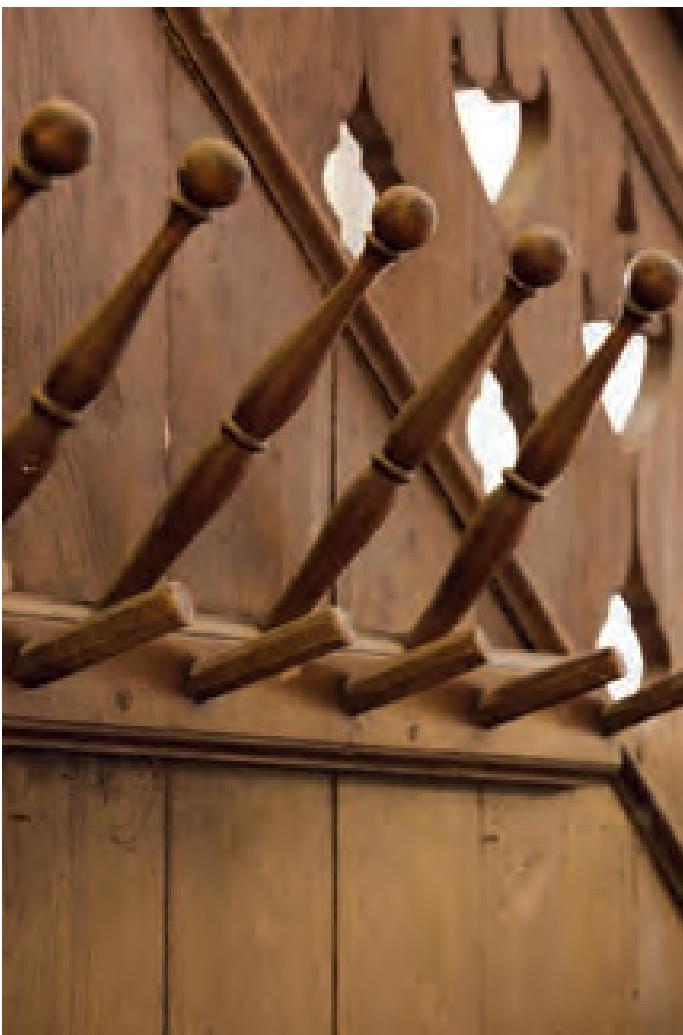
she may well have slept with her mother, as this was not uncommon at the time.

The Ministry of Justice gave further permission for refurbishment in 1898 – by this time the daughter, now the Prioress, had lived in the apartment for 42 years, and it was 20 years or so since the last time anything had been done. In 1914, when a new Prioress took up the post, it was renovated again. Permission was also given to lay on water and drainage in the Convent, and a toilet was installed in the Prioress's apartment.

The Prioress's kitchen

In the 17th and 18th century it had been usual to cook small dishes and make hot drinks over the fire, as can be seen from many paintings and prints, or on a small raised hearth. The residents of the Bishop's Palace would also have done so, typically in the rooms which the house's women and the babies with their nurses and nannies occupied. These facilities existed in one of the Prioress's rooms, 107, in which restoration has revealed a light yellow limewash, the usual colour for kitchens and around raised hearths in the 18th century. When the Prioress had guests, her lady's maid could make waffles, wafers and fritters and the new drinks of coffee, tea and chocolate – without having to activate the main kitchen once the fire had been damped down and the kitchenmaid had retired for the night.

Daily food preparation for the ladies and servants did not take place in the Prioress's kitchen, at least, not until late in the 19th century, when there were only three ladies, but in a large kitchen in the east wing. Quite apart from the risk of fire, large amounts of food requiring roasting and frying would not have been prepared in the house itself, due to the smell, noise and mess – in those days raw ingredients really were raw. Nor is it likely that animal carcases and muddy vegetables were dragged into the Prioress's apartment so that two different kinds of food, one for the ladies and one for the servants, a total of 20 persons, could be prepared in her kitchen. There were also no brick ovens in the main building.



vindue som de øvrige i nordfacaden – muren er her 1,75 m. Der blev også installeret et af de dengang helt moderne støbejernskomfurer foran skorstenen, hvor ildbænken havde været. Senere er der opsat et mere moderne køkken.

Dameværelser og pulterrums

Tidligere havde priorinden og frökenerne spist sammen i stueetagen, formentlig i det rum, der efter ombygningen i 1869 blev priorindens spisestue, i dag 110. Kort efter skete der en større ændring i husets indre organisation, sandsynligvis for at spare på opvarmningen af de store, højloftede rum i stueetagen, men måske også fordi de aldrende frökener kunne blive ude af stand til at forcere trapperne. Endelig ønskede priorinden og hendes voksne datter måske lidt privatliv og ville spise for sig selv. Den kollektive samværssform, som Karen Brahe havde haft med fra sin barndom midt i 1600-tallet, var for længst ude af brug i de højere samfundslag og kunne fraviges.

The room with the raised hearth originally had no daylight or only a very small window, so at the time of the building work of 1869, an opening for a window similar to the others was hacked into the north facade – the wall here is 1.75 m thick. One of the then latest innovations, a cast-iron solid fuel stove, was installed in front of the chimney where the raised hearth had been. Later, a more modern kitchen was fitted.

Ladies' rooms and lumber rooms

Formerly, the Prioress and ladies had eaten together on the ground floor, presumably in the room which after the modernisation of 1869 became the Prioress's dining room, today 110. Shortly afterwards, there was a major change in the internal organisation of the house, probably to save the cost of heating the large, high-ceilinged rooms on the ground floor, but it may also have been that the ageing ladies were no longer able to manage the stairs. And after all, the Prioress and her adult daughter perhaps wanted a little more

Udenfor på hver side af hovedtrappen sad et gammeldags ringeapparat med snoretræk til en klokke i hver ende af huset.
Flere steder i trapperummene og i korridorer var der knager til gæsters overtøj, hatte og paraplyer. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.
230 Korridoren, rum 217a, med udsigt til rum 217 med en statelig cylinderovn med krone. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

*On each side of the main entrance was a ringer with pull cord for a bell inside in each end of the building. In the entrance hall and the corridors upstairs were several hooks for guests' coats, hats, and umbrellas. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.
The corridor, room 217a, with a view to room 217 and a stately cylinder-shaped stove with a crown. 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.*





"Hun er vel også snart i de år, hvor unge piger bliver gamle jomfruer". Herman Bang: Ludvigsbakke. 1896. Maleri af John Singer Sargent: Mosquito Nets. 1908. Detroit Institute of Arts.

"She is probably approaching the age when young girls become old maids". Herman Bang: Ludvigsbakke. 1896. Painting by John Singer Sargent: Mosquito Nets. 1908. Detroit Institute of Arts.

Ændringen skete lige efter, at en 87-årig frøken var død efter 59 år i to nordvendte rum. Der var nu fire frøkener tilbage, som hver havde to værelser, og i lyset af økonomien valgte patronen og priorinden at lade den gamle frøkens rum stå tomme. Pladsen derimod blev de næste 19 år besat med frøkener, der blot fik årpengene, indtil de blev gift. Derefter var den et par gange besat med frøkener, som formentlig boede på Jomfruklostret en kort tid, men ikke nødvendigvis i disse rum – pladser og værelser fulgtes som nævnt ikke ad.

Frøkenens to rum samt to tilstødende blev indrettet som fællesrum: "Damernes spisestue", "Damernes dagligstue" og to "Dameværelser", de sidste tre med ovne. De har uden tvivl været hyggeligere end den store, gennemgående sal nedenunder, 104, som hidtil havde været opholdsrum. Den fælles spisning var således ophævet, men ikke den fælles husholdning, og damerne fik nu maden bragt op i den lille spisestue, der efter tidens skik ikke var opvarmet. Ordet "dameværelse" leder tanken hen på en restaurant, hvor damer kunne trække sig tilbage til et diskret rum. Det er let at se de ældre frøkener sidde der efter middagen – der blev serveret midt på dagen – med en kop kaffe og et håndarbejde, en ny bog, Berlingske Tidende eller Revue de deux mondes, et af de kulturtidsskrifter, hvor "man" blev orienteret og holdt sit franske flydende.

Hvor meget rummene blev brugt til de forskellige formål er ikke til at sige – de kaldes samtidig pulterrum! Tidligere arvede Jomfruklostret priorindernes møbler, og der er nok møbleret med dem her, måske sammen med frøkenernes overskydende bohave.

privacy and to eat by themselves. The collective community life which Karen Brahe had experienced from her childhood in the mid-17th century had long fallen out of favour among the higher classes and could be dispensed with.

This change occurred directly after an 87 year old lady died after 59 years in two north-facing rooms. There were now four ladies left, each of whom had two rooms, and for the sake of the finances, the Patron and Prioress agreed to let the old lady's room stand empty. The Place itself, however, was occupied for the next 19 years, with ladies who merely collected the allowance until they married. Subsequently it was filled a couple of times with ladies who presumably lived at Jomfruklostret for a short while, but not necessarily in these rooms – as mentioned before, places and rooms did not follow each other.

The lady's two rooms and two adjacent ones were fitted out as rooms for common use: the "Ladies' dining room", the "Ladies' sitting room" and two "Ladies' rooms", the last three with stoves. These were doubtless more comfortable than the large transversal hall below, 104, which had been the living room before. Communal eating was thus abandoned, but not the common housekeeping, and the ladies now had their food brought up to the small dining room, which by the custom of the time was unheated. The word "Ladies' room" is reminiscent of a restaurant in which ladies can withdraw to a more private room. It is easy to imagine the elderly ladies sitting there after their dinner – the main meal was taken at midday – with a cup of coffee and some needlework, a new book, a newspaper or *Revue de deux mondes*, one of the cultured journals which enabled persons of a certain class to keep up to date and practise their French.

How much the rooms were used for the different purposes is difficult to say – they are also called lumber rooms! In earlier days, Jomfruklostret inherited the Prioress's furniture, and they were perhaps furnished from this source, maybe with some of the ladies' surplus possessions.



Østfløjen

I Jomfruklosterets tid lå køkkenet i østfløjen, opført 1749. Det var almindeligt at opføre eller benytte en bindingsværksbygning til formålet, ikke mindst på grund af brandfarens. Af samme grund lagde man helst bygningen på grundens østlige del for dog at gøre noget til, at den overvejende vestlige vind ikke førte flammer ind på hovedbygningen ved en ildebrand. Her var ildbænk og postejovn, og i et rum var der strygestue med ovn til boltene i strygejernene. Desuden var her en lille stald til én ko, en portgennemgang fra Paaskestræde og rum til tjenestefolkene.

For at stuepigerne ikke skulle ud i gården og helt hen til hovedtrappen med maden, blev der hugget en dør i nordfløjens kraftige murværk, så man kunne gå fra køkkenet direkte ind i det østre trapperum.

Bageovn og bryggekedel lå i en selvstændig bygning mod Bispegaardsstræde, senere Albanigade. I 1747 blev en gammel staldbygning nedrevet. Dens nordlige ende må have rørt fundamenterne til den gamle bispegårds vestfløj, men den kendte ingen længere noget til. I stedet blev opført en 15 fags bygning i egebindingsværk, med bageovn og bryggers, der i

The east wing

In the time of Jomfruklosteret, the kitchen lay in the east wing, erected in 1749. It was normal to erect or use a half-timbered building for this purpose, not least because of the fire risk. For the same reason, such a building was preferably constructed on the eastern part of a site to help prevent the prevailing westerly wind from spreading flames to the main building in the case of a fire. The building would contain a cooking hearth and a small oven, and one room was an ironing room with an oven for the flat iron inserts. There was also a small stall for a single cow, a gate and through-passage from Paaskestræde and rooms for servants.

To avoid the maids having to go into the yard and all the way over to the main stairs with food, a door was inserted in the thick brickwork of the north wing to give access from the kitchen directly into the eastern stairwell.

A baking oven and brewing copper were accommodated in a separate building over by Bispegaardsstræde, later Albanigade. In 1747, an old stable building was pulled down. Its northern end must have been in contact with the foundations of the old bishop's palace west wing, but no-one knew about

Østfløjen havde oprindeligt flere rum og et loft, men ved restaureringen blev den indrettet som ét rum og åbnet til kip. Det store, lyse rum har alle faciliteter til foredrag og konferencer, og Jomfruklosterets kommende lejere har kaldt den Karen Brahe Salen. Udefra er det ikke til at gætte, hvad det skæve og uregelmæssige hus indeholder. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



The east wing originally had more rooms and an attic, but during the restoration it was transformed into one room, open to the collar beams. The large, brightly lit room has all facilities for lectures and conferences, and the future tenants of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen have named it the Karen Brahe Hall. From the outside one would not guess what the crooked and irregular building houses. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Priorinden og frøkenerne i Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster havde i 1705 fået tildelt plads i den daværende Forordning om Rangen. I forbindelse med en ny forordning 1746 fik også priorinden og frøkenerne i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster placering – så var alt på sin rette plads ved offentlige begivenheder, bord-sætning og andre lejligheder, hvor der kunne blive stridigheder om placeringen.

Frøkenerne på Vallø havde allerede fra stiftelsen et ordenstegn til brug ved såkaldt solenne lejligheder, med bryststjerne og båret ligesom Dannebrog- og Elefantordenen, blot med et rødt bånd. Andre klostre fulgte efter med forskellige tegn.

I 1856, i 150-året for Karen Brahes fundats, fik Jomfruklosteret et ordenstegn, båret i damesløjfe. På ordenstegnets revers står 1856 og Preben Bille-Brahe, Jomfruklosterets patron og initiativtager til tegnet. I midten ses hans slægtsvåben på blå grund. Ordensbåndet har Bille-Brahernes heraldiske farver.

Klosterfrøkener havde fra sidst i 1700-tallet en form for stil-lingsbetegnelse: Konventualinde, af conventus, middelalderlatin for en religiøs forsamling eller gruppe, efterfulgt af klosterets navn. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.

The Prioress and ladies of Roskilde Secular Convent for Noble-women had in 1705 been assigned a place in the current Rank Ordinance. In connection with a new Ordinance of 1746, the Prioress and ladies of Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen also received a place – so the proprieties of rank and occasion could be maintained at public events, table placings and other occasions where questions of precedence could cause problems.

Indskrevne døtre som statussymbol

I løbet af 1800-tallet blev indskrivning i et kloster et statussymbol, både for familien og for frøkenen selv: Det viste, at man var adelig eller i rangen og havde ret til det, men også at man havde råd – og jo flere døtre, jo bedre råd.

Var frøkenen indskrevet flere steder, nævntes de alle, med Vallø som det fornemste og med den største signalværdi, idet indskrivningen dér var meget dyr. Oplysningerne optrådte på linie med sønners embedstitler.

Konventualinde blev brugt, når frøke-nen var rykket op til en plads som kloster-frøken, også selvom hun ikke boede på det pågældende kloster.

The ladies at Vallø had had an order since from the foundation, for use on so-called solemn occasions. The badge was worn in the same way as the Danish Orders of Dannebrog and the Elephant, but with a red ribbon. Other convents followed suit, with insignia of various types.

In 1856, on the 150th anniversary of Karen Brahe's trust deed, an order badge was created for the Odense Convent, worn on a lady's sash. On the reverse of the badge are the date 1856 and the name Preben Bille-Brahe, Patron of the Convent and promoter of the badge. In the centre sits his coat of arms on a blue background, and the Order ribbon has the Bille-Brahe heraldic colours.

*From the late 18th century the residents of the secular convents had a kind of occupational title: They were called conventuals – in the feminine – from conventus, Medieval Latin for a religious assembly or group, followed by the actual convent's name. Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen.
Photo: Karsten Damstedt.*

1860'erne fik en indmuret brændeviskedel af kobber til storvask. Efter den tid stod de koner, der vaskede for Jomfruklosteret, ikke nede i åen som H.C. Andersens moder, men inden døre.

Forandringer

Op gennem de første årtier af 1800-tallet var Jomfruklosterets økonomi blevet stadig dårligere, og der måtte gradvist skæres ned på antallet af tjenestefolk. Først forsvandt kusken, derefter flere piger og til sidst, sidst i 1850'erne, gårdskejlen.

I 1856 blev en 42-årig enkebaronesse hentet udefra til posten som priorinde. Hun var den første, der opfyldte Karen Brahes ønske om "en skikkelig adelig enkefrue". Den nye priorinde bar det fantastiske navn Elisa Ernestine Ermerine Charlotte Sibille Lucie Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, født dal Borgo di Primo. Det sidste led var en del af identiteten – da det i slutningen af 1700-tallet blev skik, at kvinder fik mandens efternavn, begyndte de at anføre, hvad de var *født* for at signalere deres egen herkomst. Hendes afdøde mand havde været officer i Fyenske Dragon Regiment, og de boede i Overgade, så hun har kendt klosteret og måske en eller flere af frækenerne gennem tiden.

I Jomfruklosterets fundats stod der ikke noget om priorindens alder, eller om hun, hvis hun var enke, måtte have børn med, men det var af gode grunde aldrig kommet på tale, da alle tidligere priorinder var valgt blandt frækenerne. Priorinden havde en 16-årig datter med, der ganske beskedent hed Wilhelmine Charlotte Henriette Louise. Hun blev aldrig gift, men tilhørte også som voksen moderens hushold og boede i priorindelejligheden.

Den første halve sne år efter priorindens tiltrædelse var der ellers værelser nok på førstesalen, idet her kun boede tre frækener. De frækener, som patroner og andre havde indsat i pladserne, boede ikke på klosteret i denne periode, og åbenbart var ingen af de indskrevne på ventelisten endnu nået op på det stipulerede beløb og kunne derfor ikke oprykkes som klosterjomfruer.

that any more. Instead a 15-bay building in oak half-timbering was constructed, with a baking oven and brewhouse, which in the 1860's was given a built-in brandy distillery copper for general laundry use. After that time the women who washed for Jomfruklosteret no longer had to go down to the river, like Hans Christian Andersen's mother, but could stay indoors.

Changes

Throughout the first decades of the 19th century, Jomfruklosteret's finances became poorer and poorer, and the number of serving staff had to be gradually cut. First the coachman disappeared, then several maids, and finally, in the 1850's, the yardman.

In 1856, a 42-year old dowager baroness was appointed from outside to fill the post of Prioress. She was the first to fulfil Karen Brahe's wish of "a worthy noble widow". The new Prioress had the fabulous name of Elisa Ernestine Ermerine Charlotte Sibille Lucie Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, née dal Borgo di Primo. The last element was a part of her identity – when, at the end of the 18th century it became the custom for women to take their husband's surname, they began to include their maiden name to signal their own origins. Her late husband had been an officer in the Fyenske Dragoon Regiment, and they lived in Overgade, so she had known the Convent and maybe one or more of the ladies over the years.

The Jomfruklosteret trust deeds mention nothing of the Prioress's age or whether, if she was a widow, she was allowed to have her children with her, but in the nature of things this question had never arisen, as all the previous Prioresses had been selected from the ladies. The Prioress took with her a 16-year old daughter, who, modestly enough, was called Wilhelmine Charlotte Henriette Louise. She never married, but remained part of the mother's household even as an adult, and lived in the Prioress's apartment.

For the first ten years or so of the Prioress's appointment, there were rooms enough on the first floor, as only three ladies lived there. The ladies whom



Moder og datter, enkebaronesse og baronesse Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, var priorinder for Jomfruklosteret i sammenlagt mere end et halvt århundrede, fra 1856 til 1913. Da enkebaronessen døde i 1891, blev datteren konstitueret – virkelig priorinde kunne hun ikke blive, da hun hverken var enke eller havde været klosterjomfro. Det Kongelige Bibliotek.



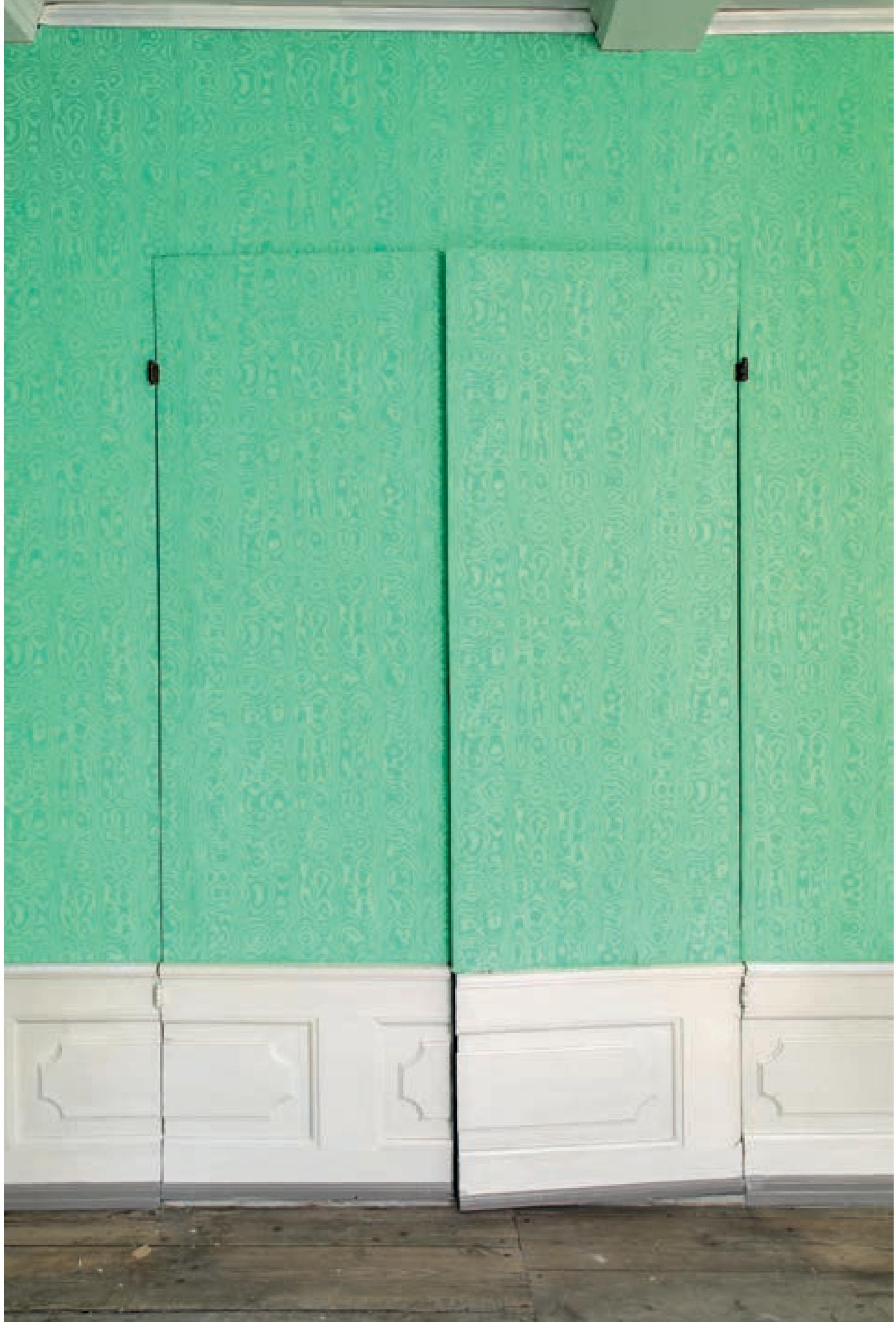
Mother and daughter, Dowager Baroness and Baroness Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, were Prioresses at Jomfruklosteret for a total of more than a half century, from 1856 to 1913. When the Dowager Baroness died in 1891, her daughter became Acting Prioress – she could not be a real Prioress, as she was neither a widow nor had been a conventual. The Royal Danish Library.

Men der blev heller ikke indskrevet nye frøkener – fra 1836 til 1903 blev der indskrevet siger og skriver to, så fremtiden så sort ud. Jomfruklosterets eneste indtægter var lejen fra karreens småhuse og engen med blegdammen, mens der stadig var stort set de samme udgifter. Der var årpenge, også til de fraværende. Der var priorindens dobbelte årpenge, mens løn til hendes kammerjomfro var for hendes egen regning. Der var frøkenernes kammerjomfro – en var sparet væk, før havde der været to til tre frøkener – løn til en husholderske, en kokkepige, to stuelpiger og en gårdsmand samt kost, lys og varme til alle undtagen priorindens datter. Man sparede som nævnt en del ved, at så få jomfruer skulle have kost, men folkeholdet var det samme, som hvis der havde været fuldt hus, på nær to kammerjomfuer.

Egentlig burde Jomfruklosteret have penge nok, for det havde modtaget enkelte store pengegaver i de første årtier, og adskillige indskrivningsbeløb var

the Patrons or others had installed in the places did not live at the Convent in that period, and apparently none of the enrollees on the waiting list had yet achieved the stipulated amount to be promoted to conventual.

But not many new ladies were being enrolled either – from 1836 to 1903, there were enrolled all of two persons, so the future looked bleak. Jomfruklosteret's only revenues were the rental from the small houses in the street block and the meadow with the bleaching ground, while expenses remained at generally the same level. These consisted of the allowance, also paid to non-residents. There was the Prioress's double allowance, while her own lady's maid's wages came out of her own pocket. There were the conventuals' lady's maids – one position was done away with, as previously there had been two for three ladies – wages for a housekeeper, a kitchenmaid, two parlourmaids and a yardman, together with food, lighting and heating for all except





Enrolled daughters as a status symbol

During the 19th century, enrolment in a secular convent became a status symbol, both for the family and for the lady herself. It showed that a person was noble or of rank and was entitled to enrolment, but also a person who could afford enrolment – and the greater the number of daughters enrolled, the higher the sums involved.

If the lady was enrolled at several places, they were all mentioned, with Vallø as the most distinguished and with the highest prestige, as enrolment there was very expensive. The enrolment details were treated on a par with the sons' titles of office.

The term Conventual was used when the lady had been promoted to a place at the convent, even if she did not actually live there.

faldet i dets pengekasse ved giftermål og dødsfald. Klosteret havde arvet en tiendedel af priorinders og klosterfrøkeners formuer, selvom det nok ikke var de store summer. Men der var ikke sparet på noget til en standsmæssig tilværelse sidst i 1700-tallet og de første år af 1800-tallet, og statsbankerotten i 1813 og den følgende krise havde ramt klosterets pengesager lige så vel som de fleste andres. Patronerne, Bille-Braherne, manglede dog ikke noget, og de hjalp Jomfruklosteret med pæne summer af egen lomme ved flere lejligheder, men det var uholdbart i længden.

Forskellen mellem indtægter og udgifter voksede stadig, og i 1867 stillede priorinden patronen det drastiske forslag, at Jomfruklosteret skulle nedlægges og formuen anbringes i et fideikommis, som kunne udbetales hævinger. Det ønskede patronen ikke, og de iværksatte i stedet et redningsprogram, for faktisk havde Jomfruklosteret jo nogle værdier: Husene i karreen og den store grund. Odense var netop under hastig udvikling, byen havde fået Danmarks første offentlige vandværk i 1853 og samme år det første gasværk, Albanibryggeriet var grundlagt 1859, alle sammen store arbejdspladser, ligesom havnen og mange andre industrier og fabrikker. Arbejderne strømmede til byen og skulle have boliger, så handel og håndværk trivedes. Jord, og især centralt, var eftertragtet – patronen og priorinden besluttede at sælge fra.

Det første, der blev sat til salg, var Patrongaarden, som lå på en stor grund, engang Rosenvingernes ejendom. Gårdens tilhørersforhold var uklare, for Susanne Brahe havde stillet den til rådighed for de til enhver tid siddende patroner eller patronesser, men hverken de

the Prioress's daughter. As mentioned before, a good deal was saved with so few ladies requiring food, but the staff were the same as if there had been a full house, apart from two lady's maids.

Actually, Jomfruklosteret ought to have had money enough, as it had received large money gifts in the first decades, and various enrolment fees had been added to its funds through marriages and deaths. The convent had inherited a tenth of the Prioresses' and conventuals' fortunes, even though these were probably not large sums. But nothing was spared on providing a life befitting the residents' station at the end of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th century, and the State Bankruptcy of 1813 and the subsequent crisis hit Jomfruklosteret's finances just as hard as they did most others. The Patrons, the Bille-Brahes, were never short of money, and they helped Jomfruklosteret with handsome sums from their own pockets on several occasions, but the situation was untenable in the long term.

The gap between revenue and expenditure grew ever greater, and in 1867 the Prioress made the drastic suggestion to the Patron that Jomfruklosteret should be closed down and the money invested in a trust which could pay the annuities. The Patron could not agree to this, and instead they embarked on a rescue programme, as Jomfruklosteret did in fact have some assets: the houses in the street block and the large grounds. Odense was in a state of rapid development at the time and the city had acquired Denmark's first public waterworks in 1853, and in the same year the first gasworks. The Albani Brewery was founded in 1859, and all of these were large workplaces, as were the harbour and many

Detalje af renoveret kakkelovn fra tiden omkring 1900, hvor man ikke kunne få pynt nok. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

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Detail of the renovated stove from the period around 1900, when one could not have too many ornaments. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Jomfruklosterets Patrongaard o. 1900. Den bestod af flere bygninger og strakte sig fra klosteret til hjørnet og langt ned ad Adelgade. Odenses katolske menighed købte den og opførte i 1870 den lille entrébygning med korset mellem to af gårdenes bygninger. En del af gården midt i Adelgade blev nedrevet i 1878 for at give plads til den katolske St. Albani Skole, som ligger der endnu.

Patrongaardens sidefløj, der ikke var synlig fra Albani Torv, lå meget tæt på Jomfruklosterets vestgavl, og de to haver og gårdsrum var fælles. Efter salget af Patrongaarden blev de delt med et lavt plankeværk. Billedet er omrent samtidigt med Folketællingen 1901: I forhuset til højre var der foruden katolsk

kapel bolig for præsterne – en af dem står foran huset – og nogle lærere på St. Albani Skole i Adelgade. I sidefløjen var der en lille pigeeskole, og her boede fire nonner, uddannede som lærerinder eller sygeplejersker.

For at skaffe penge solgte Jomfruklosteret den del af grunden ned mod åen, hvor bryggersbygningen og de tre små lejehuse lå. Industri- og Haandværkerforeningen i Odense opførte i 1871 denne massive bygning med restaurant, festsal og hotelværelser. Den kastede en stor mørk slagskygge på Jomfruklosteret, indtil den blev nedrevet omkring 1967 som forberedelse til Albanigades udvidelse. Derefter var der nogle år tankstation og parkeringsplads foran Jomfruklosteret. Odense Bys Museer.

eller Jomfruklosteret ejede den. Men nu så patronen generøst bort fra et eventuelt krav, og gården blev solgt til Odenses katolske menighed i 1869. Der er en morsom passus i udbudsdokumentet: Jomfruklosteret forbeholdt sig ret til at opføre en bygning ”på haven”, dvs. i haven nord for hovedbygningen, så tæt på Patrongaarden, at den ville støde umiddelbart op til sydgavlen. Hvad bygningen skulle bruges til, fremgår ikke. Enten havde patronen og priorinden svært ved at opgive det århundredelange fællesskab mellem de to ejendomme, eller også havde de tanker om at ekspandere sig ud af krisen.

Året efter blev en grund udstykket af den store have syd for hovedbygningen. Den blev købt af Industri- og Haandværkerforeningen i Odense, som nedrev bryggersbygningen og de tre små lejehuse og opførte en meget høj og massiv bygning med restaurant, festsal

other industries and factories. Workers streamed to the city and needed homes, so commerce and the building industry were thriving. Land, especially in the city centre, was highly valued – so the Patron and Prioress decided to sell some of theirs.

The first parcel put on sale was Patrongaarden, which lay on a large plot of ground, formerly the property of the Rosenvinges. The rights to the house were unclear, as Susanne Brahe had put it at the disposal of whoever was the Patron or Patroness, but neither they nor Jomfruklosteret owned it. But the Patron generously disclaimed any right to it and the house was sold to Odense's Catholic congregation in 1869. One passage in the sales particulars is rather amusing: Jomfruklosteret reserved the right to erect a building ”in the garden”, i.e. north of the main building, so close to Patrongaarden



Patrongaarden, meant as city residence for the Convent's Patron, around 1900. It consisted of a number of buildings and extended from the Convent to the corner of Adelgade and a good way down it. The Catholic Congregation of Odense bought it in 1870 and added the small entrance building with the cross between two of the buildings. Part of the townhouse down Adelgade was demolished in 1878 to make way for the Catholic St. Albani School, which still exists.

The side wing of Patrongaarden, not visible from the square, Albani Torv, lay very close to the western gable of the Convent and the two gardens and courtyards were shared. After the sale of Patrongaarden, they were divided by a fence. The photograph was taken at approximately the time of the Census of 1901. In the main wing to the right there was in addition to a



Catholic chapel a presbytery for the priests – one of them is standing in front of the building – and lodgings for some of the teachers at the school in Adelgade. In the side wing there was a small girl's school, and here four nuns lived, all qualified as teachers or nurses.

To raise money, the Convent sold a part of the site towards the river, that was occupied by the brewhouse building and the three small houses. In 1871, the Industrial and Trade Guild in Odense built this massive building with restaurant, assembly room and hotel rooms. It threw a large dark shadow over the Convent until its demolition around 1967, in preparation for the widening of Albanigade. For some years, there was a petrol station and carpark in front of the Convent.

City of Odense Museums.

og hotelværelser. Foreningen blev knapt 20 år senere sammensluttet med en anden forening til Industriforeningen, der kort efter opførte det overdådige Industripalæ på Albani Torv 3, nedrevet i 1981. Bygningen ved Jomfruklosteret blev solgt til Selskabet De danske Forsvarsbrødre for Odense og Omegn, som udlejede den til blandt andet en afholdsloge og et auktionshus. Den blev nedrevet omkring 1967, og Jomfruklosteret fik den smukke udsigt til åen tilbage.

Desuden blev engen solgt fra Jomfruklosteret, og patronen solgte de øvrige ejendomme i karreen, der havde tilhørt Karen Brahe og dernæst hendes arvinger, Stamhuset Hvedholm og siden Grevskabet Brahesminde: Hjørnet af Adelgade og Paaskestræde og husrækken i Paaskestræde. Tilbage blev kun Jomfruklosteret og dets have, som vi kender det i dag.

that it would immediately adjoin the south gable. What the building was to be used for is not stated. Either the Patron and the Prioress found it hard to relinquish the centuries-old connection between the two properties or they had ideas of expanding their way out of the crisis.

The following year a parcel of land in the large garden south of the main building was put up for sale. This was bought by the Odense Industrial and Trade Guild, who pulled down the brewhouse building and the three small rented houses and constructed a very high and massive building with restaurant, assembly room and hotel rooms. Barely 20 years later, the Guild amalgamated with another association to form the Industrial Association, which shortly afterwards erected the sumptuous Palace of Industry at 3 Albani Torv, demolished in 1981. The building next to Jomfruklosteret was sold to the Danish

De praktiske marmoreringer i kakkelovnskrogene, der beskyttede tapet og bemaling mod sodpartikler er forskellige i alle rummene og harmonerede ikke altid lige så godt med det øvrige interiør som her i rum 204 – marmoreringen blev ikke nødvendigvis ændret, når rummet blev sat i stand, da det krævede at kakkelovnen blev flyttet. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The practical marbling in the stove nook, which protected the wallpaper and paint against soot are different in all of the rooms and did not always harmonise as well with the other interiors as here in room 204 - the marbling was not necessarily changed, when the room was refurbished, as it required that the stove be moved. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Tjenestepigernes sukke

I Vestergade boede midt 1800-tallet barbermester Johan Frederich Prange og hans kone Caroline. De fik syv børn, og selvom de sad påt i det, kom pigerne ud at tjene i en ung alder. Fra 1862 til 1874 var tre af dem på Jomfruklosteret; de havde fået en net opdragelse og var kammerjomfruer – og de kunne skrive, både poetisk og sørgeligt. Søstrene havde den særprægede vane at kravle ind i skabet under lofttrappen med en blyant og nedfælde deres sorgemodige tanker på trævæggene. De var kun et par hundrede meter hjemmefra, men beskrev deres hjem og barndom som et tabt paradis.

Sophie på 20 år: Den 1. november 1862 forlod jeg mit Barndomshjem og trådte ind i det store triste Kloster.

Og en søndag morgen i maj 1864: Bag Klostrets Mure / jeg kukkelurer. Man gætter på, at priorinden har sagt nej til en lille udflugt...

Hendes lilleøster Wilhelmine Eleonora var også inde i skabet en sommermorgen:

Bag Klosterets gjemme / jeg havde hjemme /
i Aaret 1862 Onsdag Morgen den 23. Juli

Den yngste søster havde en åre eller læste tidens poesi, som 18-årig i 1870 skrev hun:

Gjemt bag Klostrets trange mure
Hjertet længselsfuldt dog banker
alt som Fuglen i snævre Bure
til Liv og Frihed staar mine Tanker

Hun tjente i næsten syv år og må have været lettet, da hun kravlede derind for sidste gang og skrev:
Elise Caroline Prange gik ind i / Klosteret den 1. November 1867 / 15 Aar / Og forlod det den 1. Maj 1874 / Farvel Levvel

Priorinden og frøkenerne var i denne periode mellem 40 og 85 år. Pigerne kunne ikke se omverdenen på grund af muren, og de kunne heller ikke høre den:

Bag Klostrets Døre / jeg kan ej høre / at Vognene paa Gaden køre

Så var der anderledes festligt hjemme i Vestergade – deres fader barbermesteren havde grundlagt Hornets Sønner i 1852, en livskraftig sangforening, der stadig lever i Odense.





Kig fra rum 214 til det vestre trapperum, 215, og døren til loftstrappen. 2013.

Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

View from room 214 to the west staircase, 215, and the door to the attic stairway. 2013.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

Maidservants' sighs

In the mid-19th century Master Barber Johan Frederich Prange lived in Vestergade with his wife Caroline. They had seven children, and although they were well enough off, their daughters were sent into service at a young age. From 1862 to 1874, three of them were at Jomfruklosteret; they were well-bred and were lady's maids – and they could write, with poetical pathos. The sisters had the curious habit of retreating to the cupboard under the attic stairs with a pencil and committing their melancholy thoughts to the wooden panels. They were only a few hundred metres from home, but described their home and childhood like a lost paradise.

Sophie at 20 years: On 1 November 1862 I left my childhood home and entered the vast and dreary convent. And one Sunday morning in May 1864: Behind the Convent walls / I sit and mope. One can only guess that the Prioress had refused her a little trip out...

Her younger sister Wilhelmine Eleonora was also in the cupboard one summer's morning:
Hidden away in the Convent / I had my home/
in the year 1862, Wednesday morning the 23rd of July

The youngest sister had a poetic streak or read the poetry of the time, and at the age of 18 in 1870 she wrote:
Hidden behind the Convent's oppressive walls
My heart still beats with longing
Like a bird in its narrow cage
My thoughts go to life and freedom.

She served for the next seven years, and must have breathed a sigh of relief when she crawled into the cupboard for the last time and wrote:
Elise Caroline Prange entered / the Convent on 1st November 1867 / 15 years old / And left it on 1st May 1874 / Goodbye Farewell

During this period the Prioress and ladies were between 40 and 85 years old. The girls could not see the outside world because of the wall, and could not hear it either:
Behind convent doors / I cannot hear / the wagons driving on the street

Life was much more convivial at home in Vestergade – in 1852 their father the master barber had founded the Sons of the Horn, a vigorous choral society which still exists today.



Den katolske menighed holdt gudstjenester i Patrongaarden til 1906, hvorefter hele området blev ryddet, og den nuværende St. Albani Kirke og en butiks- og beboelsesejendom blev opført. Begge bygninger lukkede helt af for lys og luft til Jomfruklosterets nordside, og det var formentlig på det tidspunkt, at havedøren i nordmuren igen blev tilmuret. Indtil den store bygning syd for hovedbygningen blev nedrevet omkring 1967, lå Jomfruklosteret klemt helt inde mellem høj, bymæssig bebyggelse, og det yndige, næsten landlige præg, der havde været over området, forsvandt. Kun inde bag muren var der stadig idyllisk, med rosen- og staudebede og store træer, og fra havens stier kunne frækenerne og deres gæster nyde den maleriske å.

Frasalgene og forandringerne i dagligdagen gav lidt luft i økonomien, men der skulle stadig passes på, og fremtidsudsigterne var ikke gode, for der havde

Ex-Servicemen's League for Odense and District, who rented it out as a temperance lodge and as an auction house. It was pulled down about 1967 and Jomfruklosteret regained its fine view over the river.

The meadow was also sold off, and the Patron sold the other properties in the street block which had belonged to Karen Brahe and then her heirs, the Entailed Estate of Hvedholm, and later Brahesminde Countship. These consisted of the corner of Adelgade and Paaskestræde and the row of houses in Paaskestræde. All that remained was Jomfruklosteret and its garden as we know them today.

The Catholic congregation held its services at Patrongaarden until 1906 when the whole area was cleared and the present St. Albani Church and a property with shops and flats were constructed. Both buildings blocked off all light and air to the north side

Det vue, der mødte de fem frøkener, som boede på Jomfruklosteret i 1870'erne, og deres piger, når de trådte ud af klosterporten på markedsdage. Pietro Krohn: Marked på Albani Torv i Odense. 1870.

The sight which would have met the five ladies who lived at the Convent in the 1870's and their maids, when they stepped out of the gate on market days. Pietro Krohn: Market on Albani Torv in Odense. 1870.

kun været én indskrivning mellem 1836 og 1852, og der kom kun én mere, indtil Jomfruklosteret blev nedlagt, i 1903. Det var ikke så mærkeligt, for Jomfruklosteret havde ikke hæving til de indskrevne frøkener, de såkaldte ekspektantinder,¹⁷ som ventede på en plads, og i nogle klostre måtte man ikke modtage hævinger eller støtte fra andre institutioner; stillet over for dét valg var Odense Adelige Jomfruklostrets beskedne beløb ikke attraktivt. Der kom med andre ord ikke flere penge i kassen, som enten kunne trække renter eller tilfalte klosteret i tilfælde af død eller giftermål.

I 1898 nedlagdes den fælles husholdning for at spare lønningerne til kokkepigen og de to piger, der havde med madlavning og servering at gøre. I stedet blev der indrettet køkkener på førstesalen. Hver frøken havde nu sit eget hushold, og frøkenerne var ikke længere fælles om kammerpigerne, men havde hver deres pige, som tog sig af alt, også madlavning, som i alle andre små hjem. Da den konstituerede priorinde døde i 1913, forsvandt den personlige kammerjomfru. Dernæst ophørte husjomfren. De frøkener, som i begyndelsen af 1900-tallet havde boet på Jomfruklosteret i mange år, blev meget gamle; de døde i 1910'erne, den sidste i 1921, og dermed var de personlige tjenestepingers tid forbi.

I det sidste halve århundrede af Jomfruklosterets levetid var dagliglivet som i enhver anden ejendom med lejligheder, hvor hver passer sit.

of Jomfruklosteret and it is presumably at this time that the garden door in the north wall was bricked up. Until the large building south of the main building was demolished about 1967, Jomfruklosteret lay hemmed in by high urban buildings, and the lovely, almost rural feeling to the area vanished. Only behind the wall was the idyll preserved, with rosebeds and shrubberies and large trees, and the ladies and their guests could still enjoy the picturesque river from the paths in the garden.

The sale of land and changes in daily routines eased the pressure on the finances, but care was still necessary, and the future prospects were not good, as there had been only one enrolment between 1836 and 1852, and there would be only one more, in 1903, before Jomfruklosteret closed. There was no mystery about this, as Jomfruklosteret could not provide an annuity to the enrolled ladies,¹⁷ who were waiting for a place, and in some convents, it was not allowed to receive annuities or support from other institutions; faced with that choice, the modest sum offered by Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen was not very attractive. In other words, there would be no more money coming in which could either earn interest or fall to the Convent in the case of death or marriage.

In 1898, common housekeeping was abolished in order to save the wages of the kitchen maid and the two maids who took care of cooking and serving. Instead, kitchens were installed on the first floor. Each lady now had her own household, and no longer shared lady's maids. Instead each had her own maid who did all the work, including cooking, as was the case in ordinary homes. When the acting Prioress died in 1913, the personal lady's maid vanished from the scene. The next to go was the housekeeper. The ladies who at the start of the 20th century had already been living at Jomfruklosteret for many years lived to be very old; they died in the 1910's and the last one in 1921, and with them the time of the personal maid servant came to an end.

In the final half-century of Jomfruklosteret's existence, daily life was the same as in any other property with flats, where each person looks after their own.



Udvikling og afvikling Decline and fall

Af / by Barbara Zalewski

Udvikling og afvikling

Der var ikke gået mange årtier efter stiftelsen, før Karen Brahes institution ikke længere var næsten livsnødvendig i nogle familier, og presset på klosteret aftog. Det var ligesom ved oprettelsen et sammenspiel af mange omstændigheder.

For det første blev der oprettet andre klostre en generation efter Karen Brahe. Sammenlagt havde de ganske vist kun lidt over hundrede boliger, men flere af dem blev hurtigt udvidede til også at være pengestifter, og Gisselklosteret var det udelukkende. Flere steder fik ekspektantinderne nu hæving, mens de stod på ventelisten til en klosterplads og dernæst til en plads med bolig. Det var en slags vartpenge, og mange fik dem hele livet uden nogensinde at rykke op som klosterjomfru. Beløbene varierede både mellem klostrene og i det enkelte kloster, fordi frøkenerne var opdelt i forskellige klasser, men beløbene var næsten alle steder højere end Jomfruklostrets årpenge. Alt i alt nød mere end 500 ugifte og enker således hævinger i en eller anden form og kunne dermed have deres egen bolig, som de fleste ønskede, når de fik muligheden. De levede beskedent, men standsmæssigt og havde altid en tjenestepige, og mange havde en slægtning, gerne yngre, boende hos sig.

For det andet havde den nye adel hurtigt fundet sig til rette. I løbet af 1700-tallet var mange driftige købmænd og dristige militære blevet adlede og jordejere – i dén eller omvendt rækkefølge. De blev ikke grever

Decline and fall

Not many decades from its foundation Karen Brahe's institution was no longer a necessity of life for certain families, and the demand for the Convent began to fall away. Just as at the time of establishment, this was due to the interplay of many circumstances.

In the first place, other convents were established a generation after Karen Brahe. All told, they only provided just over 100 apartments, but many of them quickly expanded into charity funds, and at Gisselklosteret this was the sole function. At several of the convents, the ladies received an annuity while they were on the waiting list for a place, and, later on, for an apartment. This was a kind of compensation payment, and many of them received it for their whole life without ever being promoted to conventional. The sums varied both between the convents and within the individual convent, as the ladies were divided into various classes, but the sums were nearly always higher than Jomfruklostrets allowance. In total, more than 500 unmarried or widowed noblewomen received annuities in one form or another and could thus enjoy their own home, which was what most of them wanted when given the opportunity. They lived modestly but according to their station, and always had a maidservant. Many had a relative, usually younger, staying with them.

On the other hand, the new nobility had soon found its feet. During the 18th century, many

Albani Torv 1924. The Secular Convent for Noblewomen, which for centuries had been in an almost rural idyll, was now completely squeezed in. Almost the entire area facing south down to the stream has been filled by a massive building built in 1871 on a plot sold off by the Convent. Facing north was a big block of flats and St. Albani Church, vicarage and school built in 1906-1908. City of Odense Museums.

og baroner, men sad på gode, solide herregårde, der kunne underholde både familien og enlige familie-medlemmer. De optog som før nævnt den gamle adels traditioner, giftede sig ind i de samme familier generation efter generation og indskrev deres døtre i jomfruklostre. På Jomfruklosteret var der hele klaner, som Rosenørn, de Lasson og Wormskiold i Jylland, indgivet med Lütthicau, og de fynske Leth og Brockenhuis-Løwenhielm; der var to generationer af slægterne Cederfeld de Simonsen og Treschow og, lidt fernere indbyrdes beslægtede, var to Vind, en Mund og en Trolle.

