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### **Donations by strangers to Lutheran churches during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries**

The history of church furnishings has long been studied by art historians, concentrating on the works of individual artists, on certain kinds of furnishings (such as pulpits or epitaphs) or on individual churches as a whole. In more recent years other historical sciences, too, have investigated how space in church was used and how members of the parish staked out their place in the church interiors according to their position in local society.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the work done so far has confined itself to the territory of a single nation state. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, borders were rarely marked out in the landscape and certainly not on the sea. Seafarers would sail freely from port to port and from country to country. We should also remember that Lutheranism was not the religion of a single state but served as state religion in all of Scandinavia, the Baltics and most of northern Germany (plus some pockets in the south). The Baltic Sea can thus rightly be termed a *mare Lutheranicum*. Understanding the religious practices of Lutheranism demands approaching the material with a horizon as broad as that of early modern Lutherans who certainly knew well that their faith extended beyond state and language borders, as can be concluded from Ernst Salomo Cyprian's coverage of the Reformation jubilee in 1717,<sup>2</sup> as well as from the geographical scope of collections conducted for the benefit of parishes and individuals in need.<sup>3</sup>

Most earlier studies on parishes are, by their very nature, parochial in the literal sense, but there are also regional, interregional and even transnational dimensions to the history of church furnishings. Here one could think of the well-known fact that many of the more skillful works of art had been produced by master craftsmen in towns far away. Much less studied is the lively second-hand trade with church furnishings.<sup>4</sup>

The present essay proposes to investigate an aspect of church furnishings which has hardly received any scholarly attention at all: the donation of church furnishings by strangers whose home could be as close as the nearest town but also as far away as many hundred miles across the sea.

This approach fills an important gap in the existing research, since it shows that parishes were not always the self-contained institutions they have often been portrayed as. Donations in general, on the other hand, did catch the attention of scholars in recent years, possibly because of the importance of foundations for financing these scholars' own research.<sup>5</sup>

The evidence presented in this essay is, admittedly, of patchwork character, or to put it more politely, the sources and the literature on this topic branch out as widely as the shipping routes of yesteryear. Important sources to the origins of church furnishings are the inscriptions they often bear. The interest in such inscriptions is much older than scholarly art history, since they were already recorded by early antiquarians, some of whom are currently being rediscovered as the forefathers of cultural history.<sup>6</sup>

The essay will primarily, though not exclusively, draw on material from churches around the Baltic Sea, i. e., from areas in which more than 99.9 per cent of parishes were Lutheran in the period under investigation and where most parishioners had never met an adherent of another creed. Studying Lutheranism on a large scale allows us to observe a clearer pattern in phenomena hardly discernible in small-scale studies. The concentration on Lutheran countries, however, is not meant to suggest that donations by strangers did not occur in other confessions or before the Reformation. A comparison with other creeds has not been feasible as that would have multiplied the amount of primary material to be assessed, while a comparison with medieval donations by strangers is not meaningful in the Baltic Sea area due to the paucity of sources.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, a juxtaposition of donations before and after the Reformation would suggest an evolution from one culture of donations to another. The limited evidence consulted for donations by locals, however, rather suggests an interregnum of no donations lasting several decades. While donations for the benefit of one's soul had ended with the official introduction of the Reformation in the 1520s and 1530s, a new wave of donations can first be observed during the last third of the sixteenth century, and now in a firmly Lutheran context.<sup>8</sup> It might be possible to draw a clearer picture by studying local donations from the sixteenth century in depth, but the sources available for donations by strangers certainly do not lend themselves to such an analysis. In any case, the present essay is not interested

in how a Lutheran culture of donations came about, rather how strangers participated from the second or third generation of Lutherans onward.

Before drawing conclusions about the involvement of strangers in certain parishes, one should, of course, make sure that the donation in question is still preserved in its original place.<sup>9</sup> As mentioned, there existed a lively second-hand market for church furnishings. Items made of costly metal were often stolen; sometimes they would end up later in other churches.<sup>10</sup> Another methodological precaution concerns inscriptions on donations. They were in most cases put on the item by craftsmen, not by the donators themselves, and the frequent spelling errors makes one doubt the spelling skills of many craftsmen.<sup>11</sup> Particularly poor seems to be the spelling on bells, possibly because bells were, after all, hidden from the eyes of the churchgoers.<sup>12</sup> Only rarely, however, things will have gone as wrong as in the case of a new bell for the church of Emmelsbüll (West Sleswick) in 1704. The bell founder had been instructed to put a lengthy inscription in Latin with the names of several office holders onto the bell, but when the bell was finished, the inscription only contained a year, and even that was wrong, 1074 instead of 1704!<sup>13</sup>

Some donations evade further analysis, since the reason for giving the item is not known – the inscription simply states that it was donated by a person foreign to the parish. A few examples: A Tallinn official participated in the gift of an organ to the town church of Haapsalu on the Estonian coast in 1667. Apparently this was a rather modest instrument, since in 1683 it was replaced by a better one given by the owner of two manor houses 15 to 20 km away but outside the borders of Haapsalu parish.<sup>14</sup> Hans Siwersøn of Rønne (Bornholm) gave a chandelier to the church in the neighboring town of Hasle in 1696.<sup>15</sup> The master of the Stockholm seine-netters' guild donated a chandelier to the church of Naantali (Finland) in 1754.<sup>16</sup> Some time before 1764, the town and district scribe Jørgen Madsen from Svaneke on Bornholm had given a small bell to the church of Gudhjem on the same island.<sup>17</sup> Future archival research might illuminate the background of these and similar donations, allowing to place them in one of the categories detailed below, but first some words on pastoral care for foreigners.

*Pastoral care for foreigners*

During the Middle Ages, in many northern European trading towns churches, or at least chapels within normal parish churches, were set aside for foreign merchants. Which solution was used, depended largely on the number of foreign merchants regularly visiting or permanently living in town.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the coastal countryside chapels were built at seasonal fishing hamlets.<sup>19</sup>

In what way did this change with the Reformation? Since Lutherans abolished monasteries and pilgrimages, the parish principle became even more dominant than it had been in medieval times.<sup>20</sup> Everyone was expected to go to church in the parish he or she was living in. As simple as this principle may sound, as difficult it was to apply to parishioners travelling or living abroad. Another Reformation principle had created an additional problem: Sermons were to be held in the language of the congregation. How should this be done with a significant number of parishioners speaking another language?

One solution was to appoint clergymen to preach in the required languages. Such foreign language sermons could be held in some church otherwise used by the majority population, but if the foreigners' congregation grew in numbers, it would often acquire a building of its own.<sup>21</sup> One may note that such foreigners' churches do not fit well into the customary picture of Lutheran state churches around the Baltic Sea. The parish territory of foreigners' churches overlapped with that of other parishes in town.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore they could not use the liturgical handbooks of the state church because they used another language.<sup>23</sup>

Another way of catering for the spiritual needs of seafarers consisted in hiring clergymen to serve onboard ship. This was already practiced during the middle ages, but few details are known, apparently due to the short-term character of these employments. Assumedly, clergymen were only hired when several ships sailed together, since the number of staff on a cargo ship was too small to support clergymen (or the profit of the journey too small, if it was the ship-owner who paid the salary). The provision of pastors to serve the crew seems only to have been institutionalised in oversea trading companies and in the navy. Both the Danish and the Swedish navy employed deans to supervise the sailing clergy. Future research will hopefully bring more light into this aspect of pastoral care. It might even have been an

important channel for spreading the Reformation in the Baltic Sea area, and later on it might have provided funding during the early career steps of many a Lutheran pastor.<sup>24</sup>

While pastoral care to strangers was at the root of many donations to be discussed in the following, the essay will not consider foreign language churches as such, since their parishioners, after all, were at home in the towns concerned, even though they used a language different from that of the majority. Donations to these churches by strangers on shorter visits will, of course, be considered.