Hvad embedsmænd og militærpersoner angår, blev de i løbet af 1800-tallet bedre lønnede, så de ikke længere behøvede at forblive ugifte, tværtimod havde de efterhånden opnået en status, så de kunne indgå gode ægteskaber, og flere giftede sig nu ind i det velhavende borgerskab. Deres døtre ville ikke komme til at lide nød, men det var nu engang tradition at indskrive dem, og ligesom børnechecken i dag var hævingerne rare penge uanset ens økonomiske forhold – indtil pige blev gift eller resten af hendes liv, hvis hun ikke blev det.

Der var uden tvivl også prohibitive forhold på Jomfruklosteret, en gammel bygning, kold og lidt skummel med de tykke mure og små vinduer. Den dårlige økonomi gjorde, at alt var forsømt og gammeldags. Og trods de mange rum var der faktisk dårlig plads. Hele stueetagen var optaget af Biblioteket, de fælles rum og priorindens lejlighed, og alle frøkenværelser lå i den lavloftede overetage. Skulle alle de frøkener, der rykkede op som klosterjomfruer, have bolig, kunne der kun blive ét værelse til hver.

De fleste var bedre vant, for frøkenerne kom ikke længere fra forarmede, faldefærdige herregårde, lejehuse på landet eller små lejligheder i købstæderne. I det hele taget var boligkomforten hastigt på vej opad fra midten af 1800-tallet. I århundredets sidste del boede mange af frøkenerne med deres familier i herskabslejligheder i nye, historicistiske etageejendomme, både i København og provinsbyerne. Der var højt til loftet og store vinduer, og selvom vandklosetter endnu var sjældne, var

enterprising merchants and intrepid military men had been ennobled and become landowners – or the other way about. In the latter case they did not become counts and barons, but occupied excellent estates and houses with stable revenues which could support both their own family and single family members. As mentioned before, they assumed the traditions of the old nobility, intermarried with the same families for generation after generation and enrolled their daughters in the secular convents. At Jomfruklosteret whole clans were represented, such as Rosenørn, de Lasson and Wormskiold from Jutland, intermarried with Lütthicau, or Leth and Brockenhuis-Løwenhielm from Funen; there were two generations from the families of Cederfeld de Simonsen and Treschow and, slightly more distantly related, two Vinds, a Mund and a Trolle.

With regard to civil servants and military persons, during the 19th century, these became better paid, so they no longer needed to remain unmarried. On the contrary, they had gradually obtained a status which enabled them to make good marriages, and more of them now married into the wealthy middle classes. Their daughters would never suffer want, but it was still the tradition to enrol them, and just as with child allowances today, the annuities were useful money whatever one's financial situation – until the time the girl married, or for the rest of her life if she did not.

The conditions at Jomfruklosteret were definitely forbidding, with such an old building, cold and slightly sinister with its thick walls and small windows. The poor state of finances meant that everything was neglected and old-fashioned. And despite the many rooms, space was actually in short supply. The whole ground floor was occupied by the Library, the rooms for common use and the Prioress's apartment, and all the ladies' rooms were on the low-ceilinged upper floor. If all the ladies who had been promoted to conventional were to have an apartment, there would only be one room for each.

Most of the ladies were used to something better, as they no longer came from impoverished, dilapidated

Rum 214 med kig til rum 213. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, 2013.





Haven i 1920 og 1948, en landlig idyl midt i byen.
Den blev passet af et gartnerfirma, der også kom på flagdage.
Historiens Hus.



The garden in 1920 and 1948, a rural idyll in the midst of the city. It was looked after by a gardening company, who also raised the flag on flag days. The House of History.

der toiletrum, badeværelse med kar, gasbelysning, snart elektricitet og efterhånden centralvarme.

Skønt Odense var den første by i Danmark, der fik gas, offentligt vandværk og elektricitet, stod tiden stille på Jomfruklosteret. Her var stadig dasser bag Østfløjens, der blev først indlagt rindende vand i 1914 og elektricitet endnu senere, og der skulle fyres i gamle jernovne. Endnu senere kom der et toilet i priorindens lejlighed og et ovenpå, i et rum, der var skilt fra Arkaderummet med en bræddevæg. Der var ikke et eneste badeværelse i hele huset. Det betød ikke, at frøkenerne var uplejede, man havde haft andre måder at holde sig ren og lækker på, med eau de cologne, rensecremer, fine linnedklude og intensiv hårbørstning – men fra omkring 1900 blev vand det eneste salliggørende.

manors, rented cottages in the country or small flats in the market towns. Generally speaking, the standard of home comfort rose rapidly from the middle of the 19th century. In the latter years of that century, many of the ladies lived with their families in mansion flats in the new historicist residential blocks in Copenhagen and provincial cities. These had high ceilings and large windows, and even though water closets were still a rarity, there were dressing rooms, bathrooms with bathtub, gas lighting, and soon electricity and even central heating.

Odense may have been the first city in Denmark to have gas, a public waterworks and electricity, but at Jomfruklosteret, time stood still. There were still privies behind the East Wing, running water was not installed until 1914, and electricity even later, while heating was provided by the old cast-iron stoves. Even later,

I 1900-tallet var adelens unge ugifte kvinder enten en del af tidens jeunesse doré eller fik en uddannelse og nogle en karriere. Klosterlivet lå dem fjernt, uanset hvilket kloster det drejede sig om. Deres forældre indskrev dem stadig på Vallø og Vemmetofte, og de fik hævninger som lommepenge, indtil også disse klostre lukkede for indskrivningen i 1970'erne.¹⁸

Det, at færre og færre havde lyst til at bo på Jomfruklosteret, og at den ene lejlighed efter den anden

toilets appeared in the Prioress's apartment and on the first floor, the latter divided from the Arcade Room by a wooden partition wall. There was not a single bathroom in the whole house. This did not mean that the ladies were slovenly, but there were other means of keeping clean and fresh, such as eau de cologne, cleansing creams, fine linen cloths and intensive hair brushing – but from around 1900, water came to be seen as the only path to salvation.



*Det vestre trapperum, 112, med kig til Salen, rum 104. Hoveddøren ligger bag trappen.
Begge trapperum blev dekorerede med marmorerede kvadre i 1700-tallet, mens selve trapperne
blev ådrede i sidste del af 1800-tallet. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, 2013.*

*The west staircase, 112, with view of the Hall, room 104. The main door is behind the stairs.
Both staircases were decorated with marbled, faux ashlar in 18th century, while the actual stairs
were grained in the last part of the 1800's. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe, 2013.*



Jomfruklosterets næstsidste priorinde, enkebaronesse Anna Sophia Frederikke Augusta Vibeke Rosenkrantz, født Juel, til afskedsfesten for landsarkivar G.L. Wad på Grand Hotel i Odense i 1924. Priorinden sidder ved siden af festens genstand som nummer fem fra højre. På brystet bærer hun Odense Adelige Jomfruklostres ordenstegn. Priorinden, der var født i 1863 og i lige linie efterkommer af den lærde Holger Rosenkrantz, var en habil malerinde, især af interiører, og hendes værker sælges stadig pænt på internationale auktioner. Det skulle være mærkeligt, om hun ikke havde malt interiører fra Jomfruklosteret, men i så fald findes de i private samlinger. Fotograf H. Lønborg. Odense Bys Museer.

The Convent's second-last prioress, Dowager Baroness Anna Sophia Frederikke Augusta Vibeke Rosenkrantz, née Juel, at a farewell party for Keeper of the Regional Archives G.L. Wad at the Grand Hotel in Odense in 1924. The prioress is sitting next to Mr Wad, number five from the right. On her chest she wears the Order Badge of Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The prioress, who was born in 1863 as a direct descendant of the learned Holger Rosenkrantz, was a talented painter, especially of interiors, and her works still sell well at international auctions. It would be remarkable if she had not painted interiors of the Convent, but if so, they are in private collections. Photo H. Lønborg. City of Odense Museums.

blev forladt, og det ene rum efter det andet ikke længere havde nogen funktion, forklarer, hvordan tiden har kunnet stå så stille. Da klosteret blev nedlagt, havde nogle rum ikke været beboede i flere årtier – en enkelt lejlighed havde stået tom i et helt århundrede. For os er det en gave, for det har efterladt spor i interiørerne, som et tidevand, der trækker sig tilbage og efterlader spændende og hemmelige ting på bredden.

During the 20th century, the young unmarried women of the nobility were either part of the period's jeunesse dorée, or went in for an education and, for some of them, a career. Convent life was far from their thoughts, whatever kind of convent it was. Their parents still enrolled them for Vallø and Vemmetofte, and they received the annuities as pocket money, until these convents too closed for enrolments in the 1970's.¹⁸



Rum 214 med etageovn, der som type er ældre end cylinderovnene i nogle af de andre rum. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

Room 214 with multi-level wood burning stove of the type that is older than the cylinder-shaped stoves in some of the other rooms. 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

Den sidste beboer

De tre frøkener, som var flyttet ind på Jomfruklostret i anden halvdel af 1800-tallet og den meget gamle frøken Fønss, der flyttede ind i 1918, døde som nævnt mellem 1917 og 1921. Derefter boede her to frøkener en kort årrække i henholdsvis 1920’erne og 1930’erne.

Fra 1941 til 1957 boede her kun priorinden, enkebaronesse Erkel Aase Knuth, og en enkelt frøken, baronesse Hedevig Bille-Brahe. Det var hende, der som nævnt var blevet klosterjomfru som 6-årig og flyttede ind som 22-årig. Hun flyttede ud i 1957, men beholdt pladsen og hævingen, og derefter var kun priorinden tilbage som den sidste levende forbindelse til Karen Brahes filantropiske initiativ. Hun var ikke helt alene i huset, en lærerinde var logerende fra 1921, til Jomfruklostret blev nedlagt.

The fact that fewer and fewer wanted to live at Jomfruklostret, and that one apartment after another was given up and one room after another no longer had a function, explains how time could have stood still. When the Convent closed down, some rooms had not been inhabited for decades – one apartment had been empty for a whole century. For us this is a gift, because traces have survived in the interior like a receding tide, revealing interesting and secret objects on the shores.

The last resident

The three ladies who moved into Jomfruklostret in the second half of the 19th century and the very old Miss Fønss, who moved in in 1918, died between 1917 and



Fra 1944 til 1957 var der kun to beboere på klosterets førstesal, en frøken og en logerende, og derefter kun den logerende indtil 1974. Herefter brugte Odense Bys Museer nogle af rummene til magasinering af museumsgenstande. 2007. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

From 1944 to 1957 there were only two residents on first floor of the Convent, a middleaged lady and a lodger, and then only the lodger until 1974. Then Odense City Museums used some of the rooms for storing museum pieces. 2007. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Priorinderne havde lejlighed i den østlige ende af stueetagen, lige til Jomfruklosteret lukkede i 1974. Den sidste priorinde var enkebaronesse Erkel Aase Knuth, hvis navneskilt stadig sidder på døren – A. står for det andet fornavn, som var hendes kaldenavn. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

The Prioresses had a flat at the eastern end of the ground floor right until the Convent closed in 1974. The last prioress was Dowager Baroness Erkel Aase Knuth, whose nameplate is still attached to the door – she was known as Aase, hence the initial A. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



Priorinden lagde beslag på det meste af underetagen, idet ingen andre jo brugte Salen, og flyttede på et tidspunkt sit soveværelse til det nordvendte rum bag vesttrappen og stengangen.

Det sidste år inden nedlæggelsen havde såvel priorinden som lærerinden en slægtning boende – priorinden var nu 84 år, og den logerende må også have passeret støvets år, så de har haft brug for hjælp til at flytte.

Det må have været meget mærkeligt for de to aldrende damer at bo i det kæmpestore hus, overgroet med vildvin og skjult bag klostermuren. Der havde før boet enlige damer på Jomfruklosteret, Anne Gøye, Anne Gyldenstjerne som enke og Anne Brahe, men de var omgivet af et stort folkehold, slægtninge og venner og fru Anne af sine børn og børnebørn, på besøg og på længere ophold.

Husets topografi egnede sig til en bestemt livsform, det skulle beboes af mange mennesker oppe og nede, ude og inde, der skulle være buldrende kaminer og gloende ovne, ellers var det blot en kold, mørk stenmasse. Det kunne ikke lade sig gøre omkring 1970, huset og institutionen jomfrukloster var blevet fuldstændig utidssvarende, de hørte ikke hjemme i det moderne liv. Det var på tide at lukke døren til Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster.

Odense Kommune

Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster blev sammenlagt med Roskilde Adelige Jomfrukloster i 1974, under navnet Den Skeel-Iuel-Brahe'ske Stiftelse, Roskilde Kloster – det sidste led er også klosterets navn i daglig tale. Det var et naturligt valg, fordi de to klostre var næsten

1921, as mentioned above. Subsequently, two ladies lived here for a short period in the 1920's and 1930's.

From 1941 to 1957, only the Prioress lived here, Dowager Baroness Erkel Aase Knuth, and a single lady, Baroness Hedevig Bille-Brahe. She was the one who became a conventual at the age of 6 and moved in at the age of 22. She moved out in 1957, but retained the place and the annuity, and after that there was only the Prioress left, as the last connection with Karen Brahe's philanthropic initiative. She was not entirely alone in the house, as a schoolmistress lodged here from 1921 until Jomfruklosteret closed down.

The Prioress commanded most of the ground floor, as no others were using the Hall, and at one point moved her bedroom to the north-facing room behind the west stairs and the stone corridor.

In the final year before closure, both the Prioress and the teacher had a relative living with them – the Prioress was now 84 years old and the lodger must also have been well up in years, so they would have needed help in moving house.

It must have been a strange life for the two elderly ladies in the enormous house, overgrown with creepers and hidden behind the Convent walls. Single ladies had lived at Jomfruklosteret before, Anne Gøye, Anne Gyldenstjerne as a widow and Anne Brahe, but they were surrounded by a large staff of servants, by relatives and friends, and Lady Anne by her children and grandchildren, both on visits and for longer stays.

The topography of the house fitted it for a particular way of life; it needed to be inhabited by large numbers of people, upstairs and downstairs, inside and outside, and there should be roaring fires



Stolen, der skal have tilhørt Karen Brahe, er betrukket med gobelin, og der ligger en tyk pude i den, hvis betræk ifølge tekstilforskere er meget interessant. Begge dele er mønstrede og farvestrålende, som man elskede det i barokken. Sådanne møbler og de dekorerede vægge, med mange farver og mønstre, har gjort Jomfruklosterets fællesrum festlige også til hverdag.
Foto: Karsten Damstedt.

The chair supposed to have belonged to Karen Brahe is upholstered in gobelin tapestry, and contains a thick cushion, the cover of which is of great interest to textile researchers. Both are patterned and highly coloured, as was the preference of the Baroque age. Such furniture and the decorated walls with the many colours and patterns would have made the Convent's communal rooms festive, even on ordinary days. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.

samtidige, mens de følgende klostre var en generation yngre og havde et andet præg, og fordi stifterinderne havde kendt hinanden og havde rod i samme miljø.

Alt løsøre fra Jomfruklosteret blev overført til Roskilde. Der var kun bevaret ganske lidt bohave, selvom elleve priorinder teoretisk skulle have efterladt deres ting, men en barok øreklapstol skal ifølge traditionen have været Karen Brahes og har stået i Biblioteket, viser de ældste fotografier. De viser også, at



Konservatorerne har renset døren mellem rum 102 og trappe-rum 112 for mange lag maling, som man kan se på farvetrappen, så den nu står som oprindeligt, med en let fremhævning af de dekorative detaljer. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

The conservators have stripped the door between room 102 and staircase 112 of many layers of paint, so now it is as it was originally, with a slight highlighting of the decorative details. 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

and glowing stoves, otherwise it was just a cold, dark, pile of bricks. There was no way to recreate this around 1970, when the house and the secular convent institution were completely outdated and no longer had a place in modern life. It was time to close the door on Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen.

Municipality of Odense

Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen was amalgamated with Roskilde Secular Convent for Noblewomen in 1974 under the name Den Skeel-Iuel-Brahe'ske Stiftelse, Roskilde Kloster – the last element is also the convent's usual name. This was a natural choice, both because the two convents were almost contemporane-

den del af Jomfruklosterets billedsamling, der havde religiøse motiver, var ophængt derinde.

Resten af de ca. fyrré portrætter hang ude på stengangen ved trappen, i Salen, 104 og i Patronessens Kammer. I dag hænger Karen Brahe og hendes nærmeste slægtninge i en stue ved siden af Roskilde Klosters såkaldte riddersal, mens de øvrige portrætter er fordelt på to lange gange. En helt unik genstand er det såkaldte Nakkebølle-tæppe fra 1589, et silkebroderi med Friis, Brockenhuis og Bille-våbnerne, slyngede bånd og blomster. Det var ved arv vandret gennem slægterne til Karen Brahes familie.

Karen Brahes Bibliotek på over 3.400 bind og ca. 1.150 håndskrifter havde siden 1907 stået på Landsarkivet i Odense af sikkerhedsgrunde. I 2010 blev det overført til Roskilde og er nu i Stiftsbiblioteket for Sjællands varetægt.

Odense Kommune overtog Jomfruklosteret og har brugt bygningerne til flere formål. Odense Bys Museer har haft kontorer, lager og magasiner, blandt andet lå legemsstore figurer fra en altertavle helt surrealistisk på gulvene i nogle af frækenernes værelser.

I fem år fra 2001 havde sekretariatet for H.C. Andersen 2005 Fonden til huse her, hvor digteren flere gange havde været på besøg. "Væggene lidt skæve står. Hvidkalkede og rustikke. Et gennemrenoveret kloster midt i H.C. Andersens fødeby med højt til loftet og brede gulvplanker. Alt ned til mindste detalje er gennemtænkt. Tjekket og strømlinet. Store lyse rum, stempelkande og håndlavet chokolade med H.C. Andersen-portræt i skåle. Et stuemøblement i italiensk design, et B&O-anlæg, der falder diskret ind, og et kolossal unikum af en syret millenniumdesign-lysekrona, der indiskret bryder stilfuldt. Velkomstlokalet i HCA 2005-sekretariatet i Odense, er lavet til at få gæsterne til at falde på halen." Sådan beskrev Information i 2005 oplevelsen, når man trådte ind i Biblioteket,²⁰ og alle artikler om sekretariatets domicil omtaler Jomfruklosteret som et eventyrligt sted – det havde været lukket om sig selv så længe, at ingen anede, hvad der gemte bag de tykke mure.

ous, while the following convents came a generation later and had a different character, and because the foundresses had known each other and came from the same background.

All items at Jomfruklosteret were transferred to Roskilde. Only a very few effects had been preserved, even though in theory the 11 Priresses should have left their possessions to the Convent, but according to tradition a baroque wing chair had belonged to Karen Brahe, and stood in the Library, as shown on the oldest photographs. These also show that the part of Jomfruklosteret's collection of paintings with a religious theme had hung there.

The rest of the 40 or so portraits hung in the stone corridor by the stairs, in the Hall, 104 and in the Patroness's Room. Today, Karen Brahe and her closest family hang in a room next to Roskilde Kloster's so-called Great Hall, while the other portraits are displayed on two long corridors. One unique item is the so-called Nakkebølle tapestry from 1589, a silk embroidery with the arms of the Friis, Brockenhuis and Bille families, intertwined ribbons and flowers. By inheritance, this had changed owners until it reached the family of Karen Brahe.

Karen Brahe's library of over 3400 volumes and approx. 1150 manuscripts had since 1907 been housed at the Records Office in Odense, for safety reasons. In 2010 it was transferred to Roskilde and is now in the keeping of the Zealand Diocesan Library.

Odense Municipality took over Jomfruklosteret and used the buildings for various purposes. The City of Odense Museums have had offices, storerooms and storage space here, and, weirdly enough, at one point the floors in some of the ladies' rooms were occupied by life-size figures from an altarpiece.

For five years from 2001, the secretariat for the Hans Christian Andersen 2005 Fund was housed in the building, which the writer had visited several times. "The walls here are a little crooked. Limewashed and rustic. A thoroughly renovated convent in the middle of Hans Christian Andersen's birth city, with high ceilings and wide planked floors. All carefully planned to the



Tv.: Karen Brahe fejrede sin 350 års fødselsdag med en reception i det smukke biblioteksrum. Munter ved de lydhøre gæster kommenterede hun livligt fortiden og nutiden, forfaldet, udviklingen, bygningen og fremtiden. Skuespiller: Agneta Bjørn fortolker.

Th.: Selskabet har flere gange deltaget med arrangementer under Bygningskulturens dag og Forskningens døgn. Typisk kombineres oplæg med performance, som her under fejringen af Middelalderåret, hvor bygningens ældste historie også blev fortolket gennem folkekulturens skjaldetradition. Musiker: Tore Plougheld.

Karen Brahe Selskabet

Et enkelt år, under Odenses 1000-års jubilæum i 1988, havde Jomfruklosteret dog været tilgængeligt, idet Karen Brahe Selskabet havde lånt det af Odense Kommune for at afholde en række aktiviteter under overskriften *Kvinder i 1000 år*. Der var skiftende udstillinger, kunst, teater, musik og café og med et besøgstal på 26.000 i de seks måneder, det varede. Selskabet mener selv, at tilstrømningen delvist skyldtes den enestående mulighed for at se ind bag murene.

Karen Brahe Selskabet var stiftet 1. december året før med tre formål: At virke for aktiviteter, der knytter



Left, Karen Brahe celebrated her 350 year birthday with a reception in the beautiful library room. Cheerful with the responsive guests, she commented lively on the past and the present, the disrepair, the development, the building and the future. Actress: Agneta Bjørn interpreted.

Right, The company has been involved several times with events during Building Culture Day and The Festival of Research. Presentations are typically combined with a performance like here during the celebration of the Middle Ages, where the building's oldest history was also interpreted through the skald tradition of the folk culture. Musician: Tore Plougheld.

smallest detail. Stylish and streamlined. Large, bright rooms, a cafetière and hand-made chocolate with Hans Christian Andersen's portrait in bowls. Furnishings in Italian design, a Bang & Olufsen sound unit discreetly blending into the background, while a colossal unique millennium-designed candelabra indiscreetly but elegantly disrupts the whole. The welcome area at the HCA 2005 Secretariat in Odense has been designed to surprise and overwhelm its guests." This was how the newspaper Information described its impression of the Library in 2005,²⁰ and all articles about the Secretariat's home describe Jomfruklosteret as a fairy-tale place – it

“Det er svært at forklare hvordan, men det er en bygning, der tager imod dig allerede ved døren. Du bliver hurtigt velkendt med lugte og lyde og deres forskellighed fra kælder til loft. Her er godt at være. På en gang hjemligt og udfordrende – der er altid en detalje, du ikke har bemærket, en tanke du ikke har tænkt. De uforstyrrede spor af levet liv, middelalderkælderen, biblioteket – og ovenpå, de flossede tapeter, løbesoden, de tynde bræddevægge med synlige dekorationsspor af genbrug. Alt fortæller historier.”

Jane Jakobsen, cand.mag. et art., formand
for Karen Brahe Selskabet, 2012

sig til Karen Brahe og Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, at støtte, fremme og oplyse om kvindekultur og kvindekulturelle miljøer og at virke for, at Jomfruklosteret også i fremtiden skulle danne ramme om kvindekulturelle aktiviteter.

Hvad det sidste punkt angår, var tanken oprindeligt at motivere Odense Kommune til at stille hele Jomfruklosteret til rådighed for et kvindekulturcenter. Aktiviteterne i 1988 skulle vise, at det havde sin berettigelse, og året efter udgav Selskabet en rapport, *Fra Frøkenkloster til Kulturcenter*, med planer for et sådant center.

Udviklingen gik en anden vej, men Selskabet fik dog et kontor og et mødelokale på loftet af Jomfruklosterets østfløj i 1997. Bestyrelsesmedlemmer mindes, at det uisolerede rum gav en oplevelse af at være i autentiske omgivelser. Det var dog ikke sådan, som Karen Brahe og frøkenerne havde boet, men sådan som tjenestefolkene gjorde.

Samme år, i 1997, skabte Selskabet i samarbejde med teaterprojektet Rampelyset en poetisk forestilling, *De drømmende jomfruer*, opbygget af brudstykker af litteratur, filosofi og folkeeventyr. Forestillingen blev spillet på gårdspladsen i skaeret af levende fakler på Odenses Kulturnat og trak mange tilskuere.

Året efter afholdt Selskabet en udstilling med titlen *Heltinders pryd*. Temaet var Karen Brahe, hendes

had been closed in on itself so long that no-one could guess what was hidden behind its thick walls.

The Karen Brahe Society

However, there was a single year when Jomfruklosteret had been open to the public, during Odense's 1000 year anniversary in 1988, when the Karen Brahe Society borrowed it from Odense Municipality to hold a series of activities under the heading *Women over 1000 years*. There were various exhibitions, art, theatre, music and a café, and 26,000 people visited the house during the six months it was open. The Society itself thinks that the high visitor numbers were partly due to this unique opportunity to take a look behind the walls.

The Karen Brahe Society had been formed on 1 December of the previous year, with three objectives: to work for activities linked to Karen Brahe and Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, to support, promote and inform about women's culture and women's cultural environments, and to work to ensure that Jomfruklosteret should continue to provide a setting for women's cultural activities.

With regard to the final point, the original idea had been to motivate Odense Municipality to make the whole site available for a women's cultural centre. The activities of 1988 were to demonstrate the justification for this, and the following year the Society published a report *From Secular Convent to Cultural Centre*, with plans for such a centre.

Developments took another path, but the Society was given an office and a meeting room in the attic of Jomfruklosteret's east wing in 1997. Board members recall that this uninsulated room gave an impression of being in authentic surroundings. However, this was not how people such as Karen Brahe and the ladies had lived, but how the servants lived.

In the same year, 1997, the Society, in collaboration with the theatre project Rampelyset created a poetic performance, *The dreaming maidens*, built up from



Karen Brahes Bibliotek, der stod i bygningen i næsten 200 år, er det bedst bevarede private adelsbibliotek herhjemme. Selskabet har enkelte gange fået tilladelse af ejerne til at fremvise bøger, bl.a. i forbindelse med en større udstilling i Jomfruklostret.

Også oplæg om bøgerne er eftertragtede og kan fyldes salen. At Karen Brahe har læst bøgerne illustreres her ved Lars Bisgaard, under et oplæg for selskabet: Bogen har titlen: Besser Kein Christ, als Ein Pietist. Den er trykt i 1699, og på indersiden står med KBs hånd "See N 32 Pietisternis første Anfang og deris forsuar N 77". (KBs arkivsystem). Foto: Ole Østerby.

Karen Brahe's Library, which was kept in the building for almost 200 years, is the best preserved private 16th-18th centuries library in Denmark. The Society has a few times been permissioned by the owners of the Library to display books, for instance in connection with a major exhibition in the Convent. Also, presentations about the books are sought after and fill the hall. That Karen Brahe actually read the books is illustrated here by Lars Bisgaard during a lecture for the Society: The title of the book: Besser Kein Christ, als Ein Pietist. It was printed in 1699, and on the inside is written in hand by KB: "See N 32 Pietisternis første Anfang og deris forsuar N 77" (See N 32 the first beginning of the Evangelical movement and its defence N 77). (KBs archive system).

Photo: Ole Østerby.

"It is hard to explain why, but this is a building which welcomes you right at the door. You quickly become familiar with its smells and sounds and the way these vary from cellar to attic. It's a good place to be. Both home-like and challenging at the same time – there is always a detail you have never noticed, a thought you have never thought. The undisturbed traces of lives lived, the medieval kitchen, the library – and upstairs, the frayed wallpaper, the soot marks, the thin wooden partition walls with visible decorations from former uses. Everything has a history to tell."

Jane Jakobsen, cand.mag. et art., President
of the Karen Brahe Society, 2012

fragments of literature, philosophy and folk-tales. The performance was given on the courtyard in the light of flaming torches on Odense Culture Night and drew many spectators.

The following year, the Society mounted an exhibition with the title *Pride of Heroines*. The theme was Karen Brahe, her library, and life in the Convent in the 18th century, in dialogue with a future on the internet and in cyberspace. As a rather advanced feature for the time, there was an internet café where the public could make searches in subject files. The exhibition was ambitious in scope, with original effects and a number of selected books from Karen Brahe's Library, then stored at the Odense Regional Archives. The rare books were insured to the hilt and exhibited in bullet-proof cases in darkened rooms. The Society allied itself with a corps of volunteers who acted as museum attendants for the two months the exhibition lasted.

In the Medieval Year in 1999, the Society put on a multi-media show *The Soul of the Cellar* under the vaults. This consisted of lighting effects accompanied by sound recordings of three generations of women's voices, mixed with sounds from Odense River. Outside, Jomfruklosteret's walls were spotlit and there were dark figures – monks! – among the trees in the

Klosteret 2007. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The convent 2007. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.





bibliotek og livet i klosteret i 1700-tallet, i dialog med fremtiden på internettet og i cyberspace. Som noget temmelig avanceret på det tidspunkt var der en internetcafé, hvor publikum kunne søge i temafiler. Udstillingen var stort anlagt med oprindeligt bohave og en række udvalgte bøger fra Karen Brahes Bibliotek, der dengang blev opbevaret på Landsarkivet i Odense. De sjældne bøger, der var højt forsikrede, blev udstillet i skudsikre montrer i mørklagte rum. Selskabet havde allieret sig med et korps af frivillige, der var museums-vagter i de to måneder, udstillingen varede.

I Middelalderåret 1999 iværksatte Selskabet et multimedieshow, *Sjælen i kælderen*, under hvælvingerne. Det bestod af lyseffekter, akkompagneret af lydoptagelser af tre generationer kvindestemmer, blandet med lyde fra Odense Å. Udenfor var der spots på Jomfruklostrets mure og mørke skikkeler – munke! – mellem havens træer. Der var åbent tre aftener og igen stor interesse.

Til de udad vendte aktiviteter hører også bogen *Fra Bispegård til Jomfrukloster*, som Karen Brahe Selskabet udgav i 2004, 500-året for påbegyndelsen af Bispegaards-byggeriet under biskop Jens Andersen Beldenak. Bogen er en antologi med bidrag af akademikere af forskellige fag, der beskriver bygningen, Jomfruklostret og Karen Brahes Bibliotek.

Karen Brahes medlemsaktiviteter består i foredrag om en lang række emner som Karen Brahes liv, hendes tid og dens åndsliv, hendes bibliotek og datidens litteratur samt Odenses og Fyns historie og andre jomfruklostre. Siden Realdania Byg begyndte på restaureringen, har interessen samlet sig om selve Jomfruklostrets bygning med flere arrangementer med blandt andre arkitekt MAA Søren Lundqvist og konserver Line Bregnhoi. Selskabet har også haft ekskursioner, blandt andet til Karen Brahes gods Østrupgaard på Sydfyn og til Roskilde Kloster.²¹

Nogle år efter, at Karen Brahe Selskabet var flyttet ind på Jomfruklostret, fik sekretariatet for H.C. Andersen 2005 Fonden som nævnt domicil i bygningen. Herefter rykkede Selskabet ind i de små



garden. The place was open for three nights and again attracted wide interest.

Among the outward-directed activities was also the book *From Bishop's Palace to Secular Convent*, published by the Karen Brahe Society in 2004, the 500th anniversary of the start of building work at the Bishop's Palace under Bishop Jens Andersen Beldenak. The book is an anthology of articles by academics in various disciplines, describing the building, Jomfruklostret and Karen Brahe's Library.

The Society's membership activities include talks on many subjects such as Karen Brahe's life, the times and intellectual currents of the day, her library and the literature of the day together with the history of Odense and Funen and that of other secular convents. Since Realdania Byg started its restoration, interest has focused on the actual Jomfruklostret building, with several events being held with architect Søren Lundqvist MAA and conservator Line Bregnhoi. The Society has also made excursions, for instance to Karen Brahe's estate of Østrupgaard in South Funen and to Roskilde Kloster.²¹

A few years after the Karen Brahe Society had moved into Jomfruklostret, the secretariat for the Hans Christian Andersen 2005 Foundation was housed in the building, as mentioned above. Following this

Stensætningen ned mod åen og klosterets gårdrum genetableres efter flere års arbejder på klosteret. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

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The retaining wall facing Odense River and the courtyard of the Convent are re-established after several years with large scale work around the Convent. 2013. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



rum i stueetagens østgavl, som nu, efter restaureringen, er genskabt som det oprindelige, store rum. Her har Selskabet igen fået lokaler, nu med H.C. Andersen Centret under Syddansk Universitet som husvært.

Undersøgelser af Jomfruklosteret

Et så enestående hus som Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster har naturligvis vakt nysgerrighed, især da den almene historiske interesse voksede i løbet af 1800-tallet. Siden da er der ikke skrevet noget i medierne om Jomfruklosteret, uden at bygningens fortid som bispegaard er nævnt, og dens tykke mure og hvælvede kældre omtales med ærefrygt. Jomfruklosteret blev da også fredet mindre end fire måneder efter, at den første bygningsfredningslov blev vedtaget i 1918.

Men så vidt vides var der ikke foretaget egentlige undersøgelser af hverken eksteriør eller interiør, før Odense Kommune erhvervede bygningen i 1972. Derefter har der været flere arkæologiske og bygningsarkæologiske undersøgelser, som har givet væsentlige oplysninger om hele anlægget, om detaljer i bygningens udvikling og om førstesalens interiører.

Kommunen overlod bygningen til Odense Bys Museer, der ville bruge den til udstilling af den forhistoriske samling, og skønt der dengang ikke fandtes samme beskyttelse i lovgivningen som i dag, skulle det undersøges, hvad den rummede af bevaringsværdi. Det blev til en summarisk bygningsarkæologisk undersøgelse af restaureringsarkitekt og bygningshistoriker Hans Henrik Engqvist.²²

I 1977 undersøgte Nationalmuseet interiørerne. Det var en ganske kortvarig undersøgelse, kun et par

the Society moved into the small rooms at the eastern end of the ground floor, which now, after restoration, have been recreated as the original large room. Here the Society has again been given house-room, this time with the Hans Christian Andersen Centre at the University of South Denmark as its landlord.

Investigations at Jomfruklosteret

Such an outstanding house as Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen has naturally been the subject of curiosity, especially since a general interest for history developed during the 19th century. Since then nothing is ever mentioned in the media about Jomfruklosteret without the building's past as a bishop's palace being mentioned, while its thick walls and vaulted cellar are described with awe. Jomfruklosteret was scheduled as a protected building less than four months after the first Building Preservation Act was enacted in 1918.

But as far as is known, no actual investigations of either exterior or interior were made before Odense Municipality acquired the building in 1972. Since then there have been several archaeological and constructional surveys which have provided significant information about the building as a whole, about details of the building's development and about the interiors on the first floor.

The Municipality transferred the building to the City of Odense Museums, who wanted to use it for displaying its prehistoric collections, and although the law did not give the same protection as today, it was necessary to examine what elements were worthy of preservation. This resulted in a brief archaeological investigation of the building by conservation architect and building historian Hans Henrik Engqvist.²²

In 1977, the National Museum investigated the interiors. This was a very short investigation, just a couple of days, and only of the first floor, resulting in a simple confirmation that the walls and timbers were worthy of preservation and should be investigated

Overall i klosteret kan man også fremover se mange af de afdækninger, som konservatorerne har lavet for at få viden om og registrere husets mange historiske lag. Enkelte lag kan tidsbestemmes meget præcist, mens andre må inddeltes i perioder. 2013. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.





Hovedtrappen. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

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The main stairs. Secular Convent for Noblewomen 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

dage og kun af førstesalen, og i undersøgelsen konstateredes det blot, at vægge og træværk var bevaringsværdige og skulle undersøges nærmere ved lagvis afdækning. Denne omfattende undersøgelse er først udført i forbindelse med Realdania Bygs restaurering, hvor den var en forudsætning for hele arbejdet med interiørerne.

Der var desuden planer om at indrette kælderen til restaurant for museumsudstillingen, hvorfor bygningens kældergulve samme år blev undersøgt. Ebbe Hædersdal, der senere skrev doktorafhandling i bygningsarkæologiens og restaureringens filosofi, fandt ved den lejlighed en række vigtige oplysninger om hovedbygningen og tidligere aktiviteter på stedet.²³ Planerne om udstilling og restaurant blev imidlertid skrinlagt, og de næste godt 20 år rummede Jomfruklosteret ekstra kontorer og magasiner for museet.

Arkitekt MAA Kjeld Borch Vesth har foretaget en meget grundig bygningsarkæologisk undersøgelse, nærmest sten for sten, suppleret med arkivalske undersøgelser af såvel Bispegaarden som adelsgården, Brahernes gård og Jomfruklosteret.²⁴

Odense Bys Museer udførte 1975-1977 en større udgraving ud for Jomfruklosterets sydfacade, idet bygningsarkæologerne formodede, at der havde været en vestfløj. Den blev fundet i form af fundamenter og spor efter en kælder med hvælvinger, og hele udgravingen gav interessant viden om det oprindelige bispegårdsanlæg. Herefter formodede man, at der havde været en tilsvarende østfløj, der blot var skjult under bindingsværksbygningen fra 1749, og den er faktisk fundet ved de arkæologiske udgravninger i forbindelse med restaureringen 2009-2013.

Da Odense Kommune i 2004 tog kontakt til Realdania Byg om køb af Jomfruklosteret, var det således klart, at bygningen og dens umiddelbare omgivelser rummede mange udfordringer, men også ny viden og store oplevelser, både for dem, der har medvirket ved restaureringen, for dem, der i fremtiden skal bruge Jomfruklosteret til daglig, og for publikum, som løbende vil få lejlighed til at se indenfor.

further by systematic removal of layers. This comprehensive investigation was only carried out in connection with Realdania Byg's restoration, in which it was a precondition for the whole work on the interiors.

There were also plans to fit out the cellar as a restaurant for the museum exhibition, and for this reason the cellar floors in the building were investigated in the same year. During the investigation, Ebbe Hædersdal, who later wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the philosophy of building archaeology and restoration, discovered a number of important facts about the main building and previous activities on the site.²³ The plans for an exhibition site and restaurant were later dropped, so for more than 20 years, Jomfruklosteret housed extra offices and storage space for the museum.

Architect Kjeld Borch Vesth MAA has undertaken a very thorough archaeological investigation of the building, almost stone by stone, supplemented by archival studies of the Bishop's Palace as a nobleman's home, as the Brahes' house and as Jomfruklosteret.²⁴

In 1975-1977, the City of Odense Museums carried out a major excavation by the south facade of Jomfruklosteret, as the building archaeologists had surmised the existence of a west wing. This was discovered in the form of foundations and traces of a vaulted cellar, and the whole excavation provided interesting knowledge of the original bishop's palace site. It was now surmised that there was a corresponding east wing, concealed under the half-timbered building of 1749, and such a wing was discovered in the archaeological excavations in connection with the restoration of 2009-2013.

When Odense Municipality contacted Realdania Byg in 2004 about the purchase of Jomfruklosteret, it was thus clear that the building and its immediate surroundings held many challenges, but also new knowledge and exciting discoveries, not only for those taking part in the restoration but also for those who would use Jomfruklosteret on a daily basis and the general public who would have regular opportunities to look inside.



Restaureringen af Jomfruklosteret

Restoration of Jomfruklosteret

Af / by Frants Frandsen, Realdania Byg

Odense Adelige Jomfruklostrets store bygning har ligget gemt og næsten glemt i dybet af sin have i mange årtier; de fleste husker kun, at de har set den ud ad øjenkrogen i farten op eller ned ad den stejle Albanigade. Enkelte har været der til et arrangement og glemmer den ikke igen. Jomfruklosteret er et ældgammelt hus med stor værdighed, som man nærmer sig med respekt og høflighed. Det lader sig ikke opfatte på én gang og som kun en materiel størrelse. Som det står nu, er det en funktion af tid og rum, af mange fortællinger, der fletter sig ind i hinanden. En sådan bygnings udseende og tilstand har en immateriel klangbund, en atmosfære, som en restaurering må være lydhør overfor.

Man kan sige, at en bygning, hvad enten den er ny eller gammel, nærmest har en personlighed. Man fornemmer den, men er også nødt til at stille spørgsmål til den på baggrund af konkret viden om alder, stil, anvendelse og hvad de mennesker, der har brugt den under vejs, ville med den. Svarene afføder flere spørgsmål, og især i et hus med Jomfruklosterets høje alder og mange funktioner gennem tiden er de nærmest uendelige.

I Jomfruklosteret er der indtil sidste øjeblik i den årelange restaureringsproces dukket nye, uforudsigelige ting op, ikke kun problemer, men også spændende og væsentlige træk, arkitektur- og kulturhistorisk. Derfor har hvert eneste svar ført til en ny analyse med nye spørgsmål og nye valg.

The bulky mass of the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, or Jomfruklosteret, has for decades lain hidden away in its grounds, and almost been forgotten; for most people it is something seen out of the corner of their eye as they drive up and down the steep Odense street known as Albanigade. But some have visited it as part of a cultural event, and these people never forget it. Jomfruklosteret is an age-old house of tremendous dignity, which can only be approached with respect and courtesy. It takes time to appreciate the spirit of the building, which is more than just a material object. As it stands now, it is a function of time and space and of many interwoven stories. The appearance and condition of such a building has an intangible resonance or atmosphere, to which a restoration project must pay attention.

Any building, old or new, has what is almost its own personality. But while this personality can be perceived, it is still necessary to interrogate the building for specific knowledge about age, style, purpose and the intentions of the people who used it during the years. The answers to these questions generate questions in turn, and especially in a house with the age and many functions that Jomfruklosteret has had over the years, these can turn out to be almost infinite.

At Jomfruklosteret, new and unpredictable finds have emerged right up to the last moment of the years-long restoration process, not just in the form of

Det vestre trapperum, 215, før restaureringen. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The west staircase, 215, before the restoration. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Rum 205, med kig til rum 204, før restaureringen. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

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Room 205 with view of room 204, before the restoration. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



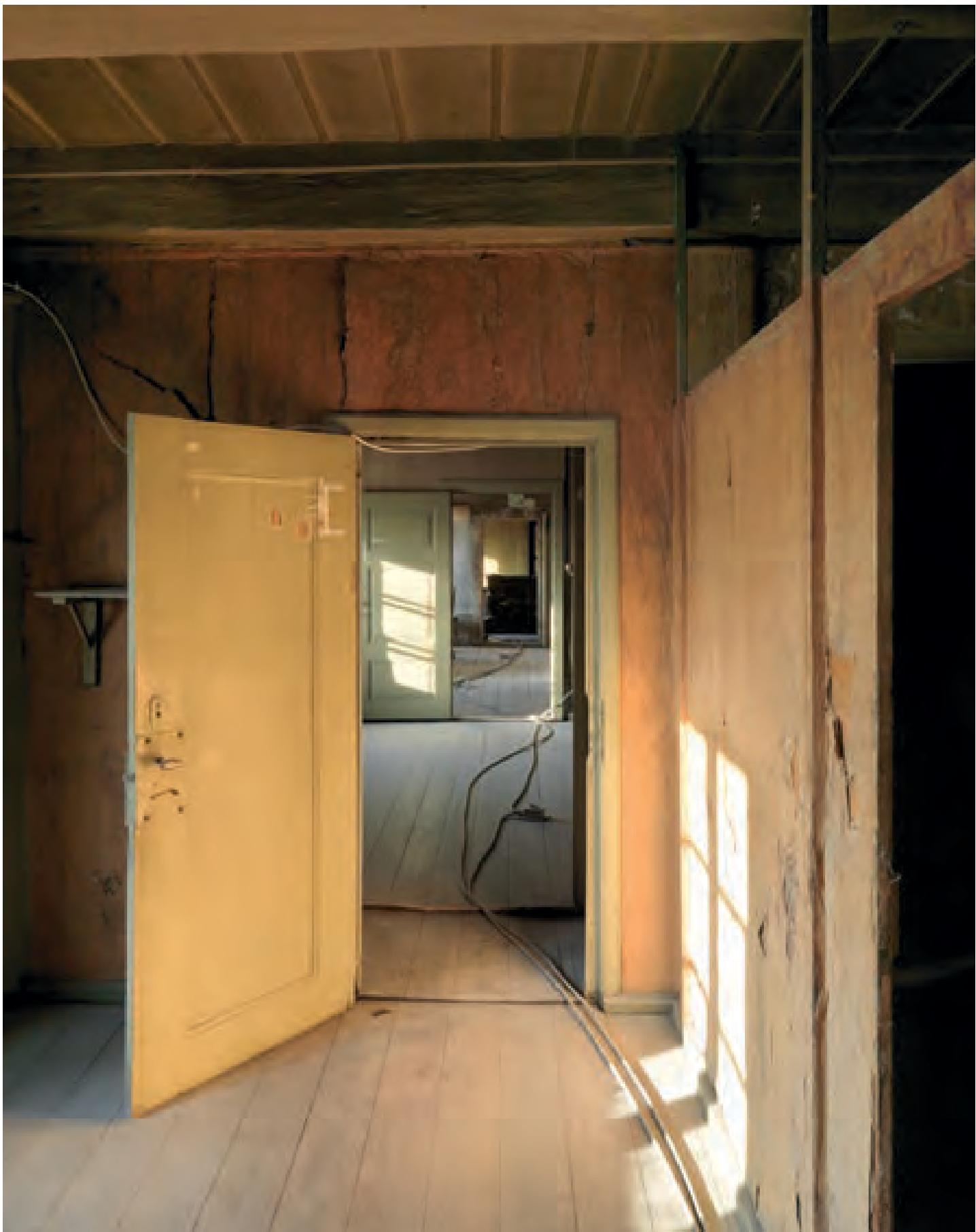
problems, but also as exciting and significant aspects of archaeology and cultural history. Hence, each and every answer has led to a new analysis, with new questions and new choices.

Some new choices were obvious. Objectively there are items which have to be respected in a protected building, and then there are environmental and sustainability considerations, internal traffic and facilities which must be present if the house is to be used for practical purposes in the future – the elements which go to make up the living cultural heritage which Realdania Byg seeks to promote.

Other choices are made on the basis of subjective criteria. These include the knowledge and the stories embedded in the layer which after analysis it is decided to cover over or display. There is also an aesthetic aspect – a cheap kitchen wallpaper from the 1960's may be historically relevant to the continuous narrative of the house, but will hardly be a joy to the office worker who has to look at it every day.

Every single choice is at the same time a rejection of another choice regarding a different layer, which could be just as relevant, and it requires both a professional vision and a certain humility to say farewell to these layers or in some cases to cover all previous layers. The overall vision sometimes makes these rejected options more painful for the architect than those which are unavoidable from objective, measurable criteria.

It has been a recurring feature of the restoration that a holistic approach has been chosen, with both tangible and intangible aspects playing their part. The historical material has been decoded, recorded, refurbished and put back in place in order to maintain the historical hierarchy through an intact and continuous narrative of the changing periods and uses of the house. The basic principle of restoration has been to conform to the way the spaces have come into being, so that the new layers from today appear as a continuous consequence and expansion of the spaces' historical development.



Rum 212 med kig gennem 213 og 214 mod trapperum 215 før restaureringen.

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Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

Room 212 with view through 213 and 214 facing the staircase 215
before the restoration. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

Tapetdøre til alkoven i rum 205 før restaureringen.

Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The jib door to the alcove in room 205 before the restoration.

Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Nogle valg har givet sig selv. Objektivt er der ting, som må respekteres i en fredet bygning, og så er der miljø- og bæredygtighedshensyn, indre færdsel og faciliteter, som skal være der, når huset i fremtiden skal anvendes til nye praktiske formål – de elementer, der tilsammen er med til at skabe den levende kultury, der er Realdania Bygs opgave.