How long such a stay had to be in order to turn a stranger into a local, is, of course, open to debate. Some donations from Lutheran students to the Lutheran church in Leyden, for instance, were clearly made by students studying at the university for a longer period, while others only had passed through the city on their journeys. Many of the donations recorded by this church can probably be placed on the borderline between local and foreign.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Chartered rights*

On the coast of southern Scania we find examples of foreigners enjoying chartered rights to use a certain part of the local church. These rights did not remain uncontested. On August 18, 1600, for instance, the Lubeck town council wrote on behalf of the *Schonenfahrerkompanie* (i. e., the guild of merchants specialising in trade with Scania) to the town council in Malmö, complaining that their merchants' pews and the coats of arms in the windows (apparently in stained glass) had been illegally removed from the church in Malmö. These ornaments had at least partly been added to the church after the Reformation, since it is stated that they had been donated by the merchants and their predecessors. The Lubeck town council asked its Malmö counterpart to return these items or otherwise conduct proper expropriation procedures. Since the windows also contained the coats of arms of Rostock, Stralsund and Wismar, the Lubeck town council informed the neighboring towns about the affair two days later and asked them to join Lubeck in its efforts to have the items restored to their original place.<sup>26</sup>

Apparently, not much came out of this at Malmö. 25 years later, a supplication sent by the *Schonenfahrerkompanie* to the Lubeck town council states that many years ago the coats of arms had been taken out of the

windows which otherwise had been in a perfect state of repair. The pews which originally had been placed below these windows had been removed to some chapel<sup>27</sup> while new pews at the same place had been rented out to Malmö citizens. Now things were getting even worse. Near the former place of the windows and of the pews, Lubeck merchants also owned two tombs.<sup>28</sup> One of the tombstones had been entirely removed, while the other had the coat of arms chiselled out.<sup>29</sup>

At Falsterbo (at the southernmost tip of present-day Sweden), the Lubeckers owned a church which also served as their assembly hall when visiting the town. Apparently, the building was not used as a parish church by the town's remaining population, so this might have been more of a foreigners' church in its own right. In 1650, the building was in a state of disrepair. The governor of Scania asked a Lubeck representative to see to its repair, otherwise the Lubeckers would lose their privileges. As a result, the Lubeck *Schonenfahrerkompanie* decided to collect money among its members, and also the town council contributed financially to this purpose.<sup>30</sup>

Lubeck involvement in the churches on the southern coast of present-day Sweden did not end here. In St Mary's church at Ystad, the Lubeck *Schonenfahrerkompanie* had paid for a stained glass window, adorning it with its coat of arms showing three herrings.<sup>31</sup> In the church of Landskrona a pew was called "the Lubeck shipmaster pew." It, too, was decorated with three herrings as well as with the Lubeck eagle.<sup>32</sup> Assumedly, in these churches the Lubeckers held some chartered rights as well.

#### *Territorial dependancy*

A few miles downstream from Lubeck but still on territory belonging to the town, the church of Schlutup received a chandelier and a sconce in donation from the Lubeck town councillor Johann Spangenberg in 1587.<sup>33</sup> Their inscriptions do not explain the background for this donation. Another Lubeck town councillor and a Lubeck burgomaster were commemorated in two stained glass windows in the chapel of Tramm (near Mölln). This village formed part of Lubeck's territory, too. Two further windows displayed the Lubeck coat of arms and the Lubeck eagle. The last of these windows also carried the date 1633, which probably applied to the entire set.<sup>34</sup> Presumably

we are here dealing with a demonstration of the town's sovereignty over the village financed – at least partly – by the officials commemorated.

### *Economic connections*

A number of donations resulted from the economic connections donators maintained with the parishes receiving their gifts as can be seen on the island of Gotland in the middle of the Baltic Sea. Here the limestone industry flourished around 1700. Lime kilns had been set up in many places all around the island. The export of quicklime and slaked lime contributed significantly to Gotland's economy. Ships from Sønderborg in the Duchy of Sleswick played an important rôle in transporting Gotlandic lime to the southern and western shores of the Baltic Sea. It comes therefore as no surprise to find donations from Sønderborg shipmasters to churches on Gotland.

The church of Rute in the northeastern part of Gotland houses a painted wooden panel with some ornaments and a Swedish inscription: "To the honor of God and the decoration of the church, this painting has been donated by the following: Christian Hööck, Mathias Rijper, Jöns Jöranson Hophman and Hans Krabbe from Sønderborg. Anno 1730."<sup>35</sup> In the nearby church of Hellvi, a gallery is adorned with 13 paintings showing Christ and the Apostles and carrying a German inscription: "The following below-mentioned well-experienced shipmasters from Sønderborg let this gallery paint for the honor of God, the decoration of the church and the remembrance of their names. September 21, 1704." Then follow the names of 16 shipmasters.<sup>36</sup> The church of Hellvi also owns a baptismal dish with another German inscription: "Shipmaster Hans Jaspersen of Sønderborg, 1704."<sup>37</sup>

Most of the shipmasters mentioned at Hellvi appear regularly in the Gotland customs accounts. They would normally attend five harbors in the parish of Hellvi. The donations of the Sønderborg shipmasters are probably connected with a major renovation the church underwent in 1703 when owners of lime kilns located in the parish donated an altarpiece, a baptismal font, a bench to seat singers and a cupboard with a lock. Not paying tithes but using the church regularly, the shipmasters possibly felt obliged to contribute something as well. The wooden panel in the church of Rute might be the result of similar sponsoring (but in this case no relevant archival records survive).

In another Gotland church, at Fröjel, a visitor noted in 1864 some pew inscriptions (which have since disappeared), one reading “the Rostockers” (*Diie Rostockers*) and another “shipmasters 1638” (*Skippers 1638*), while a third and similar inscription had been damaged. Apparently the pews formerly had seated foreign shipmasters.<sup>38</sup> Yet another church on Gotland, Gammelgarn, has a pew with a Swedish inscription, probably dated 1768, reading: “This is a free pew for visitors” – a welcome offer since in Lutheran churches most pews were rented out to specific persons.<sup>39</sup>

Across the sea to the east, the island of Ruhnu in the Gulf of Riga was adorned with several window panes of stained glass, dating from the seventeenth century. One of them, of 1665, appears not to be given by a parish member but by a Tallinn merchant.<sup>40</sup>

Moving westward, in the town of Rønne on the island of Bornholm, the church received, probably at the end of the sixteenth century, a sconce with a Low German inscription stating that this was a donation by Bartram Bunsow of Greifswald.<sup>41</sup> Assumedly, he made his living in the trade between the two towns.<sup>42</sup> Yet further to the west, the sconce donated by a man from Hamburg to the German church in Fredericia in Jutland during the second half of the seventeenth century might have been given for similar reasons.<sup>43</sup>

### *Patronage*

In many – but not all – Lutheran regions, the upkeep of churches was organised through patronage. The person who had inherited or bought the patronage rights was responsible for the upkeep of the church in exchange for ceremonial privileges, the power to nominate the incumbent and – often – to receive the tithes. Church patronage, however, showed many variations over space and time.<sup>44</sup> Strictly speaking, though, donations were not the duty of a patron since he only had to pay for the upkeep of the building, but donations did nonetheless occur frequently in this context. A patron would normally be responsible for the local church, but, especially if he was very rich, he could also run churches further away and would thus be of interest for the present essay.

The church of Å on the island of Bornholm belonged to the cathedral chapter at Lund in Scania which allocated this benefice to one of its members who would then hold the *jus patronatus*. One such patron appears to have

paid in 1623 for the painting of the pulpit which had been built some ten years earlier.<sup>45</sup> The Swedish Admiral of the Realm Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm paid for the erection of an entire church on the already mentioned island of Ruhnu in 1644. Gyllenhielm held the island as a fief, but he did not live there.<sup>46</sup> Gyllenhielm is otherwise known as a deeply pious man who financially supported education, his tenants and even a German prophet.<sup>47</sup> Another member of the Swedish high nobility, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–1686), provided no less than 37 churches with gifts.<sup>48</sup> For many of these churches he had responsibilities as a patron.