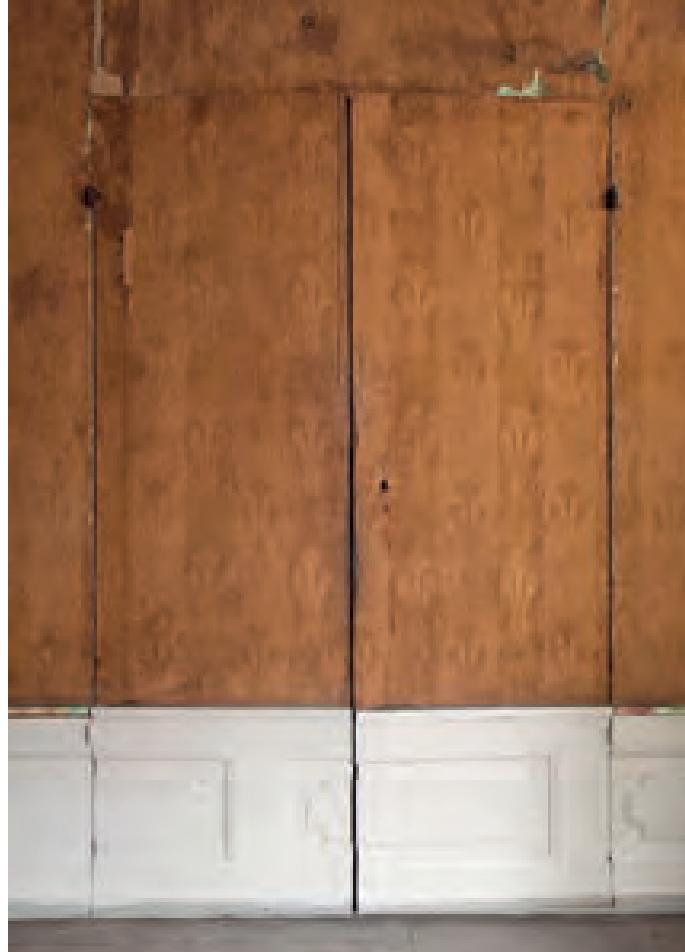
Andre valg træffes ud fra subjektive kriterier. Der er viden og fortællinger i de lag, som man efter analysen vælger at dække eller lade stå fremme. Der er også et æstetisk aspekt – et billigt køkkentapet fra 1960'erne er måske nok historisk relevant i husets forløbende fortælling, men næppe behageligt at se på for den, som skal sidde i det kontor hver dag.

Hvert eneste valg er samtidig et fravalg af de øvrige lag, der kan være lige så udsagnskraftige, og det kræver både en faglig optik og en vis ydmyghed at tage afsked med disse lag eller i enkelte tilfælde at dække alle tidlige lag. Helhedssynspunktet gør sommetider disse fravalg smerteligere for arkitekten end de fravalg, som er uundgåelige på grund af de objektive, målelige kriterier.

Det har været et gennemgående træk i restaureringen, at tilgangen har været holistisk med inddragelse af både materielle og immaterielle aspekter. Det historiske materiale er afkodet, registreret, istandsat og efterfølgende genplaceret på sin plads, så det historiske hierarki holdes i hævd i en intakt og fortløbende fortælling om husets skiftende stilperioder og anvendelse. Det har været restaureringens grundholdning at fortsætte denne udvikling i rummenes stedse tildannelse, således at nye lag af i dag indgår som en kontinuerlig konsekvens og forlængelse af rummenes historiske udvikling.

Et langt forløb

Realdania Byg er et helejet datterselskab af Realdania og har som formål at istandsætte og revitalisere ejendomme. Selskabet ser naturligvis på mange steder i hele landet, men en række betingelser skal *alle* være opfyldt, før en ejendom købes. Den skal uanset alder have væsentlige arkitektoniske eller kulturhistoriske



A long process

Realdania Byg is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Realdania with the purpose of refurbishing and revitalising built properties. The company naturally considers many sites throughout Denmark, but a number of conditions must *all* be satisfied before purchasing a property. Regardless of age, the property must have significant architectural or cultural and historical qualities or both, it must be threatened by alteration or decay, and finally no other parties must be willing or able to take on the task of bringing it to life again. It must be possible to restore the building in a sustainable way and having regard to conservation values and any scheduled protection, but it must equally be possible to prepare the building for a future with present-day uses under normal market conditions. A sustainable restoration includes observing financial, social and environmental limits and taking account of functional, ethical and aesthetic aspects in the overall plan of action.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen was owned by the Municipality of Odense from 1972, following the closure of the Convent. It was then used by City of Odense Museums for purposes such as storage, workshops and offices. From 1997 the Karen Brahe Society had a couple of rooms in the main



Rum 213 med kig mod trapperum 215 under restaureringen.
Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

Room 213 with view to the staircase 215 during the restoration.
Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

building, and from 2001 Jomfruklosteret housed the secretariat preparing the celebration of Hans Christian Andersen's 200th anniversary in 2005.

In 2004, the Municipality approached the newly-founded Realdania Byg¹ regarding sale of the property, and the company carried out a preliminary study to assess whether the building could be adapted for a new future. Jomfruklosteret had for many years been partly unused; electricity and heating had been cut off in large parts of the house and the building was marked by general disrepair from cellar to roof. But, on the other hand, the house had unsurpassed tangible and intangible qualities, an excellent site and, not least, a committed future user, the University of Southern Denmark.

It was therefore decided to collaborate with architect Steffen M. Søndergaard MAA on developing a priced restoration plan, which a coming owner would be obliged to implement. It soon became clear that conservation work would be the cornerstone of the total refurbishment: exposure and consolidation of the building's many layers of decoration was to be carried out, and recommendations made for preserving significant parts of them, with a careful refurbishment of the rest.

It was a long process, and only in 2008 did Realdania Byg purchase Jomfruklosteret. Realisation of the comprehensive plan took place in close cooperation with the Danish Agency for Culture² and with a trans-Nordic team of conservators, with participation from the National Museum of Denmark, NIKU (Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research) and conservator Bent Jacobsen, Korinth (Denmark); meanwhile, the University of Southern Denmark, Jomfruklosteret's future tenant, was involved in the refurbishment process.

Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen has been one of the largest and most complicated and complex restoration projects ever undertaken by Realdania Byg. Much that was unforeseen emerged during the restoration process, but this is only to be expected in a building of Jomfruklosteret's age, especially when

kvaliteter eller begge dele, den skal være truet af forandrige eller forfald, og endeligt skal ingen andre kunne eller ville påtage sig at bringe den til live igen. Bygningen skal kunne restaureres bæredygtigt og under hensyn til bevaringsværdier og en eventuel fredning, og den skal samtidigt kunne bringes ind i fremtiden gennem nutidige anvendelsesformål på almindelige markedsvilkår. En bæredygtig restaurering omfatter iagttagelse af økonomiske, sociale og miljømæssige hensyn såvel som hensyntagen til funktionelle, etiske og æstetiske aspekter i helhedsgrebet.

Odense Kommune ejede Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster fra 1972, efter nedlæggelsen af klosteret. Det har været anvendt af Odense Bys Museer som blandt andet magasin, værksteder og kontorer. Fra 1997 har Karen Brahe Selskabet haft et par lokaler i hovedbygningen, og fra 2001 husede Jomfruklosteret det sekretariat, som forberedte fejringen af H.C. Andersens 200 år i 2005.

Det østre trapperum, 210, før restaureringen. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.





I 2004 henvendte Odense Kommune sig til det næsten nystiftede Realdania Byg A/S¹ om et salg, og selskabet foretog en forundersøgelse for at vurdere, om bygningsværket kunne bringes ind i en ny fremtid. Jomfruklosteret har stået delvist ubrugt længe; strøm og varme var proppet af i store dele af huset, og det var fra kælder til tag præget af generelt forfalder. Men huset havde uovertrufne materielle og immaterielle kvaliteter, en fin beliggenhed og ikke mindst en interesseret kommende bruger, Syddansk Universitet.

Det blev derfor besluttet at samarbejde med arkitekt M.A.A. Steffen M. Søndergaard om at udarbejde en prissat genopretningsplan, som en kommende ejer var forpligtet til at gennemføre. Her viste det sig snart, at konservatorarbejdet blev en hjørnesten i den samlede istandsættelse: der skulle ske en afdækning og kon solidering af bygningens mange dekorative lag og gives anbefalinger til konservering af væsentlige dele og en skånsom istandsættelse af resten.

Det blev et meget langt forløb, og først i 2008 købte Realdania Byg Jomfruklosteret. Realiseringen af den omfattende plan er sket i tæt samarbejde med Kulturstyrelsen² og et tværnordisk konservatorhold med deltagelse af Nationalmuseet, NIKU Norsk Institutt For Kulturmingeforskning og konservator Bent Jacobsen, Korinth, ligesom Syddansk Universitet, Jomfruklostrets fremtidige lejer, har været inddraget i processen om nyindretning.

Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster er en af de største og mest komplikerede og komplekse restaureringsopgaver, Realdania Byg har udført. Der er dukket meget uforudset op i restaureringsforløbet, men det var forventeligt i en bygning af Jomfruklostrets alder, især fordi man af hensyn til frednings- og bevaringsværdierne ikke kunne lave såkaldt destruktive indgreb under forundersøgelsen. Flere steder stod det dog langt værre til end ventet. Der er ikke kun ekstra arbejder forbundet med at forny og udbedre uforudsete ting, det udforder også det omhyggeligt planlagte forløb med mange forskellige aktører fra alle håndværksfag, ligesom arkitekten udfordres på etiske og æstetiske valg og fravælg.

because of its protected status and conservation values no destructive interventions could be made during the preliminary study. However, in many places, conditions were worse than feared. There was not just the additional work and expense of renewing and repairing unforeseen items, but also the challenge to the carefully planned work of many different players from all the craft trades, and the burden on the architect of choosing between the many ethical and aesthetic options.

The statutory archaeological investigation of the building for ensuring that invisible building parts are unaffected by new floors and installations may also reveal matters which delay the work and in the worst case may lead to changes to plans and adjustments to the financial commitment and priorities. An ongoing restoration is thus subject to a series of reprioritisations, covering financial, functional and aesthetic considerations and a choice between the resulting options.

The East Wing

The half-timbered building to the east, erected by the Convent in the mid-18th century, proved to be one of the chief technical challenges. It could be seen with the naked eye that the building was very crooked and that the foundation sloped steeply down to the river, and hence that the whole building had to be stabilised. The whole convent is a protected building, but this also includes any prehistoric monuments in the ground below it and in its immediate environs. The City of Odense Museums therefore had to be engaged to conduct a preliminary investigation. Here the presumption that the building lay on top of an original, later demolished, east wing rapidly proved correct. However, the half-timbered building was not erected directly on the late-medieval foundation, but the latter was covered with 30 cm of soil, on top of which the new foundation was laid – with no connection at all with the old. It was therefore impossible to drive piles, as had been planned, without damaging the hitherto unknown foundation. The solution was to brick up the gap between the two foundations at

Konservatorerne har undersøgt malingslagene på alle træflader i rum 103. 2010.

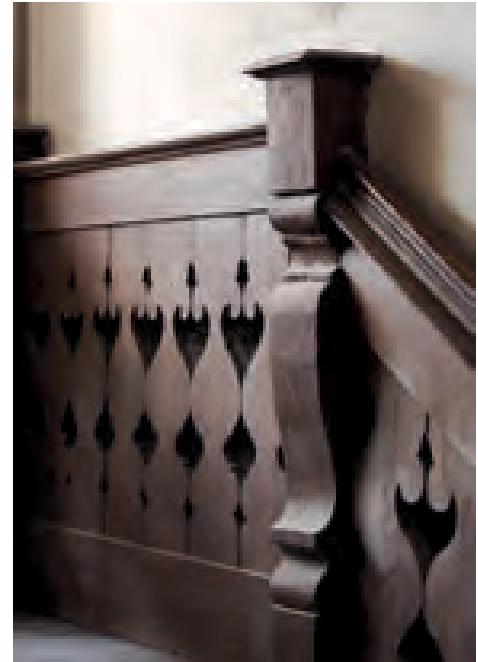
Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

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The conservators have examined the types of paint on all woodwork surfaces in room 103. 2010.

Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.





De to såkaldt italienske trapper er formentlig indsat i 1720'erne og stod umalede en årrække. Det skyldes ikke nødvendigvis pengemangel eller sparsommelighed. En norsk forsker påpeger, at det kunne være et bevidst, østetisk valg – i Frankrig blev umalede paneler på den tid kaldt “à la capuchin”, “som en tiggernunks celle”.³ Trapperne fremstår i dag med en egetræsådring fra midten af 1800-tallet.

Da trapperne blev malede grå, blev trapperummene dekorerede med marmorerede kvadre. De samme farver går igen i de to rum, men vendt om. Dekorationen er af høj kvalitet og muligvis udført af Rasmus Wulff, en af Odenses kendte malermestre og oldermand, som blandt andet har dekoreret i Graabrodre Kirke. Der er bevaret en regning fra ham på arbejde i Bedestuen, og hans værksted har sikkert også udført andet arbejde i Jomfruklosteret.

Den lovpligtige bygningsarkæologiske undersøgelse, der sikrer, at usynlige bygningsdeler ikke bliver berørt af for eksempel nye gulve og installationer, kan desuden afdække forhold, som forsinker arbejdet og i værste fald må føre til ændring af planer og justering af økonomisk indsats og placering. Den fortløbende restaurering er således genstand for en lang række prioriteringer, som omfatter både økonomiske, funktionelle og æstetiske overvejelser om valg og fravælg.

The two so-called Italian staircases were probably inserted in the 1720's, and remained unpainted for some years. This was not necessarily due to lack of money or strict economy. A Norwegian researcher points out that it could be a conscious, aesthetic choice – in France, unpainted panels at that time were called “à la capuchin”, “like a mendicant friar’s cell”.³ The stairs have since mid-19th century been painted in oak graining technique.

At the time the stairs were painted grey, the stairwells were decorated with painted marbled squares. The same colours are repeated in the two rooms, but in reverse sequence. The decoration is of high quality and possibly carried out by Rasmus Wulff, one of the best-known housepainters in Odense, and master of the guild. He also decorated Greyfriars Church. An invoice has been preserved from him for work in the Prayer Room, and his workshop probably also carried out other work for Jomfruklosteret.

some points and to underpin it at other points on an intermediate layer of gravel. The traces of the old east wing would thus still be intact and untouched.

The side building now accommodates a large, brightly-lit room with exposed rafters, the Karen Brahe Auditorium, as the University of Southern Denmark has chosen to call it. Here too there is a cloakroom and toilets with disabled access, so the building can be opened to the public for talks and conferences, and



Under væglærrederne blev der fundet spåntapeter fra 1700-tallet. De isolerede, beskyttede de bemalede lærreder mod fugt især på ydervæggene og gav lidt bund, så de stramt udspændte lærreder ikke så nemt fik flænger.

Under the canvases, 18th century wallcoverings made from very thin plaited wooden strips were discovered. They insulated, protected the painted canvas against humidity on the outer walls and provided a base for the tightly stretched material.

Østfløjen

Bindingsværksbygningen i øst, opført af Jomfruklosteret midt i 1700-tallet, viste sig at være en af de store tekniske udfordringer. Man kunne se med det blotte øje, at den var meget skæv, og at fundamentet hældede stærkt ned mod åen, så hele bygningen skulle stabiliseres. Klosteret er som helhed bygningsfredet, men rummer derudover en fredning, som omfatter fortidsminder i jorden inden for klosterets bebyggelse og i dets umiddelbare, bygningsnære omgivelser. Odense Bys Museer skulle derfor foretage en forudgående undersøgelse. Her viste formodningen om, at bygningen lå oven på en oprindelig, senere nedrevet østfløj sig

easy access has been created by reopening a bricked-up passage to a newly installed service kitchen in the cellar of the main building.

Surprises

Before restoration of Jomfruklosteret began, information from previous investigations and measurements was collated, but a complete knowledge of important stages in the development of the buildings was still lacking, for example, when the main building was extended and the first floor added, or when the side wings and the renaissance staircase tower were demolished. It might



Under lærrederne sad spåntapeter, der var flosset i kanterne; de er repareret af Nationalmuseets Bevaringsafdeling og genopsat under de restaurerede væglærreder.

Beneath the canvas was wallcoverings of wooden strips, frayed at the edges; they were repaired by the National Museum Conservation Department and rehung under the restored wall canvas.

hurtigt at være korrekt. Bindingsværksbygningen var imidlertid ikke opført direkte oven på det senmiddelalderlige ruinfundament; det var dækket af 30 cm jord, hvorpå et nyt fundament var lagt – helt uden forbindelse med det gamle. Der kunne derfor ikke som planlagt piloteres uden at skade dette hidtil ukendte fundament. Løsningen blev at udmuré snippet mellem de to fundamenter nogle steder og understøtte det andre steder på et mellemlag af grus. Sporene af den gamle østfløj er således stadig intakte og uberørte.

Sidebygningen rummer nu et stort, lyst lokale med loft til kip, Karen Brahe Auditoriet, som Syddansk Universitet har valgt at kalde det. Her findes desuden

be expected that the answers would emerge from the new detailed investigations and measurements from cellar to attic, but Jomfruklosteret has not disclosed clear answers to them all, and still guards unresolved secrets. On the other hand, the building has been happy enough to allow conservators and conservation architects to expose the many unknown layers which time has deposited on ceilings, walls and floors.

The investigations have provided new knowledge about the original room division of the renaissance house – they were large, continuous rooms with decorated walls, ceilings and flagged floors in a true orgy of colours. The changing requirements of daily



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 tredie 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. På skorstenen ses både kvadring og marmorering, opmalet mange gange, så linjerne med tiden blev lidt forskudte.
Foto: Lundqvist Tegnestue.

garderobe og toiletter med handicapadgang, så bygningen kan anvendes med offentlig adgang til foredrag og konferencer, og der er skabt nem adgang med genåbning af en tilmuret passage til et nyindrettet anretterkøkken i hovedbygningens kælder.

Overraskelser

Inden restaureringen af Jomfruklosteret begyndte, blev der indsamlet materialer fra tidligere undersøgelser og opmålinger, men der manglede stadig fuldstændig viden om væsentlige bygningsmæssige udviklingstræk, for eksempel hvornår hovedbygningen blev forlænget

life down the centuries are revealed as changed room divisions, insertions of windows and door openings, or bricking up of the same. The investigations have peeled back the layers to the first coat of plaster, the first paint on the walls and beamed ceilings on the ground floor and of the interiors which surrounded the first ladies who took up occupation on the upper floor. There have been innumerable surprises as the layers beneath the uniform paintwork of recent years were stripped away on the ground floor: painted plasterwork, strapwork patterns on the ceiling beams, flock wallpapers, wall canvases, paper wallpapers in varying styles and qualities, and many plain coats of paint came to light.



The Arcade Room illustrates the complexity of choosing which of the many layers is to be displayed after restoration. It was decided to show the layer above the original striped painting and, lower down, the third layer, the red trompe l'oeil dado, while the period with canvas is shown round the attic stairs. The rest of the

canvases with wallpaper and several later coats of paint have been conserved and are now appropriately stored in the Jomfruklosteret attic. The chimney shows both imitated stonework and marbling, retouched many times so that the lines have fallen slightly out of alignment over time. Photo: Lundqvist Architects.

og førstesalen påbygget, eller hvornår sidefløjene og renæssancens trappetårn blev nedrevet. Man kunne vente, at svarene ville komme under de nye minutiose undersøgelser med opmålinger og registreringer fra kælder til kvist, men Jomfruklosteret har ikke givet dem alle utvetydigt fra sig, det rummer stadig uforløste hemmeligheder. Derimod har det beredvilligt ladet konservatorer og restaureringsarkitekter afdække de mange ukendte lag, som tiden har afsat på loftet, vægge og gulve.

Undersøgelserne har tilvejebragt ny viden om renæssancehusets oprindelige ruminddeling – store, gennemgående rum med dekorerede vægge, loftet og

In some of the rooms, painted motifs were found on doors, dadoes and window openings, and marbling was found in niches for closed stoves and in stairwells. Plain painted surfaces cut away to reveal long colour sequences show how the rooms have changed their appearance, either in shades of the same colour or with wide jumps from one colour to another, according to the taste of the times or of the occupant. Some of these sequences will remain after restoration as visible peepholes into the past and as living testimonies to the multifarious life and activities in the house over more than 500 years.

The finances of Jomfruklosteret and of the individual inhabitants can also be read off from the



stengulve i et sandt farveorgie. Århundredernes skiftende krav til dagliglivet afslører sig som skiftende ruminddelinger, udhugning eller tilmuring af vinduer og døråbnninger. Undersøgelserne er lagtist ført til det første lag puds, de første farver på stueetagens vægge og bjælkeloftet og til de interiører, som omgav de første frækener, der beboede overetagen. Der har været utallige overraskelser, efterhånden som lagene under de seneste årtiers ensartede overmaling i stueetagen er blevet afdækkede: bemalinger på pudsen, beslagværksmønstre på loftsbjælkerne, spåntapeter, væglæredre, papirtapeter i skiftende stilarter og kvaliteter og mange ensfarvede malingslag tonede frem.

I en del af rummene er der fundet malede motiver på døre, brystpaneler og vindueslysninger og marmoreringer i kakkelovnsnicher og trapperum. Ensfarvede flader med alenlange farvetræpper fortæller, hvordan rummene har skiftet udtryk, med nuancer af de samme farver eller spring mellem vidt forskellige farver, alt efter tidens smag eller beboerens. En del af disse afdækninger vil stå som synlige kighuller efter restaureringen som levende vidnesbyrd om husets righoldige liv og virke gennem mere end 500 år.

Jomfruklosterets og de enkelte frækeneres økonomi i forskellige perioder kan også aflæses af lagene. Arkitekterne MAA Ruth og Søren Lundqvist har gennemgået huset helt ned i de mindste detaljer. Hvert sør, hvert dørgreb, hver liste, karm, bræt og gulvplanke fortæller, hvordan materialer er brugt og genbrugt, nogle endda flere gange, og hvordan for eksempel dørblade er flyttet til andre rum. Datering og tolkning er i sådanne tilfælde selvsagt yderst kompliceret. Der er en tidsmæssig utakt i mange af rummene, sådan at for

layers. Architects Ruth and Søren Lundqvist MAA have examined the house down to the smallest details. Every nail, every door handle, every piece of beading, framing, matchboard and floorboard tells how the materials have been used and reused, in some cases several times, and how, for example, door leaves have been moved to other rooms. Naturally, dating and interpretation in such cases are extremely complicated. There are temporal discontinuities in many of the rooms, for example where the woodwork has retained its previous colour, but new wallpaper has been put up. And no answer will ever be forthcoming as to whether the many layers, even in the ladies' rooms, are an expression of thriftiness – because it is cheaper to add a new layer than to scrape off the previous layer – or reflect a conscious choice.

Building components and decorations in the common parts point to strict economy, but here and there some elements witness a temporary surplus. The stairs, which in Søren Lundqvist's estimation can be dated to the 1720's, were unpainted for many years and became grimy with time. Only in the 1750's was there money to paint them grey, and around the same time, wall canvases were set up in the Hall, at least one of them being painted with scenery.

New layers

The task of exposing and stabilising the decoration and other elements in the Jomfruklosteret interior became almost a museum task, but was also of practical value and fully necessary for restoration and revitalisation. It is imperative to know what lies below before making the changes necessary for creating a modern workplace, as has been done here. Today, a new layer of modern technology has been added – cable lines, radiators, underfloor heating, toilet facilities. All this has been done with consideration for the old house, and so, where it was a natural part of the refurbishment, a 250 year old floor board has been lifted to install a bundle of cables, or pipes have been hidden behind



Formentlig i Jørgen Brahes tid, første halvdel af 1600-tallet, har dette rum fået malede loftsbjælker med beslagværksornamentik på siderne og en indviklet bort på undersiden, alt med raffinede skyggevirkninger. Dekorationen viste sig at fortsætte under et senere nedhængt loft i et tilstødende rum og viser, at et stort gennemgående rum senere blev delt op.

Presumably in Jørgen Brahe's time, the first half of the 17th century, this room has been given painted ceiling beams with strapwork ornamentation on the sides and a complicated border on the lower surface, all with refined shadow effects. The decoration was found to continue under a later suspended ceiling in an adjacent room, showing that a large continuous room was later sub-divided.

eksempel træværket bibeholdt sin hidtidige farve, når der blev sat nye tapeter op. Og der vil aldrig kunne gives svar på, om de mange lag, også i frøkernes værelser, er et udtryk for sparsommelighed – fordi det var billigere at lægge et nyt lag på end at rense det tidligere lag af – eller er udtryk for et bevidst valg.

Bygningsdele og dekorations i fællesrummene tyder på stor sparsommelighed, men her og der vidner

panelling, cavities have been exploited, and the location of lighting fittings carefully considered. It has not been possible to completely hide the fact that something happened in the years 2008-2013 – but it has been done in a way which is not foreign to Jomfruklosteret, and in reality is just following a centuries-old tradition of adding a new layer which reflects the needs of the age.



De malede bander, lodrette bånd af to vekslende farver, er efterligninger af opspændte tekstiler, som oftest af uld. De kom på mode midt i 1600-tallet som afløsere for de draperede vægtæpper, der havde været brugt siden middelalderen. Kombinationen rød-grøn er den mest almindelige, men på Jomfruklosterets førstesal, hvor otte rum er bandemaledede, er der flere andre farvekombinationer. Banderne gik af mode i første halvdel af 1700-tallet og afløstes af malede lærreder, opspændt med profilerede lister. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

The painted stripes, vertical strips in two alternating colours, are imitations of mounted textile panels, mainly in wool. These became fashionable in the mid-17th century as replacements for the draped wall hangings which had been used since the Middle Ages. The red-green combination is the most usual, but on the first floor of Jomfruklosteret, where eight rooms have striped painting, there are several other colour combinations. The stripes went out of fashion in the first half of the 18th century, to be succeeded by painted canvases stretched on moulded battens. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

et element om et midlertidigt overskud. Trapperne, der efter Søren Lundqvists vurdering er indsatt i 1720'erne, har stået umaledede i længere tid og nåede at blive nussede. Først i 1750'erne blev der råd til at male dem grå, og omtrent på samme tid blev der opsat væglærreder i Salen, mindst et af dem malet med et prospekt.

Nye lag

Opgaven med at afdække og sikre dekorationerne og andre elementer i Jomfruklosterets interiør har nærmest sig en museal opgave, men den har også været praktisk og helt nødvendig for restaureringen og revitaliseringen. Man er nødt til at vide, hvad der ligger

Selection of options

The conservators' investigation covered 25 selected rooms, the ones which immediately appeared the most necessary and interesting for understanding the internal layout of the house and its development over time. The result was 700 pages of reports, which explained and described the time periods and styles of the many historic layers and made recommendations for the refurbishment and future appearance of each room. From this point on, the restoration could begin, with decisions and ongoing adjustments being made room by room with regard to refurbishment and fitting out. It was not just the many discoveries which dictated a conservation approach, as it was not





I korridoren mod østgavlen ligger landets måske ældste bevarede egetræsgulv, lagt da trægulve af komforthensyn afløste Bispegaardens flisegulve. Disse gulve er sjeldne, da egetræ ganske vist tåler slid, men let sprækker, og snart gik man over til næsten udelukkende at lave gulve af fyrretræ. Den tværgående gulvplanke markerer forlængelsen af hovedbygningen i anden halvdel af 1500-årene. Under restaureringen blev gulvet taget op og repareret, hvorefter de enkelte gulvplanker blev lagt tilbage på deres oprindelige plads. Foto tv.: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. th. Lundqvist Tegnestue.



In the corridor towards the east gable end is what is perhaps the oldest preserved oak floor in Denmark, laid down at a time when, for reasons of comfort, wooden floors replaced the former flagstone floors in the Bishop's Palace. These floors are rare, as although oak is hard-wearing, it splits easily, and very soon, floors began to be made solely from pine. The transverse floorboards mark the extension of the main building in the second half of the 16th century. During restoration, the floor was taken up and repaired, after which the individual boards were relaid in their original position. Photo left: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. right: Lundqvist Architects.

under, før man foretager de indgreb, der er nødvendige for at skabe moderne arbejdspladser som i dette tilfælde. I dag er der tilføjet et nyt lag af moderne teknik – kabelføring, radiatorer, gulvvarme, toiletfaciliteter. Det er gjort skånsomt mod det gamle hus ved i de tilfælde, hvor det var et naturligt led i istandsættelsen, at løfte et 250 år gammelt gulvbræt og lægge et bundt kabler ned, gemme rør bag paneler, udnytte hulrum, nøje overveje anbringelse af belysning. Helt kan det ikke skjules, at der er sket noget i årene 2008-2013 – men det er sket på en måde, som ikke er fremmed for Jomfruklosteret, i virkeligheden følges blot en århundred lang tradition, når et nyt lag lægges på, der afspejler denne tidsalder.

the intention to make Jomfruklosteret into a modern office building while erasing or not respecting its long cultural history. The principle chosen was never to go *against* the building, its layout or the individual rooms, large or small, but rather to preserve the integrity of the building and rooms and their mutual diversity which are an important part of the atmosphere and overall impression of the house, and derive from the changes which have occurred in it.

In each room, therefore, the refurbishment followed decisions generated by the special features of a given time period. The choice was between preserving everything present, preserving certain elements and refurbishing the rest with the appropriate craftsmanship

Tilvalg og fravælg

Konservatorundersøgelsen omfattede 25 udvalgte rum, som umiddelbart var de mest nødvendige og interessante rum i forståelsen af husets rumlige inredning og udvikling over tid. Den mundede ud i 700 sider afrapportering med afdækning og beskrivelser af tidsperioder og stilarter i de mange historiske lag samt forslag til istandsættelse og fremtidig eksponering af hvert enkelt rum. Herefter kunne restaureringen tage sin begyndelse med beslutninger og løbende justeringer om istandsættelse og nyindretning rum for rum. Det er ikke kun de mange fund, der har begrundet en bevarende tilgang, det har aldrig været tanken at fore Jomfruklosteret med et moderne kontormiljø, der udslattede eller ikke respekterede dets lange kulturhistoriske fortid. Hovedgrebet har været aldrig at gå *imod* bygningen, dens planløsning og de enkelte rum, store eller små, men snarere at bevare bygningens og rummene integritet og indbyrdes diversitet som en vigtig del af stedets atmosfære og helhedsforståelse som funktion af forandring.

Istandsættelsen hviler derfor i hvert enkelt rum på beslutninger med udgangspunkt i dets særlige træk i en given tid. Valget har stået mellem at bevare alt, som det forefandtes, at bevare nogle elementer og istandsætte det øvrige håndværksmæssigt og æstetisk forsvarligt eller, hvor det har været funktionelt og antikvarisk nødvendigt, at dække hele rummet med et nutidigt lag. Det sidste ses eksempelvis mest udtalt i østfløjens istandsættelse, hvor bygningens hovedkonstruktioner med ydervægge, vinduer og tagkonstruktion er oprindelige – eller så oprindelige som de kan være, når en stor del af tømmeret og udmuringen af nødvendige stabiliseringsårsager har måttet suppleres eller udskiftes. Men principippet om bevaring af mest muligt historisk materiale kan følges overalt i klosterets restaurering.

Mens østfløjens restaurering krævede forholdsvis store indgreb for at sikre konstruktionerne og deres stabilitet, har det været muligt at lade hovedbygningen gennemgå en mere nuanceret udvælgelse i restaureringstiltagene.

and aesthetics, or, where necessary for functional and antiquarian reasons, to cover the whole room with a modern layer. The last option can be most clearly seen in the refurbishment of the east wing, where the main construction of outer walls, windows and roof is original – or as original as possible, when large parts of the timber and masonry had to be added to or replaced for the necessary stabilisation. But the principle of preserving the maximum possible historic material is visible throughout the restoration of the Convent.

While restoration of the east wing required relatively large interventions in order to make the construction safe and stable, in the main building it was possible to apply a more varied selection of restoration approaches.

These choices were made on the basis of cultural history and a specific knowledge of stylistic periods and the general historic development of dwellings, but the internal layout and hierarchy within Jomfruklosteret also played a part. It is not unimportant what status a particular room had in different periods, and how it was used. These questions were considered in every one of Jomfruklosteret's 50 rooms.

A good example is the hall to the east, which was extended after the building was lengthened in the second half of the 16th century. This large room had a fireplace against the gable end and the same red paintwork and white upper walls as the hall to the west, now the Library. Over time it has changed in appearance and function. While the Brahe family were using the house as its Odense base, it was decorated with painted mock dado panels with shadow-effect mouldings, with red and green stripes on the wall above and green line ornamentation on the beams. It was a ceremonious and dignified room, which after the foundation of Jomfruklosteret was called the Patroness's Room. When the east wing was erected in 1749, the window to the south was bricked up and a large closet built into the niche. The hall was divided by a partition wall to the north and a limewashed boarded ceiling was set up under the beams. The rest



På skillevæggen nord for Salens kakkelovn ses den oprindelige bemaling, som den antagelig har været i hele rummet: gul, dodenkop, sort – formentlig en midlertidig sorgbemaling – dernæst kvadrering med en lidt ubehjælpsom marmorering og endelig hvidtekalk som sidste lag før spåntapet og lærreder. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



On the partition wall north of the stove in the Hall the original paintwork appeared. It presumably covered the whole room: Yellow, caput mortuum, black – supposedly a temporary mourning paint scheme – then imitation stonework with a rather clumsy marbling effect, and finally limewash as the final layer before the wooden wallcovering and the canvas.

Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Valgene er sket med afsæt i kulturhistorien og konkret viden om stilperioder og den generelle historiske udvikling i boliger, men Jomfruklosterets indre opbygning og hierarki spiller også en rolle. Det betyder noget, hvilken status det enkelte rum har haft til forskellige tider, og hvordan det er blevet brugt. I hvert eneste af Jomfruklosterets 50 rum er disse spørgsmål blevet overvejet.

Et godt eksempel er salen i øst, der blev udvidet efter forlængelsen af bygningen i anden halvdel af 1500-tallet. Det store rum havde gavlkamin og samme røde bemaling og hvide overvægge som salen mod vest, nu Biblioteket. Gennem tiden har det forandret udseende og funktion. Mens Brahe-familien brugte huset som Odense-domicil, fik det malede, faux brystpaneler

of the hall was later subdivided several times, and in the early 1800's this was done with partitions made of recycled boards. The end-wall fireplace was now at the end of a corridor and was blocked off.

From 1869 and for a further half-century, the Prioresses' lady's maid and Jomfruklosteret's housekeeper used one of the subdivided rooms, in which seven layers of wallpaper have been preserved, and the last Prioresses' maidservants also lived here. During the ownership by Odense Municipality, the rooms were used for special and general storage, and when the building was taken over by Realdania Byg they were painted throughout with ordinary acrylic paint.

So how does the value analysis for a room like this come out? Which layer is most important? Which of





the different historic phases is the room to reflect in the future?

As the only location in the main building to suffer this, historic layers have been removed from the east gable end, with the dismantling of over 200 years' worth of partition walls. Like everything else moved from its original position, they have been secured and stored in the large attic. Once again, it is possible to perceive the oldest layout of the house, one which was typical for aristocratic building in the renaissance period: a central section containing the main entrance, and a large hall at either end of the house.⁴

The corresponding hall at the west gable end, which has been the Library since the 1730's, illustrates another important choice. Here too, the house was lengthened at the end of the 16th century, making the hall bigger. Later on, though, a room was separated from it by a half-timbered wall, perhaps when the left-hand staircase was installed in the 1720's. Sufficient elements have been found to enable the hall to be wholly restored to its renaissance decoration. This is the only place in the house where it would be possible and the result would be impressive. Even

Oprindeligt var der fliser i hele underetagen, af natursten eller tegl, glaserede i strålende farver. Ved udgravnningen af vestfløjen i 1970'erne blev der fundet fragmenter af kakler med grøn glasur. Sådanne fliser og kakler blev anvendt i nogle hundrede år og er fundet mange steder i landet – alene kakkelovn og gulv gjorde et rum festligt. Foto: Lundqvist Tegnestue.

Originally the whole of the lower storey was paved, either with stone or with bright-coloured glazed tiles. During the excavation of the west wing in the 1970's, fragments of a green-glazed stove tile were found. Such tiles were used for hundreds of years and have been found in many locations throughout Denmark – just the tiled stove and the floor would have made the room a sight to behold. Photo: Lundqvist Architects.



med skyggeprofiling og derover røde og grønne bander samt grøn stregstaffering langs bjælkerne. Det var et festligt og fornemt rum, som efter Jomfruklosterets stiftelse blev benævnt Patronessens Kammer. Da østfløjen opførtes i 1749, blev vinduet mod syd tilmuret og et stort skab indbygget i nischen, salen blev delt med en skillevæg mod nord, og der blev opsat et hvidkalket bræddeloft under bjælkerne. Resten af salen blev senere delt i flere omgange, i begyndelsen af 1800-årene med skillevægge af pudsede genbrugsbrædder. Gavlkaminen lå nu for enden af en korridor og blev lukket.

Fra 1869 og et halvt århundrede frem havde priorindernes kammerjomfru og Jomfruklosterets husjomfru værelse i et af de afdelte rum, hvor der er bevaret syv lag tapeter, og de sidste priorinders enepiger boede her. I Odense Kommunes ejertid var rummene lager og pulterkammer for Odense Bys Museer, og ved Realdania Bygs overtagelse var alt malet over med almindelig hvid plastikmaling.

Hvordan ser værdianalysen ud for et rum som dette? Hvilket lag er det vigtigste? Hvilken af sine forskellige historier skal rummet fremover fortælle?

Som det eneste sted i hovedbygningen er der her i østgavlen fjernet historiske lag, idet de sidste godt 200

so, the room stands today as it was for most of the time that it was Karen Brahe's Library, in recognition of Jomfruklosteret's position in Denmark's cultural heritage.

A source from 1758 relates that the books had all been packed away while the library room was repaired. To judge from the design of the bookcases and the lowered plank ceiling with moulded cornice and empty plafond edged with wooden beading, the room has not been altered since, apart from a verdigris wall colouring in the later decades. Whether the renaissance fireplace was painted white at that time, as seen on 19th century images, is something which has not been investigated; all that is known is that it was redecorated prior to 1901 in a style and technique which would not have been used under today's restoration philosophy. Today, this redecoration is unchanged, reflecting its part in the house's historical development and as an example of a refurbishment influenced by a past age's approach to restoration.

The hall, 104, almost at the centre of the house, is today the only continuous room with window openings in both the north and south walls. Here the canvases mounted on the walls have been painted several times.



Der er ikke fjernet noget under restaureringen af klosteret, der lægges i stedet nye lag på alle de foregående, så alt er bevaret indenunder. Når konservatorerne har sikret de oprindelige lag på væggene, opsættes der grundpapir uden lim og derefter lærredet på en træramme. Lærredet tapetseres med avispapir, idet det kan glattes fuldstændigt – og det skal være med tryk. Herefter tapetseres med endnu et lag grundpapir, og herefter er væggen parat til bemaling med limfarve eller opsætning af det endelige tapet. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

års mange skillevægge er nedtaget. De er, ligesom alt hvad der er flyttet fra sin oprindelige plads, sikret og anbragt på Jomfruklosterets store loft. Nu fornemmer man igen husets ældste planløsning, der var typisk for herskabeligt byggeri i renæssancen: et midterparti med hovedindgang og en stor sal i hver ende af huset.⁴

Den tilsvarende sal i vestgavlen, siden 1730'erne Biblioteket, illustrerer et andet vigtigt valg. Huset blev også her forlænget i slutningen af 1500-tallet, så salen blev større. Til gengæld er der senere skilt et rum fra med en bindingsværksvæg, måske i forbindelse med indsætningen af den vestre trappe i 1720'erne. Der er fundet elementer nok til at føre salen konsekvent tilbage til renæssancedekorationen, som det eneste sted i huset, og det ville have været ganske flot. Ikke desto mindre står rummet i dag, som det så ud i det meste af den tid, Karen Brahes Bibliotek stod her, en mindelse om Jomfruklosteret som hjemsted for en del af dansk kulturarv.

I 1758, fortæller en kilde, var bøgerne nedpakke, mens bibliotekssalen blev repareret. At dømme efter bogskabenes udformning og det nedsenkede bræddeloft, med profileret gesims og en tom plafond, dannet af en træliste, er rummet ikke forandret siden, bortset fra en verdigris vægmaling fra de seneste årtier. Om renæssancekaminen da blev malet hvid, som det ses på billeder fra 1800-tallet, er ikke undersøgt, det vides kun, at den blev redekoreret før 1901 i en fremtoning og teknik, som man med vore dages restaureringsforståelse ikke ville have brugt. I dag står redekorationen uændret som en del af husets historiske udvikling og som eksempel på istandsættelse præget af datidens restaureringsholdning.

Salen, 104, der ligger næsten midt i huset, er i dag det eneste gennemgående rum med vinduesåbninger i både nord- og sydvæggene. Her er de opspændte væglærreder bemalede flere gange. Det første lag er et barokt motiv, grisaille i gråblå farver, det næste et monokromt, gult lag oliemaling med en 20 cm høj hvid empirebort lige under gesimsen. Det er senere overmalet hele fem gange. Da en lille del af barokmotivet

The first layer is a baroque motif, a grisaille in grey-blue colours, the next a monochrome yellow coat of oil paint with a 20 cm high white empire border just below the cornice. This was later overpainted no less than five times. When a small part of the baroque motif was exposed, revealing two figures and a rocaille, it was tempting to have the whole motif laid bare. But when the canvases were X-rayed at the National Museum Conservation Department, there was insufficient evidence for verifying the extent and quality of the motif in the individual wall sections; not only this, but the baroque layer had been almost completely scraped off to allow the next coat of paint to adhere, and for this reason, conservation came to concentrate on layer two, the yellow paint with border.

On the first floor, nearly every room presented individual restoration problems. On the one hand, the rooms had been redecorated far more frequently than those on the ground floor, and on the other, some had been redecorated many times, others only rarely. To select a single period for all was thus impossible. As mentioned before, redecoration was often carried out in different stages, with the ceiling, woodwork and walls being painted and papered at different times. In this case, a separate assessment has been made in each room. Based on one or more of the room's decoration elements, colours, materials, painting techniques and in some cases newly-manufactured historical wallpapers have been chosen which match the originals as closely as possible. By thus adding yet another layer, the expression of the room at a particular period has been preserved without removing any of the underlying historical material. Visitors to the house can follow the interpretation made of the room all the way back by comparing it with the colour sequences and other windows into past decorations which have been provided in all rooms.

Finally, in some cases the past has been shown in the form of pure interpretations. For example, very few stoves have been preserved in the house, and there were in any case very few stoves compared to the number of

Nothing has been removed from the Convent during the restoration. Instead, new layers have been added on all of the previous ones so that everything has been preserved underneath. When the conservators have ensured the original layers on the walls, new lining paper is put up without glue and then canvas on a wooden frame. The canvas is put up with newspaper, since it can be smoothed out completely - and it must be printed on. After this, yet another layer of lining paper is put up and then the wall is ready to be painted with distemper or the final wallpaper is hung.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

blev blottet, og man kunne se to figurer og en rocaille, var det fristende at få hele motivet frilagt. Men da lærrederne blev røntgenfotograferet på Nationalmuseets Bevaringsafdeling, viste det sig, at der ikke var grundlag nok til at verificere motivets udstrækning og kvalitet på de enkelte vægarter; desuden var baroklaget slebet næsten bort for at få det næste lag maling til at hænge ved, og derfor kom konserveringen til at koncentrere sig om lag to, det gule med borten.

På førstesalen har omrent hvert eneste rum frembuddt sin egen restaureringsproblematik. Dels er rummene istandsat langt oftere end stueetagens, nogle er istandsat mange gange, andre kun sjældent. At vælge én gennemgående periode var således umuligt. Dels skete istandsættelserne som nævnt ofte i utakt, så et rums loft, træværk og vægge blev malet og tapetseret på forskellige tidspunkter. Her er der foretaget en fortolkning i hvert enkelt rum. Ud fra et eller flere af rummets dekorationselementer er valgt farver, materialer, malingsteknikker og eventuelt nyproducerede historiske tapeter, der ligger så tæt på et af de oprindelige som muligt. Ved således at lægge endnu et lag på er rummets stemning på et givet tidspunkt fastholdt, uden at noget af det historiske materiale bagved er fjernet. Besøgende i huset kan rulle fortolkningen tilbage til udgangspunktet ved sammenligning med de farvetrappere og andre vinduer til fortidens dekorationser, som findes i alle rum.

Endelig kan Jomfruklosterets fortid også vises i form af rene fortolkninger. Der er for eksempel bevaret meget få ovne i huset, og der har heller ikke oprindeligt været ret mange i forhold til antallet af rum – det har været iskoldt bag de kraftige mure, som knapt når at blive varme gennem en sommer. De eksisterende ovne og komfurter er adskilt, restaureret og genopsat. De er suppleret med indkøb af historiske ovne fra samlingerne på Sønderskov Slot og Favrholm Gods, så der nu er opstillet i alt tolv ovne og to komfurter, forskellige typer fra 1790'erne til midten af 1850'erne, svarende til den periode, der er valgt for det pågældende rum, således at helhedsindtrykket er tidssvarende.

rooms – it would have been icy cold behind the thick walls, which would scarcely have heated up over the summer. The existing stoves and cooking ranges have been dismantled, restored and reassembled. They have then been supplemented by the purchase of historic stoves from the collections at Sønderskov Castle and Favrholm Manor, so there are now a total of 12 stoves and two ranges, of dates ranging from the 1790's to the 1850's, depending on the period selected for the room in question in order to maintain the appropriate overall impression.

Windows into Jomfruklosteret's soul

The analysis of Jomfruklosteret as a whole and of its individual parts is also a matter of building archaeology, and just as archaeologists cover up an excavation so posterity can discover more and different aspects, perhaps with better equipment and greater knowledge, so it seemed sensible to close the book on most of the house's many layers. In future times, others will revisit the site with different approaches and knowledge. Besides all the prior layers, they will also find the layer added in 2008-2013 and include it in their interpretation as part of the house's historic development.

The whole complicated constructional and cultural history of Jomfruklosteret and its intangible values still remain after restoration is finished, but though the whole of it is there, not all of it can be made visible for users or visitors. It is not possible to have all the layers visible at the same time, and to expose the whole for a combined time period would be both ethically and aesthetically wrong, and incompatible with the rooms' future use as workplaces. Nevertheless, the transition from a renaissance house to the baroque style after the foundation of Jomfruklosteret runs like a thread through the restoration, regardless of the fact that later ages have contributed numerous spatial additions and decorations, according to the taste of their times.

Realdania Byg has chosen to allow a number of windows into Jomfruklosteret's long past and its

Ved et tilfælde fandt man under restaureringen en original marmorering på bagsiden af en bræddevæg mellem det vestre trapperum, 215, og rum 214, og derefter blev den også fundet ved den anden trappe. Marmoreringen er nu genskabt i de to trapperum, 109+211 og 112+215. I rum 215 er der lavet en låge, så man kan se det oprindelige forlæg. Foto: øverst: Lundqvist Tegnestue. Øvrige: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Vinduer til Jomfruklosterets sjæl

Analysen af Jomfruklosteret, som helhed og i dets enkelte dele, er også bygningsarkæologi, og ligesom arkæologer lukker en udgravnning, så efter tiden kan finde ud af andet og mere, måske med bedre udstyr og større viden, har det givet mening at lukke bogen med beretningen om de fleste af bygningens mange lag til igen. I fremtiden kommer der andre med en anden tilgang og viden. De vil foruden alle de foregående lag også finde det lag, som er blevet tilføjet 2008-2013 og indfortolke det som en del af husets historiske udvikling.

Hele Jomfruklosterets komplicerede bygnings- og kulturhistorie og dens immaterielle værdier er stadig til stede efter restaureringen, men skønt alt fortsat eksisterer, kan ikke alt være synligt for brugeren og den besøgende. Det er ikke muligt at lade alle lag stå fremme samtidigt, og at afdække det hele ud fra en samlet tidsperiode ville være både etisk og æstetisk uforsvarligt og uforeneligt med rummenes fremtidige brug som arbejdspladser. Alligevel går ombrydningen af renæssancehuset til barok efter oprettelsen af Jomfruklosteret naturligt igennem restaureringen som en rød tråd, uagtet at senere tider har bidraget med stedse nye rumlige tilføjelser og dekorationer efter tidens smag.

Realdania Byg har valgt at lade en række vinduer stå åbne til Jomfruklosterets lange fortid og mange funktioner. De har forskellige former, som en farvetrappé på noget af træværket, farveholdningen i et helt rum, oprindelige eller tidstypiske tapeter, synlige bidder af malede dekorationer. Gulve, loftet, bryst- og lysningspaneler, de gamle vinduer med originale anverfere og nogle steder skodder og ikke mindst de vidt forskellige døre med greb og låse er ikke eksempler, vinduer til fortiden. De står derimod som nagelfaste vidnesbyrd om et robust og værdigt hus, helt sig selv og ved sig selv, uanset hvor mange lag de forskellige tidsalder har lagt på dets tålmodige interiør.



many functions to remain open. These windows take various forms, such as colour sequences on some of the woodwork, the colour scheme of a whole room, original or contemporary wallpapers, and visible fragments of painted decorations. Floors, ceilings, dadoes and window casings, the old windows with the original catches and, in some places, shutters, and, not least, the diversity of doors with their handles and locks are not examples of or windows onto the past. Instead they provide a permanent witness to a robust and dignified house, which is itself and rests in itself, however many layers the different ages have added to its patient interiors.

During the restoration, original marbling was found by chance on the back side of a board wall between the west staircase, 215, and room 214, and then it was also found near the other staircase. The marbling has now been restored in the two staircases, 109+211 and 112+215. A door has been made in room 215 so that the original pattern can be seen. Photo: top: Lundqvist Architects. Others: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Tidernes skiftende interiørmode

The changing trends in interior design

Af / by Line Bregnø, Konservator / Conservator. Nationalmuseet, Bevaringsafdelingen / Denmark's National Museum, Conservation Department

I Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster har Nationalmuseet før den seneste restaurering medvirket til farvearkæologiske undersøgelser af samtlige husets rum. Vi har fundet rumindretninger, farvevalg og malede dekorationer, der fortæller interiørhistorie fra 1500-tallet og til ind i 1900-årene. Det er meget sjældent at finde så lang en fortælling i en og samme bygning. Huset har derfor lært os nyt om udviklingen i interiørdesign gennem tiden, blandt andet fordi vi her har haft det for øje i en ubrudt række.

Interiørerne i Jomfruklostret sættes her i sammenhæng med interiørdesign fra middelalder til 1900-tallet generelt i Danmark, hovedsagelig inden for de højere samfundslag. Det er historien om tidernes skiftende valg af farver og måden, man brugte dem på, pigmenter, bindemidler og maleteknikker. Og historien om, hvordan et konstant krav om øget komfort har været med til at opbygge og ombygge de interiører, vi dagligt omgiver os med.

Interiørmode handler om de til enhver tid tilgængelige materialer, og historien viser, at havde man ikke de materialer, man ønskede, imiterede man bare i stedet for. Den ægte vare har i de fleste historiske perioder ikke været altafgørende. Mere har intentionen med et

Prior to the latest restoration of the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, Denmark's National Museum assisted in archaeological studies concerning colour in every room of the building. We have found room layouts, colour schemes and painted decorations that tell the story of interior design from the 1500's up until the 1900's. It is very rare to find such a long story in the very same building. Thus, the building has provided us with new information about the development of interior design throughout the ages, among other things, because as we have had the opportunity to view an uninterrupted series of changes.

The interiors of the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen are here put into the context of interior design from the Middle Ages up to the 1900's in Denmark in general mainly within the higher strata of society. It is the story of the shifting preferences of the time with regards to colours and the ways of using them, pigments, binding agents and painting techniques. And it is the story of how a constant demand for increased comfort has contributed to building and converting the interiors that we surround ourselves with every day.

Konservatorholdet i arbejde foråret 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The restoration team at work in spring 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

interiør været at få det til at tage sig ud og være en dekorativ ramme om det liv, der udfoldede sig i rummene.

Middelalder: Bispegård

I middelalderen var det senere adelige jomfrukloster som bekendt bispegård. I middelalderen indrettede den velhavende klasse sig med repræsentative, højloftede sale og en stor kamin til opvarmning. I bygningens tidlige periode, middelalderens sidste århundrede, var hver ende i huset indrettet som en sal med kamin i forbindelse med en skorsten i gavlen. Det handlede om at skabe et repræsentativt rum med varme. Loftet var et bjælkeloft med brædder, hertil pudsede vægge, blyindfattede vinduesruder og formodentlig tavlegulv i sten.

Mindre fine rum havde trægulve, lagt i mønster eller som planker. Man brugte endnu ikke indfatninger omkring døre og vinduer eller fodpaneler. Middelalderens foretrukne træsort, til eksempelvis vinduesrammer og døre, var egetræ, og det maledes ikke, egetræet i sig selv var fint.

Loftsbjælker kunne have fint udskårne dekorationer, hvis de var af eg, eller lofterne kunne males med eller uden dekorationer.

De pudsede vægge kalkedes eller limfarvedes. Rummenes malede udseende afhæng af, hvilke slags malinger der var til rådighed, tilgængelige pigmenter og tidens komfort. I denne periode brugte man som bindemiddel til maling kalk eller lim, og farvepaletten var ikke omfattende, da man til bygningsmaling oftest ikke kunne tillade sig at anvende dyre pigmenter.

Man ville gerne udsmykke, og det blev i mange tilfælde i form af limfarvede lofter og vægge. Limfarve er meget holdbar, hvor der ikke er mekanisk slid eller vand, så på lofter, der ikke slides eller vaskes, kunne man male kulører. Derfor blev lofter malet i for eksempel rød, som man kan se det både på Bispegaarden og for eksempel Nyborg Slot. Vægge hvidkalkedes eller dekoreredes. På Nyborg Slot fik væggene en slags ternet udsmykning i gråtoner, og i Bispegaardens sale en

Interior fashion deals with the materials available at the time and history shows that when the desired materials were not available, they were simply imitated instead. Having the real thing has not been of vital importance in most historical periods. More importantly, the intention of interior design has been to serve as a decorative frame around the lives that thrived in the rooms.

Middle Ages: A bishop's palace

In the Middle Ages, the building that would later become the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen was a bishop's palace. In the Middle Ages, the affluent class had distinguished rooms with high ceilings and a large fireplace for heating. In the early periods of building, the last century of the Middle Ages, each end of the building had a hall with a fireplace connected to a chimney in the gable. The aim was to create a distinguished room with heating. The halls had a beamed ceiling with boards, plastered walls, stained glass windows and probably a parquet stone floor.

The less distinguished rooms had wooden floors laid in patterns or as planks. The construction techniques of that time did not yet include the use of skirting or framing around doors and windows. The preferred type of wood for window frames and doors in the Middle Ages was oak, which was left unpainted, since the oak itself was so nice.

Ceiling beams could have finely carved decorations if they were made of oak, or the ceilings could be painted with or without decorations.

The plastered walls were whitewashed or distempered. The painted appearance of the rooms depended on what kind of paints and pigments were available, as well as the comfort standards of the time. During this period, lime or glue was used as a binding agent and the colour palette was not extensive, since one could not afford to use expensive pigments for painting buildings.

People wanted to decorate, and it was often done by distempering ceilings and walls. Distemper is very durable when not exposed to abrasion or water, so

Arkæologiske farvestudier

Som en del af grundlaget for restaureringen er der udført farvearkæologiske undersøgelser. De er udført for Realdania Byg A/S i et samarbejde mellem NIKU (Norsk Institut for Kulturminneforskning), Bent Jacobsen Konservering, Faaborg samt Nationalmuseet, Bevaringsafdelingen. I årene 2009-2012 medvirkede ti konservatorer til undersøgelsen. De har undersøgt mere end 30 rum og arbejdet næsten 40 uger i alt.

Der er foretaget lagvise afdækninger af malingslag, såkaldte farvetrappor. Dvs. at man skræller et malelag af ad gangen for at se det underliggende lag. Herved får man visualiseret den enkelte bygningsdels bemalingshistorie. Når man har undersøgt alle dele i et rum, kan man danne et billede af dets bemalingshistorie. Endvidere er der suppleret med mikroskopering af små farveprøver samt kemiske analyser af udvalgte pigmenter og bindemidler.

Kilder

Brænne, Jon m.fl. *Danmark, Odense. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Delrapport 1. Farge- og bygningsarkæologiske undersøkelser af rummene 104, 108d, 208, 214 og 217.* NIKU. Oppdragsrapport nr. 111/2009

Brænne, Jon m.fl.: *Danmark, Odense. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Delrapport 2. Farge- og bygningsarkæologiske undersøkelser af 21 rom. Del 1, 1. etasje, rum: 101, 102, 103, 108a, 108b, 108c, 109, 111 og 112. Del 2, 2. etasje, rom: 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215 og 216.* NIKU. Oppdragsrapport nr. 214/2010

Under udarbejdelse:

Mogensen, J.B.: *Rapport over farvearkæologiske undersøgelser i rum 105, 106, 107, 110, 202, 208, 210, 212.* Nationalmuseet, Bevaringsafdelingen 2013.

Archaeological colour studies

As part of the foundation of the restoration, archaeological studies concerning colour have been conducted. The studies were carried out for Realdania Byg A/S in a collaboration between NIKU (The Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research), Bent Jacobsen Conservation – Faaborg and the Conservation Department of Denmark's National Museum. From 2009-2012, ten conservators were involved in the study, which examined more than 30 rooms and required nearly 40 weeks of work in total.

The study included layer by layer removal of paint, meaning that layers of paint were stripped away one at a time in order to see the layer underneath. In doing so it was possible to see the paint history of the individual building part. After examining all of the parts of a room, one can form a complete picture of its painting history. This process was supplemented with microscopic examinations of small colour samples and chemical analyses of selected pigments and binding agents.

Sources

Brænne, Jon, etc. *Danmark, Odense. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Delrapport 1. Farge- og bygningsarkæologiske undersøkelser af rummene 104, 108d, 208, 214 og 217.* NIKU. Mission report no. 111/2009

Brænne, Jon, etc.: *Danmark, Odense. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Delrapport 2. Farge- og bygningsarkæologiske undersøkelser af 21 rom. Del 1, 1. etasje, rum: 101, 102, 103, 108a, 108b, 108c, 109, 111 og 112. Del 2, 2. etasje, rom: 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215 og 216.* NIKU. Mission report nr. 214/2010

In draft:

Mogensen, J.B.: *Rapport over farvearkæologiske undersøgelser i rum 105, 106, 107, 110, 202, 208, 210, 212.* Denmark's National Museum, The Conservation Department 2013.



Nyborg Slot. Sal med kalkmalet vægdekoration i geometrisk mønster i sort, hvid og grå. Pigmentet er sandsynligvis kønrog. Udført i 1520'erne. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 1990'erne.

Nyborg Castle. Hall with lime-painted geometric wall decoration in black, white and grey. The pigment was likely carbon black. Painted in the 1520's. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 1990's.

malet imitation af et tekstil ophængt på væggen, malet med limfarve i mørkerødt pigment.

Ønsket om afskærmning mod træk og kulde var med til at udforme rummene. Derfor placerede man salen, hvor der var mulighed for en kamin, og man havde, alt efter stand og økonomi, gobeliner eller andre vævede tæpper til at hænge på væggene for at isolere mod kulde og selvfolgelig pynte og fremvise velstand. Disse tæpper ophængtes ved festlige anledninger eller bragtes med rundt, hvis man havde flere residenser at besøge. Således har Odense-bispen Jens Andersen sandsynligvis haft kostbare vægtæpper med rundt til sine mange besiddelser. Men væggene i Jomfruklostret, som vi antager må stamme fra husets tid som bispesæde, har endvidere været bemalt med en tekstilimitation, så rummet har været repræsentativt også uden de ophængte tæpper.

ceilings that were not worn or washed could be painted in colours. This is why ceilings were painted red for example, as can be seen in both the bishop's palace and Nyborg Castle. Walls were whitewashed or decorated. At Nyborg Castle, the walls were given a chequered pattern in shades of grey, and the halls of the bishop's palace were painted to imitate a textile hung on the wall using distemper with a red lead pigment.

The desire for protection from draughts and cold contributed to the design of the rooms. Therefore, the hall was located where it was possible to have a fireplace, and depending on circumstances and personal wealth, tapestries and other woven rugs were hung on walls to insulate against the cold and of course to decorate and show one's prosperity. These rugs were hung on festive occasions or taken along when visiting a number of residences. For example, Jens Andersen, the bishop of Odense, probably took precious tapestries with him when visiting his many properties. But the walls in the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, which we must assume date back to the building's time as a bishop's palace, were also painted with a textile imitation, so the room was representative even without the hanging rugs.

Painted imitation textiles are also seen at other manors, such as Gl. Estrup in Djursland. The imitation here was more realistic, since the rug was painted with folds in the fabric, as opposed to the one from the bishop's palace, which was only painted as a flat surface. However, the pigment used in the hall of the bishop's palace was red lead, an exclusive pigment at the time.

The ceilings in the halls of the bishop's palace were also painted with red lead and also decorated with painted imitations of decorative carvings along the beams, painted in shades of grey to give the appearance of light and shadows. In the same way, whitewashed beams with green-painted ornaments from the Middle Ages were found in other rooms, and walls in less important rooms were lime-washed in white, ochre, caput mortuum (violet) and grey. Cheap earth pigments were used here, which shows that the rooms had a lower status than the fine red lead-painted halls.



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. I husets oprindelige middelalderlige sal blev der o. 1508 malet et rødt, knap 1,5 m højt bånd på væggene hele rummet rundt, sandsynligvis udført i limfarve. Denne imitition af ophængte tæpper viste husets velstand ved anvendelse af det dyre, mørkerøde pigment. Fotomanipuleret rekonstruktion. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. In the building's original medieval hall around the year 1508, a nearly 1.5 metre high red stripe was painted around the entire room, probably in distemper. This imitation of hanging carpets showed the building's wealth by using the expensive red led pigment. Digitally reconstructed photo. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

Fra andre herregårde kendes også malede imitater af ophængte tæpper, eksempelvis Gl. Estrup på Djursland. Her var imitationen mere naturtro, idet tæppet var malet med folder i tekstilet, i modsætning til Bispegaardens, der kun var malet som en flade. Dog var pigmentet i salen på Bispegaarden mørke, et eksklusivt pigment på den tid.

Loftet i Bispegaardens sale var ligeledes malet i mørke, og desuden udsmykket med malede imitater af dekorative udskæringer på langs af bjælkerne, malet i gråtoner som effekt af lys og skygge. I andre af rummene er ligeledes fra middelalderen fundet hvidkalkede bjælker med grønmalede staffer, ligesom vægge i mere sekundære rum har været kalkede hvide, okker, dodenkop (violet) og grå. Der har været anvendt billige jordpigmenter, hvilket viser, at rummene havde en ringere status end de fint mørkemalede sale.

Renæssance: Kongsgård og købmandsgård

Efter Reformationen i 1536 kom bispedøjet i statsligt eje, således også Bispegaarden i Odense. Kongen ejede og brugte gården til 1579, hvor han solgte den videre til byens storkøbmand, Oluf Bager. Fra Reformationen og videre gennem første halvdel af 1600-tallet er den periode, vi kalder renæssancen.

Man brugte stadig at ophænge vægttæpper på de pudsede vægge, men kunne nu også indrette et enkelt rum med udskårne træpaneler. Et sådant helt panelede rum har været vældig godt isoleret mod kulde, og man kunne opnå god opvarmning samtidig med, at man kunne fremvise velstand i form af alt det snedkerbehandlede træ. Eller man kunne indrette et rum med paneler på undervæggene og gyldenlæder på overvæggene. Gyldenlæder var huder skåret i firkantede felter, der var præget med et mønster, som blev malet med kulører og forgylte ornamenter. Det var vel en form for tekstilimitation og vældig gode som isolering. Men ligesom i middelalderen bestod mange rum stadig oftest af trælofter med bjælker og brædder, pudsede vægge og sparsomt med øvrigt træværk.

Renaissance: King's manor and merchant's manor

After the Reformation in 1536, the property of bishops became property of the state, as was the case with the bishop's palace in Odense. The king owned and used the manor until 1579, when he sold it to the city's wealthy merchant, Oluf Bager. The period from the Reformation through the first half of the 1600's is known as the Renaissance.

Tapestries were still hung on the plastered walls, but a single room could now also be decorated with carved wood panelling. Such a completely panelled room provided excellent insulation against the cold, and one could achieve heat while also displaying prosperity in the fine wood craftsmanship. Other rooms were decorated with panels on the lower sections of walls and golden leather on the upper sections. Golden leather was made from hides cut into squares and arranged in a pattern that was painted with colours and gilded ornaments. It likely served as a form of textile imitation and provided good insulation. But as in the Middle Ages, many rooms still had wood ceilings with beams and boards, plastered walls and only sparse additional woodwork.

Door frames and skirting were still not used, but painted decorations were very popular during this period. Acanthus twines, biblical motifs and other painted decorations were now found on ceilings and walls, in distemper or lime. For example, a lime frieze from the mid-1500's is found in the hall at Hesselagergård on Funen. This frieze portrays deer in a landscape; their antlers were not painted, but rather consisted of real antlers hung on the wall. The Næsbyholm manor on Zealand is known for its painted board ceiling, where the motifs portray the four seasons. The range of motifs was diverse, although biblical motifs were probably most common, even outside of the churches.

The former bishop's palace was now decorated in the Renaissance style. One floor was added and so a staircase was built to the upper floor. During the Renaissance, staircases were built as spiral staircases in stone in exterior stair towers, or one could have an

Dørindfatninger og fodpaneler brugtes stadig ikke. Her stortrivedes til gengæld malede dekorationser. Akantus slyngværk, bibelske motiver og andre malede dekorationser kunne nu udsmykke både lofter og vægge, i limfarve eller kalk. Fra midten af 1500-årene kendes således en kalkmalet frise i salen på Hesselagergård på Fyn. Her blev malet en frise med hjorte i et tilhørende landskab, og deres gevirer var ikke malet, men bestod af ægte, opsatte hjortegevir. Fra gården Næsbyholm på Sjælland kendes et dekorationsmalet bræddeloft, hvor motiverne er de fire årstider. Motivkredsen var således mangfoldig, selvom bibelske motiver nok har været det mest anvendte også uden for kirkerne.

Den tidlige bispegård indrettedes nu i renæssancestil. En etage bygges på, og der tilføjes derfor en trappe til overetagen. Trapper i renæssancen var opført som spindeltrapper i sten i udvendige trappetårne, eller man kunne have en udvendig ligeløbende trappe forbundet med en svalegang på første sal. Overetagen på Bispegaarden indrettedes med to store rum i hver deres halvdel af husets længde. Det ene indrettedes til lager og blev bare hvidkalket, mens det andet indrettedes til sal. Man videreførte brugen af pigmenter og bindemidler som i middelalderen. Dog har vi på Bispegaarden observeret, at man i denne tid ikke mere brugte mørke, men den billigere og lidt mørkere jernoxidrøde. Hos overklassen begyndte stuk nu at blive et materiale, der bruges i interiører, især på lofter. På Frederiksborg Slot har vi således fra perioden fundet bjælkeloft, betrukket med ornamenteret stuk på både bjælker og loftslader. På Bispegaarden blev trælofterne rødmalede, salsvægge maledes igen med tekstilimitationer, men nu suppleret med malede imitationer af stukkanter hele vejen foroven langs med tekstilbanerne, som om de var ophængt under en gesims. Disse tekstiler var som nævnt jernoxidrøde og stukimitationen udført i gråtoner med pigmentet kørnøg, der skulle illudere lys og skygge, alt sammen udført i limfarve. Forneden på væggene maledes sorte eller grå sokler à la fodpanel. Dette blev sikret gjort af praktiske grunde ved gulvvask. Hvis soklen blev slidt, kunne man hurtigt male den op igen og be-



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Omkring år 1600 blev overetagens sal indrettet med en malet tekstilimitation og efterligning af trukne stukprofiler, malet i limfarve med de billige pigmenter jernoxidrød og kørnøg. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Around the year 1600, the top floor's hall was decorated with a painted imitation textile and imitations of coated stucco profiles, painted in distemper with the less expensive pigments iron oxide red and carbon black. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

outside straight staircase connected to an outside gallery on the first floor. The upper floor at the bishop's palace consisted of two large rooms, each of which comprised one-half of the building's length. The one room was used for storage and was simply whitewashed, while the other was used as a hall. The use of pigments and binding agents from the Middle Ages was carried on. However, at the bishop's palace we have discovered that during this time they no longer used red lead, but rather



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Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Renæssancedør med intarsia, dvs. indlagte træsorter. Sådanne dekorationer var moderne, før man begyndte at male træværk. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Renaissance door with intarsia, meaning inlaid types of wood. These decorations were modern before the trend of painting woodwork. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

høvede således ikke at hvidte hele væggen – det kan vi se er sket mange gange.

Døre i renæssancen kunne, ligesom de panelerede rum, være udført i fint snedkerarbejde med træskårne dekorationser eller med indlagt træ i mønstre, det man kalder intarsia. Sådanne døre er fundet på Bispegaarden, ligesom vi også har fundet gråmalede døre i huset fra den periode. Det har været forholdsvis nyt for perioden med sådant indvendigt, oliemalet træværk.

Barok: Adelsbolig

Efter købmand Oluf Bagers død overtog forskellige fynske adelsfamilier Bispegaarden, og i 1630 blev den købt af Brahe-familien. Stilen var nu barokken, hvor boligindretningen for alvor blev præget af ønsket om komfort. Man brugte stadig bræddeloft med malede udsmykninger, men stuklofter blev nu også indført. Fra et bræddeloft kunne det let drysse, og for at undgå det, begyndte man at sørme brædder på loftet under bjælkerne. Hermed fik man tillige et glat loft, der kunne illudere et glat, pudset loft. Endvidere kunne man pudse på disse brædder og få tidens eftertragtede stukloft. Man opsatte oftere og oftere lukkede jernovne til afløsning af tidligere tiders åbne kaminer og fik dermed en bedre opvarmning af rummene.

Der kom endvidere træværk ind i flere rum, dørindfatninger, fodpaneler og ind i 1700-årene tillige indvendige trapper. Det var dels for at forskonne og gøre overgangen mellem bygningsdele mere jævne og glatte, dels af praktiske grunde, for at isolere og skærme mod træk og kulde.

I barokken afløstes tidligere tiders ophængning af vævede tæpper på de pudsede vægge af tekstiler i uld og silke. De var permanent opsat på væggen, udspændt på en ramme. Eller man opsatte væglærreder, som blev oliemalet, ensfarvet eller prydet med kunstmalede motiver. Bag disse tekstiler opsatte man først på pudsvæggen flettede spåntapeter som isolering. Både tekstiler og malede lærreder opsattes oftest på hele overvæggen. Sædvanligvis over træpaneler, der var opsat til brystningshøjde, dvs. godt en meter over gulv.

the cheaper and slightly darker iron oxide red. The upper class began using stucco in interiors, especially on ceilings. For example, at Frederiksborg Castle we found beamed ceilings from this period covered with ornamental stucco on both the beams and the ceiling surfaces. At the bishop's palace, the wood ceilings were once again painted red with textile imitations, but now supplemented with painted imitations of stucco edges all the way from the top down to the length of the textiles, as if they were hung under a cornice. As mentioned, these textiles were iron oxide red and the stucco imitation was done in shades of grey with the pigment carbon black, creating the illusion of shadows and light; all done with distemper. The bottom of the walls were painted with black or grey sockets, much like skirting. This was probably done for practical reasons to ease the washing of floors. If the socket became worn, it could easily be painted again without having to whitewash the entire wall – we can see that these sockets were painted many times.

During the Renaissance and just like the panelled rooms, doors could be made from finely carved wooded decorations or inlaid wood in patterns known as intarsia. Such doors have been found at the bishop's palace, just like we have also found grey painted doors in the house from that period. It was relatively new during that period to have oil painted woodwork indoors.

Baroque: Noble residence

After the merchant Oluf Bager's death, a number of noble families from Funen took over the bishop's palace, and in 1630 it was purchased by the Brahe family. The style was now Baroque and interior design was strongly influenced by the desire for comfort. Board ceilings with painted decorations were still common, but the use of stucco ceilings was now also introduced. Dust and debris could easily sprinkle from board ceilings and to avoid this, craftsmen began nailing boards into the ceiling under the beams. This also provided a smooth ceiling that could create the illusion of a smooth



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Sort og grå marmorering på hvid bund, inddelt i kvadre, der skal illudere marmorblokke. Udsmykningen har fyldt væggene i salen i midten af huset og er udført i 1600-tallets sidste del. Formodentlig limfarve og kønror pigment. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Black and grey marbling on a white base, divided into ashlar panels that were designed to resemble marble blocks. The decoration filled the walls of the hall in the middle of the building and was done in the late 1600's, presumably using distemper and carbon black pigment. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

Malede interiører kom nu virkelig i brug, linolie-maling blev udbredt, i hvert fald i de højere samfunds-lag. Der kunne dog også stadig dekoreres på de pudsede vægge, enten med limfarve eller kalk. På Bispegaarden rykkede husets fine rum, salen, ind i midten af huset, idet der blev muret flere skorstene. Her blev indrettet en sal med jernovn i midten af huset, hvilket har givet et lunt rum at opholde sig i. Vinduerne kunne endvi-dere dækkes med skodder, og rummet fik da også på et tidspunkt betegnelsen Vinterstuen. Puds-væggene fik

plastered ceiling. These boards could also be plastered to attain a stucco ceiling, which was in high demand during this period. Closed iron ovens increasingly replaced the open fireplaces of the past, providing better heating of the rooms.

As the years passed, woodwork became increasingly common, as did door and window frames; indoor staircases also became common in the 1700's. These innovations were both decorative and practical, smoothing out the transitions between rooms, while also insulating and protecting from draughts and cold.

During the Baroque period, the former practice of hanging woven rugs on the plastered walls was replaced by hanging wool and silk textiles. These textiles were framed and permanently attached to the walls. Another possibility during this period was to hang wall canvases painted in a single colour or with artistic motifs. Woven rugs were placed between the plastered walls and these textiles to provide insulation. Both textiles and painted canvases were frequently hung on the entire upper part of the wall, usually over wood panels that rose up to chest height, meaning about one metre from the floor.

Painted interiors became very common and linseed oil paint was widely used by the higher strata of society. However, plastered walls were still sometimes decorated with distemper or lime. At the bishop's palace, the building's finest room, the hall, was moved to the middle of the building and several brick chimneys were erected. A hall with an iron stove was established in the middle of the building, providing a warm room for use. The windows could also be covered with shutters; the hall became known as the Winter Room during this period. The plastered walls were decorated in black and white marbling with distemper and divided into imitated ashlar, as if it were marble. A similar example of painted ashlar is found at the Clausholm Manor in Djursland, where in the 1690's a long hall was divided into ashlar and marbled in red and black shades. This style is also known to exist at other manors, so it appears to have been a common form of interior decoration.



Selsø, Hornsherred. Ridderhallen indrettedes ved husets opførelse i 1730'erne med marmoreredt træværk og figurbilleder malet på udspændte lærreder i loft og på vægge, udført af Hendrik Krock. Omkring loftsmaleriet ses barokkens yndede stukornamenter. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 1990'erne.

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Selsø, Hornsherred. At the time of the building's construction in the 1730's, the great hall was decorated with marbled woodwork and figurative paintings by Hendrik Krock on stretched canvases, hung on the ceiling and walls. The popular stucco ornaments of the Baroque period can be seen around the ceiling painting. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 1990's.



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Karen Brahes Bibliotek blev placeret i en af de middelalderlige sale. Rummet er farvemæsigt enkelt indrettet, her har bogryggene skullet udgøre dekorationen. Efter istandsættelse 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

en limfarvemalet dekoration i sort og hvid marmore-ring, inddelt i imiterede kvadre, som om det var marmorsten. Et tilsvarende eksempel på sådanne malede kvadre findes på herregården Clausholm på Djursland. Her blev en lang gang i 1690erne inddelt i kvadre og marmorered i røde og sorte nuancer. Vi kender det også fra andre herregårde, så det har tilsyneladende været en udbredt måde at dekorere på.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Karen Brahe's library was located in one of the medieval halls. The room's colour scheme is very simple; the books' spines were considered the room's decoration. After restoration, 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

Baroque: Secular Convent for Noblewomen

In the 1700's, interiors were painted and decorated to a high degree, using pure and strong colours such as red, blue, yellow and green. This was partly due to the preference for pure colours, and partly because pigments at that time were not as pure as those we know today. Thus, they could not be mixed together, as this would give a muddy result. Pigments were used individually, but could

Barok: Adeligt jomfrukloster

Ind i 1700-tallet males og dekoreres interiører i stort omfang, og man bruger rene og kraftige kulører som rød, blå, gul og grøn. Det var begrundet i glæden ved klare farver, men også i det faktum, at pigmenter den gang ikke var så rene, som vi kender det i dag. Derfor kunne de ikke blandes indbyrdes, for så ville resultatet blive grumset. Man brugte altså pigmentet rent, men kunne gøre det lysere eller mørkere ved at blande hvidt eller sort i det. Sammen med de klare farver brugte man også forgylninger i ægte guld som dekorative elementer.

Rum kunne stadig indrettes enkelt, alt efter rang og stand eller rummets rangordning i huset. Træ- eller stuklofter hvitedes, ligesom pudsvægge hvitedes eller maledes ensfarvet i limfarve. Rummets øvrige træværk kunne stå umaledet som i tidligere tider eller maledes nu i linoliemaling. Husets indvendige trapper kom til i 1720'erne og stod således umaledede i en periode, før de maledes grå.

Den gennemgående træværksfarve i barokken var nemlig grå. Perlegrå blev den kaldt gennem 17- og 1800-tallet og var i denne første periode ret mørk, en farve, der skulle illudere sten. Hvor egetræ i renæssancen havde været det fine og ædle, blev sten i barokken et ideal. Gerne i form af marmor, men kunne man ikke skaffe den ægte vare, efterlignede man den i maling eller stuk. Enten i form af ensfarvet grå i mere inferiore rum, eller som eksempelvis malet marmorering i de repræsentative rum, i kraftige kulører og ofte mere dekorativ end egentlig efterlignende en rigtig sten.

Tiden brugte figurale, kunstmalede motiver på væggene eller dekoration med ranker og ornamenter. Et eksempel på en sådan dekoreret sal findes på godset Selsø i Hornsherred. Rummenes træværk fik dekorative marmoreringer, mens salens vægge fik malede væglærreder udført af kunstneren Hendrik Krock. Endnu et træk i tiden var malerier placeret i den centrale del af stukloftet, et plafondmaleri, som det også ses på Selsø. I Jomfruklosteret har vi dog ikke fundet sådanne pragt-

be made lighter or darker by combining them with white or black. Along with the clear colours, gilded objects in genuine gold were also used as decorative elements.

Rooms could still be decorated in a simple manner, depending on rank and position, or the room's importance in the building. Wood or stucco ceilings were whitewashed, and plastered walls were whitewashed or painted in a single colour with distemper. The rest of the woodwork in the room could remain unpainted, as in earlier times, or now be painted with linseed oil paint. The building's interior stairs were built in the 1720's and remained unpainted for a period of time before they were painted grey.

Grey was the common colour of woodwork during the Baroque period. It was called pearl grey throughout the 1700's and 1800's, and during this time was a rather dark colour used to simulate stone. Whereas oak had been fashionable and noble during the Renaissance, stone was the ideal during the Baroque period – preferably in the form of marble, but if the real thing was unavailable, it was imitated with paint or stucco. Plain grey was used for the less important rooms, while painted marbling was seen in the representative rooms, in striking colours and often more decorative than an accurate imitation of real stone.

During this period, figural painted motifs or decorations with garlands and ornaments were used on the walls. One example of such a hall is found at the Selsø manor in Hornsherred. The woodwork in the rooms was painted with decorative marbling, while painted wall canvases by the artist Hendrik Krock were hung on the hall. Yet another feature of this period were paintings in the middle part of stucco ceiling, known as ceiling paintings, as seen at Selsø. Such decorated ceilings were not found at the Secular Convent for Noblewomen, but rather more simple rooms with white-painted wooden ceilings and red line decoration, white- and grey-painted plastered walls, and unpainted or grey-painted woodwork. Karen Brahe's library was arranged in the hall in the west end of the building and here the walls and ceilings



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Beboelsesrum til de adelige jomfruer udsmykkedes med bandedekorationer, dvs. malede imitater af tekstilbaner ophængt på væggene over et illusionistisk malet brystpanel. Formodentlig malet i limfarve i 1700-tallet første halvdel. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Living quarters for the “noble virgins” (unmarried ladies of rank) were decorated with stripe decorations, meaning painted imitations of textile stripes hung on the walls above an illusionary painted dado. Likely painted in distemper during the first half of the 1700's. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

lofter, men derimod mere enkle rum med hvidmalede trælofter og rød stregdekoration, hvid- og gråmalede pudsvægge, umalet eller gråmalet træværk. Karen Brahes bibliotek blev indrettet i salen i husets vestgavl, og her var loft og vægge hvide, mens bogskabene var malet grå i linoliemaling.

Vi har endvidere fundet dekorativt malede vægge med for eksempel rankedekorationer i hvidt på grå bund og imiterede søjler malet på en rød bund. Som nævnt brugte man også udspændte lærreder på overvægge, uldne tekstiler eller silketapeter. Disse vægsilker kunne bestå af to forskelligt farvede baner, der var opsat skiftevis, så eksempelvis en blå og en hvid silke

were white, while the book cabinets were painted with grey linseed oil paint.

We also discovered decoratively painted walls with vine decorations in white on a grey background and imitation columns painted on a red background. As mentioned above, stretched canvases, woollen textiles and silk rugs were also used on the upper sections of walls. These wall silks could consist of two differently coloured alternating stripes, so for example a blue and a white silk stripe alternated and gave the room a striped effect. Silks such as these are found at Bregentved manor on Zealand. On a smaller scale, these silks were sometimes imitated by painting them on the walls. Painted stripes such as these are found in a number of rooms at the Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The plaster and wooden walls are painted with an imitation of a dado, above which stripes are painted in alternating colours. It is called stripe decoration. We have found it in these colours: red and green; red and white; red, green and blue-green; yellow and red lead with white acanthus twines; and ochre and blue. We also found a room with red and green stripes, followed by a stripe with a zig-zag pattern that imitates weaving or embroidery, known as Bargello or *point d'Hongrie*. All decorations seem to be in in distemper.

We have never before found such extensive use of stripe decoration in Denmark. It appears that this was a quick and inexpensive way to decorate a room and make it look proper. We have yet to find such decoration in the Danish manors. The increasing application of paint on all surfaces was a part of the desire for comfort. A painted surface is typically smoother and easier to clean than an unpainted plaster or wooden surface, while the painted decorations also graced the interiors.

Late Baroque and Rococo

In the 1703-1740's, the strong and pure Baroque colours were replaced by a slightly lighter colour trend that emerged by mixing white into the pure colours. The



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Rokokodekoration malet på væglærrederne i salen, med personer og ornamenteringer. Udført i gråtoner med oliemaling. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2013.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Rococo decoration painted on the wall canvases in the hall, portraying people and ornamentation. Done in shades of grey with oil paint. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2013.

afløste hinanden og gav en striboeffekt i rummet. Sådanne silker er fundet på Bregentved gods på Sjælland. I mindre målestok kunne man også imitere disse silker ved at male dem på væggen. Sådanne malede baner er fundet i adskillige rum på Jomfruklosteret. På puds- og trævægge er malet imitation af brystpanel, hvorover er malet baner i skiftende kulører. Man kalder det bandedekor, og vi har fundet dem i farverne rød og grøn, rød og hvid, rød, grøn og blågrøn, gul og mørkerød med

ideal became lighter and airier interiors with greater comfort. People wanted smooth, easier to clean surfaces that provided the interiors with a lighter look than raw wood and plastered walls. Wooden ceilings were covered with boards and smooth plaster; finer rooms were also decorated with stucco ornaments. These were typically whitewashed, but sometimes also featured gilded and painted decorative elements. One of the more spectacular examples of a decorated ceiling is the ceiling in the hall



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Dør med fuglemotiv på berlinerblå bundfarve fra midten af 1700-tallet. Berlinerblå kom i handelen fra 1720'erne og blev sin tids mest anvendte pigment, blandt andet fordi tiden stræbte efter det kinesiske blå og hvide porcelæn. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Door with bird motif on Prussian blue base from the mid-1700's. Prussian blue was introduced in the 1720's and became the most popular pigment of its time, in part because this period prized Chinese blue and white porcelain. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.

hvidt akantusslyng samt okker og blå. Endvidere er fundet et rum med røde og grønne bander afløst af en bane med et zig-zag-mønster, som imiterer vævning eller broderi, det såkaldte Bargello eller point d'Hongrie, på dansk *flammet*. Alle dekorationer er tilsyneladende udført i limfarve.

En så massiv anvendelse af bandedekor har vi ikke fundet i Danmark før. Det kunne se ud, som om det har været en hurtig og billig måde at dekorere et rum på og få det til at se anständigt ud. Vi har endnu tilbage at finde dem rundt omkring på de danske herregårde. Den tiltagende påføring af maling på alle overflader var en del af ønsket om komfort. En malet overflade er sædvanligvis glattere og lettere at rengøre end en umaltes puds- eller træoverflade, samtidig med, at de malede dekorationer forskønnede interiørerne.

Senbarok og rokoko

I 1730-1740'erne afløses de kraftige og rene barokfarver af et lidt lysere farveudtryk, der fremkom ved at blande hvidt i de rene kulører. Idealet bliver lettere og luftigere interiører og større behagelighed. Nu vil man have glatte overflader, der er mere rengøringsvenlige og forlener interiørerne med et lettere udtryk end råt træ og puds-vægge gjorde det. Trælofter bliver bræddbeslæede og glatpudsede, i fine rum tilføjet stukornamenter. Disse hvidtes oftest, men kan også have forgylte og malede dekorative elementer.

Jernovne anvendes overalt, og væggen bag dem, ovnpladsen, marmoreres gerne i limfarve. Dels som dekoration og dels af helt praktiske hensyn, på en marmorert flade ses sod fra ovnen ikke så tydeligt. Limfarven kan tåle varmen, hvad oliemaling ikke kan, og

at Eremitage Castle in Jægersborg Deer Park. In the 1730's, King Christian VI commissioned a magnificent ceiling with stucco, mirrors and glazes painted on gold and silver. Such elements were used on a smaller scale at the manors and homes of more affluent townsmen. A feature taken from Eremitage Castle is the use of glazes, that is to say translucent colours. At the castle, the Danish National Museum found the glaze paints used on gold and silver and we have found it in a more bourgeois version at the home of a grocer in Copenhagen. His best room featured a stucco decorated ceiling, while the woodwork in the room was painted in blue glaze on a grey surface, apparently to create the illusion of silver.

Iron ovens were used everywhere and the wall behind them was often marbled in distemper – partly as decoration and partly for practical reasons, since soot from the oven is not as visible on a marbled surface. Unlike oil paint, distemper can withstand heat and when it becomes too dirty, it can be washed down and marbled again.

The walls are decorated with canvases on the upper sections of walls and wood panelling on the lower sections. Wall silks are used like oil-painted canvases, with painted artistic motifs or with rocaille. On the middle floor of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen, we have found wall canvases with figural motifs framed in rocaille-painted frames. And at the Eremitage Castle, the painted wall canvases were decorated with hunting scenes.

Woodwork is still painted with oil paint in grey coal colours or marbled. The grey tones became lighter during this period and the marbling was less intense in colour and painted more true to life. The most popular colours of this period were blue and light



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. I slutningen af 1700-tallet begynder tapet for alvor at vinde indpas i interiører. Der var i begyndelsen ofte tale om trykte efterligninger af de vægsilker, som man tidligere havde brugt, derfor er trykket udført som bølgende tekstil. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. In the late 1700's, wallpaper became very popular in interior design. In the beginning, wallpaper typically featured printed imitations of the wall silks of earlier times, so the print is designed to resemble a wavy textile. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

grey, corresponding to the strong interest in Chinese porcelain. It was also during this period that the synthetic pigment Prussian blue was invented. It was also inexpensive. This enabled the use of the blue and white colours for decorative purposes. At the Secular Convent for Noblewomen, we found a door decorated with a bird motif in precisely this very blue and light grey. Another room had blue decorative elements in freehand with columns and arches painted as arcades with a view to blue skies. Prussian blue is the main colour in this room. Walls are painted very simply with a single colour in light grey or other light distemper.

At the end of the period, leading up to the 1770-1780's, the use of fine wallpaper emerged. Wall silks and decorative painted wall canvases were no longer the height of fashion; instead, wallpaper was mounted on the canvases of the upper wall sections.

Neoclassicism

From the 1770-1780's, fashion shifted from the intricate Rococo decorations to more classically-inspired decor. As in the Renaissance, inspiration came from Greek and Roman ancient times and a more aesthetic, nature-oriented attitude to life. In interiors, all ceilings were to be smooth, possibly with a single stucco profile.

Comfort requirements and fashion both dictated smooth surfaces. This era also saw the emergence of a desire for greater hygiene, meaning surfaces that were easier to clean than the rougher surfaces of earlier times. If the ceilings were not plastered, they were



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Beboelsesrummene var udsmykkede i mere eller mindre grad. I et af rummene udførtes omkring midten af 1700-tallet fint malede dekorationer som illusion af marmorsøjler og arkadebuer med udkig til himlen.

Alt er sandsynligvis malet i limfarve.

Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The living quarters were decorated to varying degrees. In the mid-1700's, one of the rooms was painted to create an illusion of marble columns and arcade arches, with a view to the sky.

All of this was likely painted in distemper.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Salen i husets midte fik i rokokoen udspændte væglærreder med malede, figurale motiver (se side 317). I klassicismen, da det blev umoderne, maledes motiverne over med en gul vægfarve med hvid loftsfrise, udført med skabelon. Malet i linoliemaling i patentgul og hvid. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

når det bliver for beskidt, vaskes limfarven ned, og der marmoreres igen.

Væggene beklædes med lærreder på overvægge og træpaneler på undervægge. Vægsilker anvendes ligesom oliemalede lærreder med kunstmalede motiver eller med rocailledekoration. På Jomfruklosteret har vi i husets midterste sal fundet væglærreder med netop sådanne figurale motiver, indsat i en rocaillemalet ramme.

Træværk males fortsat i oliemaling i grå stenkulør eller marmoreres. Den grå bliver lysere i denne periode, og marmoreringer bliver mindre kraftige i kuløren og males mere mod det naturtro. Denne periodes store farver er blå og lys grå. Det hænger sammen med tidens alt

covered with boards and in this way smooth; a number of boarded ceilings were construed at Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The small-paned windows that currently adorn the building replaced older windows that were probably stained glass; the larger windows allowed more light into the rooms.

Walls were still covered with canvas above dados, reusing the canvases of the Baroque and Rococo periods. Thus, around the year 1800, the hall's rococo decorations were painted in accordance with the new, Neoclassical fashion. The walls were painted yellow with a stenciled border under the ceiling with white ornaments that may have been an attempt to imitate



The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. During the Rococo period, the hall in the middle of the building was decorated with stretched wall canvases featuring figurative motifs (see page 317). During the Neoclassical period, when it became outdated, the motifs were painted with yellow wall paint and a white ceiling frieze painted with a template. Painted in linseed oil paint in patent yellow and white. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

overskyggende interesse for det kinesiske porcelæn. Og netop i perioden opfindes det syntetiske pigment Berlinerblå, der ovenikøbet er billigt. Således kunne man nu anvende de blå og hvide farver i dekorationssammenhænge. På Jomfruklosteret har vi således fundet en dør, dekoreret med fuglemotiv, netop i blå og lys grå. Et andet rum med blåt dekorationselement er dekoreret i frihånd med søjler og buer, malet som arkader medudsigt til den blå himmel. Den berlinerblå er netop hovedfarven i dette rum. Vægge males dog også helt enkelt, ensfarvede i limfarve i lysegrå eller andre lyse kulører.

I slutningen af perioden, op mod 1770-1780'erne, kom der også enkelte meget fine papirtapeter til.

stucco. The yellow pigment is called patent yellow and was rarely used in Denmark. Perhaps it was used to show the hall's status as a particularly fine room?

During this period, people began removing the wall canvases and plastering the upper sections of the walls smooth. This was done, because wallpaper was now modern and putting it up on a solid plaster surface was easier than on a stretched canvas. The bright colour palette of the Rococo period remained in fashion. During the preceding Rococo period, everything was painted with linseed oil paint, while the trend during the Neoclassical period was to use distemper on ceilings and walls. This represented a transition from glossy to

Vægsilker og dekorativt malede væglærreder var nu ikke længere højeste mode, derimod blev papirtapeter opsat på overvægslærrederne.

Klassicisme

Fra 1770-1780'erne skiftede tidens mode fra de snørklede rokokodekorationer til mere klassisk inspirerede dekorationsudtryk. Det var, ligesom i renæssancen, inspiration fra den græske og romerske oldtid samt en mere asketisk, mere naturorienteret livsholdning, der gjorde sig gældende. I interiører skulle alle lofter nu være glatte, eventuelt med en enkelt udformet stukprofilering.

Både komfortkrav og mode dikterede glatte flader. Endvidere kom i denne tid også ønsket om større hygiejne, dvs. overflader, der var lettere at rengøre end tidligere tiders mere ru overflader. Hvis lofter ikke blev pudset, blev de bræddebeklædte og dermed glatte; i Jomfruklosteret blev således opsat flere bræddeloft. De nuværende småsprossede vinduer erstattede ældre vinduer, der sandsynligvis havde været blyindfattede, og med de større vinduesglas kom der mere lys ind i rummene.

Vægge var stadig lærredsbetrukne over brystningspaneler, idet man sagtens kunne genbruge barokkens og rokokoen lærreder. Således blev salens rokokodekorationer i Odense omkring 1800 overmalet efter den nye, klassicistiske mode. Væggene blev gule med en skabelonmalet bort under loftet med hvide ornamenter, måske illuderende stuk. Det gule pigment hedder patentgult og var sjældent brugt i Danmark. Måske er det netop brugt her for at vise salens status som et særligt fint rum?

I perioden begyndte man også at fjerne væglærrederne og pudse overvæggene glatte. Det gjorde man, fordi papirtapet nu blev moderne, og det var lettere at opsætte papir på den faste pudsoverflade end på et udspændt lærred. Rokokoens lyse farvepalet fortsatte. I den tidlige periode, rokokoen, maledes alt med linoliemaling, mens det igennem klassicismen blev moderne med limfarve på lofter og vægge. Dvs. at man

matt surfaces, which helps to give interiors a lighter look. Gilded objects were no longer as commonly used for decoration. Everything glossy had gone out of fashion.