#### *Donations in cash*

From time to time account books mention gifts in cash by strangers, but mostly they do not tell why the money was given,<sup>49</sup> even though the money could come from very faraway places as in the case of the Lisbon merchant who donated almost 200 rixdollars to the German church in Gothenburg in 1672.<sup>50</sup> Poor-boxes located in harbors might partly have served to collect fines, but the income was given to the local parish or a leper-house.<sup>51</sup>

Donations in cash could also be paid out of an endowment as in the case of the church of Oldenburg in Holstein. A Lubeck merchant had set up an endowment of 100 Lubeck marks in 1606 to be administered in Lubeck, the interests of which were to be paid to the Oldenburg church every year at Michaelmas as long as the Word of God was preached there in accordance with the Augsburg Confession.<sup>52</sup> In 1570, the Lubeck town council received an endowment of 60 Lubeck marks, donated by the late Warner Meÿe, town councillor in Riga. A candle at Our Lady's Church in Lubeck should be maintained in perpetuity from the interests.<sup>53</sup> The interests of a Lubeck endowment of local origin, dating from 1625, were to be paid in kind as well, in the form of candles each year at Christmas, to the church of Warder some 25 km beyond the town walls.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Votive gifts*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Lutherans had access to many especially designated votive churches spread throughout the countryside. Poorly endowed churches would be particularly sought out for thanksgiving when a prayer had been heard. Most of these gifts consisted of coins placed in

collection boxes and are thus anonymous. While the use of votive churches was largely supported by the clergy during the seventeenth century, theologians would increasingly distance themselves from this practice in the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

Votive churches inland were mostly frequented by people from the neighboring parishes, but some coastal ones would also serve the faithful across the sea. In Falsterbo, for instance, the south Swedish town already mentioned, the church received gifts in cash on St John's day (June 24), as was noticed by Carl Linnæus on his visit in 1749. People were visiting from far away, and earlier large numbers had come from Denmark.<sup>56</sup>

Fladstrand church, built on the eastern coast of Jutland in 1690 at the location of present-day Frederikshavn, could in 1727 pride itself of the following paintings presented by seafarers: one showing John the Baptist, given by Henrik Brask of Kalundborg on Zealand; another showing Peter's miraculous draught of fishes, donated by Søren Svane of Århus; a third one with Christ and the disciples on Lake Gennesaret, paid for by Just Simonsen of Randers (Jutland); a fourth one depicting the Magi, given by Peder Christensen of Ålborg. While shipmaster Hans Bruun from Flensburg had paid for the fifth one, visualising the surrection of the dead, shipmaster Henrik Lorentsen from the same town had given the sixth painting, showing Moses and Christ. In addition, Jørgen Nielsen and Anders Hansen Storm from Århus had presented the church with a ship model.<sup>57</sup>

The chapel on the island of Løvøy (Vestfold, Norway), too, received a gift from a shipmaster. In 1722, Ole Lorentzen of Holmestrand, a few miles northwest of Løvøy, commemorated being rescued from distress at sea by donating a painting.<sup>58</sup>

The church of Jannerup in northwestern Jutland similarly received gifts from seafarers. When in distress, they would make vows to donate cash to this church. Judging from the account books, the seamen's calls for help had been heard in very many cases. Jannerup votive church even served its customers at more conveniently located outlets: two collection boxes were placed at Thisted, the nearest town, which was easier to reach by sea.<sup>59</sup>

Votive churches constituted an exception to the way parishes were financed in the state-church, since their income for a significant, if not the larger part, was not derived from burials, pews, landed property or tithes but

from small donations in cash, mainly made by strangers. This could even be spelled out in an inscription as in the case of the church on Flostaøya (Southern Norway) where one could read above the door to the chancel that the church was maintained by seafarers who had experienced distress at sea.<sup>60</sup>

The Danish island of Sejerø (off Zealand) does not seem to have been held in esteem as a votive church, but in 1715 it nonetheless received a bell in response to a vow, as testifies the inscription: “Friderich Rostgaard has given me, [as] promised in 1711, to Sejerø church because he remained healthy and stayed alive.” The vow was obviously made during the plague of 1711. Rostgaard did not live on the island, but he was the patron of the church to which he on other occasions donated more items – with no mention of a vow in the inscriptions.<sup>61</sup> This case might therefore also have been treated above in the section on patronage.

In other cases it is not clear whether a vow had been made, but it is evident that certain gifts were made after a successful rescue, though to churches otherwise not specialised in servicing vows. In 1664, for instance, Swedish countess Maria Sophia de la Gardie gave a substantial sum for the building of a chapel on the Finnish island of Nötö after having been rescued from distress at sea in the vicinity. She also provided the chapel with two candlesticks.<sup>62</sup> A chandelier in the church of Svaneke on Bornholm bore the following inscription in German: “On December 4, 1673, in the evening between 8 and 9 o’clock, Lubeck citizen Johan Hennings was shipwrecked here off Svaneke and gave this chandelier to the honor of God and the decoration of the church.”<sup>63</sup> The date mentioned was at the very end of the shipping season.<sup>64</sup> Probably Hennings had to stay all winter at Svaneke and owed thanks not only to God for his rescue but also to the townspeople for giving him shelter. In 1734, Dorothea Schwartz, who was said to have been a Norwegian captain’s wife, donated a painted banner of silk to the church on the Danish island of Tunø (near Samsø) to commemorate her rescue from distress at sea on that island 21 years earlier.<sup>65</sup> A former Copenhagen prisoner who had been freed by the intercession of the Danish queen, apparently before 1730, donated a ship model to her chapel, possibly in 1738.<sup>66</sup>

The seaside chapel of Hanko (at the southernmost tip of Finland) was the beneficiary of another version of thanksgiving. Seafarers regularly donated money to this chapel when a journey had been successfully completed

even if it had passed without a single dramatic episode. Vows are not mentioned in connection with this custom.<sup>67</sup>

Healings at miraculous wells would also lead to donations by strangers to nearby churches. A royal official of Glückstadt on the Elbe, for instance, donated in 1681 brass candlesticks for the altar of the church in Bramstedt some 30 km away. An inscription states that the donation served to commemorate his recovery from quartan fever, due to the Bramstedt waters.<sup>68</sup> That year, a miraculous well had sprung up in the parish which attracted many patients and repeatedly made the news headlines. Today the place is a spa (Bad Bramstedt).<sup>69</sup> In many cases, though, donations consisted of coins dropped anonymously into a poor-box placed near the well but administered by the parish church, allowing only analysis of the income derived from this source but not the backgrounds of the donations.<sup>70</sup>

The oral traditions of later centuries, on the other hand, which explain many donations to coastal churches as votive gifts, should probably be disregarded in most cases since only rarely can any documentary evidence be found to support the claims.<sup>71</sup>

### *Family ties*

A number of gifts have their background in the donators' family ties to the parishes concerned. In 1737 a Lubeck merchant gave a wine-jug to the church of Travemünde where his brother served as head of administration (*Stadthauptmann*).<sup>72</sup> Travemünde was located on Lubeck territory at the mouth of the Trave. The same church had received a new altarpiece in 1723 from a relative to the Travemünde pastor. This donator probably lived in Lubeck as well.<sup>73</sup> Another relative gave a new pulpit twelve years later.<sup>74</sup> In 1716, the widow of a Gothenburg goldsmith donated a chandelier to the church of Våthult some 100 km to the southeast of Gothenburg. She did so apparently on the advice of her son-in-law who had been born in that parish.<sup>75</sup> Another chandelier was given to the church of Danmark near Uppsala in 1676. The donator, a Stockholm clergyman, had been born in the parish. He had the chandelier placed above the tombstone of his father. The inscription of the chandelier, however, does not mention the father, only the Stockholm clergyman and his wife as well as the local incumbent.<sup>76</sup>

*Former ties to the parish*

Several gifts were – as the example just mentioned – made by people who were not living in the parish at the time of donation, having moved away some time earlier. Such donations can probably be seen as an effort to be kept in fond remembrance with the locals, as a token of thanks or as a sign for an emotional attachment to the parish of origin.

After the church of Emmelsbüll (West Sleswick) had undergone renovation at the end of the seventeenth century, a man from another parish in the vicinity, who had grown up at Emmelsbüll, donated a wafer-box of silver and a scarlet red altarcloth.<sup>77</sup> Not far away to the north, at Daler, a Lubeck burgher donated a pulpit in 1606 and participated in the donation of a bell in the following year – together with his brothers who apparently were still living in the parish.<sup>78</sup>

Yet a bit further to the north, the church of Skærbæk received a donation of 500 marks from a scholar who died in Lubeck in 1633. The money was to be used “to paint and decorate the interior of the church in which he had been baptised,” as an inscription informed visitors to the church.<sup>79</sup>

A man from Rønne on the island of Bornholm, who had emigrated to Pomerania as a young man, donated a gallery to the church of his home town in 1721. The gallery was apparently not produced locally, but was shipped ready-made from Pomerania to Bornholm. This would explain why the inscription originally was held in German.<sup>80</sup> Claus Wiese who emigrated to Batavia (today’s Jakarta) and made a fortune as a gravedigger (!), bequeathed 3000 guilders to his home church of Schönberg in Holstein when he died in 1729.<sup>81</sup>

Married couples could jointly make donations to the home church of one of the two. In 1628, the church at Bogesund (today’s Ulricehamn, Sweden) received a chandelier from a Gothenburg couple – the wife being a native of Bogesund.<sup>82</sup> In 1719 the church of Großsolt in the vicinity of Flensburg was presented with a ship model, donated by a Flensburg merchant and his wife. The merchant had been born at Großsolt.<sup>83</sup> Hans Berg of Kaarma on the island of Saaremaa donated, in 1596, a chalice to the church of Lääne-Nigula on the Estonian mainland together with his wife Maya (Margret) whose family owned the manor house of Tagavere in the parish of Lääne-Nigula where she possibly had grown up.<sup>84</sup>

Not only the native parish might be chosen as recipient of donations by couples. Peder Krog, bishop of Trondheim in Norway, and his wife donated at the end of the seventeenth century two candlesticks to Onsbjerg church on the Danish island of Samsø. Krog had earlier been pastor at Onsbjerg.<sup>85</sup> In 1706, district revenue officer Tyge Thomsen in Ålborg and his wife Geske Blum donated a pulpit to the church of Nibe in Northern Jutland. They had been living in the parish from 1693 to 1702, when Thomsen served as a district judge.<sup>86</sup>

#### *Collections arranged by state authorities*

When a parish was badly in need of money – for instance to rebuild its church after a fire – state authorities could allow collections to be held throughout the territory. Collections were also made for Lutheran parishes in foreign countries.<sup>87</sup> In the case of collections, however, there were no particular bonds between the many donators and the parish in question. Donations for parishes in need were not only made by individuals but also out of the chests of wealthier parishes.<sup>88</sup>

#### *Donations of redundant church furnishings*

When replacing old church furnishings, wealthy parishes would not always sell unneeded items to other parishes (as mentioned above). Sometimes they would simply give them away to parishes that had use for them, as did Our Savior's church in Copenhagen in 1699 with (a pair of) candlesticks, a chasuble and a pulpit. They were given to Kærby church, "a poor church in Jutland." Interestingly, two of these items the Copenhagen church had itself received as gifts from the Danish king in 1640, who had taken the chasuble from the chapel of the royal palace in Copenhagen.<sup>89</sup>

#### *Royal gifts*

How frequent were royal donations as the ones just mentioned? Many churches are decorated with royal insignia or with the coats of arms of a governor. In several cases there is evidence for these elevated persons actually having made donations to the church, for instance by allocating building materials or real estate.<sup>90</sup> In other cases it is clear or at least likely that the decorations only served as signs of authority and indirectly as a dating device

(“from the days of king so-and-so”) with no contribution by the king or the governor to the church in question.<sup>91</sup> Even though the Danish king maintained a chapel and a court-preacher at his palace in Copenhagen, most churches in town offered – apparently on their own expenses – special seating arrangements for the royal family who, however, were no members of these parishes.<sup>92</sup> The royals, in their turn, would frequently make donations to these churches.<sup>93</sup> Royal gifts, all in all, did play an important rôle in the finances of many parishes but they are difficult to pinpoint without detailed research since a royal monogram is no useful criterion for a king’s financial contribution.

### *Burial monuments*

Yet another group of items of foreign origin in or near churches is made up of tombstones or other burial monuments. In many a case the person interred will just accidentally have died abroad and needed to be buried.<sup>94</sup> If the family was of sufficient means, a memorial might be erected later – either produced back home or where the person had died. In the church of Our Lady at Visby on Gotland, for instance, one can see the tombstone and the epitaph for a Lubeck burgomaster, who died in 1566,<sup>95</sup> while two tombstones with Low German inscriptions were placed in the church of Östergarn on the same island in 1620, commemorating men from Rostock.<sup>96</sup> The church of Allinge on Bornholm was once decorated with an epitaph for a young German nobleman who had died on his way to Sweden in 1577.<sup>97</sup> On the island of Christiansø off Bornholm a Lubeck shipmaster was buried in 1737 and is commemorated by a tombstone in the churchyard.<sup>98</sup> In these cases the usual fees will have been paid, but the burial monuments can still be seen as donations to the church, though personal ties to the parish did not necessarily exist.<sup>99</sup>

Quite another matter were the elaborate tombs in churches of central importance to a territory. The cathedrals of Sleswick, Uppsala and Tallinn, for instance, served as burial sites for leading members of the nobility.<sup>100</sup> In conjunction with such burials, other items could be donated as well. In 1632, for instance, Uppsala cathedral received a chalice, a wine-jug, a wafer-box and two candlesticks on the occasion of a noble burial.<sup>101</sup> In 1648, Countess Ebba Leijonhufvud donated a chandelier – not made of the usual brass, but of

silver – when her daughter was buried in Uppsala cathedral.<sup>102</sup> The church also received a large endowment in real estate from the countess.<sup>103</sup> The most splendid example of a burial site for non-parish members constitutes Roskilde cathedral. All Danish kings since the Reformation (and some of their medieval predecessors) have been buried there, often very lavishly.<sup>104</sup>

#### *Anonymous donations*

Anonymous gifts not only occurred as coins dropped into almsboxes but also as more substantial donations for a certain purpose. Understandably, it is difficult to say much about the background in such cases. In 1711, at a time of plague, St Peter's German church in Copenhagen received two such gifts. An unknown man donated 110 rixdollars to the church, while an unknown woman gave 50 dollars (*Schlechtedahler*) for the parish's poor (*Hauß=Armen*).<sup>105</sup> These particular donations seem to have been made by strangers and should be distinguished from other cases in which it appears that the donators belonged to the parish but wished to remain anonymous.<sup>106</sup>

#### *Trophies and booties of war*

Some items of foreign origin were placed in churches as war trophies. One such example can be seen at Glückstadt. After the Danish fleet had captured an anchor in 1630 from a ship, possibly even the flagship, of the Hamburg fleet in an encounter on the Elbe, the anchor was, on the order of the king, appended as a memorial to the tower of the church at nearby Glückstadt.<sup>107</sup> In Sleswick cathedral, a Danish flag was on display said to be the original Danebrog fallen from the Estonian skies in 1219, lost to a Ditmarsh peasant army in 1500 but recovered in 1559.<sup>108</sup> Four Ditmarsh flags, on the other hand, were suspended from the vault of a chapel of Our Lady's church in Copenhagen. The same church also held flags taken from the Swedes during the campaigns of Frederik II and Christian IV.<sup>109</sup> War booties are on display as well in Uppsala: a woman's dress from the fourteenth century was removed from Roskilde cathedral in 1659 and deposited in Uppsala cathedral in 1665 together with a flag and a whetstone – all said to have belonged to the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish ruler Margaret I (who died in 1412).<sup>110</sup>

While these trophies had memorial functions, other war seizures were put to liturgical use. A cope taken in Poland was worn by the Swedish

archbishop after it had been donated to Uppsala cathedral in 1707. At the same time the cathedral received a chalice and a chasuble – with illustrations showing Marian miracles! – of Polish origin. All these items were given by a nobleman and his wife – not living at Uppsala.<sup>111</sup> Chalices apparently taken by soldiers of the Swedish army campaigning in Denmark in 1657–60 now serve parishes in Sandseryd (Småland) and Gittelde (Brunswick), still preserving their original inscriptions in Danish telling where the items originally belonged to, but it is unfortunately not known, who donated them to their present churches.<sup>112</sup>

### *Unintended gifts*

Other church furnishings had a martial background, but they were, so to speak, given directly by the enemy as the following two examples from Copenhagen illustrate. A red-hot canon-ball shot by the Swedes towards St Nicholas church when laying siege to the town in 1658 was later on display in this church, with an added inscription explaining the item's history.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, some vaults of the burial chapels of St Peter's German church are adorned with canon-balls dating from the English bombardment in 1807.<sup>114</sup> The enemies had hardly fired these canon-balls in order to have them serve as decorations in churches.

Unintended gifts were not only the result of wars. Onsbjerg church on the island of Samsø owns a gilt bronze crucifix dated c. 1200. A memorial tablet of 1596 informs spectators that the crucifix was washed ashore together with a corpse.<sup>115</sup> As the inscription incorporates a well-known narrative motif – four horses could not draw the corpse to the first two churches but two horses could easily transport it to Onsbjerg – this story should not necessarily be taken at face value.<sup>116</sup> A date for the arrival of the crucifix is not mentioned, but in any case we may conclude that this form of acquisition was conceivable on the island at the end of the sixteenth century.