The palette of colours became more varied than before, but one colour was still not mixed with another colour. The pigments used for interiors remained at the inexpensive end and consisted of white lead and chalk (white), ochre (yellow), iron oxide red (red), umber (brown), chrome green (Green), Prussian blue (blue), caput mortuum (violet) and a number of black pigments such as carbon black.

At the Secular Convent for Noblewomen, we found walls with wallpaper that was printed in sheets. The endless paper roll had not yet been invented, so the individual paper sheets were printed with a wallpaper pattern, whereupon the sheets were glued together into strips. We have found remnants of striped and floral wallpaper, as well as wallpaper with silk imitations. The wall silks of earlier times were outdated; however, imitating them with printed wallpaper was at the height of fashion. These wallpapers were printed in distemper, as this was the most suitable paint for printing.

In a simpler and less expensive version, the wall could be painted in a light-coloured distemper, in a single colour such as light ochre, white, rose and light green, and then a wallpaper printed frieze could be hung just below the ceiling. Such friezes often had the character of imitated garlands or textile borders. Wallpaper could also be imitated by decorating the wall with template decorations. And finally, we also found wall decorations painted by hand, including landscape motifs.

In earlier times, canvases had covered the entire upper section of the wall in one piece. If new canvases were hung during the Neoclassical period, the walls were typically divided into framed sections; this created an area above the doors that could be decorated with painted motifs. For example, at the Secular Convent for Noblewomen we found such door decorations in the room that was decorated with painted arcade arches during the Baroque period and a view to the blue sky. Johanne de Leth lived here from the year 1785, and

gik fra blanke til matte overflader, hvilket hjælper med til at give interiørerne et lettere udtryk. Forgyldninger brugte man nu ikke så meget mere. Alt det blanke var gået af mode.

Paletten af kulører blev mere varieret end tidligere, men kulørerne blandedes stadig ikke indbyrdes. De pigmenter, som man anvendte til interiørbrug, var stadig i den billige ende og bestod af blyhvidt og kridt (hvid), okker (gul), jernoxidrød (rød), umbra (brun), chromgrøn (grøn), berlinerblå (blå), caput mortuum (violet) samt flere sorte pigmenter som eksempelvis kønrorøg.

På Jomfruklosteret har vi fundet vægge med opsat tapet, trykt i ark. Man havde endnu ikke opfundet den uendelige papirbane, så de enkelte papirark blev trykt med et tapetmønster, hvorefter arkene blev limet sammen til baner. Vi har fundet rester af stribet og blomstret tapet samt tapeter med silkeimitationer. Tidlige tiders vægsilker var umoderne, men sjovt nok var det højeste mode at efterligne dem i de trykte papirtapeter. Sådanne tapeter var trykt i limfarve, fordi det var den bedst anvendelige maling til tryk.

I enklere og billigere udgave kunne man male væggen i en lys limfarve, ensfarvet i for eksempel lys okker, hvid, rosa og lys grøn, og så eventuelt opsætte en tapetrykt frise under loftet. Sådanne friser havde ofte karakter af imiterede guirlander eller tekstilborter. Man kunne også udføre en tapetimitation ved at dekorere væggen med skabelondekorationer. Og endelig har vi også fundet vægdekorationer malet i fri hånd, med blandt andet landskabsmotiver.

Tidlige tiders lærreder havde dækket hele overvæggen i ét stykke. Hvis man opsatte nye lærreder i klassicismen, blev væggene oftest inddelt i felter med en indramning omkring, og herved opstod der et felt over dørene, et dørstykke, der kunne udstyres med malede motiver. På Jomfruklosteret har vi for eksempel fundet dørstykker i det rum, der i barokken var blevet udsmykket med malede arkadebuer og kig til den blå himmel. Her boede fra 1785 Johanne de Leth, og netop i denne periode fik rummet nye udsmykninger, sandsynligvis udført til netop hende. Uden på arkadedekorationerne



Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Beboelsesrummene interiører blev igennem tiden opdaterede. Således fik mange rum fra midten af 1800-tallet opsat mønstret tapet i uendelige baner, som det netop på den tid blev muligt at fremstille. Dørens hvidlakerede bemaling hører dog en senere tid til. Da tapetet blev sat op, egetræsmalte man oftest træværk. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. The living quarters' interiors were renovated over time. Beginning in the mid-1800's, many of the rooms were decorated with wallpaper, which had become much easier to manufacture at this time. However, the door's white paint came at a later date. When the wallpaper was installed, the woodwork was typically painted to resemble oak. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Malede træimitationer, også kaldet ådring, blev uhyre populære fra 1850 og frem til lige efter år 1900. Stort set alt træværk blev ådret i finere træsorter som eg eller mahogni. Alt træværket i trapperummene på Jomfruklostret blev således ådret i 1800-tallets anden halvdel. Sådanne ådringer udførtes i laserende linoliemaling på en lyst malet bund, hvorpå det lakeredes. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. Painted wood imitation, also called woodgraining, was immensely popular from 1850 until just after 1900. Virtually all woodwork was woodgrained to resemble fine woods such as oak or mahogany. All of the woodwork in the staircases of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen was woodgrained in the second half of the 1800's. The woodwork was woodgrained using translucent linseed oil paint on a light painted surface, after which it was varnished. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

blev der opsat væglærreder. De maledes med gul limfarve på papir og tilhørende loftfriser i trykt tapet. Hertil var dørstykker med malede blomsterkurve.

Men også landskabsmotiver, de fire årstider eller antikke motiver kunne udsmykke dørstykket, ofte udført i limfarve, der var med til at understrege periodens ønske om lethed i dekorationen. Netop fordi man malede i limfarve, måtte motiverne ændre sig i forhold til barok og rokokø; i lim kan man ikke male glidende overgange, som man havde kunnet tidligere. Derved fik tidens malede dekorationer et mere stift og mindre naturalistisk udtryk. Det gjorde, at tidlige tiders store, kunstmalede vægdekorationer nu erstattedes af udsmykninger, der blev malet af decidedede dekorationsmalerere. Det var netop på den tid, at dekorationsmaleriet udskilte sig som et selvstændigt fag inden for interiørkunsten. Således havde man fra denne tid de malere, der udførte det almindelige malerarbejde, dekorationsmalerne, der dekorerede, og endelig kunstmalerne, der udførte den egentlige kunst.

Træværk maledes af praktiske årsager fortsat i olie, ligesom vægge også stadig kunne være det, men det var lidt gammeldags. Den perlegrå brugte man også stadig, samme grå som i rokokoen eller lysere endnu. Profiler på lofter og træværk kunne, som i perioden før, have

it was during this period that the room received new decoration, most likely made just for her. Wall canvases were hung on top of the arcade decorations and painted with yellow distemper on paper; these were accompanied by ceiling friezes in printed wallpaper. The areas above doors were decorated with painted flower baskets.

Other common decorations above doors included the four seasons or antique motifs; these were often done in distemper, reflecting the period's preference for lightness in interior decor. The very choice of painting in distemper required different motifs than those from the Baroque and Rococo periods, as the smooth painted transitions of those periods were not possible with distemper. Thus, the painted decorations of this period had a more rigid and less naturalistic look. This meant that the large painted wall decorations from previous times were now replaced by decorations, which were painted by decorative painters. It was at this time that decorative painting branched into an independent area of specialisation in interior design arts. This period had painters who performed general painting, decorative painters who decorated and artistic painters who painted works of art.

Woodwork was still painted with oil paint for practical reasons, as were many walls, but it was





Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. I løbet af 1900-tallet indrettedes flere mindre køkkener i klostret. Her et køkken med malet træværk og tapet fra 1950'erne. Foto: Roberto Fortuna 2011.

forgyldninger og også enkelte kulører. Marmoreringer brugtes stadig, men kun i begrænset omfang, og i lyse, enkle udgaver. På Jomfruklosteret fik de to trapperum i denne periode lysegråt træværk med malet mahogniimitation på håndfang og profilled. Loftet hvidtedes og væggene blev malede som en imitation af marmorkvadre, udført i lyse, violette toner med det pigment, der hedder caput mortuum. Stengulve var nu ikke længere idealt. Malede trægulve passede bedre til periodens ønske om glatte overflader, men de kunne også stå rå og skurede. Ønsket om varme kunne man endvidere opnå gennem gulvtæpper, der i denne periode begyndte at blive en del af boligindretningen.

considered a bit old-fashioned. As during the Rococo period, pearl-grey paint was used in a similar or lighter shade and profiles on ceilings and woodwork could have gilding and some colour. Marbling was still used, but only to a limited extent, and in light, simple forms. Two stairwells were constructed at the Secular Convent for Noblewomen of rank during this period with light grey woodwork and painted to imitate mahogany on the railings and banisters. Ceilings were whitewashed and the walls were painted to imitate marble ashlar in light violet tones using the pigment called caput mortuum. Stone floors were no longer the ideal. Painted wood floors better suited the period's



The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen. During the 1900's, many small kitchens were installed in the Convent. Shown here is a kitchen with painted woodwork and wallpaper from the 1950's. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011.

Historicisme

Fra op mod midten af 1800-tallet er klassicismen ikke længere det store forbillede i moden. I den periode, vi kalder historicismen, brugte man forskellige stilarter fra tidligere tider og blandede dem efter behov. Ét rum kunne for eksempel indrettes i nyrokoko, et andet i nybarok etc. Det lyse og lette var ikke længere et ideal, man ville have mørkere og tungere farveholdninger. Perioden kulminerer med klunketidens mørke, fyldte interiører, der varer til lidt efter århundredeskiftet 1900. Loftet hvidtedes stadig, men skulle nu også gerne have en malet dekoration på den glatte flade. Pompejanske interiører blev meget moderne, og hvis det ikke blev

desire for smooth surfaces, but they could also be rough and scoured. The desire for heat also led to the use of carpets, which started being a part of interior design during this period.

Historicism

From the mid-1800's, Neoclassicism was no longer the ideal in fashion. During this period, which we call Historicism, various styles from the past were mixed together as needed. For example, a room could be decorated in Neo-Rococo and another in Neo-Baroque, etc. Bright and airy was no longer an ideal, as darker

egentlig pompejansk, blev de malede udsmykninger i hvert fald antikiserende.

Tapeter kunne fra 1800-tallets midte fremstilles i uendelige baner, mønstrenes kunne derved trykkes mere rationelt, og tapet blev derfor noget, som man kunne få i alle prisklasser. De blev hvermands øje og brugtes af høj og lav. Hvis man ikke fik væggene tapetserede, blev de malet i oliemaling på lærred eller papir på puds. De matte limfarvevægge var ikke længere moderne, nu ville man have blanke overflader.

Det blev på denne tid økonomisk muligt at smelte lak til bygningsmaling. Lakker brugte man til at tilsætte linoliemalingen, så den blev mere blank og hård. En blank overflade kræver et mere glat underlag end en mat for at se påen ud, så man begyndte at spartle træværk som klargøring for de blanke lakker. Endvidere blev tidens store mode også at male træværket som imitation af finere træsorter. Det var dels begrundet i imitationen af tidligere tiders stilarter, renæssance og barok, hvor træværket ikke nødvendigvis var malet, dels i, at der i klassicismen var indført oversøiske træsorter i form af blandt andet mahognimøbler. Derfor malede man imitationer af tidligere tiders finere eg og mahogni, og så godt som alt træværk var ådret, som det hedder på fagsprog.

Gulve blev i denne periode gerne malede i brune, mørke nuancer eller lakerede. De kunne også limferves og derefter bones med voks, så de kom til at se blanklakerede ud. Man brugte også heldækkende tæpper eller det nye materiale linoleum, der er lavet af savsmuld blandet med linolie. Det kunne udføres i forskellige farver, og man kunne også trykke det med imitation af tæpper. Sådan et tæppe af linoleum er fundet i et af beboelsesrummene på Jomfruklosterets førstesal.

1900-tallet

Moder skifter, så lige efter århundredeskiftet 1900 var man blevet træt af alt det mørke og imiterende. Nu skulle lofter og vægge være lyst malede, eller væggene

and heavier colour schemes came into demand. The period culminated with the dark, crowded interiors of the Victorian era, which lasted until a short time after the turn of the century in 1900. Ceilings were still whitewashed, but typically also had a painted decoration on the smooth surface. Pompeian interiors were in high fashion and if not decidedly Pompeian, painted decorations were in the classical style.

From the mid-1800's, wallpaper could be manufactured in endless rolls, so patterns could be printed in a more rational manner; wallpaper thus became available in all price ranges and was used by all social classes. If the walls were not wallpapered, they were painted in oil paint on canvas or paper on plaster. The matt distemper walls were no longer modern, as polished surfaces came into fashion.

During this period, it became economically feasible to melt lacquer into house paint. Lacquer was added to linseed oil paint to make it more glossy and hard. A glossy coat requires a smoother surface than a matt coat to be presentable, so people began to spackle woodwork in preparation for the glossy lacquers. Another popular trend during this period was to paint woodwork to imitate finer woods. This was partly an imitation of past styles from the Renaissance and Baroque periods, where woodwork was not necessarily painted, and partly because wood types from overseas, such as mahogany, were introduced during the Neoclassical period. Therefore, people painted to imitate the finer oak and mahogany of the foregoing periods, and virtually all woodwork was grained, as it is called.

Floors during this period were painted in brown, dark shades, or varnished. They could also be painted with distemper and then polished with wax, giving an appearance of varnished floors. Wall-to-wall carpets were also used, as was the new material linoleum, made from a mixture of sawdust and linseed oil. Linoleum could be made in various colours and could also be printed with an imitation of carpets. A linoleum carpet of this kind is found in one of the residential rooms on the first floor of the Secular Convent for Noblewomen.

Konservatorholdet i arbejde. Her er den del af dekorationen på panelvæggen mod syd mellem rum 208/209, der skal være synlig for fremtiden. Den er udført i første halvdel af 1700-tallet, hvor førstesalens værelser blev indrettede. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

The restoration team at work. Here is the part of the decor on the partition wall facing south between rooms 208/209, which must be visible in the future. It was done in the first half of 18th-century, when the first floor rooms were fitted out. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



skulle beklædes med tapeter, oftest i lysere nuancer end dem, man havde brugt i 1800-tallet. Brugen af farver og dekoration ændrede sig fra de malede og imiterende dekorationer til, at kuløren i sig selv var dekorativ. Man søgte i århundredets begyndelse tilbage til et mere rent og enkelt udtryk end i klunketidens interiører.

Funktionalismens indtog i 1930'erne betød endvidere et øget fokus på det funktionelle, og her passede historicismens malede ornamenter ikke ind. Rummets forskellige elementer kunne til gengæld få hver sin farve, eller hver flade sin farve, og således måske henvise til elementets funktion.

Paletten fortsatte med de samme kulører i begyndelsen af århundredet, men ændrede sig til mange forskellige farver fra 1930'erne og frem. Træværk har igennem århundredet dog mest skullet være lyst, gerne cremefarvet, lysegråt eller nærmende sig det helt hvide. Men vi har i Jomfruklosteret fundet et køkken med lysegrønt træværk og tilhørende tapet, som nok har været 1950'ernes afløsning af den køkkenblå.

Limfarve og linoliemaling brugtes stadig indtil efter Anden Verdenskrig, og derefter blev alkydmaling og senere plast- og akrylmalinger introduceret. Linoleum vandt meget frem i århundredets løb, ligesom bygge-materialer som celotex og masonit til isolering vandt indpas, i takt med at isolering af boliger øgedes, og opvarmningen forbedredes.

Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster levede en stille tilværelse i 1900-tallet, hvad angår interiørmode, da kun få personer boede her. 1930'ernes funktionalisme og århundredets øvrige optimering, opdatering og modeskift har vi ikke fundet mange spor af i huset. Den velstandsstigning, der er sket i det øvrige samfund i 1900-tallet, kom ikke klostret til gode. Det er jo derfor, vi har kunnet finde alle de spændende historiske lag bevaret, og med den nuværende restaurering har det netop været Realdania Bygs mål at gemme hele denne fortælling for en senere tid.

1900's

Trends change over time, and after the turn of the twentieth century, people grew tired of the dark and imitation decor. Ceilings and walls were now painted in light colours, or covered with wallpaper in lighter shades than those used in the 1800's. The use of colours and decoration shifted from the painted and imitation decorations to using colour decoratively itself. In the early 1900's, people sought a cleaner and simpler expression than the interiors of the Victorian period.

The rise of Functionalism in the 1930's meant an increased focus on function, rendering the painted ornaments of Historicism unwanted. The various elements of a room could have colours of their own, or each surface could have a different colour, perhaps referring to the function of the element.

The palette of colours used was unchanged in the early 1900's, but shifted to many different colours from the 1930's onward. However, woodwork throughout the century was primarily light, preferably cream coloured, light-grey or almost completely white. However, at the Secular Convent we found a kitchen with light-green woodwork and matching wallpaper, which probably dates to the 1950's as a replacement of the traditional Danish "kitchen blue".

Distemper and linseed oil paint were still used until after World War II, at which time alkyd paint and later plastic and acrylic paints were introduced. Linoleum gained in popularity throughout the century, and building materials such as celotex and Masonite became popular for insulation purposes as the insulating and heating of homes improved.

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen lived a quiet life in the 1900's in terms of interior design, as few people lived there. We have not found many traces of 1930's Functionalism or other optimisation, updating or changes in decor in the building. The rise in prosperity for society as a whole in the 1900's did not benefit the Convent. This is the very reason that we were able to find all of the fascinating historical layers intact. Realdania Byg's goal with the current restoration process has been to preserve this tale for future generations.

Eksempler på konserveringsarbejder

På Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster er der i forbindelse med restaureringen udført mange konserveringsarbejder i de malede rum. Eksempelvis er det klassicistiske interiør i den såkaldte Vinterstue genskabt. Her er senere tiders overmalinger på væggernes udspændte lærreder fjernet, så man er kommet ned til malelagene fra omkring år 1800: Patentgule vægge med en hvid, skabelonmalet frieze foroven. Disse bemalinger er nu rensede, mættede og retoucherede, dvs. der er repareret i farvelaget præcis, hvor der var skader. Der er ikke malet oven på den eksisterende bemaling. Disse vægge står nu med den patina, som de havde, før moden krævede, at de blev malet over. Hertil har maleren genskabt den lysegrå farve, som rummets træværk havde på den tid.

I trapperummene er det træimitationsmalede træværk bevaret. Kun er det renset, mættet og retoucheret, i lighed med, hvad der er gjort i andre rum. Maleren har hertil genskabt tidligere marmoreringer på væggene ved at male dem på ny.

I et af de tidlige beboelsesrum på førstesalen er de sene barokdekorationer bevaret under senere opsatte væglærreder. Disse væglærreder er nu fjernet og gemt på loftet, så væggernes dekoration med imitation af arkadebuer og ranker igen står fremme. Alt er oprindeligt udført i limfarve, som er skrøbeligt overfor slitage og skiftende luftfugtighed. Her var det nødvendigt at lime al løstsiddende maling fast og dernæst retouchere skader i bemalingen.

Examples of conservation projects

In connection with the restoration of The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, a number of conservation projects were carried out in the painted rooms. For example, the Neoclassical interior in the so-called Winter Room has been re-created. The coats of paint from later times have been removed from the walls' stretched canvases, revealing the layers of paint from around the year 1800: patent yellow walls with a white, template-painted frieze at the top. These walls have now been cleaned, saturated and retouched, meaning the colour layer has been repaired where there was damage. Nothing was painted on top of the existing paint. These walls now appear with the patina they had before later trends resulted in them being painted over. The painter has also recreated the light-grey colour of the woodwork in the room at that time.

The woodwork painted to imitate other wood types has been preserved in the staircases; it has only been cleaned, saturated and retouched as in the other rooms. The painter also recreated the previous marbling on the walls by repainting them.

In one of the former living quarters on the first floor, the late Baroque decorations were preserved under wall canvases that were hung at a later time. These wall canvases have now been removed and stored in the attic, revealing decoration imitating arcade arches and garlands. Everything was originally done in distemper, which is vulnerable to wear and fluctuating humidity. Here it was necessary to glue all of the loose paint in place and then retouch damage in the paint.



Karen Brahes bibliotek

Karen Brahe's library

Af / by Barbara Zalewski

Karen Brahe ejede et bibliotek, der ved hendes død omfattede over 3.000 bøger og ca. 1.150 håndskrifter. Det findes endnu og er det eneste af 16-1700-tallets mange danske privatbiblioteker, der er bevaret samlet.

Bøger, enten håndskrevne eller håndkopierede på pergament, havde i middelalderen været kostbare, og kun kirkelige og verdslige fyrster havde biblioteker på nogle få snese bøger. Med brugen af papir og bogtryk fra midten af 1400-tallet blev bøger tilgængelige for et større, men dog stadig velhavende publikum. På dansk grund blev de to første bøger trykt i Odense i 1482 – og måske endda på Bispegaarden.¹ De viser spændvidden og aktualiteten i tidens litteratur: Den ene var et breviar på 510 sider til brug i Fyens Stift, bestilt af biskop Jens Andersen Beldenaks forgænger. Den anden var en beskrivelse af den osmanniske belejring af johanitterne på Rhodos i 1480, kun to år tidligere. Begge bøger var på latin, der var kirkens, de lærdes og diplomatiets sprog, men allerede femten år senere blev den første bog på dansk trykt.

De trykte bøger åbnede en ny verden, også helt bogstaveligt med tidens opdagelsesrejsler. Der udkom bøger om geografi, eksotisk natur, andre kulturer, antikken og den nationale historie, der kom levnedsbeskrivelser og essays. De europæiske religionskrige i første del af 1500-tallet medførte store mængder polemisk og religiøs litteratur og småtryk. Efter Reformationen blev der trykt utallige bibler, som det nu var tilladt lægmænd at læse, hvorfor de var oversat til folkesproget, og katekismer. Det næste par århunderder udkom

Karen Brahe owned a library, which at the time of her death contained more than 3,000 books and approximately 1,150 handwritten manuscripts. The collection exists to this day and is the only of the numerous 17th and 18th century private libraries that remains intact.

Books, either handwritten or hand-copied on parchment, were costly in the Middle Ages and only churches and the educated aristocracy had libraries, whose collections rarely exceeded 100 books. With the rise of paper and the letterpress in the mid-1400's, books became available to a larger, yet still affluent audience. The first two books printed in Denmark were produced in Odense in 1482, perhaps at the Bishop's Palace.¹ They reflect the range and focus of the literature of that era: one was a 510-page breviary for use in Funen Diocese, ordered by Bishop Jens Andersen Beldenak's predecessor. The other was a description of the Ottoman Siege of Rhodes against the Knights of St. John in 1480, just two years earlier. Both books were in Latin, the language of the church, scholars and diplomats, but the first book in Danish would be printed just fifteen years later.

Printed books opened a new world, literally speaking with books written by the explorers of that time. Books were published on geography, exotic nature, other cultures, antiquity and national history, in addition to biographies and essays. The European religious wars in the first part of the 1500's resulted

Fra trapperummet, 112, 1901. Foto: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.

The west staircase, 112, 1901. Photo: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. The Royal Library.



Biblioteket i Jomfruklosteret 1901. Foto: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.

The library at Jomfruklosteret, 1901. Photo: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. The Royal Library.

strømme af bøger med bibeludlægninger, Jesu lidelseshistorie, opbyggelige tanker, trøst og trusler – en slags selvhjælpslitteratur, skrevet af både læg og lerd.

At eje og selv udarbejde smukke håndskrifter havde længe hørt til den adelige livsform, men fra 1500-tallet blev trykte bøger samlerobjekter, og adelen begyndte at opbygge biblioteker. De var et statussymbol for nogle, mens andre samlede af kærlighed til indholdet, og de havde så stor værdi af begge grunde, at de var et eftertragtet krigsbytte, når konger og adelige officerer plyndrede under 16- og 1700-tallets mange europæiske krige.

Unge adelsmænd – og deres lærde hovmestre – grundlagde en bogsamling på mange sprog under deres store udenlandsrejse, og i nogle adelsfamilier blev

in extensive polemical and religious literature and pamphlets. After the Reformation, countless Bibles and catechisms were printed in the language of laymen, who were now permitted to read these books for themselves. The next couple of centuries saw a steady flow of books with biblical interpretations, accounts of the Passion, devotional thoughts, consolation and threats – a kind of self-help literature, written by both laity and clergy.

Owning and personally producing beautiful manuscripts had long been part of the aristocratic way of life, but in the 1500's printed books became collectors' items and the aristocracy began compiling libraries. Libraries were a status symbol for some, while others collected for love of the content; they were of such great value for both reasons that libraries were a frequent target of pillaging by royalty and officers in the many European wars of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Young noblemen – and their scholarly servants – established book collections in many languages during their international travels and some noble families accumulated books over generations. In the 18th century, members of the bourgeoisie and senior public officials built very large collections. Some collected a broad range of books, while others focused on specific topics or languages, such as Anne Gøye and Karen Brahe, who primarily collected religious literature in Danish and German. These two women, like other nobles and bourgeois collectors, opened their libraries for use by the academic world and other book lovers. The opportunity to see and perhaps even use a famous book collection became a genuine tourist attraction.

Numerous book collections from the mid-17th century are known to have exceeded 6,000 to 9,000 books, and in the years after Karen Brahe's death in 1736, Copenhagen in particular had libraries with collections of 100,000 to 140,000 books. A number of libraries were plundered or destroyed during the Dano-Swedish Wars and some were destroyed in the Copenhagen Fire of 1728, while the majority were scattered at auctions following the owner's death or

Anne Gøye, mens hun boede på Bispegaarden, strengt, men meget kostbart klædt. Hun havde arvet Hvidkilde efter en broder, men kun jorderne. Hendes nevø og niece havde arvet borggård og ladegård i fællesskab. I 1679 enedes de om at sælge det hele til en kammerherre; han var søn af Frederik III's sekretær Christoffer Gabel, der var blevet adlet i 1664 og et af mange eksempler på den nye adels entré som herremænd. Frederiksborgmuseet.

Anne Gøye while she lived at the Bishop's Palace, dressed austere but very expensively. She had inherited Hvidkilde from a brother, but only the land. Her nephew and niece had jointly inherited the manor house and home farm. In 1679 they agreed to sell the whole to a royal chamberlain (kammerherre); he was the son of Frederik III's secretary Christoffer Gabel, who had been ennobled in 1664 and was one of many examples of the emergence of the new nobility as local magnates. Frederiksborg Museum.

bøger akkumulerede gennem generationer. I løbet af 1700-tallet anskaffede flere borgerlige, højtstående embedsmænd sig meget store samlinger. Nogle samlede bredt, nogle koncentrerede sig om særlige emner eller sprogområder, som Anne Gøye og Karen Brahe, der fortrinsvis samlede religiøs litteratur på dansk og tysk. De to frækener åbnede ligesom de andre adelige og borgerlige samlere deres biblioteker for den akademiske verden og for andre bogelskere. At se og måske endda få lov til at benytte en berømt bogsamling blev ligefrem en turistattraktion.

Fra midten af 1600-tallet kendes flere bogsamlinger på 6.-9.000 bøger, og i årene efter Karen Brahes død 1736 fandtes der især i København biblioteker på 100.-140.000 bøger. En del biblioteker blev bortført eller ødelagt under Karl Gustav-krigene, nogle gik til i Københavns brand 1728, men de fleste blev spredt for alle vinde ved auktioner efter ejerens død eller undertiden ved en fallit. Enkelte samlinger blev købt af Det Kongelige Bibliotek, og bøgerne er således bevarede, men ikke som ét bibliotek.

Hvad omfang angår, var Karen Brahes bibliotek således ikke noget særligt – det er derimod enestående ved stadig at være samlet og så godt som komplet, bortset fra enkelte tab, "der ikke kan undgås, hvor fremmede har adgang til lån".² Desuden indeholder



bankruptcy. A few collections were acquired by the Royal Danish Library and are therefore preserved to this day, but not as a single library.

The scope of Karen Brahe's library is therefore not extraordinary – what makes it unique is the fact that it is still assembled and virtually complete, apart from isolated losses "that cannot be avoided when strangers have permission to borrow".² The library contains 266 Danish books printed before 1551; some of these books, in addition to other books in the collection, are not found in any other library in the world. Another invaluable part of the collection comprises the handwritten manuscripts; of these, collections of ballads and handpainted armorials have particularly drawn the interest of researchers from the 18th century to the present day. Over the years, researchers in a wide range of fields have used individual works in the library and academic literature contains countless references to books and manuscripts from the library.

biblioteket 266 danske bøger, der er trykt før 1551, og både af dem og af andre bøger er der flere, som ikke findes i noget andet bibliotek, hverken i Danmark eller i udlandet. En anden uvurderlig del af samlingen er håndskrifterne, hvor navnlig viser og våbenbøger har interesseret forskningen fra slutningen af 1700-tallet til i dag. Forskere af mange andre vidt forskellige fag har gennem tiden benyttet enkeltværker i biblioteket, og i den videnskabelige litteratur er der utallige henvisninger til bøger og manuskripter herfra.

Biblioteket

Det [biblioteket] fortæller os om de adelige damers åndelige sysler, det giver et ganske mærkeligt kulturbillede og oplyser os gennem de mange tilskrifter i bøgerne om hvad det var, der trøstede disse mennesker i deres personlige sorger og bar dem gennem de ofte tunge tider, der i det 17. og begyndelsen af det 18. århundrede kom over Danmark.

*Victor Madsen, bibliotekar ved
Det Kongelige Bibliotek 1918-1941*

The Library

[The library] tells us about the noble ladies' spiritual pursuits. It provides a very clear cultural picture and the many annotations in the books show what comforted these people in their personal grief and carried them through the often difficult times that marked the late 17th and early 18th century in Denmark.

*Victor Madsen, librarian at
the Royal Danish Library, 1918-1941*

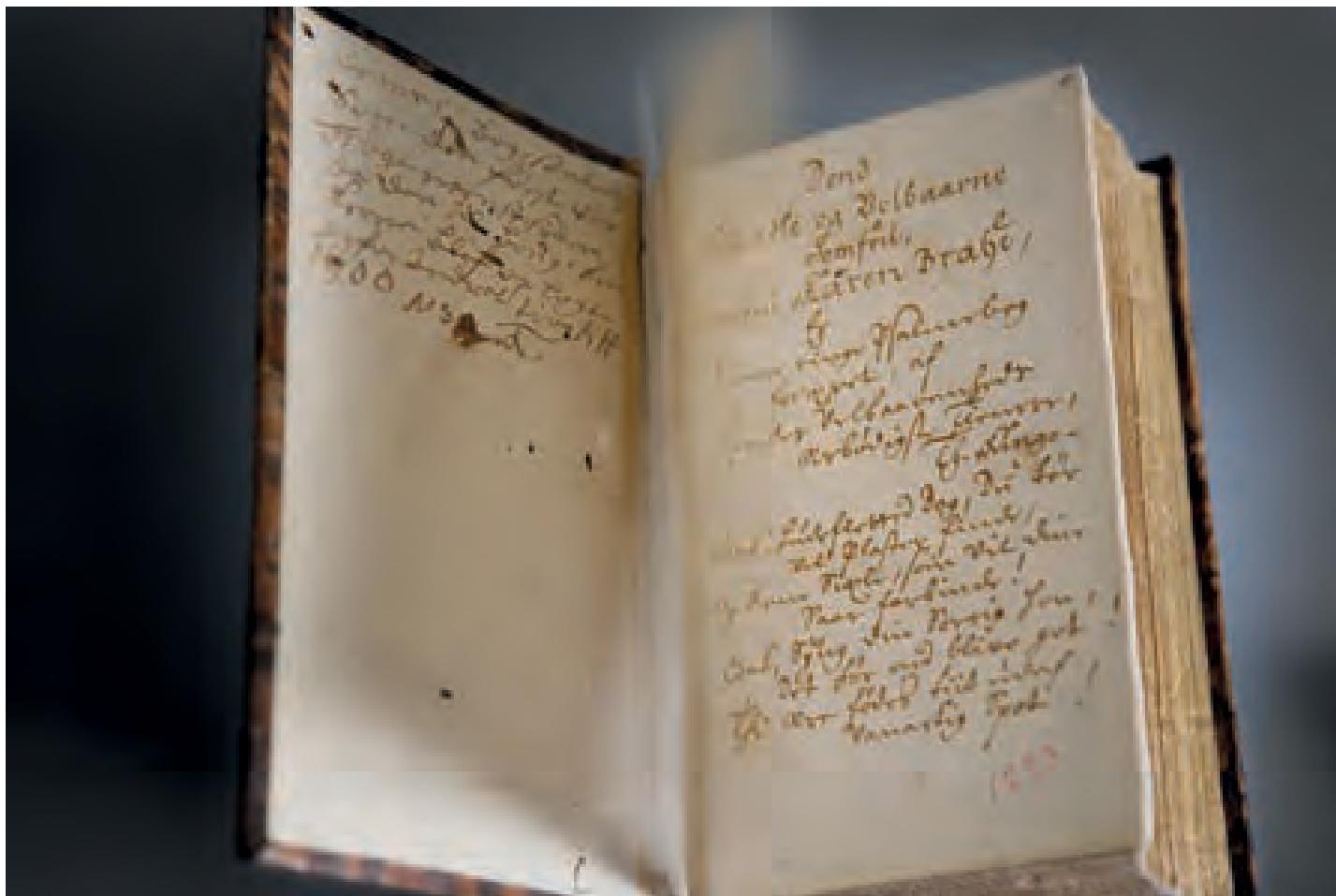
Book lovers

Almost every member of the families from which Karen Brahe descended and which the Brahes were wed into had literary interests. Many of them wrote – surely more than what is preserved today – or passed the time by translating classical literature and collections of sermons, hymns and prayers. They purchased books for themselves and gave each other books as gifts, which were passed on to particularly interested relatives or remained on the estates for use by future generations. The same applies for the handwritten manuscripts, and one can trace the tracks through time in Karen Brahe's library.

Anne Gøye, aunt to Karen Brahe's mother, Susanne Gøye, was one of the ten Gøye siblings who lived for some years at Rosenholm with the learned couple, Holger Rosenkrantz and Sophie Brahe. Although just 18-years-old when she moved to live with a brother, she developed an interest in books – especially those with religious themes – during her stay.

Even in their youth, all of the siblings took an interest in the written word. For example, Falk Gøye gave his 21-year-old sister Ellen Gøye a large handwritten collection of ballads. The following year, she married into the Aschersleben family and lived for periods of time at the Bishop's Palace. The manuscript was thereby passed on as a gift or by inheritance to Anne Gøye and thus to Karen Brahe's Library; it went down in history as Karen Brahe's Folio, even though the only part she played was having owned it. Production of the manuscript, which contains approximately 200 songs, began in 1570 and it has been the subject of extensive research over the last more than 150 years.

At the time of her death, Anne Gøye owned approximately 900 volumes, including printed books, handwritten manuscripts and a number of that era's popular and verbose eulogies, which comprised more than one-third of her library. As was customary, she allowed her learned acquaintances to use the collection at her home and many of the items were coveted by other collectors.



I 1689 fik biskop i Odense, Thomas Kingo, privilegium på sine autoriserede salmebog, kaldet Vinter-Parten, fordi den dækkede halvdelen af kirkeåret. Den indeholdt 267 salmer, hvoraf han selv havde skrevet eller bearbejdet de allerfleste. Han lod den selv trykke, men knap en måned senere tilbagekaldte Christian V autorisationen, det vides ikke hvorfor. Kingo brændte inde med det store oplag, men sendte nogle dedikerede eksemplarer til gode venner, deriblandt Karen Brahe. Roskilde Stiftsbibliotek. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.

In 1689, Bishop Thomas Kingo of Odense was authorised to publish his new hymn book, called Vinter-Parten [The Winter Part] because it covered half of the church year. It contained 167 hymns, the majority of which Kingo had personally written or interpreted. He published the book himself, but less than one month later, King Christian V revoked the authorisation for reasons unknown. Kingo was left with a large number of books he was unable to sell, but he sent some copies of the book with personal dedications to good friends, including Karen Brahe. Roskilde Diocese Library. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.

Bogelskere

Næsten alle medlemmer af de slægter, som Karen Brahe var rundet af, og som Braherne var indgiftede i, havde litterære interesser. En del af dem skrev selv, sikkert også mere end der er bevaret, eller fornøjede sig med at oversætte klassisk litteratur, prædikensamlinger, salmer og bønner. De købte bøger til sig selv og forærede

In December 1680, Anne Gøye visited Karen Brahe's parents at Hvedholm. She wrote to the young theologian (later to become Bishop) Jacob Bircherod who had compiled a handwritten catalogue of her library that she would pay for the printing of the catalogue – even if it was not printed until after her death. She was feeling quite unwell and a part of the



Bibliotekets vestlige ende med nogle af bogskabene, bygget ind i tilmurede vinduesnicher. Her ses tydeligt de meget forskelligartede inddbindinger – det var ikke noget, Karen Brahe gjorde et nummer ud af, og mange bogblokke er i såkaldte hornbind, der er glittet pergament med glat ryg og håndskrevet titel. Desuden ses nogle tynde, bløde håndskrifter, stivet lidt af mellem bøgerne.

Stolen og puden er efter traditionen Karen Brahes og findes nu på Roskilde Kloster. På bordet foran vinduespillet ligger de to kataloger over Anne Gøyes og Karen Brahes samlinger. På dette maleri fra 1881 af Carl Carlsen er gavlkaminen hvidkalket, først senere blev dens renæssancebemaling rekonstrueret. Roskilde Kloster. Foto: Karsten Damstedt.

The library's west end with some of the book cabinets, built into the bricked-up window niches. A large variety of bindings are clearly visible – it was not an area of great concern to Karen Brahe, and many of the book blocks are in so-called horn binding, which is calendered parchment with a smooth spine and handwritten title. Also visible are some thin, soft manuscripts, somewhat stiffened between the books.

The chair and pillow belonged to Karen Brahe and are now found in Roskilde Convent. On the table in front of the window are the two catalogues of Anne Gøye's and Karen Brahe's collections. In this painting from 1881 by Carl Carlsen, the gable fireplace is whitewashed; only later was its Renaissance painting reconstructed. Roskilde Convent. Photo: Karsten Damstedt.

hinanden bøger, som gik videre til særligt interesserede slægtninge eller forblev på gården til de følgende generationer. Det samme gælder håndskrifterne, og man kan følge sporene i Karen Brahes bibliotek.

Anne Gøye, der var faster til Karen Brahes moder Susanne Gøye, var en af de ti Gøye-søskende, der boede nogle år på Rosenholm hos det lærde par, Holger Rosenkrantz og Sophie Brahe. Skønt hun kun var atten år, da hun flyttede til en broder, skal hun have fået sin interesse for bøger, især med religiøst indhold, under opholdet.

Men alle søskende var allerede som helt unge interesserede i det skrevne ord, for eksempel forærede Falk Gøye sin 21-årige søster Ellen Gøye et stort visehåndskrift. Hun blev året efter gift Aschersleben og boede i perioder på Bispegaarden. Håndskriften kom ved gave eller arv til Anne Gøye og dermed i Karen Brahes Bibliotek. Det er derfor gået over i historien som *Karen Brahes Folio*, skønt hendes eneste andel i det var ejerskabet. Håndskriften blev påbegyndt omkring 1570 og indeholder ca. 200 viser, der har været genstand for omfattende forskning gennem de sidste mere end 150 år.

Anne Gøye ejede ved slutningen af sit liv ca. 900 numre, dels trykte bøger, dels håndskrifter og dels dатidens populære og omfangsrige trykte ligprædikener, der udgjorde over en tredjedel af hendes bibliotek. Som det var skik, lod hun sine lærde bekendte benytte samlingen, hvor hun end boede, og flere ting var eftertragtede af andre samlere.

I december 1680 var Anne Gøye på besøg hos Karen Brahes forældre på Hvedholm. Hun skrev til den unge teolog, senere biskop Jacob Bircherod, der havde udarbejdet et håndskrevet katalog over hendes bibliotek, at hun ville bekoste trykning af det – også, hvis det først skete efter hendes død. Hun følte sig ikke helt tilpas, og en del af brevet var en slags afsked med Bircherod, som hun håbede at gense i Himmelten. "Så må jeg og[så] lade Eder vide dette, som en ven af mig og mine bøger, at jeg har taget omsorg for dem efter min død, at de, som jeg med saa stor flid og glæde har samlet, måtte ikke blive spredt, og derfor givet min broderdatter

letter was a farewell to Bircherod, who she hoped to see again in heaven. "I must also let you know, as a friend of mine and my books, that I have arranged for their care after my death. The books I have collected with great diligence and joy must not be scattered and therefore I have bequeathed them all to my niece [her brother's daughter's daughter] Karen Brahe." She knew that the young Karen would love and value the books just as highly as herself and that "For the glory of God, she is no less devoted to God and his word". Anne Gøye stressed that the books, unlike the rest of her estate, must not be divided into shares between her heirs.

Young Karen Brahe was fond of her inheritance. A few years later, when another collector asked to buy nearly 100 manuscripts, Brahe refused to part with any of those that came from Anne Gøye's collection; instead, she generously offered to have copies made of the manuscripts and sent to the collector. In addition to her own small library and the inheritance from her grandaunt, Karen Brahe added more to her library in the final years of her life – in one book she noted, "Bought 1736, read immediately".

"My Danish and German library"

Karen Brahe's Library now contains approximately 3,400 printed books: 2,100 in Danish, 1,200 in German and approximately 100 in French, English, Dutch and Latin.

The collection includes a small number of posthumous acquisitions that Karen Brahe had set aside funds to purchase. It is not recorded in a written document, but someone decided that the library would only purchase Danish books printed before Karen Brahe's year of death, 1736 – books that she likely would have purchased herself. The only newer work is B.S. Ingemann's *Valdemar Seir* from 1826, which was donated to the library.

It appears that Karen Brahe made most of the purchases during the latter part of her life; a catalogue from 1725 only contained the inheritance from Anne

[broderdatters datter] Karen Brahe dem alle sammen.” Hun vidste, at den unge Karen ville elske og agte dem lige så højt som hun selv, og at hun “Gud være æret! ikke er mindre begærlig efter Gud og hans ord.” Anne Gøye understregede, at bøgerne således ikke, som hendes øvrige bohave, ville blive delt i lodder mellem hendes arvinger.

Den unge Karen Brahe hægede om sin arv. Da en anden samler få år senere bad om at måtte købe næsten hundrede manuskripter, afslog hun at skille sig af med noget af Anne Gøyes, men tilbød generøst at lade det ønskede kopiere til ham. Foruden sin egen lille bogsamling og arven fra grandtanten forøgede Karen Brahe sit bibliotek endnu i sit sidste leveår – i en bog har hun noteret: ”Købt 1736, læst straks.”

“Mit danske og tyske bibliotek”

Karen Brahes Bibliotek indeholder i dag omkring 3.400 trykte bøger. De er fordelt på ca. 2.100 danske, ca. 1.200 tyske og ca. 100 på fransk, engelsk, hollandsk og latin.

Antallet omfatter et mindre antal nyanskaffelser, som Karen Brahe havde sat midler af til. Det står ikke i fundatsen, men nogen har besluttet, at der kun skulle indkøbes danske bøger, trykt før Karen Brahes dødsår 1736, dvs. bøger, som hun formentlig selv ville have anskaffet. Det eneste nyere værk er B.S. Ingemanns *Valdemar Seir* fra 1826, som blev skænket til biblioteket.

Det lader til, at Karen Brahe foretog de fleste indkøb i den sidste del af sit liv, for et katalog fra 1725 indeholdt kun arven efter Anne Gøye, og biblioteket ”skal siden være anseeligt forøget”, hedder det i 1758.³

Hvis bibliotekets indhold, som Karen Brahe efterlod det, skal beskrives med få ord, kan det ikke gøres bedre end i Dansk Kvindesbiografisk Leksikon:⁴ ”Hendes [Karen Brahes] litterære hovedinteresse var teologien, der udgør mere end halvdelen af bøgerne. Disse afslører hende som en særdeles ortodoks lutheraner, der tog afstand fra katolikker, pietister, calvinister m.fl.

Gøye, after which time the library’s collection “was considerably expanded” according to a document from 1758.³

The best brief description of the library collection left behind by Karen Brahe is found in *Dansk Kvindesbiografisk Leksikon* [Danish Women’s Biographical Encyclopedia]:⁴ ”Her [Karen Brahe’s] main literary interest was theology, which accounts for more than half of the books. The collection reflects that she was a very orthodox Lutheran who condemned Catholics, Pietists, Calvinists, etc.

Her other main interest was history – primarily Danish history – which comprises nearly one-fourth of the collection. The remainder of the collection includes books of a more practical nature, such as statute books and legal writings, medical books and anatomical works, cookbooks with grease stains, school books, books about horticulture and silviculture, horse care books, ‘The Møenske Officer’s Book’, regulations for lotteries that Karen Brahe played in, and fiction, including a number of publications and handwritten manuscripts by Anne Gøye’s sister-in-law, Birgitte Thott.

The library shows that Karen Brahe was a deeply religious person with a sense for practical and secular subjects; a versatile and strong personality, active yet contemplative.”

The library at the Convent

Like her grandaunt, Karen Brahe took measures to ensure the future of her library; it was important to her that the collection remain intact. She had personally found solace and reflection in her book and manuscript collection, but she was also aware that she owned a treasure of great value in both an intellectual and monetary sense.

When in 1716, at the age of 60, Karen Brahe wrote the trust deed for the Odense Convent for Noblewomen, she got a brilliant idea – she bequeathed her library to the Convent. By placing it at the Bishop’s Palace behind the immensely thick walls in



Biblioteket i Jomfruklosteret 1901. I alt fylder samlingen 104 hyldemeter, hvoraf håndskrifterne fylder ca. 11 m.¹³ Bøgerne havde altid stået i de lukkede bogskabe i væggene, hvoraf to er bevarede, og der må have været fugtigt, for midt i 1880'erne blev de anbragt på fritstående reoler med åbne hylder midt på gulvet.¹⁴ De var muligvis flyttet til et tilstødende rum, da billedet blev taget. Foto: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. Det Kgl. Bibliotek.

The library at Jomfruklosteret, 1901. The collection fills a total of 104 shelf metres, of which the manuscripts fill approx. 11 metres.¹³ The books had always been stored in the closed book cabinets attached to the walls; two of these cabinets have been preserved. It must have been humid in the cabinets, because in the mid-1880's the books were moved to free-standing racks with open shelves in the middle of the room.¹⁴ They may have been moved to an adjacent room when this photo was taken.

Photo: Andrea Gomard (1860-1944), Odense. The Royal Library.

Hendes anden hovedinteresse var historien, primært Danmarkshistorie, der udgør knap en fjerdedel. Den sidste fjerdedel rummer bøger af mere praktisk karakter som lovsamlinger og juridiske skrifter, lægebøger og anatomiske værker, kogebøger med fedtpletter, skolebøger, bøger om havebrug og forstvæsen, hestens røgt og pleje, "Den Møenske Styrmands-Bog", bekendtgørelse for lotterier, som Karen Brahe har spillet i, samt

a room not used by anybody on a daily basis and in an institution she expected would exist in perpetuity under protection of the Danish Kings, she provided a double protection. The trust deed contains a provision that the library "must always remain at the prescribed location." Karen Brahe could not have found a more secure place in all of Denmark and she must have felt even better about her decision when she heard



egentlig skønlitteratur, herunder en række udgivelser og håndskrifter af Anne Gøyes svigerinde Birgitte Thott.

Biblioteket viser således Karen Brahe som et dybt religiøst menneske, men med sans for det praktiske og sågar særdeles verdslige; en alsidig og stærk personlighed, aktiv som kontemplativ.”