Bones of stranded whales or of exceptionally large fishes could, too, end up in churches. Some were exposed as a memorial of an unusual catch, while others – particularly in inland churches – were viewed as relics of antediluvian giants.<sup>117</sup>

### *Timing of donations*

While the timing of many donations will have depended on the life circumstances of the donators, there is a certain tendency that the building and repair of churches attracted donations. In 1729 a man in Dresden donated a chalice to St Peter's German church in Copenhagen. That was the year following a Copenhagen conflagration in which the German church had burned down to the walls. Collections were made, among others, in German towns. Assumedly this was a response in kind and not in cash.<sup>118</sup> In the same year, a burgher of Randers donated a chandelier to Blackfriars' Church at Viborg (Jutland), which had been devastated by a fire three years earlier.<sup>119</sup> The painting of a gallery and the gift of a baptismal dish to the Gotlandic parish of Hellvi coincided, as has already been mentioned, with a major renovation of this church.

#### *Donations of stolen items*

This essay would not be complete without mentioning the case of a donation found to be unacceptable. In 1680, the German church in Gothenburg was presented with a bell, but since the donator, a privateer, had taken it from the already mentioned Danish island of Sejerø, the churchwardens had the bell shipped back to its rightful owners.<sup>120</sup> In Denmark, however, the story about the return of the bell was later embellished with a miraculous motif: When rung at Gothenburg, the bell would not make a sound, but on other occasions it would ring of itself!<sup>121</sup>

The church of Rø on the island of Bornholm held a (now lost) chalice with a German inscription dated 1664, stating that lieutenant colonel Stahl had had it made for a Swedish regiment and that officers and soldiers had contributed to it. It is assumed that the chalice had been onboard the Swedish ships which stranded off Bornholm in 1678. The story goes that a peasant had managed to secure himself the chalice from a stranded ship but became afraid of keeping the holy vessel for himself and therefore donated it to the church.<sup>122</sup> Be that as it may, the churchwardens, in any case, seem to have accepted the chalice without any nags of conscience.

#### *Conclusions*

The material assembled in this essay can be arranged in four groups which partly overlap. Firstly, donations made accidentally to the parish in question:

funeral monuments in the case of sudden death or enemy canon-balls. Secondly, a large group of donations reflecting attendance of a particular church. To this group belong the examples listed in the sections on economic connections and on former ties to the parish. Votive gifts, too, should be subsumed under this heading, even though the church in question was not attended by listening to sermons but rather played a central rôle in the donator's prayers. The cases from the section on chartered rights also belong to this group, but at the same time they fit into a third group which is characterised by attempts to stress the status of individuals or institutions. Further examples from this group can be found in the sections on territorial dependancy, patronage, royal gifts, burial monuments in churches of central importance and war trophies, while some of the examples listed to illustrate family ties might also fit into this third group. Obviously, gifts in the second group also served to stress the status of their donators, but the choice of the particular church was determined by the donators' personal relations to the parish. A fourth group consists of charity for parishes in need: giving away redundant church furnishings or contributing to collections throughout the territory.

The geographical dimensions of donations by strangers range from the regional to the transnational. Some donations, such as the pompous funerals of kings and nobles in central churches, operated within the boundaries of the respective territories. Votive gifts, on the other hand, would not pay heed to political boundaries, but normally they would not be donated over long distances – except when given by seafarers to votive churches specialising in this profession. Donations growing out of economic connections, finally, regularly transcended political boundaries.

For scholars interested in transnational history and *histoire croisée*, many examples presented in this essay might appear to be what they have been looking for.<sup>123</sup> However, I am not convinced that concentrating on the geographic and linguistic distances between those giving and receiving donations would capture the essential of these social acts. Donations by strangers occurred frequently in Lutheran parishes and followed certain patterns. The fact that some donations simultaneously transcended national or linguistic boundaries, however, did not really distinguish them from the gifts of strangers who had not come such a long way.

Whether a donation turned out to be a benefit or a burden to the parish in the long run remains an open question in many cases. While local donators of chandeliers and sconces often made provisions for the maintenance of their gifts (candles, repairs etc.),<sup>124</sup> this might have occurred less frequently in the case of donations by strangers. Donations in cash will certainly not have entailed hidden costs, while items made out of gold, silver or brass will have kept their metal value even when broken. Funeral monuments, on the other hand, were difficult to put to other uses (except for other burials after the inscription had been replaced).<sup>125</sup>

Without studying account books we often do not know who donated certain items to a particular church, but even when studying account books this remains frequently obscure, since there was no need to document gifts in kind in such records. This is a general problem when trying to assess parish finances with the help of account books, and scholars conducting this kind of research have often not reckoned with donations by strangers.

A frequently used formula in inscriptions explains the purpose of a donation in the following way: "To the glory of God, to the decoration of the church and to the eternal memory of XY." This quite adequately describes the purposes of donations as a whole, but in individual cases the three aims will have carried different weight. The group of donations emphasising the status of the donator, for instance, certainly does appear to contain more *monumenta vanitatis* than *monumenta pietatis*.<sup>126</sup>

When recommending an essay on donations by Sønderborg shipmasters to churches on Gotland to be printed in *Sønderjyske årbøger*, an anonymous reviewer remarked that the cases discussed were bordering on quaintness ("på grænsen til det kuriøse"). This was a state-of-the-art assessment, since the established ways of studying church furnishings consisted of considering individual churches, certain kinds of furnishings or the works of individual artists. Phenomena occurring sporadically – but studied over the entire Lutheran area fairly regularly – were dismissed as isolated cases out of an ignorance of similar cases from other territories. The examples presented in this essay, however, assumedly represent no more than the top of a minor iceberg. Only when redirecting the approach from the parochial, the generic and the individual to Lutheranism as a whole, such occurrences will come into focus.

Obviously, reading general surveys from different countries will not lead any further here, since they will not mention such “excentric” cases either. What is needed is empirical research with a very wide horizon. The work of individual scholars capable of encompassing the entire Lutheran area – also in linguistic terms – will certainly prove to be more fruitful than collective projects in which each scholar, once more, only studies his home country. How should the general editor of such anthologies become aware of the ubiquity of “excentric” cases if he does not know the source material from other countries himself? The single scholar approach just outlined – and applied in this essay – seems to be more truly transnational than multi-author multi-national compilations or superficial second-hand scholarship<sup>127</sup> on the basis of studies in languages of international currency. Concerning church furnishings, the best approach seems to be to start with scholarly descriptions of churches as published in several national and regional series and to go deeper into the secondary literature or the archival material once relevant items have been identified.

Art historians, folklorists and historians specialising in German Lutheranism have for three decades now discussed how theological teaching influenced the life of laypeople.<sup>128</sup> These works, however, concentrate on the German language area and do not consider Lutherans in northern and northeastern Europe. Nordic scholars, on the other hand, started to investigate such questions several decades earlier, but they would not devote much attention to Germany.<sup>129</sup> This is somewhat strange, since hardly any of these scholars would wish to claim that linguistic or national borders were more important to the religious cultures of the early modern period than confessional boundaries. Despite different languages, political systems and occasional theological nuances (e. g., concerning the acceptance of the 1577 Formula of Concord), religious practice in all Lutheran countries was, indeed, rather similar, waiting for scholars to create an overall picture or to view the history of one country in the light of the other Lutheran territories.<sup>130</sup> The donations by strangers discussed in this essay can only contribute a few dots to a comprehensive picture of Lutheranism, but they clearly show that only the treatment of the entire Lutheran area allows us to discern common traits which are easily overlooked when studying smaller regions.<sup>131</sup>

While there is no reason to doubt that donations by foreigners worked in the same way in the few Lutheran territories from which no examples have been quoted, it can be assumed that in other confessions donations by foreigners occurred as well and often in similar ways, but since no systematic studies on donations by foreigners appear to exist for Catholic, Orthodox and Reformed parish churches, this remains an hypothesis. Future research might uncover some differences between confessions which probably can be explained by the following factors:

- 1) Whereas Reformed and Lutheran churches almost exclusively served as parish churches, many donations by Catholic and Orthodox locals and foreigners were made to chapels and monasteries, possibly reducing the importance of votive gifts to parish churches in comparison with Lutheranism.
- 2) Different relations between church and state might have influenced the frequency of royal gifts, of donations stressing territorial dependancy, of collections arranged by state authorities and of the display of war trophies in churches.
- 3) Patronage might have played another rôle in places where responsibilities for the upkeep of churches and the ownership of church buildings were arranged in different ways.
- 4) The availability of church burials to laypersons determined to which extent grave monuments to foreigners can be expected to be found in churches.
- 5) As the major confessions in Europe differed in certain religious tenets, this will have influenced donations, too. Teachings on good deeds had some impact on whether donations were made at all, views on what items it was appropriate to have in churches obviously restricted resp. enlarged the choice of donations and the theology of vows determined whether there should be votive gifts.<sup>132</sup>

Despite these probable differences, future research on parish finances would be well advised to consider donations by foreigners and not to rely exclusively on parish accounts. This would lead to a less parochial approach in parish studies, directing due attention to numerous interactions of parishes with the wider world. When studying a larger region, many a local "exception" might prove to be part of a larger pattern, as turned out to be the case with donations by foreigners in Lutheranism.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sacred space in early modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster & Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005); Renate Dürr, *Politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit: Kirchenräume in Hildesheimer Stadt- und Landgemeinden 1550–1750* ([Gütersloh,] 2006); *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi & Jörn Staecker (Berlin & New York, 2007); Bonnie B. Lee, “Communal transformations of church space in Lutheran Lübeck,” *German History* 26 (2008): 149–167; Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Churches and the culture of memory: A study of Lutheran church interiors in Østfold, 1537–1700,” *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 66 (2010): 117–142; Jürgen Beyer, “Gaver fra Sønderborg-skipperne til kirkerne i Hellvi og Rute,” in *Kust och kyrka på Gotland: Historiska uppsatser*, ed. Per Stobaeus (Visby, 2010), 365–386 (slightly revised version: id., “Sønderborg-skipperes donationer til kirker på Gotland i første halvdel af 1700-årene,” *Sønderjyske årbøger* 2010: 87–114); Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, *Changing interiors: Danish village churches, c. 1450 to 1600* (Copenhagen, 2011); Jürgen Beyer, “Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion von Wand- und Kronleuchtern in lutherischen Kirchen,” *Zeitschrift für Lübeckische Geschichte* 92 (2012): 101–150.

<sup>2</sup> Ern[st] Sal[omo] Cyprian, *HILARIA EVANGELICA, Oder Theologisch=Historischer Bericht vom Andern Evangelischen Jubel=Fest ...* (Gotha, 1719).

<sup>3</sup> *Sammlung der von E. Hochedlen Rathe der Stadt Hamburg ... vom Anfange des siebenzehnten Jahr=Hunderts bis auf die itzige Zeit ausgegangenen ... Mandate ...*, vol. 5, [ed. Johann Friedrich Blanck] (Hamburg, 1765), index, c1r–c3v: “Collecten für Fremde”; Schröder, “Verzeichniß der ergangenen Kirchen-Collecten in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein in den Jahren 1729 bis 1784,” *Neues Staatsbürgerliches Magazin* 4 (1836): 307–315; [Martin Körber,] *Oesel einst und jetzt*, vol. 1 (Kuressaare, 1887), 90f.; Franz Siewert, *Die Lübecker Rigafahrer-Compagnie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1896), 81; Tartu, Estonian Historical Archives (*Eesti Ajalooarhiiv*): 1000-1-4397: Akte betreffend Kollekten für die durch Feuersbrünste gelittene [sic] Städte und Einzelpersonen, für den Aufbau von Kirchen und für wohltätige Anstalten,

Bd. 1: 1675–1769 (nos. 4398 and 4399 of these records belonging to the Pärnu municipal archives are dealing with the period from 1770 to 1799); Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen: Nordeuropa und die Barbaresken in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin & New York, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Some examples must suffice: *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 1: København, part 2, by Jan Steenberg (Copenhagen, 1960–65), 476, 480; C. Klitgaard, “Flade Kirke,” *Jyske Samlinger*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser. 6 (1943–44): 74–86, here 78; Bengt Stolt, “En predikstol som kyrkovetenskapligt källmaterial,” *Kyrkohistoriskt årsskrift* 99 (1999): 25–39.

<sup>5</sup> *Zwischen Markt und Staat: Stifter und Stiftungen im transatlantischen Vergleich*, ed. Thomas Adam & James Retallack (Leipzig, 2001); *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin, 2005); Beyer, “Sønderborg-skipperes donationer” (as in n. 1); Nigel Goose & Henk Looijesteijn, “Almshouses in England and the Dutch Republic circa 1350–1800: A Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Social History* 45 (2011–12): 1049–1073; Thomas Adam, ‘Stiften für das Diesseits – Deutsche Stiftungen in der Neuzeit,’ *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 63 (2012), 5–20; Beyer, “Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion” (as in n. 1), 112–129. It is appropriate here to thank the author’s long-standing benefactor: the Targeted Financing Scheme SF0180040s08 at Tartu University Library.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Willem Frijhoff, “Johannes Lomejer (1636–1699), un historien du livre en route vers l’histoire culturelle,” in *The quintessence of lives: Intellectual biographies in the Low Countries presented to Jan Roegiers*, ed. Dries Vanysacker et al. (Turnhout, 2010), 205–225; Jürgen Beyer, “Zu Schulbesuch und Studium des späteren Apenrader Propstes Troels Arnkiel (1638–1712), besonders in Reval und Kiel,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 135 (2010): 131–146.

<sup>7</sup> The medieval church records available from the Baltic Sea area can in no way be compared to those from, say, England. For an example of the research possible in England, see Katherine L. French, “Rebuilding St. Margaret’s: parish involvement and community action in late medieval

Westminster,” *Journal of Social History* 45 (2011–12): 148–171, but even here no donations from outside the parish are mentioned.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Beyer, “Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion” (as in n. 1), 138.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Jürgen Beyer, “Gravmindevandring i Sankt Petri Kirke i København,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 2013: 79–99.

<sup>10</sup> Hugo Johannsen, “Svenskekalken,” in *Arvesølvet: Studier fra Nationalmuseet tilegnet Fritze Lindahl*, [ed. Poul Grønder-Hansen] ([Copenhagen,] 2003), 145–158.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Einar Molland, “Reformasjonens fedre eller ‘lysestaken’: Et tema i protestantismens ikonografi og dets forekomst i Norge,” *Aust-Agder-Arv: Årbok for Aust-Agder-Museet og Aust-Agder-Arkivet* 1971/72, 4–58, here 9f., 52f.; Jürgen Beyer, “Den så kallade stenmästargravstenen från 1570-talet i Vamlingbo kyrka på Gotland: Text, tolkning och bakgrund,” *Fornvännen* 106 (2011): 113–126; id., “Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion” (as in n. 1), 106–110.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 7: Bornholm, by O[tto] Norn, C. G. Schultz & Erik Skov (Copenhagen, 1954), 82, 92, 218, 323, 425, 447, 481, 505, 528, 569; *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 21: Tønder Amt, by Erik Moltke, Elna Møller & Vibeke Michelsen (Copenhagen, 1957), 332, 402, 530, 657, 694, 731. A recent study on the language of bell inscriptions does not even discuss the practicalities of placing the text on the object: Jürgen Macha, “Die Sprache von Glockeninschriften. Variation, Konvergenz und Divergenz unter dem Einfluss von Reformation und Gegenreformation,” in *Traditionen, Zäsuren, Umbrüche: Inschriften des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit im historischen Kontext*, ed. Christine Magin, Ulrich Schindel & Christine Wulf (Wiesbaden, 2008), 103–121.

<sup>13</sup> Petersen, “Aus dem Leben des Pastors Matthias Henck in Emmelsbüll: Ein Predigerbild aus Nordfriesland,” *Schriften des Vereins für schleswig-holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. 3 (1904–05): 228–265, here 244; cf. *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein*, vol. [3]: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Südtondern, by Heinrich Brauer, Wolfgang Scheffler & Hans Weber (Berlin, 1939), 87. For another radically changed bell inscription, see *Sveriges kyrkor: Gotland*, vol. 4: [Kräklinge setting], by Johnny Roosval et al. (Stockholm, 1959–64), 770f.

<sup>14</sup> *Haapsalu linnakirik* (Tallinn, 1913), 8.

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<sup>15</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 81, cf. also 46.

<sup>16</sup> *Turun arkkihiippakunta*, vol. 6: Naantalin rovastikunta, by Henrik Lilius, Sigrid Nikula & Tove Riska (Helsinki, 1972), 73.

<sup>17</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 447.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Paul Johansen, "Købmandskirke," in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, vol. 10 (Malmö, 1965), 74f.; Hugo Yrwing, "De s. k. köpmanskyrkorna," *Fornvännen* 75 (1980): 44–57; Ebbe Gert Rasmussen, "I vor købstad Rønne: Greifswaldere på Bornholm i middelalderen," *Bornholmske samlinger*, 3. ser. 6 (1992): 57–80; Antjekathrin Graßmann, "Kirchliches Leben in den hansischen Niederlassungen des Auslandes," in *Der Kaufmann und der liebe Gott: Zu Kommerz und Kirche in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. ead. (Trier, 2009), 113–130.