Biblioteket på Jomfruklosteret

Ligesom sin slægtning drog Karen Brahe omsorg for sit biblioteks fremtid, og det var også hende magtpåliggende, at det ikke blev spredt. Hun havde selv fundet trøst og eftertanke i sin bog- og håndskriftsamling, men har også været sig bevidst, at hun ejede en skat, af stor værdi for både særligt interesserede og i penge.

Da Karen Brahe i 1716 som 60-årig så at sige gjorde sit bo op og skrev fundatsen til Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, fik hun den geniale idé at testamentere sit bibliotek til klosteret. Ved at anbringe samlingen på Bispegaarden sikrede hun den dobbelt: Bag umådelig tykke mure i et rum, hvor ingen kom i det daglige, og i en institution, som hun forventede ville eksistere i al fremtid under kongernes beskyttelse. I fundatsen udtrykkes det ved bestemmelsen om, at biblioteket ”altid skal blive bestående på det ordinerede sted.” Karen Brahe kunne ikke have fundet et mere sikkert sted i landet, og hun må være blevet bestyrket i sin beslutning, da hun i 1728 hørte om de ufattelige bogskatte, der gik tabt i branden i København.

Ligesom for Jomfruklosteret gav Karen Brahe retningslinjer for bibliotekets økonomi. Til nyindkøb og vedligeholdelse af de danske bøger, hendes hjertebørn, afsatte hun årligt 8 rdl af renten af en beskeden sum på 200 rdl. Af denne rente skulle desuden 2 rdl anvendes som årsløn til ”en fattig person i Odense Skole” – lærere var dengang meget dårligt lønnede. Denne deltidsbibliotekar skulle komme på klostret en gang imellem og holde bøgerne ”rene og i agt”, der nærmest må forstås som kontrollere dem. Desuden skulle han ajourføre nyindkøb i det håndskrevne katalog, som Karen Brahe havde fået udarbejdet.



about the immense loss of treasured books in the Copenhagen Fire of 1728.

As with the Convent as a whole, Karen Brahe set guidelines for the library's finances. For new purchases and maintenance of her prized Danish books, she allotted 8 rixdollar from the interest on a modest sum of 200 rixdollar. Of this interest, an additional 2 rixdollar was to be used for annual salary of “a poor person at Odense School” – teachers were very poorly paid at that time. This part-time librarian was to come to the Convent once in a while and keep the books “clean and in order”. In addition, the librarian was to record new acquisitions in the handwritten catalogue produced during Karen Brahe’s lifetime.

Users, visitors and librarians

As mentioned, the trust deed provided for access to the library by the ladies residing at the Convent, but the process of gaining access was elaborate. The Prioress held the key and had to unlock the door every time; everything removed from the library for reading elsewhere in the building had to be noted, both at the time of loan and return. Karen Brahe had provided access to the library

Fra biblioteket, rum 101. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

From the Library, room 101. 2013. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.



Brugere, besøgende og bibliotekarer

Som nævnt havde frøkenerne ifølge fundatsen adgang til biblioteket, men det var omstændeligt. Priorinden havde nøglen og skulle lukke op hver gang, og alt hvad der blev taget ud til læsning andre steder i huset skulle noteres, både ved lån og ved aflevering. Karen Brahe havde stillet biblioteket på Østrupgaard til rådighed for lærde, men på Jomfruklosteret var det ikke alment tilgængeligt. Man skulle søge patronen om adgang, og priorinden skulle tage imod den besøgende.

Omkring 1760 kunne embedsmanden og historikeren con amore Hans de Hofman fortælle, at "den til bøgerne indrettede sal har været under reparation, og bøgerne været indpakke, men med første bliver bøgerne opsatte." Herefter skulle en professor forfatte "en ordentlig catalogus".⁵

Bibliotekets vedligeholdelse, også rent fysisk, som Karen Brahe havde forlangt, lod dog meget tilbage at ønske. I 1795 bad litteraten Rasmus Nyerup, senere medvirkende til oprettelsen af Nationalmuseet, om lov til at låne en dansk udgave af *Doktor Faustus* fra 1588, som stod i kataloget, men fik at vide, at den ikke var til at finde.⁶ Nyerup besøgte senere selv biblioteket og fortæller i 1814, at bibliotekaren viste al ønskelig tjenstvilighed, men dels havde han et embede, dels var han en olding – det lyder sært i dag! – og kunne ikke "mange

at Østrupgård to scholars, but general access was not provided at the Convent. Scholars had to submit a request for access to the Patron and the Prioress should receive all visitors.

Around the year 1760, the public official and historian Hans de Hofman said that "the room designated for the books has been under repair and the books have been packed away, but the books will be returned to their places as the first thing." After this, it was intended that a professor produced "a proper catalogue".⁵

The library's maintenance (including its physical maintenance), which Karen Brahe had demanded, left much to be desired. In 1795, the scholar Rasmus Nyerup, who was later instrumental in the founding of the National Museum of Denmark, requested permission to borrow a Danish edition of *Doctor Faustus* from 1588; although it was listed in the catalogue, the book was nowhere to be found.⁶ Nyerup later visited the library himself and wrote in 1814 that the librarian showed a great willingness to serve, but that he had an official post and was an old man, so he could not spend "many hours sitting and watching the unknown user". However, an unorganised library where you can only spend a few hours is not of much use, wrote Nyerup, who once again discovered that a number of books in the catalogue could not be found.⁷ He must have been unlucky to request a number of the books that had disappeared, as only 180 books and 9 manuscripts are missing in relation to the original catalogues.⁸

Nyerup also praised the library's value to scientists, but he hoped that somebody would donate some newer Danish classics to the library, "so that these knowledge-loving convent ladies, such as the amiable Miss Schleppegrell and others, would be better served than with the vast stores of old, now illegible and useless eulogies, prayer books and hymn books, arithmetic books and medical books." This Miss Schleppegrell was not the admirer of Hans Christian Andersen, but rather an older, distant relative. She was born in Schleswig and raised at the Pilegaard Estate in the Funen near Vester

Fra biblioteket, rum 101. 2013. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.





timer sidde og hænge over den fremmede [bruger].” Men man ikke har megen nytte af et bibliotek, hvor man kun kan være nogle få timer og som er i uorden, skriver Nyerup, der igen oplevede, at en række bøger fra kataloget ikke kunne findes.⁷ Han var uheldig lige at ramme flere af dem, der var forsvundet, for der skal kun mangle 180 bøger og ni håndskrifter i forhold til de oprindelige kataloger.⁸

I øvrigt roste Nyerup bibliotekets værdi for viden-skabsmænd. Men han håbede, at nogen ville skænke det nogle nyere danske klassikere, ”hvormed sådanne kundskabsyndende klosterdamer som den elskværdige frøken Schleppegrell og andre ville være ulige bedre tjente, end med det store forråd af gamle, nu ulæselige og ubrugelige huspostiller og ligprædikener, bønnebøger og salmebøger, regnebøger og lægebøger.” Denne frøken Schleppegrell var ikke H.C. Andersens beundrerinde, men en ældre, fjern slægtning. Hun var født i Slesvig og opvokset på Pilegaard i Vester Aaby på Fyn. Hun kom på Jomfruklosteret som knap 30-årig og boede der i 30 år, først i østgavlen, rum 209, og senere i vestgavlen, rum 217. Hendes broder omtaltes som en

Aaby. She came to the Convent shortly before turning 30 and she lived there for 30 years, first in the east gable, room 209, and later in the west gable, room 217. Her brother was described as an aesthete who had a good library and was friends with the authors Johannes Ewald, Jens Baggesen and P. A. Heiberg.⁹

Disrepair

In 1838, the Royal Danish Library's chief librarian described Karen Brahe's Library as a ruin that must be considered “lost for Danish book lovers”.¹⁰ For a 20-year period from the beginning of the 1880's, a teacher was employed as the librarian; he embraced the job with great enthusiasm, but he was very careless with the books. He numbered the books on the title pages with red ink and rubber stamps, sometimes in the middle of copperplates and woodcuts. Many of the books were simply a book block, as it was formerly a custom that people had the books bound themselves. These were now sent to a bookbinder together with books to be repaired, and he continued mutilating the books by cutting them so that



skønånd, der havde et godt bibliotek og var venner med Johannes Ewald, Jens Baggesen og P. A. Heiberg.⁹

Forfald

I 1838 omtalte Det Kongelige Biblioteks overbibliotekar Karen Brahes Bibliotek som en ruin, der måtte betragtes som "tabt for de danske bogelskere."¹⁰ Fra begyndelsen af 1880'erne og de næste tyve år var en lærer ansat som bibliotekar, og han tog sig med stor entusiasme, men helt ufølsomt af bøgerne. Han nummererede bøgerne på titelbladene med rødt blæk og gummistempel, sommetider midt i kobberstik og træsnit. Mange af bøgerne var blot en bogblok, idet det tidligere var skik, at man selv lod sine bøger indbinde. De blev nu sendt til bogbindere ligesom de bøger, der skulle repareres, og han fortsatte skamferingen, beskar dem, så en del af teksten forsvandt, og overklæbede blade, der havde fået fugt, med gult pergamentpapir.

Fugten kom formentlig fra væggene i bogskabene i de tilmurede vindues- og sparenicher i Biblioteket. I 1880'erne blev de fleste af bøgerne derfor anbragt i

a portion of the text disappeared and by gluing yellow parchment onto pages that had become damp.

The moisture was likely from the bricked-up windows behind the library's book cabinets. In the 1880's, most of the books were therefore placed on free-standing shelves and all of the doors, apart from the two doors in the west gable, were taken down and stored in the basement.

The library's future

The library had to be rescued and the head Patron, Preben Charles Count (lensgreve) Bille-Brahe-Selby, sought the permission of King Christian IX to move it to the nearly new and well-suited building that housed the Provincial Archives of Funen. This permission was necessary, as the library was subject to Karen Brahe's trust deed and thus under the protection of the King, just as she had intended. The authorisation stated that the transfer could be carried out regardless of the charter's provision regarding location, as Karen Brahe had simply written "at the prescribed location". However, the

Biblioteket, rum 101, inden restaureringen. Rummet fik sin nuværende udstrækning efter at et kammer blev skilt fra, formentlig i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet, og har stået stort set urørt siden. Kun farverne er skiftet gennem tiden. Foto: Roberto Fortuna.

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The Library, room 101, before the restoration. The room was given its current size after a smaller room was separated, most likely in the beginning of the 18th century, and has basically been untouched ever since. Only the colours have changed through the ages. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



reoler, der stod frit ude på gulvet, og alle låger bortset fra de to i vestgavlen blev taget ned og lagt i kælderen.

Bibliotekets fremtid

Biblioteket måtte reddes, og patronen, Preben Charles lensgreve Bille-Brahe-Selby, søgte kong Christian IX om at flytte det til Landsarkivet for Fyns næsten nye og formålstjenlige bygning. Tilladelsen var nødvendig, idet biblioteket jo var omfattet af fundatsen og dermed under kongelig beskyttelse, netop dét, Karen Brahe havde villet opnå. Af tilladelsen fremgik, at flytningen

Convent maintained ownership of the library and still had to bear the cost of maintaining and repairing the books.¹¹

A precedent had thus been set when the board of the Scheel-Juel-Brahe Foundation, Roskilde Convent and the head Patron, Stig Count (lensgreve) Bille-Brahe-Selby, wanted to move the library to Zealand Diocese Library in Roskilde as a final step in the merger of the two convents for noblewomen. The move took place in the autumn of 2010 and created a lot of controversy, as many viewed “the prescribed location” as the Convent’s building or at least the island of Funen, but neither

kunne ske uanset fundatsens bestemmelse om placeringen, men faktisk havde Karen Brahe jo blot skrevet ”på det ordinerede sted”. Jomfruklosteret bevarede dog ejendomsretten til biblioteket og skulle stadig bære udgifterne ved bøgernes vedligeholdelse og reparation.¹¹

Der var derfor præcedens, da direktionen for Den Scheel-Juel-Braheske Stiftelse, Roskilde Kloster, og patronen, Stig lensgreve Bille-Brahe-Selby, ønskede at flytte biblioteket til Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek i Roskilde som sidste led i fusionen af de to jomfruklostre. Overflytningen skete i efteråret 2010 og skabte en del polemik, da mange interessererde opfattede ”det ordinerede sted” som Jomfruklosterets bygning eller i det mindste Fyn, men ingen af delene står altså i fundatsen. Klosterforvalteren, kammerherre, oberst Søren Lyder Jacobsen, påpegede da også, at man i virkeligheden opfyldte Karen Brahes intention: At bøgerne blev brugt, og det var der gode muligheder for i Roskilde.¹²

Karen Brahes Bibliotek kommer frem i lyset og ud i verden i løbet af de nærmeste år. Det indgår sammen med Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek og Roskilde Katedralskoles gamle Bogsamling i ”De kulturhistoriske Bogsamlinger i Roskilde”. Tanken er at formidle bøgerne som genstande, i fysiske udstillinger og virtuelt, og at gøre indholdet tilgængeligt gennem digitalisering.

I 2011-2012 er unika fra Karen Brahes Bibliotek scannede og fotograferede under Det Kongelige Biblioteks digitalisering af nationalitteraturen indtil år 1700. Ikke kun indholdet bliver synligt – og med tiden søgbart – også bind, forsatsblad, snit osv. vises, så man får et indtryk af bogen som genstand. I 2012 ansøgte Det Kongelige Bibliotek om at få Karen Brahes Bibliotek optaget på UNESCOs International Memory of the World Register, og afgørelsen forventes i 2013.

Karen Brahe gjorde beskedenhed til en af sine dyder. Hun havde i 1704 købt et gravsted i St. Knuds Kirke, men opgav det senere og ønskede kun en ganske enkel stenplade over sin grav i en landsbykirke, Håstrup. Men ved at holde sit ejendommelige specialbibliotek samlet på et sikkert sted – hvor det end måtte være – opsatte hun et spektakulært epitafium over sig selv.

of these are listed in the trust deed. The convent administrator, Chamberlain, Colonel Søren Lyder Jacobsen, pointed out that they were actually fulfilling Karen Brahe's intention that the books be used, as there were good opportunities for this in Roskilde.¹²

Karen Brahe's Library will be in the global spotlight in the coming years, as it joins Zealand Diocese Library and Roskilde Cathedral School's historic book collection to comprise ”The historical cultural book collections in Roskilde”. The idea is to profile the books as objects in physical and virtual exhibitions and to make the contents available through digitization.

In 2011-2012, one-of-a-kind books and manuscripts from Karen Brahe's Library were scanned and photographed in connection with the Royal Danish Library's digitisation of national literature before 1700. Not only are the contents now visible – and eventually will be searchable – but binding, end leaves, cuts, etc. are shown so that users get an impression of the book as an object. In 2012, the Royal Danish Library submitted an application to have Karen Brahe's Library listed on UNESCO's International Memory of the World Register; a decision on the application is expected in 2013.

Karen Brahe held modesty as one of her virtues. In 1704, she purchased a burial plot at St. Knud's Church, but later relinquished it and only wanted a very simple stone slab over her grave in a provincial church in the village of Håstrup. But by keeping her unique specialised library intact and in a safe place – wherever that may be – she created a spectacular epitaph for herself.



Odense Å, vinteren 2012. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe.

De arkæologiske undersøgelser

The archaeological investigations

Af / by Jakob Tue Christensen

Jens Andersens Beldenaks bispegård er fuldt fortjent kendt som landets bedst bevarede middelalderlige bisperesidens, selv om kun hovedfløjen, i dag Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, er overleveret til os. I forbindelse med Realdania Byg A/S' restaurering er bygningen blevet gennemgået minutøst for spor, der kunne fortælle om de mange ændringer, som er fulgt med husets tilpasning til skiftende funktioner. Også de skriftlige kilder er blevet læst med nye briller, som ikke kun har omfattet Beldenaks byggeri og dets historie, men også bispegårdens historie før 1504-1508 her på stedet.

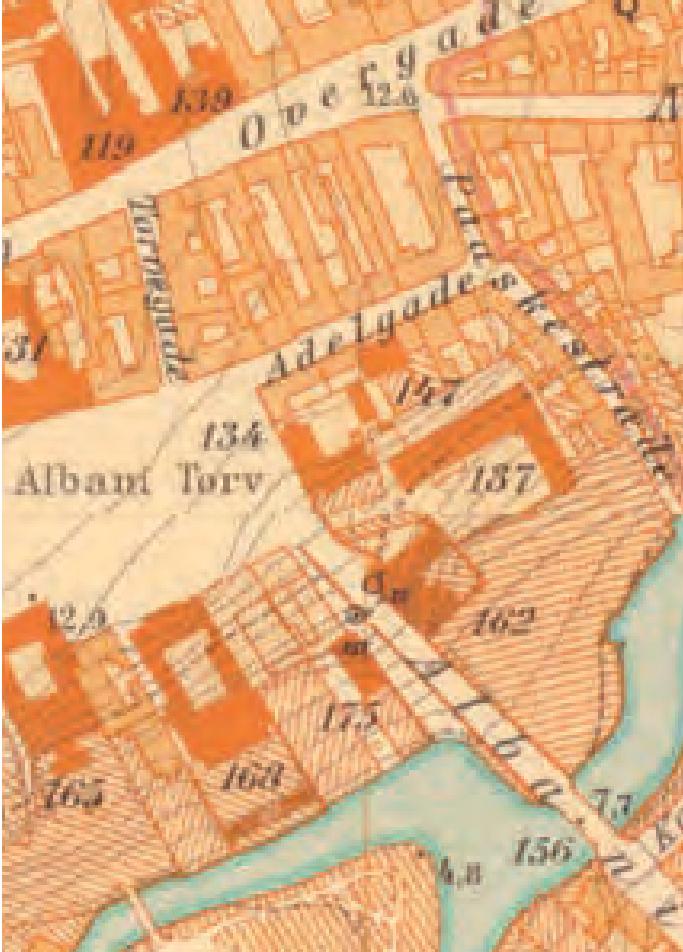
Hele anlægget er underlagt fredning, og Kulturstyrelsens tilladelse til at foretage indgreb i både bygning og omgivelser er betinget af Odense Bys Museers medvirken til registrering af arbejdet. Arkæologien og de nu fremkomne spor komplementerer den mosaik, som udgør bygningens historie, og samarbejdet med andre faggrupper har været meget givende for den arkæologiske undersøgelse.¹ Der er som en sidegevinst af restaureringen kommet en bedre forståelse af bygningens udvikling og meget mere detaljeret historie ud af det.

Museets arbejde har omfattet registrering af kulturlag i og under bygningen, grøfter til rør og ledninger både nord og syd for den samt kælderudgraving i den østlige kælder; desuden er museets resultater brugt konstruktivt til at finde en løsning på den helt nødvendige understøtning af østfløjen.

Jens Andersen Beldenak's bishop's palace is known, and rightly so, as the best preserved medieval episcopal residence in Denmark, even though only the main wing, today known as Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster, Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen, has survived to the present day. In connection with the restoration of the building by Realdania Byg A/S, the site has been minutely examined for evidence which could shed light on the many changes which have accompanied the house's changing functions. The written sources have also been re-scrutinised, including not only Beldenak's building and its history, but also the history of the bishop's palace on this site prior to 1504-1508.

The whole structure is subject to a preservation order, and permission to make changes to both buildings and surroundings was only granted by the Danish Agency for Culture on the condition that City of Odense Museums would be involved in recording the work. Archaeological activity and the evidence uncovered by it have supplemented the jigsaw puzzle of the building's history, while cooperation with other professional bodies has in turn greatly benefited the archaeological investigation.¹ A by-product of the restoration has been a better understanding of the building's development and a far more detailed historical narrative.

The work of the museum has included recording the cultural strata in and under the building, pipe and cable trenches both north and south of the building and excavations in the eastern cellar. The museum's results



Generalstabens kort over Odense fra 1904 viser højdeforholdene inden etableringen af Albani kirke og Thomas B. Thriges Gade. Nord for hovedbygningen stiger terrænet mod Adelgade stejlt, mens Påskestræde tydeligvis udnytter en lavning med en mere passabel hældning. Odense Bys Museer.

Contour map 1904: Ordnance map of Odense from 1904 shows the differences in height before the building of Albani Church and Thomas B. Thriges Gade. North of the main building, the terrain rises steeply to Adelgade, while Paaskestræde clearly follows a hollow with a gentler gradient. City of Odense Museums.

Arkæologiske undersøgelser i forbindelse med bygge- og anlægsarbejder, såkaldte nødudgravninger, forløber i takt med anlægsarbejderne og forfølger ikke logisk de spørgsmål, arkæologerne gerne vil undersøge. På samme måde som bygherren ikke må udskifte mere end det nødvendige af en fredet bygning, må arkæologerne heller ikke grave andet end det, som er truet af byggeriet, og vigtige spørgsmål kan derfor ikke altid besvares. Men trods det giver museets forskellige undersøgelser fra 2009 til 2011, foranlediget af restaureringen, et mere nuanceret billede, end vi hidtil har haft.

have also been used constructively to find a solution to the necessary underpinning of the east wing.

Archaeological investigations ahead of building and construction work, so-called rescue archaeology, proceed in line with the construction work and do not follow logically the questions archaeologists would like to pose. Just as a building owner may not replace more than is necessary in a protected building, archaeologists may not dig in areas not threatened by construction, and important questions cannot always be answered. Despite these qualifications, the various investigations carried out by the museum from 2009 to 2011 in connection with the restoration do give a more balanced picture than was available before.

The site

The ground conditions in the investigated area are currently characterised by a steep gradient from north to south, falling towards the river. In the middle ages, this gradient was presumably even more marked, as a certain amount of levelling has probably since taken place. The subsoil consists of a moraine deposit of mainly yellow clay, currently cut into distinct terraces with no traces of original surfaces.²

The area investigated formed part of the bishop's palace erected by Bishop of Odense Jens Andersen Beldenak in 1504-1508. The building formerly consisted of the present-day north wing (main building), a west wing with gate opening and an east wing, the existence of which was hitherto hypothetical. The hypothesis was based on traces of hacked-off masonry in the existing south wall of the north wing, but the extent and layout of such an east wing was unknown until 2009, as no excavations had been made in the area. The masonry traces on the north wing suggest a two-storey building, corresponding to the original design of the north wing.

Since the 1970's, the Convent has been the subject of a series of archaeological investigations, and the existence of the west wing was confirmed in digs of 1975-77. Like the north wing, it consisted of two storeys with



Arkæologisk udstyr: Det går hurtigere, når der måles op med GPS, og sigtbarheden ikke noget problem. Odense Bys Museer.

Archaeological tools: The work is quicker when measurements are made by GPS, and visibility is no problem. City of Odense Museums.

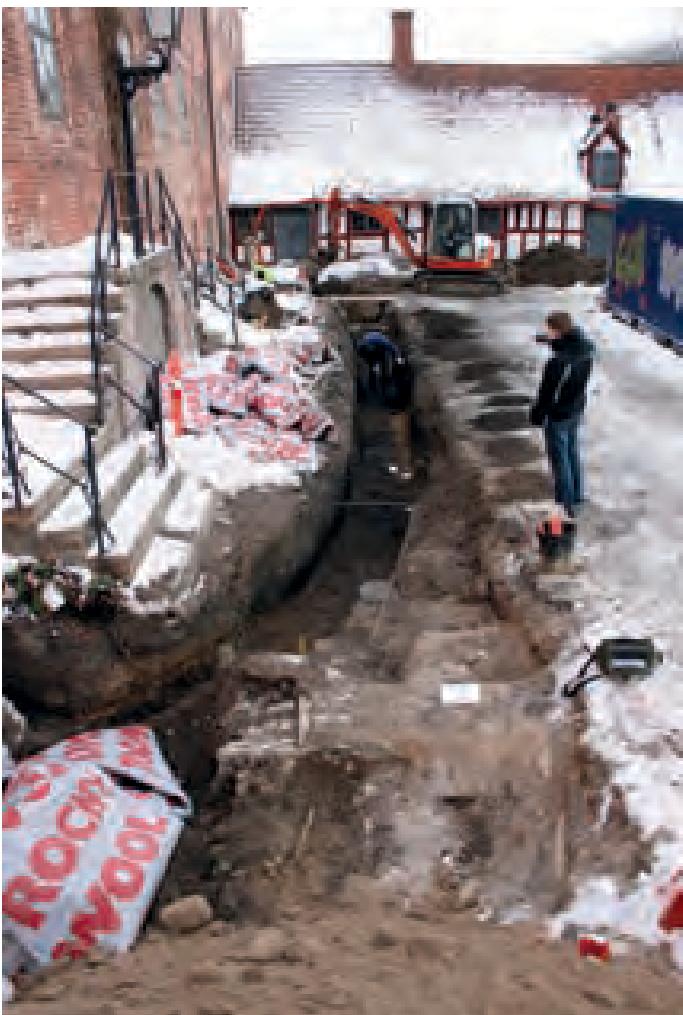
Anlægget

Terrænet i det undersøgte område er i dag præget af et kraftigt terrænfald fra nord mod syd mod åen. Terrænafaldet har formentlig været endnu mere udtagt i middelalderen, idet en vis udjævning sandsynligvis har fundet sted. Undergrunden består af en moræneaflejring af overvejende gult ler, som i dag er kraftigt terrasseret og ikke viser spor af oprindelige overflader.²

Det undersøgte område har indgået i Odense-biskoppen Jens Andersen Beldenaks bispegård opført i 1504-1508. Anlægget har bestået af den stadig eksisterende nordfløj (hovedfløjen), en vestfløj med port-

vaulting in the lower storey. Excavations in the 1970's also showed traces of a stone foundation, interpreted as the possible foundation of a wall enclosing the courtyard to the south.

Records of the older periods of the history of the bishop's palace are few and terse, and even the main lines of its history are lacking. By contrast, we have a number of very specific questions as to the existing construction. For example, whether the east wing was identical with the west wing, forming a symmetrical complex, and whether a wing to the south, facing the river, was part of the layout.



Undersøgelsen af den øst-vest gående grøft på gårdspladsen. Arkæologen registrerer en af de mørke nedgravninger med smedeaffald, mens bygherrerådgiveren registrerer arkæologen. Odense By's Museer.

Investigation of the east-west trench in the courtyard. The archaeologist is recording one of the dark pits containing smithy waste, while the client's consultant is recording the archaeologist. City of Odense Museums.

åbning samt en østfløj, hvis eksistens hidtil har været hypotetisk. Hypotesen bygger på spor af afhugget murværk i den eksisterende nordfløjs sydmur, men udstrækning og udformning af en sådan østfløj har været ukendt indtil 2009, da der ikke tidligere var gravet i området. Mursporene på nordfløjen antyder en bygning i to stokværk, tilsvarende nordfløjens oprindelige udformning.



Arkæologisk udstyr: Med effektiv transport og kort afstand mellem Det Adelige Jomfrukloster og museet betød, at arkæologerne kunne tilkaldes, når der var behov, og meget tid blev sparet. Odense By's Museer.

Archaeological tools: Effective transport and the short distance between Jomfruklosteret and the museum meant that archaeologists could be called when needed, thus saving much time. City of Odense Museums.

The courtyard

As mentioned above, the most urgent questions were how long the bishop's palace has lain on this site and the appearance of the house before the building work undertaken by Jens Andersen Beldenak. One of the first steps in connection with the restoration, though not in itself very visible, was the complete replacement of the old pipes and cables to and around the building. A

Klostret har været genstand for en række arkæologiske undersøgelser siden 1970'erne, og ved udgravnninger i 1975-77 blev vestfløjens eksistens konstateret. Den har som nordfløjens været i to stokværk med hvælv i nedre stokværk. Udgravningerne i 1970'erne viste desuden spor af et stenfundament, der blev tolket som muligt fundament for en spærremur, der har lukket gårdspladsen af mod syd.

Oplysningerne omkring bispegårdens ældre perioder er få og fåmælte, og vi savner selv hovedtrækene af dens ældre historie, mens vi omvendt har en række meget specifikke spørgsmål til det stående anlæg. Nemlig om østfløjens har været identisk med vestfløjens og anlægget således symmetrisk opbygget, og om der har været en fløj mod syd mod åen i den overordnede plan.

Gårdspladsen

Som nævnt ovenfor var de påtrængende spørgsmål, hvor længe bispegården har ligget på dette sted og residensens udseende før Jens Andersen Beldenaks byggeri. Et af de første, men ikke meget synlige, skridt i forbindelse med restaureringen var en omfattende udskiftning af de gamle rør og ledninger til og omkring bygningen. En ledningsgrøft på gårdspladsen langs hovedbygningens sydfacade gav foruden hjørnet af den nedrevne vestfløj en række mørke pletter i den lyse undergrund, som dækkede over nogle nedgrave gruber. De største af dem lå i den ende nærmest bindingsværksbygningen og indeholdt et stort indslag af murbrokker og masser af hvide pletter af hvid, kalkholdig mørtel. Det var affald fra nedbrydningen af østfløjens, hvor man omhyggeligt har skrabet de hele mursten rene for mørtel for at kunne genanvende dem.

Mere interessante var et par gruber midt for hovedbygningen, hvis næsten sorte fyld indeholdt større mængder af trækul foruden smedeslagger – affald fra smedning foruden andet affald. Blandt dette fandtes flere grå potteskår fra middelalderens hverdagsler-tøj, som daterede indholdet til perioden 1250-1450.

cable trench in the courtyard along the southern facade of the main building revealed not only the corner of the demolished west wing but also a number of dark spots in the light-coloured subsoil, the tops of underground pits. The largest of these lay at the end nearest the half-timbered building and contained a large quantity of broken brick and many white specks of white, lime mortar. This was waste from the demolition of the east wing, where the intact bricks had been carefully cleaned of mortar to allow them to be reused.

Of more interest were a couple of pits half way along the main building, in which the infill was almost black. These contained large amounts of charcoal and smithy slag – waste from smithing activity and other rubbish. Among this were several grey fragments of the Middle Ages' everyday earthenware, dating the contents to the period 1250-1450. The pits themselves must represent a clearance of the area, the holes being dug to dispose of the refuse. Of the actual smithy, no traces were found. Presumably the ground levels were drastically altered when the present buildings were constructed. Even so, the very fact that the location was used for smithing, a source of both smoke and fire risk, would seem to indicate that the main bishop's palace building prior to 1450 did not lie in the same location as Beldenak's.

Well on north side

While no traces of an older bishop's palace were found in the courtyard to the south, excavations on the north side of the building gave better results. At first, study of the sides of the drainage ditch here gave only modest results, as an older (catchwater?) drain parallel with the new drainage ditch had disturbed the evidence in the soil.

However, it could be confirmed that the original level on this side of the Bishop's Palace rose both towards Adelgade to the north and towards Albanigade. Most traces of structures older than the catchwater drain were at the lower end, corresponding to what had been previously recorded under the floor of the



Ny i gammel. Den moderne brønd blev ved et tilfælde sat lige ned i den gamle, som det lykkedes at bevare. Odense By Museer.

New in old. Quite by chance, the modern drain was inserted in the middle of the old well, which it was then possible to preserve. City of Odense Museums.

Gruberne selv må repræsentere en oprydning af arealet, hvor man har gravet hullet for at komme af med affaldet. Selve smedien fandtes der ikke spor af, formentlig fordi terrænet er blevet kraftigt reguleret ved opførelse af det nuværende anlæg. Men den blotte kendsgerning, at man udnyttede pladsen til smedning, hvilket indebar både røg og brandfare, synes at udelukke, at bispegårdens hovedbygning før 1450 lå samme sted som Beldenaks.

Brønd på nordsiden

Mens det ikke lykkedes at finde spor af en ældre bispegård på gårdspladsen mod syd, gav udgravnning på nordsiden af hovedbygningen et bedre resultat. I første omgang gav registreringen af drængrøftens sider her kun beskedne resultater, da en ældre (afvandings?)

eastern cellar room, the present service kitchen. The structures consisted of two roughly rectangular holes in the ground with sides of about 2-3 m, one of them showing traces of a wood or wattle framework. As these were not affected by the kitchen installations, it was not possible to excavate them. Neither the purpose nor the age of these structures could be determined, but they were possibly waste pits rather like a similar one of later date found to the north of the building.

Excavations had almost finished when the digger driver, who in the course of excavating a minor gully had been digging nearly a metre deeper than usual, brought up dark wood in his shovel. Contract work was halted. In the very narrow gully opening, timber could be seen poking up, and more was revealed as the bottom of the hole was cleared out. Surrounding the new gully a rectangular medieval well came to light!

grøft parallelt med den nye drængrøft havde forstyrret sporene i jorden.

Der kunne dog konstateres, at det oprindelige niveau på denne side af Bispegaarden steg både mod Adelgade mod nord og ud mod Albanigade. De fleste spor af anlæg ældre end afvandingsgrøften fandtes i den nedre ende, svarende til hvad der tidligere var blevet registreret under gulvet i det østligste kælderrum, det nuværende anretterkøkken. Anlæggene var to tilnærmedesvis firkantede jordgravede huller på 2-3 m størrelse, hvor det ene bar spor af en ramme af træ eller fletværk. Da de ikke blev berørt af køkkenindretningen, var det ikke muligt at udgrave dem. Hverken anlæggernes formål eller alder kunne bestemmes, men der er muligvis tale om affaldsgruber i stil med en yngre ditto, som blev fundet nord for bygningen.

Udgravningen var næsten lukket, da maskinføren, der ved gravning af en mindre brønd var gået en lille meter dybere end normalt, fik mørkt træ med op på skovlen. Arbejdet blev standset. I det meget snævre brøndhul stak tømmer op, og mere dukkede frem, efterhånden som bunden af hullet blev renset op. Uden om det nye brøndhul dukkede en firkantet middelalderlig brønd op! Det øverste af brønden var ødelagt af den ældre grøft, men den nederste meter var omhyggeligt udført med fire tappede fodremme med hjørnestolper, som var indvendigt afstivet. Udvendig var brønden beklædt med planker, men det afgørende var, at der ikke som normalt for middelalderlige brønde var brugt genbrugstræ. Ud over, at det bekræftede indtrykket af en velbygget brønd, gav det mulighed for at få en eksakt datering af brønden! Dette kan lade sig gøre ved hjælp af årringsdatering, hvor 50 eller flere kontinuerlige årtringe danner et unikt mønster, som kan holdes op mod daterede mønstre andre steder fra. Brønden er således bygget lige omkring 1300 af træ fra Storebæltsområdet, og den er nu det ældst daterede fund på stedet.

Kvaliteten af de benyttede materialer tillader at afvise, at brønden alene skal knyttes til sporene af smedeaktivitet fra gårdspladsen, der ville ikke være ofret så meget omhu på en brønd, når åen jo lå umiddel-



Den ældre brønd fra o. 1300 var utrolig velbygget med fodremme og øverst i billedet tværstivere mellem stolperne. Siderne bestod af kløvede egeplanker. Odense By Museer.

The older well from about 1300 was extremely well-built with sill beams and, at the top of the photo, bracing between the posts. The sides consisted of split oak planks. City of Odense Museums.

The top part had been destroyed by the older ditch, but the bottom metre was carefully constructed with four mortised sill beams with corner posts and inner bracing. On the outside the well was clad with planks, but of decisive importance here, and unlike normal medieval wells, the wood had not been recycled. Apart from confirming the impression of a solidly constructed well, this allowed the well to be precisely dated! This is done by dendrochronology, in which 50 or more continuous growth rings form a unique pattern which can be compared with dated patterns from other timbers. Thus the well was constructed in a year very close to 1300 in wood from the Great Belt area, and it is now the oldest dated find on the site.

The quality of the materials used permits us to dismiss the idea that the well should be linked solely to the traces of smithing activity from the courtyard, as so much care would never be lavished on a well with the river available just below. It is therefore reasonable



I det mindre kælderrum stod hvælpinnen på et regulært fundament. Det tilstødende fundament stammer formentlig fra et stort ildsted i tilknytning til skorstenen, som er under reparation bagest. Odense Bys Museer.

In the smaller cellar room, the vault pillar rested on a proper foundation. The adjoining foundation is probably from a large hearth associated with the chimney being repaired in the background. City of Odense Museums.

bart neden for. Det er derfor nærliggende at opfatte den som tilhørende en betydelig gård på det højere liggende areal mod Adelgade med smedning og andre generende aktiviteter forlagt til et ubenyttet areal ned mod åen. Det er fristende og endda sandsynligt at identificere denne gård som den ældre bispegård, men helt sikkert kan det ikke blive alene på eksistensen af en brønd.

to regard it as belonging to an important building complex on the higher ground near Adelgade, while smithing and other nuisance activities were relegated to an unused area towards the river. It is tempting and even probable to identify this complex as the older bishop's palace, but with only a well to go on, this can never be certain.

Et ældre golv i kælderen

De væsentligste rester af en ældre bispegård skulle overraskende nok findes inde i hovedbygningen. Undersøgelsen i hovedfløjens kælder blev foretaget i forbindelse med afgravnningen af eksisterende gulve til etablering af golvvarmeanlæg i den østlige halvdel af huset. Desuden blev en ældre øst-vest gående ledningsgrøft tømt.

Kælderen under hovedbygningen er husets mest oprindelige rum med sine bevarede ribbehælv og

An older floor in the cellar

The most significant remains of an older bishop's palace were, surprisingly enough, found inside the main building. Excavations in the cellar of the main building were conducted in connection with the digging up of existing floors for installation of underfloor heating in the eastern half of the house. An older east-west cable trench was also cleaned out.

The cellar under the main building is the room in the house closest to its original form, with preserved rib vaulting and visible medieval brickwork. As mentioned,



Arkæologen balancerer på fundamentstenene fra den oprindelige østgavl for at undgå at træde på de ældre nedgravninger med den mørke fyld i det tidligere anretterkøkken. Odense Bys Museer.

The archaeologist balancing on the foundation stones of the original eastern gable end, in order to avoid treading on the older pits with the dark infill beneath the present service kitchen. City of Odense Museums.

synlige middelaldermurværk. Som nævnt var der i 1977 blevet lavet en række prøvegravninger i kælderen for at skaffe klarhed over, hvad der lå under de daværende gulve.

Der var i den forbindelse påvist en række anlæg i alle tre kælderrum i husets østlige halvdel, herunder rester af et ældre gulv af teglsten lagt i et lag sand direkte på det gule undergrundsler.

I disse rum fernes den eksisterende gulvbelægning, der er af eftermiddelalderlig dato, og først herefter fernes de underliggende fyld- og sandlag forsigtigt ned til de formodede middelalderlige anlæg. Helt samme hensyn var ikke nødvendigt i anretterkøkkenet i bygningens østligste ende, der er en forlængelse fra 1500-tallet.

Det afdækkede teglgulv viste sig at være en sammenhængende gulvbelægning af røde munkesten, hvortil var anvendt både brokker og hele sten blandet med enkelte marksten. På teglgulvet lå et humøst smudslag, formentlig afsat i brugstiden.

a number of test digs were carried out in 1977 in the cellar to clarify what lay beneath the existing floors.

A number of structures in all three cellar rooms in the eastern half of the house were discovered at that time, including remnants of an older brick floor laid in a layer of sand directly on the yellow clay subsoil.

The existing flooring, of post-medieval date, was removed from these rooms, and the underlying filler and sand layer was then carefully removed down to the presumed medieval structures. The same care was not needed in the service kitchen at the eastern end of the building, which is a 16th century extension.

The floor revealed proved to be a continuous floor in red brick, composed of brick rubble and full bricks and the odd boulder. The floor was covered with a layer of humus, presumably deposited during the period of use.

The floor was preserved in an area corresponding to most of the room's two western vaults. Without disturbing the protected floor, two cuts were carefully



*Detalje af teglstensgulvet med to render af hele sten.
Odense By Museer.*

*Detail of brick floor with two gutters in whole bricks.
City of Odense Museums.*

Gulvet var bevaret i et område svarende til det meste af de to vestlige hvælvfag i rummet. Uden at forstyrre det fredede gulv blev der forsigtigt lagt to snit i gulvet mod henholdsvis væggen ud til indgangsrummet og til den nærmeste hvælpille. De skulle afgøre gulvets alder eller skæbne, om man vil. Var der tale om endnu et yngre golv, ville man i en ansøgning til Kulturstyrelsen kunne argumentere for, at dele af det kunne fjernes, idet en bevaring umiddelbart ville umuliggøre gulvvarme i denne del af kælderen.

Gulvet viste sig at være *ældre* end det omgivende hus fra 1504-1508! Teglgulvet og underliggende sandlag blev tydeligt skåret af nedgravningerne til fundament til hvælpillen og til skillevæggen. Da teglgulvet næppe har været udendørs belægning, må gulvet stamme fra en ældre bygning. Der blev desværre ikke fundet noget daterende i gulvets smudslag eller underliggende sandlag. Gulvet dateres til 13-1400-tallet og er snarest levn af Mogens Krafses bispegård omtalt i 1466.

I gulvet ses to lave nord-syd løbende render sat med hele munkesten. Rendernes orientering samt

made in the floor by the wall next to the entrance room and by the nearest vault pillar. This was to determine the age of the floor, or even, in a way, its fate. If the floor proved to be another floor of later date, an application to the Danish Agency for Culture could argue that parts of it could be removed, as preservation would in principle prevent the installation of underfloor heating in this part of the cellar.

But, in fact the floor proved to be *older* than the surrounding house from 1504-1508! The brick floor and underlying sand layer had clearly been cut through by the excavations for the foundations for the vault pillar and the partition wall. As the floor could scarcely have been outdoor paving, the floor must stem from an older building. Unfortunately, no datable finds were present in the humus layer above the floor or in the underlying sand layer. The floor is dated to the 14th or 15th century and is probably a remnant of Mogens Krafse's bishop's palace mentioned in 1466.

The floor shows two shallow north-south gutters formed with whole bricks. The orientation of the gutters and other brick lines in the floor indicate that this older building was oriented in a slightly more northwest-southeast direction than the present house. The floor also drains to the south. Even though the floor covering was only preserved in parts of the large room, findings of a sand layer directly on top of the subsoil in the room to the east points to the floor originally extending to this room too.

This is also suggested by another circumstance. The foundations of the outer walls of the late medieval northern wing could also be seen at various points. Generally speaking, these seem to have consisted of a layer of 50-80 cm natural boulders laid in a shallow but very wide foundation trench. This latter could be followed in both rooms along the outer walls and the original east gable end – the present partition wall with the service kitchen. Along the north and south walls, the edge of the foundation trench was approximately 120 cm from the inner side of the walls, and along the western gable end approx. 190 cm from the inner wall



Teglstensgulvet fra den nedrevne bygning. De manglende teglstene under målestokken skyldes en nyere nedgravning til rør. Den højre kant af brolægningen afgrænser den plyndrede fundamentsgrøft fra den tilhørende bygning. Odense By Museer.

Brick floor from Bishop Krafse's demolished building. The missing bricks beneath the measuring rod are due to a later pipe trench. The right-hand edge of the paving marks the line of the cleared foundation trench from the associated building.
City of Odense Museums.



To kældergulve – to bygninger. Snit gennem det ældste kælder-gulv. Når gulvet stopper lidt fra væggen, skyldes det, at den og fundamentstenen er gravet ned igennem det ældre gulv, som det ses omkring hovedet af sømmet. Op ad bagvæggen ses en rest af den brolægning, som hører til den stående bygning.

Odense By Museer.

andre linjer af sten i belægningen antyder, at denne ældre bygning har haft orientering en anelse mere i nordvest-sydøstlig retning end det nuværende hus. Gulvet har desuden fald mod syd. Selvom belægningen kun var bevaret i dele af det store rum, tyder fund af et sandlag liggende direkte på undergrunden i rummet mod øst på en oprindelig udbredelse af gulvet til også dette rum.

Herpå tyder også et andet forhold. Fundamenterne til den senmiddelalderlige nordfløjs ydermure kun-

Two cellar floors – two buildings. Cross-section through the older cellar floor. If the floor stops at a slight distance from the wall, this is because it and the foundation stone have been dug down through the older floor, as can be seen round the nail head. Towards the rear wall can be seen a remnant of the paving from the existing building. City of Odense Museums.

facade. There is no practical reason for these very wide foundation trenches, and the most likely explanation is that they date from the building associated with the older floor, which was slightly narrower than the present building.

Of the extent of the older building to the west, nothing certain can be said, but in the western room an old longitudinal cable trench with a depth of approx. 30 cm and lying approx. 50 cm north of the south wall

ne flere steder iagttares. Gennemgående synes disse at bestå af et lag 50-80 cm store kampesten lagt i en lav, men meget bred fundamentsgrøft. Den kunne følges i begge rummene langs ydermurene og den oprindelige østgavl – den nuværende skillevæg ind til anretterkøkenet. Langs nord og sydmuren var nedgravningskanten til fundamentsgrøften ca. 120 cm fra murenes indvendige facade og langs vestgavlen ca. 190 cm fra den indvendige murfacade. Der er ikke nogen praktisk begrundelse for disse meget brede fundamentsgrøfter, og den mest sandsynlige forklaring er, at de stammer fra den bygning, som det ældre gulv tilhørte, og som har været en smule smallere end den nuværende.

Om den ældre bygnings udstrækning mod vest er det ikke muligt at sige noget sikkert, men i det vestlige rum opgravedes en langsgående, ca. 30 cm dyb ældre ledningsgrøft beliggende ca. 50 cm nord for sydmuren. Profilerne viste ingen spor af fundamentsgrøft, men udelukkende omrodede kulturlag af nyere dato.

Foruden gulvet er der i kælderrummet, omrent mellem de to fritstående hvælpiller, fremkommet en teglbygget cirkulær brønd. Brønden var tilsyneladende opført i to faser. Øverst syv skifter i nyere gule tegl; denne øvre fase må på baggrund af tegltypen dateres til efter 1600. Under denne sås en ældre brøndkappe, opført af røde munkestens i helstens bredde lagt i mørTEL. Rundt om brønden og ned til den ældre brøndkappe ses en bred, firkantet nedgravning, der må være gravet i forbindelse med opførelsen af den yngre fase.

På grund af nedgravningen er der ingen stratigrafisk forbindelse mellem den ældre brønd og de øvrige anlæg i rummet. Det kan således ikke afgøres, om den ældre brønd skal henføres til Bispegaarden fra 1504-1508 eller den ældre bygning med teglgulvet.

Placeringen meget tæt på fundamentet til en af krydshvælpillerne, ca. 10 cm, kunne indikere, at brønden var etableret forud for opførelsen af hvælvene, og at brønden dermed formentlig hører til den ældre bygning med teglgulvet.

Fyldet i brønden bestod øverst af sand og grus, men kunne ved boring konstateres at blive mere orga-



Øverst: Brønden i kælderen stammer formentlig også fra den ældre bygning. Den oprindelige middelalderlige brøndkarm i røde sten ses nederst. Nederst: Teglstensgulvet og brønden fra den ældre bygning. De fritstående hvælpiller hviler hver på én stor kampesten. Odense By Museer.

Top: The well in the cellar is presumably also from Krafse's older building. The original medieval red-brick well curb can be seen at the bottom. Bottom: Brick floor and well from Bishop Mogens Krafse's older building. The free-standing vault pillars each rest on a single large boulder. City of Odense Museums.

was excavated. Profiles showed no sign of a foundation trench, but solely confused cultural strata of later date.

Apart from the floor, the cellar room has revealed a brick-built circular well roughly midway between the two free-standing pillars. The well was apparently constructed in two phases. The top seven courses are in newer yellow brick. On the basis of brick type, this upper phase must be dated to after 1600. Beneath this an older red brick well curb could be seen, in red brick set in mortar and of one brick's thickness. Around the well



Østfløjens østmur set indefra. Under metaløjet ses det første i muren. Til venstre og over det ses et sandlag fra den plyndrede kælderbrolægning og her over igen kraftige nedbrydningslag med mørtel og teglstumper. Odense Bys Museer.