<sup>19</sup> Christer Westerdahl, "Skärgårdskapell i Norden: En kortfattad översikt med några reflexioner," *Hikuin* 33 (2006): 155–186.

<sup>20</sup> To a small extent, to be precise, both monasteries and pilgrimages survived the Reformation, but that does not change the overall picture (cf. Eckart Reblin, "Das Hochadlige Jungfernkloster St. Johannis," *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2. ser. 47 (1996): 7–39; Jürgen Beyer, "Conceptions of holiness in the Lutheran countries, c. 1550–1700," in *Papers delivered at the symposium Christian Folk Religion*, [ed. Ülo Valk, vol. 2] (Tartu, 1999), 137–168, here 156f.).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Robert Murray, *Finska församlingen i Stockholm intill tiden för Finlands skiljande från Sverige* (Stockholm, 1954); Lauri Pihlajamaa, *Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan papisto 1533–1999* (Stockholm, 2000); Lauri Pihlajamaa, Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan ensimmäinen saarnaaja: Mathias Westh?, *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 100 (2010): 71–92; Bror-Erik Ohlsson & Mats Selén, "Den tyska församlingen i Eskilstuna 1658–1741 – ett stycke lokalthistoria," in *Kyrka och krona i sörmländskt 1600-tal*, ed. Magnus Mörner & Aare Mörner (Mariefred, [1996]), 121–134; *Sankt Petri Kopenhagen 1575–2000: 425 Jahre Geschichte deutsch-dänischer Begegnung in Biographien ...*, ed. Jürgen Beyer & Johannes Jensen (Copenhagen, 2000); Holger Fr. Rørdam, "Om de tydske Menigheder i Danmark i 17de Aarhundrede, navnlig i Christian IV.'s og Frederik III.'s Tid," *Kirkehistoriske*

*Samlinger* 5 (1864–66): 134–224; Sven Avnby, *Sct. Michaelis Kirke: Tyske Kirke i Fredericia 1668–1993* (Fredericia, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jens Lauritsøn Wolf, *ENCOMION REGNI DANIÆ, Det er: Danmarckes Rjges Lof / oc dets høyloflige Konge Riges ... Beskriffvelse ...* (Copenhagen, 1654), 366.

<sup>23</sup> In the Swedish case, the ecclesiastical manual of 1693 (*Hand=Bok / Ther vti är författat / huruledes Gudztiensten / med Christelige Ceremonier och kyrckioseder / vti våra Swenska Församlingar skal blifwa hällen och förhandlad. Förbättrad och förmehrad i Stockholm åhr 1599. öffwersedd åhr 1608. Och numehra efter nyja kyrckioordningen inrättad åhr 1693.* (Stockholm, 1693)) was translated into Finnish, German, Estonian and Latvian. However, this was not done primarily for the benefit of the Finnish and German parishes in a place like Stockholm, but rather for Finnish churches in Finland and German churches in Estonia and Livonia: *Käsi=Kiria / Josa käsitetty on / Cuinga Jumalan=Palwelus / Christillisten Ceremoniain ja Kircon=menoin canßa / meidän Seuracunnisam pidettämän ja toimitettaman pitä ... Uloskäy nyt Suomexi ...* (Turku, [1694]); *Hand=Buch / Worinnen verfasst ist / welcher gestalt Der GOTTes=Dienst mit Christlichen Ceremonien und Kirchen=Gebrauchen in unseren Schwedischen Versam[l]ungen [sic] gehalten und verrichtet werden soll ... Aus dem Schwedischen in das Teutsche übersetzt im Jahr 1708* (Riga, [1708?]). The same applies obviously to the Estonian and Latvian versions. Since there were no congregations using these languages in Sweden, they must have been used in Estonia and Livonia: *Kässi=Ramat / Kumma sisse on kokkopantut / Kuida Jummalatenistust / CHristlikko Kombede nink Kirko=Wiside ka meie Ma Koggudeste sees peap peetama nink techtama ...* (Tallinn, 1699); *Rohkas=Grahmata Kurrâ sarakstihts irr / us kahdu Wihsi Tai DIewa=Kalposchanai / ar Kristigahm Ceremoniehm un Basnizas=Eeraddumeem / eeksch muhsu Sweedru=Walstes Draudsehm buhs noturretai un padarritai tapt ... Latweescho Wallodâ istulkota Gaddâ 1708. ...* (Riga, 1708).

<sup>24</sup> H[ans] D[aniel] Lind, *Kong Kristian den Fjerde og hans Mænd på Bremerholm* (Copenhagen, 1889), 412–427; H[ans] D[aniel] Lind, “Skibspræster fra Kong Christian den Femtes Tid,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser. 4 (1907–09): 663–689; *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 3, by Joh. Baltzer & F[riedrich] Bruns (Lubeck, 1920), 407f.; Ruth & Ulf

Hamran, "Skipsprestens ostindiske koppestell," *Aust-Agder-Arv: Årbok for Aust-Agder-Museet og Aust-Agder-Arkivet* 1973/74: 216–221, here 219; Ottomar Paul, "Mönche und Maaten: Das Burgkloster zu Lübeck und seine Beziehung zu den Seefahrern," in *1906–1981: Deutsche Seemannsmission in Lübeck e. V.* ([Lubeck, 1981]), 6–19, here 17f.; Friedrich Hammer & Herwarth v. Schade, *Die Hamburger Pastorinnen und Pastoren seit der Reformation*, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1995), 92; Jürgen Beyer, "Se Gotland och sedan dö: Axel Gyldenstiernes besök på ön 1603," *Haimdagar* 2010:1/2: 52–54.

<sup>25</sup> Arvo Tering, *Lexikon estländischer, livländischer und kurländischer Studenten an europäischen Universitäten 1561–1800*, ed. Jürgen Beyer (Cologne, forthcoming), cf. the index under "Leiden" (more than 50 cases).

<sup>26</sup> Copies of both letters: Lubeck, Municipal Archives (*Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*; abbreviated: AHL): Kaufmännische Archive. Schonenfahrerkompanie: no. 1160: Beschwerde der wendischen Städte gegen Wegnahme von Gestühl und Wappen in der Kirche von Elbogen. 1600: "[I]n derselben Kirchen Ihre Fenster, darin des Kaufmans Waffen, die sie vnd Ire Anteceßores, darin gegeben haben." "Waffen" should not be understood as "weapons" but as "coats of arms." The modern distinction between *Waffen* and *Wappen* first developed in the sixteenth century in High German and probably even later in Low German which was the language most likely to be spoken by the author of this source (cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, ed. Wolfgang Pfeifer (Munich, 7th ed. 2004), 1529, 1539; Beate Hennig et al., *Hamburgisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 5 (Neumünster, 2006), 636f., 653).

<sup>27</sup> Herman Schlyter, "S:t Petri kyrka i Malmö och dess 'märkvärdigheter,'" *Elbogen: Malmö fornminnesförenings tidskrift* 19 (1989): 73–98, here 90, indicates that "Hansans köpmän hade sina bänkar i södra sidoskeppet nära vapenhuset," but it is not clear whether this was before or after they had been moved.

<sup>28</sup> A map (dated 1747) of numbered tombs in and around the Malmö church is printed in Einar Bager, *Malmöhistoria i sten*, vol. [1] (Malmö, 1958), 15f., but unfortunately without indicating the owners of these graves.

<sup>29</sup> Copy in AHL: Kaufmännische Archive. Schonenfahrerkompanie: no. 1166: Ystadt und Malmö (Elbogen): Beschwerden des hansischen Kaufmanns,

bes. wegen Wegnahme von Kirchenfenstern, Wappen und Begräbnisplätzen in dortigen Kirchen. 1545–1625 (document dated August 4, 1625).

<sup>30</sup> AHL: Kaufmännische Archive. Schonenfahrerkompanie: no. 1151: Buch über Beiträge zur Reparatur des lübischen Hauses und der Kirche in Falsterbo. 1650–1653; *ibid.*, no. 1167: Reparatur des Kaufmannshauses und der Kirche in Falsterbo. 1619, 1641–1655.

<sup>31</sup> Olof Palme, *Mariakyrkan i Ystad ...* (Stockholm, 1917), 6.

<sup>32</sup> Hans Wählin, *Landskrona forna kyrka och dess minnesmärken ...* (Malmö, 1939), 25f., quotation 25: "Den lybeckska skepparestolen."