The east wall of the east wing seen from the inside looking south. Beneath the metal eyelet the first course of brickwork can be seen. To the left and above, a layer of sand is visible from what had been the cellar paving before its removal, and above this again, a thick layer of demolition material with mortar and brick rubble. City of Odense Museums.

nisk og vådt mod bunden, der minimum ligger 170 cm under toppen af brøndkappen. I lighed med teglgulvet er også brønden bevaret og nu gjort synlig i form af en ring af mursten i det nylagte teglgulv.

Det mest bemærkelsesværdige ved dette fund, ud over påvisningen af en ukendt forgænger til den nuværende hovedbygning, var, at Jens Andersen Beldenak tilsyneladende nedrev en betydelig, kun godt 50 år gammel bygning for at give plads til sin nye gård!

Østfløjens

Bindsværksbygningen, der udgør østfløjens, var så ubetinget den del af anlægget, som var i dårligst stand, og hele bygningen hældede faretruende ned mod åen. Det skyldtes, at den var placeret på et oprindeligt kraftigt skrånende terræn ned mod åen, som der ikke var taget fornødent hensyn til ved funderingen.

Således ligger undergrunden umiddelbart nord for nordfløjens østlige del 150 cm højere end østfløj-

and down to the former well curb can be seen a wide square pit, which must have been dug in connection with the construction of the later phase.

Because of the pit, there is no stratigraphic connection between the older well and the other structures in the room. It is thus impossible to determine whether the older well is to be dated to the Bishop's Palace of 1504-1508 or to the older building with the brick floor.

The location very close to the foundation of one of the cross vault pillars (about 10 cm), could indicate that the well was established prior to the erection of the vaulting, and thus presumably belongs to the older building with the brick floor.

The infill in the well was sand and gravel at the top, but drilling showed that it was more organic and moist at the base, which lies a minimum of 170 cm below the top of the well curb. As with the brick floor, the well was also preserved, and is now visible in the form of a ring of bricks in the newly laid tiled floor.

The most noteworthy aspect of this find, apart from the evidence it provides of an unknown predecessor to the present main building, was that Jens Andersen Beldenak apparently tore down a large building, only 50 or so years old, to make way for his new residence!

The East Wing

The half-timbered building constituting the east wing was by far the part of the complex in poorest condition, with the whole building leaning perilously in the direction of the river. This was due to the fact that it was located on an originally steeply sloping bank down to the river without the necessary consideration being given to the foundations.

Thus the subsoil immediately north of the eastern part of the north wing lies 150 cm higher than the northeast corner of the east wing (datum +10.30 to datum +9), and the land slopes further to the southeast corner of the half-timbered building, giving a drop of at least 3 metres from north to south in the east wing.



Den velbevarede mur i sydgavlen betød, at man i stedet for at understøbe den valgte at mure op fra den middelalderlige gavl. Et stykke af den ses som et mørkere stykke mur bag kosten. Odense By Museer.

jens nordøst-hjørne (kote 10,30 til kote 9), og grunden skråner videre til bindingsværksbygningens sydøst-hjørne, så der er et fald på mindst 3 meter fra nord til syd i østfløjens.

Det kraftige terrænfald kan aflæses i topkoterne på østfløjens fundamenter, der under østmuren ud mod Paaskestræde falder med 250 cm (kote 8,75 til kote 6,25). Dette kraftige fald er på østsiden forsøgt

The well-preserved wall at the south gable end meant that instead of underpinning, it was decided to build on the medieval foundation. Part of the medieval wall can be seen as a darker section of walling behind the broom. City of Odense Museums.

The severe drop in height can be noted on the top height levels of the east wing foundations, which under the eastern wall facing Paaskestræde fall by 250 cm (datum +8.75 to datum +6.25). An attempt has been made to accommodate this fall on the east side by stepping the foundation in three parts. In the first section under the northern part of the east wall up to 6 m south of the northeast corner, the foundation falls



Th.: Der renses op til foto i et af hullerne til understøbning af bindingsværksfløjen.

Tv.: Resultatet af anstrengelserne: Øverst den nederste fundamentsten fra bindingsværksbygningen og under målestokken det middelalderlige fundament. Imellem de to fundamenter ses et lyst mørtelholdigt nedbrydningslag. Odense By Museer.



Right: Cleaning out one of the underpinning holes in the half-timbered wing in preparation for photography.

Left: Result of all the effort: at the top, the bottom foundation stone of the half-timbered building, and, under the measuring rod, the medieval foundation. Between the two foundations can be seen a demolition layer of light-coloured mortar.

City of Odense Museums.

reguleret ved en aftrapning af fundamentet i tre etaper. På første etape under østmurens nordlige del indtil 6 meter syd for nordøst-hjørnet falder fundamentet ca. 10 cm, på midterste etape falder det brat 80 cm og derefter 60 cm jævnt over de næste ca. 14,5 meter. På sidste etape ses et nyt spring på 100 cm, der holdes de sidste ca. 3,5 meter til sydøst-hjørnet. Springet mellem midterste og sidste etape falder i øvrigt sammen med, at kvaderstenssokkelen under bindingsværksbygningen går fra et til to skifter.

Forundersøgelsen i 2009 påviste, at bindingsværksbygningen er opført over resterne af den middelalderlige østfløj, og de har omtrent samme størrelse, en ca. 24 x 9 m stor bygning. Det svarer til målene på

approx. 10 cm, in the central section it drops suddenly 80 cm followed by a 60 cm fall evenly spread over the next 14.5 m or so. In the final section there is a new jump of 100 cm which is maintained for the final 3.5 m or so to the southeast corner. The jump between the middle and final sections also coincides with a change in the ashlar plinth under the half-timbered building from one to two courses.

A preliminary investigation in 2009 showed that the half-timbered building was constructed over the remains of the medieval east wing, and that they were of approximately the same size, i.e. approx. 24 x 9 m. This corresponds to the dimensions of the west wing discovered in 1977. The east wing's medieval predecessor

den vestfløj, der blev fundet i 1977. Østfløjens middelalderlige forgænger var på nær enkelte steder nedbrudt til fundament, men især sydgavlen kunne fremvise velbevaret murværk. Hertil blev der gjort iagttagelser i forbindelse med afgravnninger af eksisterende gulve i bygningens nordlige del, og der blev påvist rester af pigstensbrolagte gulve flere steder i bygningen.

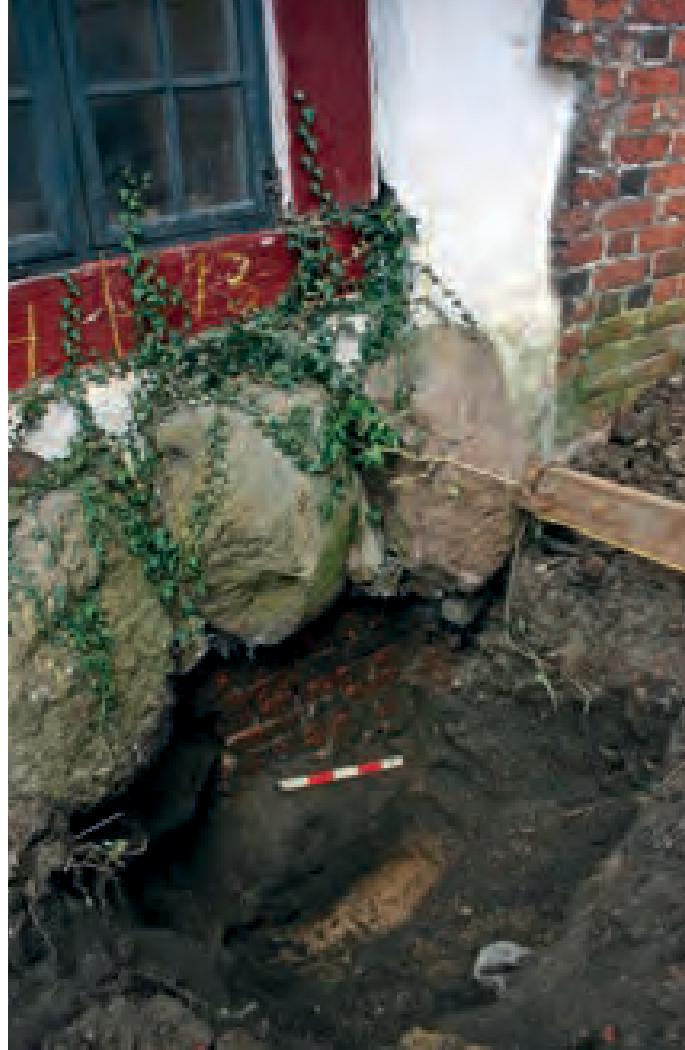
Østfløjens fundamenter

Forundersøgelsen viste, at bygningens fundament tilsyneladende ikke stod på fast bund, men nærmest svævede over resterne af dens middelalderlige forgænger. Dette nødvendiggjorde, at bygningen for overhovedet at kunne bruges måtte sikres med en ny fundering, som ikke måtte beskadige de nyfundne rester af den middelalderlige østfløj.

Løsningen blev at bringe bygningens fundament i kontakt med det middelalderlige fundament ved at udfylde mellemrummet med et nyt fundament af cement. Understøbningen af bindingsværkssidefløjens blev foretaget ved successiv udgravning af en række mindre felter, således at understøbning til sidst var foretaget under alle bygningens ydervægge. Felterne målte gennemsnitligt 150 x 150 cm og gravedes til fast bund, enten i form af undergrund eller faste bygningslevn fra den senmiddelalderlige østfløj.

Arkæologerne kunne have gjort fund i forbindelse med understøbningen af bindingsværksbygningens fundamenter, men arbejdet vanskeliggjordes betydeligt af sikkerhedshensyn, da udgravningerne efterlod syldstenene frit hængende uden understøttelse. Dette tillod kun minimalt, eller intet, ophold i de gravede huller, idet støbning og lukning af hullerne måtte foretages hurtigst muligt efter gravning. Forholdene tillod således ikke tidskrævende opmålinger, og dokumentationen af de arkæologiske iagttagelser måtte derfor ofte begrænses til foto, skitser og notater.

Iagttagelserne bekræftede imidlertid forundersøgelsens resultater. Bindingsværkshusets synlige sokkel og syld udgøres ingen steder af bevarede bygningslevn



Nordøsthjørnet af østfløjen. Længst til højre gavlen af hovedbygningen og sammenføjningen med bindingsværksbygningen. De store sten under vinduet hører sammen med bindingsværkbygningen, mens murstykket nedenunder er indgået i bispegårdens port mod øst. Odense Bys Museer.

North-east corner of east wing. To the far right, the gable end of the main building and the junction with the half-timbered building. The large stones under the window belong to the half-timbered building while brickwork below was part of the east gate of the Bishop's Palace's original east wing. City of Odense Museums.

had been demolished down to the foundations, apart from a few places, but especially on the south gable end, well-preserved brickwork was visible. Observations were also made when excavating the existing floors in the northern part of the building, and remnants of pebble floors at several points in the building could be seen.



Funderingsprincipper 1. Understøbningen af bindingsværksbygningen foregik af hensyn til bygningens stabilitet i små bidder. Her mangler der kun et lille stykke mellem to færdigstøbte cementkanter. Det hele forbinderes af armeringsjernene, som stikker ud af siderne. Odense By Museer.

For the sake of the building's stability, underpinning of the half-timbered building was carried out in small sections. Here only a small gap remains between two edges of cast cement. Everything is joined by reinforcement steel, which protrudes at the sides. City of Odense Museums.

fra den senmiddelalderlige bispegård, og ydermere er de adskilt af et gennemgående nedbrydningslag fra østfløjens neddrivning og et overliggende muldlag. Kun i det nordøstlige hjørne op mod hovedbygningen er der tilsyneladende kontakt mellem bindingsværksbygningens fundering og de underliggende bygningslevn fra den senmiddelalderlige østfløj.

Under hele østsiden af bindingsværksbygningen, sydgavlen og en del af vest siden kunne fundamentet til den senmiddelalderlige østfløjs ydermure iagttagtes. Fundamentet er nedgravet i undergrundsleret og har under østmuren bestået af minimum et skifte af tem-

Foundations of the east wing

The preliminary investigation showed that the building's foundation did not have a solid base, but was almost floating on the remnants of its medieval predecessor. This meant that before the building could be used in any way it had to be secured with a new foundation which would not damage the newly discovered remains of the medieval east wing.

The solution was to bring the building's foundation into contact with the medieval foundation by filling in the gap with a new concrete foundation. Underpinning of the half-timbered side wing was accomplished by



Samme sted ses princippet i det middelalderlige fundament på gårdsiden. På en bane af småstensbrolægning sættes i hver side en række kantstillede mursten, og mellemrummet udstøbes med en blanding af mørtel, teglbrokker og marksten. Til højre i billedet ses to bindere fra det første skifte i kasse-murens sider. Man fortsætter op i højden, samtidig med at "kassen" udstøbes. Odense By's Museer.

The principle of the medieval foundation is seen at the same position on the courtyard side of the east wing. Over a length of pebble paving, a row of bricks set on edge is placed on either side and the gap filled with a mixture of mortar, brick rubble and field stone. To the right of the photograph can be seen two headers from the first course of the cofferwork sides. Work proceeds upwards while filling the coffer. City of Odense Museums.

melig store kampesten, 70-80 cm, hvorpå stedvist er lagt et lag af ca. 15-30 cm store sten som underlag for en kassemur.

Af vestmuren fremgik det, at overgangen mellem fundament og mur formidledes af et rulskifte af mursten på kant, hvorpå det første lag mursten i munkeskifte var lagt. Vestmurens fundament bestod udelukkende af laget af mindre sten lagt i en lav grøft i undergrunden, lidt bredere end murforløbet.

Den senmiddelalderlige østfløjs murtykkelser kunne i vestmuren og i sydgavlen måles til 140 cm og i østmuren til ca. 170-175 cm. Murtykkelserne svarer

successively excavating a number of smaller fields until, by the end, underpinning had been performed under all of the building's outer walls. The fields measured on average 150 x 150 cm and were dug out to a solid base, either in the form of the subsoil or solid constructional remains of the late medieval east wing.

Archaeologists might have been able to make searches during the underpinning of the half-timbered building's foundations, but the work was greatly impeded by safety considerations, as the excavations left the foundation stones hanging without support. This factor meant that only minimal or no time could



Brolægningen i østfløjens kælder var i vid udstrækning plyndret. Her ses nederst en rest af den gennemgående rende og under målestokken sandlaget under brolægningen.
Odense By Museer.

The paving from the east wing cellar had largely been removed for recycling. At the bottom can be seen a remnant of the continuous gutter and, under the measuring rod, the sand layer under the paving. City of Odense Museums.

til nord- og vestfløjens således, at alle fløje har haft de kraftigste mure på de udadvendte sider væk fra gården, hvilket understreger anlæggets ensartede og regulære plan.

Østfløjens mure

Egentligt murværk fra den senmiddelalderlige østfløj er kun bevaret nogle få steder i vest- og østmurens nordlige del samt sydgavlens østlige del, idet nedrivningen de fleste steder er foregået til toppen af fundamentet. Det bedst bevarede murværk fremkom i sydgavlens østlige del, hvor sydfacaden af kassemuren var bevaret.

be spent in the excavated cavities, as the concreting and closure of the holes had to be performed as soon as possible after digging. The circumstances did not permit time-consuming measurements, and documentation of archaeological observations was often restricted to photographs, sketches and notes.

However, the observations did confirm the results of the preliminary investigation. The visible plinth and foundation sill of the half-timbered house nowhere incorporated preserved remnants of the late medieval bishop's palace, and in fact the two are separated by a continuous demolition layer from the dismantling of the east wing, and by a covering layer of soil. Only at the northeastern corner adjacent to the main building is there apparent contact between the half-timbered building's foundations and the underlying remains of the late medieval east wing.

The foundation of the outer walls of the late medieval east wing could be observed along the whole eastern side of the half-timbered building, along the south gable end and along part of the western side. This foundation was dug into the clay subsoil, and under the east wall it consisted of a course of rather large boulders of 70-80 cm size, surmounted in places by a layer of approx. 15-30 cm stones as a base for a cofferwork wall.

On the west wall, the transition between the foundation and wall proved to be effected by a course of bricks on edge, on top of which the first course of bonded brickwork was laid. The foundation of the west wall consisted solely of the layer of smaller stones, laid in a shallow trench in the subsoil slightly wider than the wall.

The thickness of the walls in the late medieval east wing was measured as 140 cm in the west wall and south gable end and as approx. 170-175 cm in the east wall. The wall thicknesses correspond to those of the north and west wings, with all wings having their thickest walls facing outwards from the building. This underlines the uniform, regular plan of the building complex.



Tv.: Nordøsthjørnet af østfløjens. Brolægningen hører formentlig til portrummet i østfløjens. Den overlejres af flere marksten, som danner fundament for en skalmuring af østfløjens oprindelige nordgavl.

Th.: Oversigtsbillede med brolægning og den yngre hvælpille. Længst til højre ydermuren, og til venstre ses en senere gennembrudt dør ind til det nuværende anretterkøkken.
Odense Bys Museer.



Left: North-east corner of east wing. The paving presumably belongs to the gate room in the east wing. It is overlaid by several field stones, which form the foundation for the facing of the original north gable end of the east wing.

Right: General view of paving and the later vault pillar. On the far right is the outer wall and to the left a later door inserted for access to the present service kitchen. City of Odense Museums.

Murværket bestod af otte skifter af en præcis muret mur af røde munkestens, 27,5-28 x 12 x 8 cm, i munkeskifte med en fuge på 1 cm af relativt fin, hård, gråhvid mørtel med rygget fuge. Der blev gravet til nederste skifte, og toppen af fundamentet blev blotlagt. Det bestod af kampesten lagt i et leret fyld, med en højde på ca. 75 cm.

I østfløjens nordøstlige hjørne var der bevaret murværk i 5 skifters højde indtil ca. 1 m fra hjørnet. Murværket sad under den store kampestenssokkel i den nyere bindingsværksbygnings nordlige østvæg, og kampestenssokkelen har altså ingen forbindelse til den senmiddelalderlige østfløj, men må høre til senere byggefaser.

Walling on the east wing

Actual masonry from the late medieval east wing has only been preserved in a few places in the northern part of the west and east wall and in the eastern part of the south gable end, as in most places demolition proceeded right down to the top of the foundation. The best preserved masonry was found at the eastern part of the south gable end, where the south facade of the cofferwork has been preserved.

The wall here consisted of eight courses of precisely executed masonry in red bricks of dimensions 27.5-28 x 12 x 8 cm in monk bond, with 1 cm joints of relatively fine, hard, grey-white mortar with beaded joint. Excavation continued to the bottom course, thus exposing the top



Den sekundære skalmuring forsætter bag om og oven over hvælpillen og er formentlig i forbandt med ydermuren. Det var ikke muligt at fastslå uden indgreb i murene. Odense By Museer.

The secondary facing continues behind and above the vault pillar, and is presumably tied into the outer wall. It was not possible to determine this without an internal investigation of the walls. City of Odense Museums.

Murværket var lagt i munkeforbandt på et afretningsskifte af brokker på kampestensfundamentet, og det adskilte sig på dette punkt fra det øvrige bevarede murværk.

Af vestmuren var der bevaret murværk i dennes nordlige del. Kun kassemurens nederste skifte og murkerne var her bevaret. Den udvendige skalmur mod gårdspladsen bestod af et rulskifte lagt i ler på fundamentstenene, der her bestod af et lag mindre sten med en diameter på 10-15 cm.

Rulskiftets yderside var dækket af ler, og det har sandsynligvis ligget under terræn i brugstiden. Murkernen imellem skalmurene bestod af mørtel, marksten og teglbrokker.

of the foundation. This consisted of boulders laid in a clay fill, with a height of approx. 75 cm.

In the northeast corner of the east wing, masonry was preserved to a height of 5 courses for up to approx. 1 m from the corner. The brickwork lay under the large boulder plinth of the northern part of the newer half-timbered building's east wall. The boulder plinth thus has no connection with the late medieval east wing, but must be part of a later construction phase.

The bricks were laid in monk bond on a levelling course of rubble on the boulder foundation, and in this respect differed from the other preserved masonry.

On the west wall, masonry was preserved at the northern end. Here only the bottom course of the

Østfløjens kældre

Ved forundersøgelsen blev fundet rester af pigstensbelagte kældergulve hørende til den senmiddelalderlige østfløj, ligesom det også var tilfældet ved undersøgelsen af vestfløjens i 1970erne.

I den nuværende foredragssal fremkom desuden en nord-syd løbende stensat rende i gulvbelægningen i bygningens vestlige halvdel, som kunne følges helt frem til det nuværende indgangsrum. Det er derfor sandsynligt, at renden løber i hele husets længde og har haft et udløb i sydgavlen, som dog ikke kunne påvises.

I det nordligste rum mellem indgangsrummet og anretterkøkkenet fremkom en del af gavlen og rester af østmuren.

Den bestod af en fast murkerne af mørtel blandet med brokker og sten svarende til iagttagelser andre steder. Skiftegangen kunne ikke erkendes, da iagttagelsesforholdene var særdeles vanskelige på grund af de meget store kampesten i nedbrydningsfyldet. Østmuren er øjensynlig bygget i forbandt med den stående senmiddelalderlige nordgavl, men er tydeligvis skalmuret på et tidspunkt, og store kampesten er indlagt nederst i væggen oven på et brolagt gulv. Dette gulv lå 1 m under overfladen, men væsentligt højere end det oprindelige kældergulv i resten af bygningen.

På grund af vilkårene for forundersøgelsen var det ikke muligt at gennembryde gulvet for at lede efter et dybereliggende kældergulv, men trods denne usikkerhed må gulvet opfattes som tilhørende den senmiddelalderlige østfløj, der så ikke har haft kælder i denne nordligste del.

Identisk øst- og vestfløj?

I det indvendige hjørne mellem østmur og nordgavl ses rester af et ribbehvælv med gjordbue langs nordgavl. Gjordbuen er bevaret i fem skifter. Og buens videre forløb kan ses på nordgavlen i form af mørtelespor. Gjordbue og ribbe hviler på en sokkel af tre skifter hele

cofferwork and rubble core was preserved. The external facing towards the courtyard consisted of a course of bricks on edge laid in clay on the foundation stones, which here consisted of a layer of smaller stones with a diameter of 10-15 cm.

The outer face of the edge bricks was covered with clay, and during the period of use was probably buried below the surface. The rubble core between the facings consisted of mortar, fieldstone and brick rubble.

Cellars in the east wing

The preliminary investigation revealed remnants of pebble floors in the cellar belonging to the late medieval east wing, as had also been the case in the investigation of the west wing in the 1970's.

In the present lecture hall, a north-south brick gutter was also found in the flooring in the western half of the building, which could be followed all the way to the present entrance room. It is therefore probable that the gutter ran throughout the length of the house with an outlet at the south gable end, though this could not be proved.

In the most northerly room between the entrance room and the service kitchen, part of the gable end and remnants of the east wall were discovered.

These consisted of a solid wall core of mortar mixed with rubble and bricks corresponding to what had been observed elsewhere. The bond scheme could not be recognized, as the opportunities for observation were particularly difficult due to the extremely large boulders in the demolition layer. The east wall was visibly tied into the existing late medieval north gable end, but has clearly been faced with brick at some point, while large boulders have been inserted at the bottom of the wall above a paved floor. This floor lay 1 m below the surface, but considerably higher than the original cellar floor in the rest of the building.

Due to the circumstances of the preliminary investigation it was not possible to make a penetration in the floor to search for an underlying cellar floor, but



Nærbillede af hvælpillen. Under målebåndet ses ansatsen til skjoldbuen, der har båret hvælvet langs væggen. Den skrål sten til højre herfor er ansatsen til en halvstensribbe. Odense Bys Museer.

Close-up of vault pillar. Under the measuring tape can be seen the projection for the wall rib which carried the vault along the wall. The sloping stone to the right is the projection for a half rib. City of Odense Museums.

munkeststen. Hvælvkonstruktionen er ikke bygget i forbandt med hverken nord- eller østmur, og hvælvet er således en senere tilføjelse uden på den ovennævnte skalmuring.

Sammenlignes gjordbuens krumning og forløb på nordgavlen med gulvniveauet ser det ud til, at det senmiddeladerlige rum i denne del af bygningen må have været lavloftet, idet der ikke kan have været meget mere end 150 cm på det højeste sted, og det er derfor tvivlsomt, om det påviste gulv har været i funktion efter etableringen af hvælvet, mens skalmuringen meget vel har skullet give støtte til hvælvslagningen.

Der blev ikke fundet yderligere spor af hvælv i østfløjen, og det er således stadig et åbent spørgsmål, hvorvidt fløjen har haft hvælv i hele dens længde, eller



Nærbillede af hvælpillen. Fortsættelsen af skjoldbuen ses af de manglende pudstrester. Odense Bys Museer.

Close-up of vault pillar. The continuation of the wall rib can be seen from the missing plaster remains. City of Odense Museums.

despite this uncertainty, the floor must be regarded as belonging to the late medieval east wing which thus did not have a cellar in this most northerly part.

Identical east and west wing?

In the interior corner between the east wall and the north gable end, remnants of a ribbed vault with reinforcing rib can be seen along the north gable end. The reinforcing rib has been preserved for five courses, and the further trajectory of the arch can be seen on the north gable end in the form of mortar traces. The reinforcing rib and vault rib rest on a plinth of three courses of whole bricks. The vault construction is not tied into either the north or east wall, and the

kun i den nordlige del. Det samlede indtryk af anlæggets ensartethed og symmetri taler dog for hvælv i hele bygningens længde, tilsvarende vestfløjens.

Spærremur eller sydfløj?

Meget overraskende viste forundersøgelsen ved østfløjens sydgavl, at østmuren fortsatte mod syd i et seks skifter højt murforløb. Murforløbet var i forbandt med østfløjens sydgavl, og må altså være samtidig med denne, dvs. opført 1504-1508.

Muren blev yderligere frilagt, og det kunne konstateres, at det drejede sig om en ca. 175 cm tyk kassemur, der kunne følges til mindst 8,5 m syd for østfløjens sydgavl. Ved udgravningerne af vestfløjens sydgavl i 1970erne blev et lignende sydgående murforløb af mindst 5 meters længde påvist. Dette udgik ligeledes fra østmuren og havde også dennes smallere bredde, men var til gengæld muret i fuld mur og ikke kassemur som den ved østfløjens.

Et tredje murlevn fremkom ved østfløjens sydvesthjørne i form af en rest af en murkerne fra en kassemur med helt nedbrudte skalmure. Murkernen havde topniveau i kote ca. 6,9 og afdækkedes i et område på ca. 1 x 1 meter.

Da murrestenen lå i udkanten af udgravningsfeltet ved sydvesthjørnet, kunne murens orientering ikke fastslås med sikkerhed. Murkernen havde ikke synlig forbindelse til sydgavlen i østfløjens. Den kan muligvis have forbindelse med afgrænsningen af gårdspladsen mod syd. En sådan blev allerede påvist ved vestfløjens, og murforløbet, der flugter med gavlen af bindingsværkshuset, blev også påvist ca. 7 m vest for østfløjens i form af et knap 120 cm bredt fundament.

Tolkningen af den mod syd løbende murrest er usikker. Den forsætter for langt mod syd til at kunne tolkes som støttemur til gavlen i vestfløjens. Det er derfor en mulighed, at muren og den parallelle mur fra vestfløjens har indgået i en egentlig sydfløj, eller at de har været spærremure ned til åen, som skulle sikre Bispegaarden fri adgang til åen.

vault is thus a later addition on top of the brick facing mentioned above.

If the curvature and trajectory of the reinforcing rib at the north gable end is compared with the floor level, it looks as if the late medieval room in this part of the building must have had a low ceiling, as it cannot have been more than 150 cm at the highest point. It is therefore doubtful whether the discovered floor was in function after establishment of the vault, whereas the brick facing could very well have been intended to support the vault construction.

No further traces of vaulting were found in the east wing, so it is still an open question whether the wing was vaulted over its full length or just in the northern part. However, the overall impression of uniformity and symmetry in the complex supports the idea of vaulting for the whole length of the building, corresponding to the west wing.

Dividing wall or south wing?

Very surprisingly, the preliminary investigation of the south gable end of the east wing showed that the east wall continued southwards in a six course high line of masonry. This wall line was tied into the south gable end of the east wing, and must therefore be contemporaneous with it, i.e. 1504-1508.

The wall was further exposed, and proved to be a cofferwork wall about 175 cm thick, which could be followed for at least 8.5 m south of the south gable end of the east wing. During excavations of the south gable end of the west wing in the 1970's, a similar south-going wall of at least 5 m length was discovered. This too had the east wall as its starting point and shared this latter's narrower width, but by contrast was a full brick wall and not a cofferwork wall like that on the east wing.

A third remnant of walling was discovered at the southwest corner of the east wing in the form of a fragment of a wall core from a cofferwork wall from which the facings had been completely removed. The



Nord-syd grøften på gårdspladsen skar dens oprindelige sydlige afgrænsning. Fundamentet til muren set fra ydersiden.
Odense Bys Museer.

The north-south trench in the courtyard cuts through the original boundary wall to the south. The wall foundation seen from the outside. City of Odense Museums.

Begge tolkninger rummer dog flere problemer. Har murene tilhørt en sydfløj, er det bemærkelsesværdigt, at de tre murforløb, som er påvist, har hver sin tykkelse, hvortil kommer den divergerende opbygning i fuld mur af muren ved vestfløjens.

Endvidere har sydfløjens i så fald haft et såkaldt udadgående hjørne mellem syd- og østfløj i modsætning til hjørnerne mellem vest-, nord- og østfløj, der er indadgående. Opfattet som spærremur, der kun skulle bære sig selv, er i hvert fald østfløjens mur vildt overdimensioneret.

Har der været tale om en sydfløj, er den dog næppe nogensinde blevet færdigbygget. I modsætning til de øvrige fløje fandtes hverken spor af kældergulve eller et nedbrydningslag, som kan forbindes med byg-



Samme set fra oven. Hen over fundamentet ses et tyndt nedbrydningslag. Havde der stået en sydfløj, havde man både forventet større mængder af nedbrydningsmateriale og spor af brolægning.
Odense Bys Museer.

The same seen from above. Over the foundation can be seen a thin demolition layer. If there had been a south wing, larger quantities of demolition material would have been expected, together with traces of paving. City of Odense Museums.

top level of the wall core was at approx. datum +6.9, and it was exposed for an area of approx. 1 x 1 m.

As the wall fragment lay at the outer edge of the excavation field at the southwest corner, the orientation of the wall could not be determined with certainty. The wall core had no visible connection with the south gable end in the east wing. It may possibly have been connected with the southern boundary of the courtyard. Such a boundary had already been demonstrated at the west wing, and a wall line flush with the gable end of the half-timbered building was also demonstrated approx. 7 m west of the east wing in the form of a foundation just under 120 cm wide.

The significance of the wall fragment running southwards is uncertain. It continues too far south to be



Fortsættelsen af østfløjens østmur godt 8 m syd for gavlen. De "ukurante" gule sten tyder på, at muren ikke har været synlig. Bemærk også de ubehandlede fuger i modsætning til hjørnet ved sydgavlen. Odense Bys Museer.

The continuation of the east wall of the east wing for more than 8 m south of the gable end. The inferior yellow bricks suggest that the wall was not visible. Note also the lack of finish on the joints, compared to the corner of the south gable end on the east wing.
City of Odense Museums.

ningen. En endelig afklaring af spørgsmålet om en eventuel sydfløj kan man først få ved yderligere gravninger i området syd for gårdspladsen.

Overblik – udblik

Den arkæologiske udforskning af Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster har ikke været et mål i sig selv, men har begrænset sig til de dele, der blev berørt ved restaureringen.

Trods denne begrænsning er der kommet nyt om flere væsentlige spørgsmål til Jens Andersen Beldenak, Odenses nok mest profilerede biskops gård. Der er under hovedbygningen påvist gulve og en brønd fra dens umiddelbare forgænger, formentlig bygget af biskop Mogens Krafse i 1466.

interpreted as a support wall for the west wing's gable end. It is therefore possible that the wall and the parallel wall from the west wing were part of an actual south wing, or that they were dividing walls down to the river for securing free access to the river from the Bishop's Palace.

However, both interpretations have several problems. If the walls were part of a south wing, it is odd that the three wall lines discovered each have a different thickness, not to mention the different full brick construction of the wall by the west wing.

Moreover, if this were the case, the south wing had a so-called salient corner between the south and east wings, unlike the corners between the west, north and east wings, which have re-entrant corners. If interpreted



Fortsætten af østfløjens østmur godt 8 m syd for gavlen. De lyse nedbrydningsmaterialer afslører terrænhøjden ved murens nedbrydning. Odense By's Museer.

The continuation of the east wall of the east wing for more than 8 m south of the gable end. The light-coloured demolition materials show the ground level at the time of the demolition of the wall.
City of Odense Museums.

Hans bygning var den første på stedet, men en velbygget brønd fra omkring 1300 lige nord for bygningen antyder, at bispegårdens hovedbygninger tidligere kan have ligget umiddelbart mod nord ud til Adelgade.

Vi kender nu østfløjens i store træk og kan sige, at den har svaret til vestfløjens. Men i hvor høj grad har den spejlet vestfløjens? Ser man i fugleperspektiv ud over det samlede anlæg omfattende hele karréen og omgivelserne på bispens tid, slår det én, at adgangen til selve bisperesidensen befandt sig det forkerte sted længst væk fra indgangen via Paaskestræde. Indtil anlæggelsen af Albani Torv i 1580 vendte Bispegaardens port mod vest byen ryggen, selv om den selvfølgelig gav bekvem adgang til domkirken, hvor den verdsligt sindede bisp dog havde visse pligter. Det er en nærliggende tanke, at anlæggelsen af Albani Torv i 1580 har

as a self-supporting dividing wall, the part by the east wing is wildly over-dimensioned.

If there was a south wing, it is unlikely that it was ever completed. Unlike the other wings, there were no traces of cellar floors or demolition layers that could be connected with the building. Further clarification of the question of a possible south wing must await further excavations in the area south of the courtyard.

Overview – perspective

The archaeological investigation of Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster was not an aim in itself but was limited to the parts affected by the restoration.

Despite this restriction, new knowledge has come to light on several important questions relating to the palace of Jens Andersen Beldenak, probably Odense's most high-profile bishop. Under the main building, floors and a well have been discovered dating from the house's immediate predecessor, presumably built by Bishop Mogens Krafke in 1466.

His building was the first on the site, but a solidly built well from about the year 1300 just to the north indicates that prior to this the main buildings of the bishop's palace may have lain immediately to the north, facing Adelgade.

We now know the main features of the east wing, and can state that it corresponded to the west wing. But to what degree was it a mirror image? Taking a bird's eye view of the whole complex, including the street block and environs in the time of the bishop, it is striking that access to the bishop's residence was on the wrong side, furthest away from the entrance in Paaskestræde. Until the establishment of Albani Torv in 1580, the west gate to the Bishop's palace turned its back on the city, even though it was convenient for the cathedral where the worldly-minded bishop still had certain duties. It is a reasonable conjecture that the establishment of Albani Torv in 1580 re-oriented the main entrance to the previous Catholic bishop's palace towards the west and gave rise to changes in the original access arrangements



Tv.: Østfløjens sydgavl og hjørnet ned mod åen.
Th.: Fortsættelsen af østfløjens østmur. Bemærk de fine ryggede fuger.
Odense Bys Museer.



*Left: The south gable end of the east wing and the corner closest to the river.
Right: The continuation of the east wall of the east wing. Note the finely finished joints. City of Odense Museums.*

orienteret hovedindgangen til den tidligere katolske bispegård mod vest og affødt ændringer omkring de oprindelige adgangsforhold ved Bispegaarden, nu Oluf Bagers ejendom.

En port i østfløjens svarende til den i vestfløjens ville være den naturlige løsning på de ovenfor beskrevne adgangsforhold, men kan man forestille sig en bispe-residens med to adgangsveje? Ud over formodningen om, at Jens Andersen som en gammel ræv har holdt af flere udgange, er det væsentligste argument imod, at det ville svække bispegårdens forsvar. Men har bispegaarden været et forsvarsanlæg? Det ville da være enestående i dansk byhistorie, hvis en anden person end byherren (kongen) havde rådet over en fæstning midt inde i byen. Det var heller ikke tilfældet ved de øvrige bispegårde, ud over den værdi en solid mur og port havde i den forbindelse, og der er da heller ikke fundet spor af et aktivt forsvar i form af voldgrave eller

at the Bishop's Palace, now the property of Oluf Bager.

A gate in the east wing corresponding to that in the west wing would be the natural solution to the new access conditions, but is a bishop's residence with two access routes likely? Apart from the assumption that Jens Andersen, like an old fox, would prefer several exits to his den, the main counter-argument would be that it would weaken the palace defences. But was the bishop's palace a defended space? It would be unique in Danish civic history if a person other than the master of the city (the king) had a fortress in the middle of the city. And this was not the case with the other bishop's palaces, apart from the value that a solid wall and gate would have, nor have there been found traces of active defence in the form of moats or embrasures in the investigation of the Bishop's Palace in Odense.

With regard to a possible gate in the east wing, in the winter 2012-13 the Museum obtained special

skydeskår i forbindelse med undersøgelserne af Bispegaarden.

Med hensyn til en mulig port i østfløjen fik museet i vinteren 2012-13 ekstraordinært tilladelse til at undersøge en formodning om en port i østfløjen, hvor iagttagelser i det nordligste rum antydede eksistensen af en oprindelig indgang. Niveauet på den ovennævnte brolægning i rummet synes at udelukke, at kælderen kan have strakt sig helt til fløjens nordgavl. Brolægningen i rummet befandt sig omtrent i samme niveau som undergrunden på gårdspladsen, hvilket kunne forventes ved en gennemgående port. Endvidere ville en hidtil uforklarlig detalje blive forståelig, idet der på sydøsthjørnet af hovedbygningens nuværende østgavl helt isoleret befinner sig spor af en borthugget fladbuefrise. Den pludselige optræden af en dekoration på den ellers helt nøgterne og udekorerede bygning kunne have markeret en portåbning her. Der er dog indvendinger mod denne rekonstruktion, således den under terræn bevarede murrest fra østmurens nordligste del, der ville have spærret for en gennemkørsel på dette sted. Undersøgelsen visste, at murværket i nordgavl og østmur er i forbandt og samtidige, og at ændringerne i bygningens nordlige rum derfor ikke skyldes eksistensen af en port på dette sted. Men tilbage bliver spørgsmålet om, hvordan de oprindelige adgangsforhold til bispegården da har været?

Som ofte før har resultatet af arbejdsindsatsen ikke kun bragt svar på gamle spørgsmål, men også nye og mere kvalificerede spørgsmål til en bygning, som man ikke bliver færdig med.

Dertil er billedet af den uregerlige bisp for stærkt, når han i sin vogn kommer hastende ind fra tilsynet med opdrættet af sine elskede stude for at dreje ned ad Paaskestræde. På hjørnet af Adelgade skramler vognen ind gennem Bispegaardens port, videre langs over gårdspladsen, hvor kusken ved hovedbygningens gavl klodser bremsen for at tvinge vognen gennem porten ind på gårdspladsen. En kostbar bispekåbe bliver langet ind i vognen, der med et ryk haster ud gennem porten for diskret at bringe studehandleren videre til sin rolle som biskop i domkirken.

permission to investigate the presumption of a gate in the east wing, at a point where observations in the northernmost room hinted at the existence of an original entrance. The level of the paving in that room seemed to prevent the cellar from extending all the way to the wing's northern gable end. The paving in the room was at approximately the same level as the subsoil in the courtyard, as might be expected in the case of a through gateway. The hypothesis would also explain a hitherto inexplicable detail, as the southeastern corner of the main building's east gable end shows a totally isolated trace of a segmental arch moulding, now hacked off. The sudden presence of a decoration on what is otherwise a completely sober and undecorated building could have marked a gate opening here. However, there are objections to this reconstruction, such as the wall fragment from the northernmost part of the east wall preserved underground, which would have stood in the way of a gateway at this point. The investigation showed that the masonry of the north gable end and the east wall are tied at this point and contemporaneous, so the changes to the northernmost room of the building cannot be due to the existence of a gate at this location. But the question remains of the original access arrangements to the bishop's palace.

As so often, the results of the work have not only provided answers to old questions, but also provoked new and more specific questions of a building which will never cease to be of interest.

The image of the unruly bishop keeps pressing in, turning his carriage down Paaskestræde as he hurries home from checking the management of his beloved cattle. At the corner of Adelgade, his carriage rattles through the Bishop's Palace gates and over the courtyard, where the coachman jams on the brake by the gable end to the main building in order to force the carriage through the gate and into the inner courtyard. A costly bishop's cope is handed into the carriage, which with a jolt rushes out of the gate in order to bring the cattle dealer discreetly back to his role as bishop at the cathedral.

De arkæologiske undersøgelser

Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster er bygningsfredet, men også fortidsminder i jorden inden for klostrets bebyggelse og i dets umiddelbare omgivelser er beskyttede ifølge Museumsloven. Odense Bys Museer skulle derfor undersøge de steder i og omkring bygningerne, der ville blive berørt af Realdania Bygs restaurering, og registrere og sikre eventuelle fortidsminder og usynlige bygningsdele.

Museet har registreret kulturlag i og under bygningerne, i grøfter til rør og ledninger både nord og syd for den og kælderudgravning i den østlige kælder. Desuden er museets resultater brugt konstruktivt i forbindelse med understøbning af den meget ustabile østfløj.

Disse arkæologiske undersøgelser i forbindelse med bygge- og anlægsarbejder, såkaldte nødudgravnninger, er ikke beregnede på at afdække de spørgsmål, som arkæologerne har, og der må kun graves der, hvor noget kunne være truet af byggeriet. Ikke desto mindre gav undersøgelserne mulighed for at lære mere om Bispegaardens fortid, og foranlediget af restaureringen har museet nu et mere nuanceret billede af bygningskomplekset og dets omgivelser end hidtil.

Kilder

OBM 137. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Arkæologisk forundersøgelse i forbindelse med restaurering af klosteret. Rapport 2009. Af arkæolog Jesper Langkilde

OBM 137. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Arkæologisk udgraving af bygningslevn m.m. fra historisk tid ved Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Rapport nr. 315, 2010. Af arkæolog Jesper Langkilde

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The archaeological investigations

The Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen is listed, but the ancient monuments inside the monastic complex and in its immediate surroundings are also protected according to the Danish Museum Act. That is why Odense City Museums had to investigate the areas in and around the buildings, which would be affected by Realdania Byg's restoration, and record and ensure any ancient monuments and invisible building parts.

The museum has recorded culture layers in and under the buildings, in trenches for pipes and cables both north and south of them and basement excavations in the eastern basement. In addition, the results of the museum have been used constructively in relation to embedment of the very unstable east wing.

These archaeological investigations in relation to building and construction work, so-called rescue archaeology, are not based on identifying the questions that the archaeologists have, and excavating may only take place in areas, where something could be threatened by the construction. Nevertheless, the investigations gave the possibility to learn more about the Bishop's Palace's past, and due to the restoration, the museum now has a more nuanced picture of the building complex and its surroundings than before.

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Litteratur, kilder og noter

Literature, sources and notes

Afsnittet “Bispegård i 500 år”:

1. ”Udgravningerne i bymidten har [] givet os kendskab til en del levn fra de første århundreder efter år 1000, og vi ved nu, at byens centrum i den ældste tid lå ved skæringen mellem Albani Torv, Fisketorvet, Overgade og Vestergade.” *Odenses historie*. Af arkivchef Jørgen Thomsen. www.stadsarkivet.dk/odenses_historie.aspx.
Kong Knud IV blev myrdet i St. Albani Kirke 1086 og kort efter helgenkåret; i 1100 blev hans helgenskrin indsat i den nye St. Knuds Kirke lige ved siden af St. Albani.
1400-tallets bispegårde i Aarhus og København: Århus Domkirke. I: *Danmarks Kirker*. XVI, bind 1. Kbh. 1968.
Werlauff, E. Chr. og Engelstoft, L.: *Udsigt over Kjøbenhavns Universitets-Bygnings historie, fra Universitetets Stiftelse til 1836*. Kbh. u.å. Universitetets fundats 1539 beskriver den katolske bispegårds bygninger, som blev fordelt til undervisning og boliger for den nye lutherske gejstlighed og Universitetets ansatte.
Fhv. rigsantikvar Olaf Olsen, der gravede i Konsistoriehuset i slutningen af 1960erne, daterede bygningen til ca. 1420. Arkitekturhistoriker Ebbe Hædersdal har foretaget en dendrokronologisk analyse af tømmeret i tagværket: Det er fældet 1475-80. <http://universitetshistorie.ku.dk/bygninger/>
2. Hædersdal, Ebbe: *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. Odense Bys Museer: Udgraving sept. 1977 i kælderen. I et andet felt fandtes skår af mange forskellige slags keramik og stentøj fra 13-1400-tallet og knogler af køer, får og svin.
3. Christensen, Jakob Tue: ”De arkæologiske undersøgelser” i: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Udgraving september 2012. Odense Bys Museer: OBM 137. Arkæologisk Rapport nr. 381, 2012.
Aktstykker, for største Delen hidtil utrykte, til Oplysning især af Danmarks indre Forhold i øldre Tid.

Chapter “500 years as a bishop’s palace”:

1. ”The excavations in the city centre have [] brought to our knowledge a number of relics from the first centuries after 1000 A.D., and we now know that in the earliest period the centre of the town lay at the intersection of Albani Torv, Fisketorvet, Overgade and Vestergade.” *Odenses historie*. By Head of Historical Records Jørgen Thomsen. www.stadsarkivet.dk/odenses_historie.aspx
King Knud IV was murdered in St. Albani Church in 1086 and was canonised shortly after. In 1100 his reliquary was deposited in the new St. Knud’s Church, right next to St. Albani.
15th century bishop’s palaces in Aarhus and Copenhagen: Aarhus Cathedral. I: *Danmarks Kirker*. XVI, vol. 1. Copenhagen 1968.
Werlauff, E. Chr. and Engelstoft, L.: *Udsigt over Kjøbenhavns Universitets-Bygnings historie, fra Universitetets Stiftelse til 1836*. Copenhagen (n.d.) The University Charter of 1539 describes the buildings of the Catholic bishop’s palace, which were reassigned for teaching and for lodgings for the new Lutheran clergy and University employees.
Keeper of National Antiquities Olaf Olsen, who conducted excavations in the Senate House towards the end of the 1960’s, dated the building to about 1420. Architectural historian Ebbe Hædersdal has performed a dendrochronological analysis of the roof timbers: these were felled in 1475-80. <http://universitetshistorie.ku.dk/bygninger/>
2. Hædersdal, Ebbe: *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. City of Odense Museums: Excavation Sept. 1977 in cellar. In another field fragments of many different types of ceramics and stoneware from the 14-15th centuries were found, together with bones from cattle, sheep and pigs.
3. Christensen, Jakob Tue: ”De arkæologiske undersøgelser” in: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Excavation September 2012. City of Odense Museums: OBM 137. Archaeological Report no.381, 2012.

- Samlede og udgivne af Fyens Stifts literaire Selskab. Odense 1841.
- Hærstræde: Hovedlandevej (...); også det stykke af hovedvejen, som gik gennem en by; hovedgade; adelgade. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*.
4. Denne sti ned til åbredden kaldtes efter 1580 Bispegaardsstræde, senere Aastræde og fra 1858 Albanigade. Beboerne brugte selv Aastræde i folketællingen 1. februar 1860, lidt over et år efter indvielsen af Albanibroen, men en embedsmand har rettet det til Albanigade.
 5. I *Danske Magazin*. Første Bind. Trettende Hefte. København 1745 findes en kronologisk gennemgang af Mogens Krafses levned. Oplysningen stammer iflg. en note fra "Resenii manuskript om den danske adel", men Peder Hansen Resens kilde kendes ikke. Han indsamlede 1666-1688 oplysninger til sit *Atlas Danicus*. J.B. var død 1661, men hans enke ejede Bispegaarden til 1677.
 6. Gengivet i: *Danske Magazin*. Første Bind. Første Hefte. København 1745.
Desværre blev Krafses kapel, hvor han selv blev begravet, nedrevet i begyndelsen af 1600-tallet, så der er ikke mulighed for sammenligning (*Danmarks Kirker IX*. Odense Amt. Bind 1).
 7. Huitfeldt, Arrild: *Den Geistlige Histori* (...). Kbh. 1604. 10. og sidste bind af *Danmarkis rigis krönicke*. Hans gengivelse af afskriften: "R.P.D. Io. An. Episcopus Oth. Hanc curiam coepit erigere Anno D. MDIII & consumavit illam MDVIII. Erectioonis anno primo valuit modius annonæ tres solidos, seqventi qvatuor, caeteris annis valiut, ut communiter." Denne tekst er med i Pontoppidan, Erik: *Marmora Danica*. Bd. I-II Kbh. 1739-41. Samling af inskriptioner, flere nu forsvundne, fra hele landet, navnlig fra gejstlige bygninger.
 8. 14. april 1493 ff. *Acta Pontificum Danica*. *Pavelige Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1316-1536*. V. Bind: 1492-1513. Udg. Alfr. Krarup og Johs. Lindbæk. Kbh. 1913.
 9. Paludan-Müller, Casper: *Jens Andersen Beldenak. Biskop i Fyen*. Odense 1837.
Detaljerne fra J.A.s liv stammer fra hans egen tekst til et epitafium.
 10. Arkitekt MAA Per Nørbach har tegnet en række eleverede rekonstruktioner til: Arentoft, Eskil,

Aktstykker, for største Delen hidtil utrykte, til Oplysning især af Danmarks indre Forhold i øldre Tid. Compiled and published by Fyens Stifts literaire Selskab. Odense 1841.

Definition of Hærstræde: Highway (...); also the part of the highway which passed through a town; main street; *adelgade*. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* (Dictionary).

4. This path down to the river bank was called Bispegaardsstræde after 1580, later Aastræde and, from 1858, Albanigade. Residents of the street called it Aastræde in the census of 1 February 1860, just over a year after the opening of the Albani Bridge, but an official has corrected this to Albanigade.
5. *Danske Magazin*. Vol. I. No. 13. Copenhagen, 1745, contains a chronology of Mogens Krafse's life. According to a note, this information is taken from "Resen's manuscript on the Danish nobility", but Peder Hansen Resen's source is unknown. During the years 1666-1688 he collected information for his *Atlas Danicus*. Jørgen Brahe died in 1661, but his widow owned the Bishop's Palace until 1677.
6. Recorded in: *Danske Magazin*. Vol. I. No. 1. Copenhagen 1745. Unfortunately, Krafse's chapel, in which he himself was buried, was pulled down at the start of the 17th century, so no comparisons can be made (*Danmarks Kirker IX* Odense Amt. Vol. 1).
7. Huitfeldt, Arrild: *Den Geistlige Histori* (...). Copenhagen 1604. 10th and final volume of *Danmarkis rigis krönicke* (Chronicle of the Danish Realm). His record of the transcript: "R.P.D. Io. An. Episcopus Oth. Hanc curiam coepit erigere Anno D. MDIII & consumavit illam MDVIII. Erectioonis anno primo valuit modius annonæ tres solidos, seqventi qvatuor, caeteris annis valiut, ut communiter." The text is included in Pontoppidan, Erik. *Marmora Danica*. Vol. I-II Copenhagen 1739-41. Collection of inscriptions, several now lost, from the whole country and particularly from ecclesiastical buildings.
8. 14 April 1493 ff. *Acta Pontificum Danica*. *Pavelige Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1316-1536*. Vol. V: 1492-1513. Publ. Alfr. Krarup and Johs. Lindbæk. Copenhagen 1913.
9. Paludan-Müller, Casper: *Jens Andersen Beldenak. Biskop i Fyen*. Odense 1837. The details from Jens Andersen's life are taken from his own text for his epitaph.

- Brandt, Vibeke og Grandt-Nielsen, Finn: *Albani Kirke & Torv*. Odense Bys Museer 1985.
11. Bygningbeskrivelsen er et sammendrag af:
Hædersdal, Ebbe: *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. 1977. Odense Bys Museer.
Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. Nr. 13. 1987.
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Arkæologisk udgravnning af bygningslevn m.m. fra historisk tid ved Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Af arkæolog Jesper Langkilde. OBM (Odense Bys Museer) 137. Rapport nr. 315, 2010.
Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" i: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
Gråbrødre Klosterkirke: *Danmarks Kirker*. Odense Amt. Bd. 3. † Gråbrødre Klosterkirke.
12. Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" i: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
13. Paludan-Müller, Casper: *Jens Andersen Beldenak. Biskop i Fyen*. Odense 1837. I en note: Pontoppidan, Erik: *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ diplomatici*. II. Bind. Kbh. 1741-1752: "Quod in eminentiori loco aureis literis super portam Episcopalis Curiæ scribi fecit, omnibus præterentibus legendum". Den myreflittige Pontoppidan har skrevet lidt om Jens Andersen i *Gesta et vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* (...). I-III. Kbh. 1740-1741. Værket omhandler danske i udlandet; biskoppen er med, fordi han en tid var fanget i Lübeck og senere døde dør. Pontoppidan mener, at J.A. udviste uforlignelig tålmodighed i en skæbne fyldt af modgang – i så fald kan indskriften først være opsat mod slutningen af J.A.s liv.
14. Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" i: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
15. KBB 1576-1579. 10. januar 1579.
16. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Udgravning september 2012. Odense Bys Museer: OBM 137. Arkæologisk Rapport nr. 381, 2012.
Iflg. auktionsbetingelserne ved frasalg af Jomfruklosterets Patrongaard 1869 skulle køberen opføre en mur, men det skete først med opførelsen af St.
10. Architect MAA Per Nørbach has drawn a number of reconstructed elevations for: Arentoft, Eskil, Brandt, Vibeke and Grandt-Nielsen, Finn: *Albani Kirke & Torv*. City of Odense Museums 1985.
11. This description of the buildings is summarised from: Hædersdal, Ebbe: *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. 1977. City of Odense Museums.
Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. No. 13. 1987.
Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Arkæologisk udgravnning af bygningslevn m.m. fra historisk tid ved Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. By archaeologist Jesper Langkilde. OBM (City of Odense Museums) 137. Report no. 315, 2010.
Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" in: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
Gråbrødre Klosterkirke: *Danmarks Kirker*. Odense Amt. Vol. 3. – Gråbrødre Klosterkirke.
12. Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" in: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
13. Paludan-Müller, Casper: *Jens Andersen Beldenak. Biskop i Fyen*. Odense 1837. In a note: Pontoppidan, Erik: *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ diplomatici*. Vol. II. Copenhagen 1741-1752: "Quod in eminentiori loco aureis literis super portam Episcopalis Curiæ scribi fecit, omnibus præterentibus legendum". The industrious Pontoppidan wrote more about Jens Andersen in *Gesta et vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* (...) I-III. Copenhagen 1740-1741. The work describes Danes abroad; the bishop is included because he was at one time a prisoner in Lübeck, and later died there. Pontoppidan proposes that Jens Andersen exhibited unparalleled patience in a life full of setbacks – in which case the inscription was not put up until the end of Andersen's life.
14. Christensen, Jakob Tue: "De arkæologiske undersøgelser" in: *Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*, Realdania Byg 2013.
15. KBB 1576-1579. 10 January 1579.
16. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Excavation September 2012. City of Odense Museums: OBM 137. Archaeological Report no.381, 2012.

- Albani Kirke. LAO. EI001. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Pk. 2: Adkomster, domme m.v. 1630-1926.
17. Hele den interessante historie om Odense-kortets tilblivelse findes i: *Otonium. Odense 1593 i Georg Braun & Frans Hogenberg Civitates orbis terrarum V. del* (Köln 1597), blad 30. Indledning og kommentar af Ove Jørgensen. Odense Universitetsforlag 1981. Oversættelserne af de latinske tekster i det følgende er herfra.
Se også: *Braunius' kort*. Af Jørgen Thomsen og Johnny Wøllekær på www.stadsarkivet.dk/topmenu/Oplev/historien/Om/Odense/Genstande/Om/Braunius/kort.aspx
18. Som ovenfor: *Otonium. Odense 1593* (...)
19. KBB 1576-1579. 10. januar 1579.
20. Tåsing: Den interessante og detaljerede tekst om gaven findes i *Diplomatarium Danicum* og kan læses på <http://diplomatarium.dk/dd/diplomer/08-054.html>
21. Engelstoft, C. T.: "Odense Byes Sognehistorie efter Reformationen" i: *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 2. Rk., Bind 6. Kbh. 1856.
22. Jordbøger over bispestolens gods kort før Reformationen er kun delvist bevarede. Rigsarkivet. Gejstlige Arkiver, Odense bisp. 1020-1631.
Omlægningen af lenene fremgår af to forleningsbreve: til Erik Rosenkrantz til Kjærstrup, KBB 1571-1575. 17. juni 1575 og efter dennes død 8. nov. s.å. til Jørgen Marsvin, KBB 1571-1575. 16. dec. 1575.
23. Mikael Venges kapitel om dronning Christina i Odense: *Fra boplads til bispeby. Odense til 1559*. Odense 1982.
24. "Udilige maade plyndrede oc indtoge de Svinborgere Othense Bispgaard / de begaffve dennem udi S. Albani Kirche strax hos oc udi andre Huus omkring Bispgaarden / oc skøde aff Kircken oc Husene / til huem / som sig lod see eller vilde stille til vern / aff Vyndverne paa Bispgaarden. Midlertid finge de nogle offerverfet paa en Baad offver Grafven / som førde Ild oc Tiære udi Porten / som icke var hvald / oc dermed opbrende Porten / oc i saa maade bleffve de Gaarden mectige." Arild Hvidfeldt: *Danmarks Riges Krønicke*. Kbh. 1650-52 (Andenudgaven). Angrebet s. 1428.

According to the auction terms for the sale of Jomfruklosteret's Patrongaard in 1869, the buyer was to erect a wall, but this only occurred when St. Albani Church was built. LAO. EI001. Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. Pk. 2: Adkomster, domme m.v. 1630-1926.

17. The whole interesting story of the making of the Odense map can be found in: *Otonium. Odense 1593 in Georg Braun & Frans Hogenberg Civitates orbis terrarum Part V* (Cologne 1597), sheet 30. Introduction and commentary by Ove Jørgensen. Odense Universitetsforlag 1981. The translations of the Latin text below are taken from this.
See also: *Braunius' kort*. By Jørgen Thomsen and Johnny Wøllekær at www.stadsarkivet.dk/topmenu/Oplev/historien/Om/Odense/Genstande/Om/Braunius/kort.aspx.
18. As above: *Otonium. Odense 1593* (...)
19. KBB 1576-1579. 10 January 1579.
20. Tåsing: The interesting and detailed text relating to this gift is given in *Diplomatarium Danicum* and can be read at <http://diplomatarium.dk/dd/diplomer/08-054.html>.
21. Engelstoft, C. T.: "Odense Byes Sognehistorie efter Reformationen" in: *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 2nd Series, Vol. 6. Copenhagen 1856.
22. Manorial rolls of the episcopal estates from shortly before the Reformation have only been preserved in part. Danish National Archives. Ecclesiastical Archives, Odense Bishopric. 1020-1631.
The restructuring of the fiefs is mentioned in two enfeoffment letters: to Erik Rosenkrantz of Kjærstrup, KBB 1571-1575. 17 June 1575 and, following his death on 8 November of that year, to Jørgen Marsvin, KBB 1571-1575. 16 Dec. 1575.
23. Mikael Venge's chapter on Queen Christina in Odense: *Fra boplads til bispeby. Odense til 1559*. Odense 1982.
24. "Udilige maade plyndrede oc indtoge de Svinborgere Othense Bispgaard / de begaffve dennem udi S. Albani Kirche strax hos oc udi andre Huus omkring Bispgaarden / oc skøde aff Kircken oc Husene / til huem / som sig lod see eller vilde stille til vern / aff Vyndverne paa Bispgaarden. Midlertid finge de nogle offerverfet paa en Baad offver Grafven / som førde Ild oc Tiære udi Porten / som icke var

25. Mortensen, Michael H.: *Dansk artilleri indtil 1600*. Tøjhusmuseets skrifter. Nr. 14. 1999.
 At hovedbygningen på Bispegaarden skulle være ødelagt med skydevåben under angrebet er drøftet i sommeren 2011 med dav. direktør for Statens Forsvarshistoriske Museum, Ole Louis Frandsen; uden at kende de præcise afstande og vinkler anså han sandsynligheden for lille.
26. Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. Nr. 13. 1987: med terrænets hældning måtte en grav have været meget dyb og opstemmet, så vandet ikke løb i åen.
27. Fundet af meget små mængder sod langs ydervæggene: Oplyst af arkitekt MAA Søren Lundqvist, der har fundet sodpartiklerne under gulvene i forbindelse med restaureringen.
28. Om Grevens Fejde i Odense: Mikael Venge i: *Fra boplads til bispeby. Odense til 1559*. Odense 1982. Trolles ophold på Bispegaarden omtales af den protestantiske Jørgen Jensen Sadolin, Fyns superintendent.
29. Om Gyldenstjerne: O'Bróin, Jette Friis: *Nørre Vosborg*. Realea A/S. Odense 2008 (Fra 1. januar 2011 Realdania Byg A/S).
30. Recessen: <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikonog-kilder/vis/materiale/recessen-om-reformationen-af-30-oktober-1536/>
 Stændermødet: Nielsen, Oluf: *Kjøbenhavns Historie og Beskrivelse II. Kjøbenhavns Historie indtil Reformationens Indførelse*. Kap. V. Kbh. 1879.
31. Stiftlensmand/stiftamtmand/statsamt: ved kommunalreformen 2007 nedlagdes statsamterne og der blev oprettet fem regionale statsforvaltninger, hvis direktør er født stiftamtmand; embedet har siden da ikke omfattet de familierelaterede sagsområder, som Staten havde overtaget fra Kirken ved Reformationen.
32. *Danmarks Kirker*. Odense Amt. IX, bind 3. Skt. Hans Kirke.
 St. Hans Kloster blev opløst o. 1578: Warring, Ellen: Kongen på gennemrejse. I: *Odense Slot*. Odense 2008. St. Knuds Kloster var det sidste kloster i Fyens Stift; det blev opløst ved priorens fratrædelse i 1571.
33. KBB 1571-1575. 28. juli 1575. Lensmanden, Erik Ottesen Rosenkrantz, havde tidligere haft Oden-
 hvald / oc dermed opbrende Porten / oc i saa maade bleffve de Gaarden mectige." Arild Hvidtfeldt: *Danmarks Riges Krønicke*. Copenhagen 1650-52 (Second Edition). The attack, p. 1428.
25. Mortensen, Michael H.: *Dansk artilleri indtil 1600*. Tøjhusmuseets skrifter. No. 14. 1999.
 In summer 2011, the then Director of the Royal Danish Defence Museum, Ole Louis Frandsen, was consulted as to whether the building could have been damaged by firearms during the attack. Without having a precise knowledge of the distances and angles concerned, he nevertheless considered the probability very low.
26. Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. No. 13. 1987: the gradients mean that a moat would have had to be very deep and dammed up to prevent the water escaping into the river.
27. Discovery of very small quantities of soot along the outer walls: communicated by architect Søren Lundqvist MAA, who found the soot particles under the floors during the restoration.
28. Regarding the Counts' Feud in Odense: Mikael Venge in: *Fra boplads til bispeby. Odense til 1559*. Odense 1982. Trolle's stay at the Bishop's Palace is mentioned by the Protestant Jørgen Jensen Sadolin, Superintendent of Funen.
29. Regarding Gyldenstjerne: O'Bróin, Jette Friis: *Nørre Vosborg*. Realea A/S. Odense 2008 (From 1 January 2011 Realdania Byg A/S).
30. The Recess: <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikonog-kilder/vis/materiale/recessen-om-reformationen-af-30-oktober-1536/>
 The assembly of the Estates General: Nielsen, Oluf: *Kjøbenhavns Historie og Beskrivelse II. Kjøbenhavns Historie indtil Reformationens Indførelse*. Chap. V. Copenhagen. 1879.
31. Diocesan Lord Lieutenant/Diocesan Prefect/State County: at the municipal reform of 2007, the State Counties (*statsamt*) were abolished and five regional state administrations were created, the Directors of which are ex officio Diocesan Prefects; since then the office has not included the family-related responsibilities which the State took over from the Church at the Reformation.
32. *Danmarks Kirker*. Odense Amt. IX, vol. 3. Skt. Hans Kirke

- segaard i forlening 1568-1572; han mageskiftede i 1573 Tåsing med Frederik II og skrev sig derefter til Kjærstrup.
34. *KBB 1571-1575*. 16. december 1575.
Erslev, Kr.: *Konge og Lensmand i det sextende Aarhundrede. Studier over Statsomvæltningen i 1536 og dens Følger for Kongemagt og Adelsvælde*. Kbh. 1879.
I 1660 skiftede Odensegaards Len sært nok navn til St. Hans Klosters Len, og i 1662, som følge af Enevældens administrative ændringer, blev det som alle andre len omdøbt til "amt".
35. Feks. *KBB 1571-1575*. 28. juli 1575 og breve til senere lensmænd.
36. Brevene i det følgende: *KBB 1556-1560*. 6. og 31. januar, 22. og 24. februar, 27. marts, 15. april og 23. april 1560, 20. august 1560.
37. Zeeberg, Peter og Skovgaard-Petersen, Karen: *Erasmus Lætus' skrift om Christian IVs fødsel og dåb* (1577). Kbh. 1992.
38. Ibid.
39. Forfatterens fremhævning. *KBB 1566-1579*. 29. november 1570.
40. *KBB 1571-1575*. 28. juli 1575.
41. Rigsarkivet. Odensegaards Lensregnskaber 1576-1577. 25. november-2. december 1576 og 18.-25. marts 1577. Fra: Vests, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. Nr. 13. 1987.
42. En bemærkning af Kjeld Borch Vests i forbindelse med Arild Huitfeldts lokalkendskab afspejler meget godt forvirringen: "I 1586 [da Huitfeldt skrev] var Bispegaarden først blevet ombygget siden nedrevet af kronen og sandsynligvis igen opbygget af Oluf Bager." Vests, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. Nr. 13. 1987.
43. Henning Gabrielsen Akeleye 1574-ca. 1630. Lind, H.D.: *Kong Kristian den Fjerde og hans Mænd paa Bremerholm*. Kbh. 1889.
Gabriel Knudsen Akeleje døde i 1608, hans hustru Helvad Sparre i 1611.
Tamm, Ditlev (red.): *Kongens rettering 1537-1660*. Kbh. 2003.
44. Slægtsnavnet stavet på adskillige måder: Gø, Giø, Giøe, Gjøe, Gøie, Gøje og Gøye – her er valgt det sidste, som benyttes i *Danmarks Adels Aarbog*, div. bd., og er den form der oftest benyttes i kilderne.

St. Hans Monastery was dissolved in about 1578: Warring, Ellen: *Kongen på gennemrejse*. I: *Odense Slot*. Odense 2008. St. Knud's Monastery was the last monastery in Funen diocese; it was dissolved on the departure of the Prior in 1571.

33. *KBB 1571-1575*. 28 July 1575 The Lord Lieutenant, Erik Ottesen Rosenkrantz, had previously held Odensegaard as a fief from 1568-1572; in 1573 he swapped this with Frederik II in return for Tåsing Fief, and thereafter styled himself "of Kjærstrup".
34. *KBB 1571-1575*. 16 December 1575.
Erslev, Kr.: *Konge og Lensmand i det sextende Aarhundrede. Studier over Statsomvæltningen i 1536 og dens Følger for Kongemagt og Adelsvælde*. Copenhagen 1879.
In 1660, strangely enough, the Odensegaard Fief changed its name to St. Hans Monastery Fief, and in 1662, under the administrative changes which came with the Absolute Monarchy, it was reclassified as an "Amt" or "County", as with all the other fiefs.
35. E.g. *KBB 1571-1575*. 28 July 1575 and letters to later feudal lords.
36. The letters in the following: *KBB 1556-1560*. 6 and 31 January, 22 and 24 February, 27 March, 15 April and 23 April 1560, 20 August 1560.
37. Zeeberg, Peter and Skovgaard-Petersen, Karen: *Erasmus Lætus' skrift om Christian IVs fødsel og dåb* (1577). Copenhagen 1992.
38. Ibid.
39. Author's emphasis. *KBB 1566-1579*. 29 November 1570.
40. *KBB 1571-1575*. 28 July 1575.
41. Danish National Archives. Odensegaards Lensregnskaber 1576-1577. 25 November-2 December 1576 and 18-25 March 1577. From: Vests, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. No. 13. 1987.
42. A comment by Kjeld Borch Vests regarding Arild Huitfeldt's local knowledge clearly reflects this confusion: "In 1586 [the time Huitfeldt was writing], the Bishop's Palace had first been rebuilt, then pulled down by the Crown and probably rebuilt again by Oluf Bager." Vests, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. No. 13. 1987.

- Ellen skrives sommetider Elline eller Eline; det oplyses et par steder, at hun var 14 år ved brylluppet, men det er en fejl, hun var 22 år.
- Forældrene til de 10 Gøye-søskende på Rosenholm: Henrik Gøye til Skørtringe og Tureby døde 1611, Birgitte Brahe 1619.
45. Vedel Simonsen, L. S. (udg.): *Bidrag til Lehnsmanden paa Hagenskov, Rigsraad og Ridder Hr. Jørgen Brahes Levnetsbeskrivelse, med Brudstykker af hans egenhændige Dagbøger fra 1625 til 1656*. Odense 1845.
46. Fasmer Blomberg, Aage: Træk af den fynske Adels Historie 1536-1660. I: *Fynske Aarbøger*. 1942.
47. *Uddrag af Biskop Jens Bircherods historisk-biografiske Dagbøger for Aarene 1658-1708*. Ved Chr. Molbech. Kbh. 1846.
48. Egeberg, Edv.: Silkeborg Slot. I: *Jyske Samlinger*. 4. Række. 3. Bind. 1917-1919.
49. *Uddrag af Biskop Jens Bircherods historisk-biografiske Dagbøger for Aarene 1658-1708*. Ved Chr. Molbech. Kbh. 1846.
50. Maleriet er kun tilskrevet kgl. hofskildrer Jacob Coning, idet han i 1699 opholdt sig i Norge for at male prospekter for kongen. Et af malerierne hang på Sæbygård, hvorfra en datter var gift med en af KBs fætressønner; nu på Frederiksborgmuseet. Et andet hang på Steensgaard ved Faaborg, som tilhørte KBs niece Susanne Brahe og efter hendes død Stamhuset Hvedholm; nu på Fyns Kunstmuseum. Det viste maleris proveniens kendes ikke.
43. Henning Gabrielsen Akeleye 1574-c. 1630. Lind, H.D.: *Kong Kristian den Fjerde og hans Mænd paa Bremerholm*. Copenhagen 1889.
Gabriel Knudsen Akeleye died in 1608, and his wife Helvad Sparre in 1611.
Tamm, Ditlev (red.): *Kongens rettering 1537-1660*. Copenhagen 2003.
44. The family name has many spellings: Gø, Giø, Giøe, Gjøe, Gøie, Gøje og Gøye – the last has been chosen here, as it is used in *Danmarks Adels Aarbog*, various vols., and is the form most used in the sources.
Ellen is sometimes written Elline or Eline; occasionally it is stated that she was 14 at the time of the wedding, but this is a mistake, as she was 22.
The parents of the 10 Gøye children at Rosenholm: Henrik Gøye of Skørtringe and Tureby died 1611, Birgitte Brahe 1619.
45. Vedel Simonsen, L. S. (ed.): *Bidrag til Lehnsmanden paa Hagenskov, Rigsraad og Ridder Hr. Jørgen Brahes Levnetsbeskrivelse, med Brudstykker af hans egenhændige Dagbøger fra 1625 til 1656*. Odense 1845.
46. Fasmer Blomberg, Aage: Træk af den fynske Adels Historie 1536-1660. I: *Fynske Aarbøger*. 1942.
47. *Uddrag af Biskop Jens Bircherods historisk-biografiske Dagbøger for Aarene 1658-1708*. By Chr. Molbech. Copenhagen 1846.
48. Egeberg, Edv.: Silkeborg Slot. I: *Jyske Samlinger*. 4th Series. 3rd Vol. 1917-1919.
49. *Uddrag af Biskop Jens Bircherods historisk-biografiske Dagbøger for Aarene 1658-1708*. By Chr. Molbech. Copenhagen 1846.
50. The painting is only ascribed to Royal Portraitist Jacob Coning, as he was away in Norway in 1699, painting views for the king. One of the paintings hung at Sæbygård Manor; a daughter of this house was married to one of KB's cousin's sons, now at Frederiksborg Palace Museum. Another hung at Steensgaard Manor near Faaborg, which belonged to KB's niece, Susanne Brahe, and after her death to the entailed estate of Hvedholm, now in Funen Art Museum. The provenance of this painting is unknown.

Afsnittet "Jomfrukloster":

- Rübner Jørgensen, Kaare: Ny vin på gamle flasker. Maribo Kloster efter reformationen. Omarbejdet dansk udgave af artikel i: *Birgittiana*. 12. Napoli 2001. www.ruebnerus.dk/page20x.html. Mariager Kloster lukkede, da den sidste nonne døde 1588.
- Hofman, Hans de: Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...). Bind I. Kbh. 1755. Kaldet "Hofmans Fundationer".
- Zalewski, Barbara og Baumann, Jens Andrew: *Det Harboeske Enkefrukloster*. Udg. Realea A/S. Odense 2008.

4. Ludvig Holberg brugte samme vending i Moralske Tanker 1744: "Kone og Børn ere kostbare Meubler udi disse Lande."
5. Se f.eks. om senge i Vartov: Jonge, Nicolai: *Den Kongelige Hoved- og Residentz-Stad Kiøbenhavns Beskrivelse, forestillende Stadens Tilstand, Beskaffenhed oc Merkværdigheder i en sammenhængende Orden i de ældste, mellemste oc nyeste Tider.* Bog 1, kapitel 2. Kbh., 1783 (1945).
6. Skiftet efter Karen Brahe: LAO. Skifteprotokoller Nyborg-Tranekær Amter 1703-1811. II-271. Selve testamentet og skifteforretningen er ikke bevaret.
7. Den komplicerede definition af datidens forskellige former for adelskab analyseres i: Bartholdy, Nils G.: Sammenhængen med privilegier og rang i tiden 1660-1730. I: *Historisk Tidsskrift*. 12. række, bind V. 1971.
8. Det er svært at optælle listen over indskrevne nøjagtigt, da det ikke altid er oplyst, hvor mange der blev indskrevet på én gang, f.eks. kan familienavnet stå for én indskrevet, mens det samtidig oplyses, at én datter er gift eller død og en anden har fået plads, dvs. at der var indskrevet to. Der er store lakuner i listerne over indskrevne, der begynder noget spredt o. 1717. Fra 1742 til 1772 og igen fra 1788 til 1802 blev ingen indskrevet. 1802-1803 blev 3 søstre indskrevet og i 1806 en enkelt frøken. 1823 til 1836 blev 10 frøkener indskrevet, og derefter blev der kun indskrevet en frøken i hhv. 1852 og 1903. Der kan have været lukket for tilgang i perioder, hvor ledelsen efter alderssammensætningen i Jomfruklosteret kunne vurdere, at frøkenen ikke kunne nå at få en bolig, ligesom patronen kan have afvist at indskrive enkeltpersoner i en alder, hvor indskrivningspengene aldrig ville kunne nå op på det fastsatte beløb.
9. Garde, Peter: Den reformerte dronning, den lutherske prinsesse og den katolske klosterfrøken. I: *Festskrift til Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen*. DJØF 2004.
10. Stiftsbibliotekar Hans Michelsen, Roskilde, har venligt oplyst, at den ikke synes at være i selve Karen Brahes Bibliotek, som nu findes på Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek. Den kan ligge mellem andre arkivalier fra Jomfruklosteret, men ville formentlig være blevet fundet af en af de mange, der har beskæftiget sig med Karen Brahe og tidens lærde miljø.

Chapter "Jomfruklosteret - The Secular Convent":

1. Rübner Jørgensen, Kaare: Ny vin på gamle flasker. Maribo Kloster efter reformationen. Adapted Danish version of article in: *Birgittiana*. 12. Naples 2001. www.ruebnerus.dk/page20x.html. Mariager Convent closed when the last nun died in 1588.
2. Hofman, Hans de: Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...). Vol. I. Copenhagen. 1755. Called "Hofmans Fundationer".
3. Zalewski, Barbara and Baumann, Jens Andrew: *Det Harboeske Enkefrukloster*. Publ. Realea A/S. Odense 2008.
4. Ludvig Holberg used the same expression in his Moralske Tanker of 1744: "Wife and children are costly furniture in these countries."
5. See for example regarding beds at Vartov: Jonge, Nicolai: *Den Kongelige Hoved- og Residentz-Stad Kiøbenhavns Beskrivelse, forestillende Stadens Tilstand, Beskaffenhed oc Merkværdigheder i en sammenhængende Orden i de ældste, mellemste oc nyeste Tider.* Book 1, Chap. 2. Copenhagen, 1783 (1945)
6. Division of estate of Karen Brahe: LAO. Skifteprotokoller Nyborg-Tranekær Amter 1703-1811. II-271. The actual will and administration documents have not been preserved.
7. The complicated definition of the different types of nobility in those days is analysed in: Bartholdy, Nils G.: Sammenhængen med privilegier og rang i tiden 1660-1730. In: *Historisk Tidsskrift* 12th series, vol. V. 1971.
8. It is hard to make an accurate count of the list of enrollees, as it is not always stated how many were enrolled at once, so for example, the family name may indicate a single enrolled girl, while it is stated that one daughter is married or dead and another has received a place, i.e. that two people were enrolled. There are also wide gaps in the lists of enrollees, which begin to appear spasmodically from about 1717. From 1742 to 1772 and again from 1788 to 1802, no-one was enrolled. From 1802-1803, three sisters were enrolled and in 1806, a single applicant. From 1823 to 1836, 10 unmarried ladies were enrolled, and from then on only one in 1852 and one in 1903. Enrolment may have been closed in periods where the management could see from the age composition at Jomfruklosteret

11. Skønt Det Harboeske Enkefruekloster og Støvringgaard var stiftede samtidig, i 1735, blev det sidste først taget i brug i 1760. Stifterinden havde dog selv udpeget de to første priorinder, der blot ikke fungerede før åbningen.
12. Trap, J.P.: *Statistisk-Topografisk Beskrivelse af Kongeriget Danmark*. Haarby Sogn i diverse udgaver Kaldet *Trap Danmark*.
13. Thaulow, Th.: Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. I: *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift* 8. Rk. IV. Bd. 1925. Fortegnelse over klosterjomfruer og indskrevne fra klostrets regnskabsprotokol.
14. Krarup, Fr.: Stiftsrelationer om Adelige i Danmark og Norge, indsendte til Klevenfeldt. I: *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift*. 1-III-1882, 1-IV-1883, 1-V-1884, 1-VI-1885, 2-I-1886.
15. H.C. Andersens breve: 22. juni 1835 til Louise Collin, gift Lind. 15. juni 1836 til Edvard Collin. 19. august 1837 til Christian Wulff. 26. april 1839 til Henriette Hanck.
16. Dunker, Conradine: *Gamle Dage. Erindringer og Tidsbilleder*. Kbh. 1871 (2. udg. 1909, facsimile-udg. 1985).
17. Krogh, Ferdinand von: *Den høiere danske Adel*. Kbh. 1866.
18. På Vallø Stift blev indskrivning afskaffet ved en fundatsændring i 1976, men genindført i 2003.
19. Schepelern, H.D.: *Portrætsamlingen i Odense adelige Jomfrukloster. Med en indledning om klosterets ældre historie*. Udg. af Det nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg. 1959. Forf. mener, at Karen Brahe havde ophængt samlingen efter et genealogisk og pædagogisk system, men det ser ud til, at samlingen er blevet til lidt efter lidt og noget tilfældigt. Nogle billeder kan have hængt i huset i siden Jørgen Brahes tid, mens flere først synes at være kommet til efter Karen Brahes død, bl.a. som arv fra Susanne Brahe og efterladt af klosterfrøkener.
20. Lavrsen, Lasse: "Han sikkert sig en gave får..." Information. 2. marts 2005.
21. Oplysninger om Karen Brahe Selskabets historie og aktiviteter 1987-2012: Cand.mag. et art. Jane Jakobsen, formand for Karen Brahe Selskabet og selskabets hjemmeside www.karenbrahe.dk.
22. Albanigade 006, Odense adelige Jomfrukloster, matr.nr. 412, Odense bygrunde. Summarisk byg-
- that applicants would not be able to get an apartment, or the patron may have refused to enrol individuals if they were at an age where the enrolment fee would never reach the determined amount.
9. Garde, Peter: Den reformerte dronning, den lutherske prinsesse og den katolske klosterfrøken. In: *Festskrift til Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen*. DJØF 2004.
10. Diocesan Librarian Hans Michelsen, Roskilde, has kindly stated that it does not seem to be in Karen Brahe's library, now in the Zealand Diocesan library. It may still exist among other archives from Jomfruklosteret, but would probably have been discovered by now by one of the many students of Karen Brahe and the learned societies of the time.
11. Although the Harboeske Enkefruekloster Widows' Convent and Støvringgaard were founded at the same time, the latter only came into use in 1760. The foundress had herself appointed the first two Prioresses, but they had no function before the place opened.
12. Trap, J.P.: *Statistisk-Topografisk Beskrivelse af Kongeriget Danmark*. Haarby Parish in various editions Known as *Trap Danmark*.
13. Thaulow, Th.: Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. In: *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift* 8th Series 4th Vol. 1925. List of conventuals and enrollees from the secular convent's accounting records.
14. Krarup, Fr.: Stiftsrelationer om Adelige i Danmark og Norge, indsendte til Klevenfeldt. In: *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift*. 1-III-1882, 1-IV-1883, 1-V-1884, 1-VI-1885, 2-I-1886.
15. Letters of Hans Christian Andersen: 22 June 1835 to Louise Collin, later Lind. 15 June 1836 to Edvard Collin. 19 August 1837 to Christian Wulff. 26 April 1839 to Henriette Hanck.
16. Dunker, Conradine: *Gamle Dage. Erindringer og Tidsbilleder*. Copenhagen 1871 (2nd ed. 1909, facsimile edition 1985).
17. Krogh, Ferdinand von: *Den høiere danske Adel*. Copenhagen 1866.
18. At Vallø Foundation, enrolment was abolished by a trust deed amendment of 1976, but was reintroduced in 2003.
19. Schepelern, H.D.: *Portrætsamlingen i Odense adelige Jomfrukloster. Med en indledning om klosterets ældre historie*. Published by the National Historical Museum of Frederiksborg. 1959. The author suggests that

- ningsarkæologisk undersøgelse. 5 sider (upagine-ret) samt kort. Hans Henrik Engqvist. August 1972. I: www.kulturarv.dk/fbb/sagvis.pub?sag=2340202.
23. Odense Bys Museer. *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. Ebbe Hædersdal. Sept. 1977. Ebbe Hædersdal, Tekn. dr. fra Lunds Universitet, er både middelalderarkæolog og arkitekt. Han skrev 1976 en opgave om Jomfruklostret på middelalderarkæologi og har siden jævnligt beskæftiget sig med Jomfruklostrets bygningshistorie.
 24. Kjeld Borch Vesths meget omfattende baggrunds-materiale til opgave i middelalderarkæologi, vennligst stillet til rådighed af Kjeld Borch Vesth til Lundqvist Arkitekter. De bygningsarkæologiske detaljer: Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. I: *Hikuin*. Nr. 13. 1987.

Afsnittet “Restaureringen af Jomfruklosteret”:

1. Før 1. januar 2005 Realdania Ejendomme. Derefter Realea A/S. Fra 1. januar 2011 Realdania Byg A/S.
2. Dengang Kulturarvsstyrelsen.
3. Hvinden-Haug, Lars Jacob: *Den eldre barokken i Norge. Bygningenes former og rommenes fordeling 1660-1733*. Doktorafhandling Oslo 2008.
4. Planløsningen kaldes på svensk parstuga og kendes fra 14-1500-tallet i adeligt byggeri; fra 1600-tallet vandrede den nedad og blev typisk for hovedbygningen på lidt større bøndergårde.

Afsnittet “Karen Brahes bibliotek”:

1. Johan Snell, Danmarks første Bogtrykker. En bibliografisk Undersøgelse af H. O. Lange. I: *Historisk Tidsskrift*. 6. Række, Bind 3.
2. Madsen, Victor: Karen Brahes Bibliotek i Odense. I: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*. Årg. VI. Kbh. 1919.
3. Hofman, Hans de: *Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...)*. Bind V. Kbh. 1760. Kaldet “Hofmans Fundationer”.
4. Vølzgen Nielsen, Susanne Lykke: Karen Brahe i: *Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon*. Kbh. 2000-2001.
5. Hofman, Hans de: *Samlinger af Publique og Private*

Karen Brahe had hung the collection according to a deliberate genealogical system, but it looks as if the collection was formed piecemeal and rather randomly. Some paintings may have hung in the house since Jørgen Brahe’s time, while the majority seem to have been added after Karen Brahe’s death, e.g. as bequests from Susanne Brahe or left behind by the conventuals.

20. Lavrsen, Lasse: “Han sikkert sig en gave får...” Information. 02 March 2005.
21. Information about the Karen Brahe Society’s history and activities 1987-2012: Jane Jakobsen cand.mag. et art., President of Karen Brahe Society, and the Society’s website www.karenbrahe.dk.
22. Albanigade 006, Odense adelige Jomfrukloster, matr.nr. 412, Odense bygrunde. Brief archaeological investigation of building. 5 pages (unnumbered) and plan, Hans Henrik Engqvist. August 1972. In: www.kulturarv.dk/fbb/sagvis.pub?sag=2340202.
23. City of Odense Museums *Rapport over kælderundersøgelsen i Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster*. Ebbe Hædersdal. Sept. 1977. Ebbe Hædersdal, Tekn. Dr. (University of Lund) is both a medieval archaeologist and an architect. In 1976 he wrote a paper on Jomfruklostret as part of his medieval archaeology studies, and has since regularly revisited the building history of Jomfruklostret.
24. Vesth has very kindly made his very comprehensive background material for his paper in medieval archaeology available to Lundqvist Architects. De bygningsarkæologiske detaljer: Vesth, Kjeld Borch: Odense Middelalderlige Bispegaard. In: *Hikuin*. No. 13. 1987.

Chapter “Restoration of Jomfruklosteret”:

1. Prior to 1 January 2005 Realdania Ejendomme. Subsequently Realea A/S. From 1 January 2011 Realdania Byg A/S.
2. At that time the Cultural Heritage Agency.
3. Hvinden-Haug, Lars Jacob: *Den eldre barokken i Norge. Bygningenes former og rommenes fordeling 1660-1733*. Doctoral thesis Oslo 2008.
4. This layout is known in Swedish as parstuga, and is known from the 15-16th centuries in aristocratic buildings; from the 17th century it wandered down the social scale and became typical of the main building at the slightly larger farms.

- Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...). Bind V.* Kbh. 1760. Kaldet "Hofmans Fundationer".
6. Nyerup, Rasmus: Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder. Kbh. 1816. Se også: *I gamle bøger, i oplukte høje: Rasmus Nyerup 1759-1829*. Red. Rasmus Agertoft. Museerne på Vestfyn. Assens 2010.
 7. Nyerup, Rasmus: *Antiqvariske Reise til Fyen i Julii Maaned 1814*. Kbh. 1814. Cand.mag. Rasmus Agertoft takkes for henvisningen.
 8. Det Kongelige Biblioteks ansøgning om at få Karen Brahes Bibliotek optaget på UNESCOs Memory of the World Register.
 9. Dansk biografisk Lexikon. XV. Bind. 1887-1905.
 10. Askgaard, Einar Stig: Jeg om dagen gik derop, for en Bog at laane, Gik en smule deromkring, og kom til at daane. I: *Fynske minder* 2007. Om H.C. Andersens litterære veninde, Henriette Hancks søgen efter digterens biografi på Odenses biblioteker.
 11. Meddelser fra Rigsarkivet med Landsarkivrne, omtalt i: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*. Årgång VII. 1920.
 12. Udtalelse til Dagbladet Roskilde, refereret på www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Kultur/2010/10/25/140215.htm.
 13. Venligt målt og oplyst af stiftsbibliotekar Hans Michelsen, Roskilde Stiftsbibliotek.
 14. Reimer, Christine: Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster. I: *Illustreret Tidende*. Årgang 46, Nr. 15. 08/01 1905 *Trap Danmark*, 3. Udgave. Bind III. 1900 nævner, at bøgerne findes "til dels i de oprindelige bogskabe".

Afsnittet "De arkæologiske undersøgelser":

1. Restaureringsarkitekt MAA Søren Lundqvist og ph.d. Barbara Zalewski skal takkes for inspiration og diskussion af resultaterne, uden at vi nødvendigvis er nået til fuld enighed om detaljerne.
2. For bygningshistorien og tidlige undersøgelser resultater henvises til rapporter i Odense Bys Museers arkiv under journal nr. OBM 137, samt Realmania Byg A/S' hjemmeside og publikationen *Fra bispegård til jomfrukloster: Odense adelige Jomfrukloster – en bygning og dens historie gennem 500 år*. Red. Eva Therkelsen og Jane Jakobsen. Odense 2004.

Chapter "Karen Brahe's Library":

1. Johan Snell, Danmarks første Bogtrykker. En bibliografisk Undersøgelse af H. O. Lange [Johan Snell, Denmark's first printer. A bibliographical study by H. O. Lange]. In: *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal]. Edition 6, Volume 3.
2. Madsen, Victor: Karen Brahes Bibliotek i Odense [Karen Brahe's Library in Odense]. In: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* [Nordic journal for books and libraries]. Year VI. Copenhagen. 1919.
3. Hofman, Hans de: *Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...)* [Collections of Public and Private Foundations and Deeds (...)]. Volume V. Copenhagen, 1760. Known as "Hofmans Fundationer".
4. Vølzgen Nielsen, Susanne Lykke: Karen Brahe in: *Dansk Kvindbiografisk Leksikon*. Copenhagen, 2000-2001.
5. Hofman, Hans de: *Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, Fundationer og Gavebreve (...)* [Collections of Pulic and Private Foundations and Deeds (...)]. Volume V. Copenhagen, 1760. Known as "Hofmans Fundationer".
6. Nyerup, Rasmus: Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder [General Pleasure Reading in Denmark and Norway through the Centuries]. Copenhagen, 1816. Also see: *I gamle bøger, i oplukte høje: Rasmus Nyerup 1759-1829* [In old books, in unlocked heights: Rasmus Nyerup 1759-1829]. Ed. Rasmus Agertoft. Museums in Western Funen. Assens 2010.
7. Nyerup, Rasmus: *Antiqvariske Reise til Fyen i Julii Maaned 1814* [Book Journey to Funen in the Month of July 1814]. Copenhagen, 1814. Thanks to MA. Rasmus Agertoft for the reference.
8. The Royal Danish Library's application to have Karen Brahe's Library listed in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.
9. Dansk biografisk Lexikon [Danish Biographical Encyclopedia]. Volume XV. 1887-1905.
10. Askgaard, Einar Stig: Jeg om dagen gik derop, for en Bog at laane, Gik en smule deromkring, og kom til at daane. [I went up there during the day to borrow a book, walked around a bit and ended up fainting]. In: *Fynske minder* 2007. On Hans Christian Andersen's

Litteraturliste

Albani kirke & torv ved Finn Grandt-Nielsen et al. Fynske studier XIV. Odense 1985.

Anemette S. Christensen: Middelalderbyen Odense. Højbjerg 1988.

Fra boplads til bispeby, Odense til 1559 ved Tore Nyberg et al. *Odense bys historie* bd. I. Odense 1982.

Jakob Tue Christensen: Bispegårdens middelalderlige vestfløj. *Fra bispegård til jomfrukloster*; s. 25-30. Odense 2004.

Kjeld Borch Vesth: Odense middelalderlige bispegård. *Hikuin* 13; s. 121-154. Højbjerg 1987.

literary friend, Henriette Hanck's search for the poet's biography in Odense's libraries.

11. Reports from the National Archives with the Provincial Archives, as cited in: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* [Nordic journal for books and libraries]. Volume VII. 1920.
12. Statement to the newspaper *Dagbladet Roskilde*, cited at www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Kultur/2010/10/25/140215.htm.
13. Measured and recorded by diocese library Hans Michelsen, Roskilde Diocese Library.
14. Reimer, Christine: Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster [Odense Noble Virgin Convent]. In: *Illustreret Tidende* [Illustrated Times]. Volume 46, No. 15. 08/01 1905.
Trap Danmark, Third Edition. Volume III. 1900 mentions that the books are "partially located in the original book cabinets".

Chapter “The archaeological investigations”:

1. Conservation architect Søren Lundqvist MAA and Dr. Barbara Zalewski deserve thanks for the inspiration our discussion of the results has engendered, without our necessarily agreeing on all the details.
2. For the history of the building and the results of previous investigations, consult the reports in the City of Odense Museums archive, Ref. OBM 137, the Realldania Byg A/S website and the publication *Fra bispegård til jomfrukloster: Odense adelige Jomfrukloster – en bygning og dens historie gennem 500 år*. Ed. Eva Therkelsen and Jane Jakobsen. Odense 2004.

Literature

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Fra rum 105. Foto: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. 2013. / From room 105. Photo: Kurt Rodahl Hoppe. 2013.

Priorinder / Priresses

1740 - 1758

Susanne Parsberg

1758 - 1777

Juliane Gustava von Warenstedt

1777 - 1786

Marie Hedvig Pentz

1786 - 1793

Christiane Sophie Magdalene Juul

1793 - 1808

Aletta Margarethe Wind

1808 - 1825

Johanna von Leth

1825 - 1856

Louise Catharine Sophie Heide

**Priorinder, der ikke har været klosterjomfruer /
Priresses who have not been conventuals:**

1856 - 1891

**Elisa Ernestine Ermerine Charlotte Sibille Lucie
Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, f. dal Borgo di Primo
Enkebaronesse / Dowager Baroness**

1891 konstitueret / appointed - 1913

**Wilhelmine Charlotte Henriette Louise
Schaffalitzsky de Muckadell
Baronesse / Baroness**

1914 - 1943

**Anna Sophia Frederikke Augusta Vibeke
Rosenkrantz, f. Juel
Enkebaronesse / Dowager Baroness**

1943 - 1972

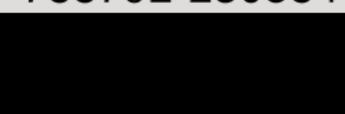
**Erkel Aase Knuth, f. Jansen
Enkebaronesse / Dowager Baroness**

Buildings are a part of our cultural heritage. A tangible legacy passed on by our forefathers, which we have a duty to preserve.

Realdania Byg is a property development and preservation company. The objective of the company is to accumulate a portfolio of good examples of building styles and architecture from different periods and areas of Denmark and to ensure their preservation for future generations, as well as to invest in the development of new buildings that are experimental in character. Realdania Byg is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Realdania Foundation.



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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 adelig 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.

The history of the building known as the Odense Secular Convent for Noblewomen 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.