<sup>33</sup> *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4, by Joh. Baltzer, F[riedrich] Bruns & H[ugo] Rahtgens (Lubeck, 1928), 554f.

<sup>34</sup> *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4 (as in n. 33), 572 (based on the description of J. H. Schnabel who died in 1802; the windows are not preserved). Coat of arms (*Stadtwapen*) here probably refers to the red-white Lubeck flag, not to the eagle.

<sup>35</sup> Beyer, "Sønderborg-skipperes donationer" (as in n. 1), 89, 93: "Till Gudz ära och Kyrckians prydnad hafwa föliande denna målning förährt. ANNO 1730 Christian Hööck. Mathias Rijper Jöns Jöranson Hophman och Hans Krabbe ifrån Sönderborg."

<sup>36</sup> The text was somewhat mutilated when panels were cut to size during a later rebuilding. These places are indicated by " | " in the transscription: "Diesen Chor haben unterbenandte [sic] woterfahrne [sic] | schiffers [sic] von Son | rburch, Zur Ge | s Ehre, Der kirch | Zirath, undt ih | Nahmens gedäc | auß Staffier | lassen; AN | O 1704 den 21 Se | ptembris" (Beyer, "Sønderborg-skipperes donationer" (as in n. 1), 89).

<sup>37</sup> Beyer, "Sønderborg-skipperes donationer" (as in n. 1), 90, 96: "SCHIFER · HANS · JASPERSEN · VON · SONDERBVRG ANNO 1704."

<sup>38</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Gotland*, vol. 3: Hejde setting, by Johnny Roosval ([Stockholm,] 1942), 360; cf. also P[er] A[rvid] Säve, *Ur Handelns och näringarnas sagor från gutarnas ö: Kulturhistoriska bilder* (Visby, 1937), 23, as well as n. 32 above.

<sup>39</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Gotland*, vol. 4 (as in n. 13), 752: "DETTA ÄR FRI BÄNCK FÖR DEE RESANDE," cf. also 755.

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<sup>40</sup> Armin Tuulse, “Runö gamla kyrka,” *Eesti Teadusliku Seltsi Rootsis aastaraamat* 2 (1950–54): 32–46, here 37f.

<sup>41</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*. Bornholm (as in n. 12), 60.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Rasmussen, “I vor købstad Rønne” (as in n. 18).

<sup>43</sup> Avnby, *Sct. Michaelis Kirke* (as in n. 21), 12.

<sup>44</sup> Paul v. Hedemann-Heespen, “Das Patronat in Schleswig-Holstein: Eine vorläufige Übersicht,” *Schriften des Vereins für schleswig-holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. 6 (1914–17): 21–62; Norbert Buske, “Rechte und Pflichten eines Kirchenpatrons in Schwedisch-Pommern,” in *Lebenswelt und Lebenswirklichkeit des Adels im Ostseeraum: Festgabe zum 80. Geburtstag von Bernhard Diestelkamp*, ed. Nils Jörn & Haik Thomas Porada (Hamburg, 2009), 171–187; Peter Ullgren, *Godsherrskapen och kyrkan: Krapperups relationer till Brunnby kyrka ca 1748–1900* (Nyhamnsläge, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*. Bornholm (as in n. 12), 132, 170; for other imprints of this patron on the church see 157, 171. The altarpiece of the church was possibly given by an earlier patron (159–161), while later ones also contributed to the church (171).

<sup>46</sup> Tuulse, “Runö gamla kyrka” (as in n. 40), 32f.

<sup>47</sup> Erik Granstedt, “Gyllenhielm, Karl Karlsson,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 17 (Stockholm, 1967–69), 569–575; Anna Götzlinger, “Gyllenhjemska skolan,” *Eskilstuna museer: Årsbok 1989–91*: 103–109; Jürgen Beyer, “George Reichard und Laurentius Matthæi: Schulmeister, Küster, Verfasser, Buchhändler und Verleger im letzten Jahrzehnt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,” in *Lesen und Schreiben in Europa 1500–1900: Vergleichende Perspektiven – Perspectives comparées – Perspettive comparate*, ed. Alfred Messerli & Roger Chartier (Basle, 2000), 299–333, here 326f.

<sup>48</sup> “Förteckning på Magnus Gabriel DelaGardies frikostighet mot kyrkor, scholor och hospitaler,” *DelaGardiska Archivet* 6 (1835): 196–198; cf. also Ormsö kyrkokrönika 1539–1944, [ed. Margareta Hammerman] (Stockholm & Tallinn, 2007), 32–35.

<sup>49</sup> Klitgaard, “Flade Kirke” (as in n. 4), 83f.; cf. also [Laurids de Thurah,] *Omstændelig og Tilforladelig Beskrivelse af Øen Samsøe, Og De derunder hørende smaae Øer ...* (Copenhagen, 1758), 65; Jürgen Beyer, “Ein Husumer

Gebetsheiler (1680/81) – vom Bankrotteur zur Heiligenfigur,” *Kieler Blätter zur Volkskunde* 37 (2005): 7–29, here 18.

<sup>50</sup> D[avid] W[ilhelm] Dunckel, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte der Deutschen Gemeinde zu Gothenburg*, vol. 1 (Gothenburg, 1849), 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Ålands kyrkor*, vol. 1: Hammarland och Eckerö, by Åsa Ringbom & Christina Remmer ([Mariehamn,] 1995), 22, 168; Westerdahl, “Skärgårdskapell” (as in n. 19), 157.

<sup>52</sup> [Eduard Hach,] *Verzeichniß der Privat-Wohlthätigkeits-Anstalten im Lübeckischen Freistaate, mit Angabe des Vermögens, der Einnahmen, der Stiftungs-Urkunden und Bestimmungen, sowie der herkömmlichen und durch spätere Anordnungen festgestellten Verwaltung ...* (Lubeck, 1901), 133.

<sup>53</sup> AHL: St. Marien, P: Leuchter und Lichter, no. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Hach, *Verzeichniß* (as in n. 52), 3. On Lubeck wills for the benefit of foreign churches, cf. also August-Wilhelm Eßmann, *Vom Eigennutz zum Gemeinnutz: Gemeine, fromme und milde Legate von Lübecker und Kölner Bürgern des 17. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel ihrer Testamente* (Lubeck, 2007), 108f.

<sup>55</sup> Sven-Gunnar Sundberg, *Offerkyrkor i gamla Växjöstiftet: En vallfartssed under den lutherska ortodoxins tid* (Växjö, 1989); Anne Eriksen, “Valfart og vortiv,” in *Sæt ikke vantro i min overtroes stæd: Studier i folketro og folkelig religiøsitet: Festskrift til Ørnulf Hodne ...*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen & Anne Eriksen (Oslo, 1995), 81–101; Nils–Arvid Bringéus, *Vallfärder till S:t Olof* ([Simrishamn,] 1997); Monica Weikert, *I sjukdom och nød: Offerkyrkoseden i Sverige från 1600-tal till 1800-tal* (Gothenburg, 2004).

<sup>56</sup> Carl Linnæus, *Skånska Resa ...* (Stockholm, 1751), 235.

<sup>57</sup> Klitgaard, “Flade Kirke” (as in n. 4), 84f.

<sup>58</sup> Jan Ingar Hansen, “Løvøykapellet,” *Borreminne: Årsskrift for Borre Historielag* 14 (1998–99): 99–101. This rescue, however, is not mentioned in the family history published one hundred years ago. Lorentzen died in 1737 when his ship sank off the Flemish coast (I. F. Lorentzen, *Holmestrandsfamilien Lorentzen: En borgerslekt gjennem 300 aar* (Kristiania, 1913), 16–18).

<sup>59</sup> S[everin] C[hristensen] Sortfeld, “‘Den hellige Kirke i Thy’ (Jannerup Kirke) og dens Blok,” *Samlinger til jydsk Historie og Topografi*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 3 (1917–19): 338–350, here 339, 348f.

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<sup>60</sup> Fredrik Scheel, "Skibsfarten gaar tilbage: 1815–1825," in *Den norske sjøfarts historie fra de ældste tider til vore dage*, [ed. Jacob S. Worm-Müller,] vol. 2, 1 (Oslo, 1935), 109–143, here 131.

<sup>61</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 4: Holbæk Amt, part 3, by Marie-Louise Jørgensen & Hugo Johannsen (Copenhagen, 1986), 2041: "Mig Friderich Rostgaard har til Seyrö kirke givet for hand bleev ved helbred og ved livet vdlovet 1711." Bells often speak in the first person in their inscriptions, after all they have a voice of their own. For other donations by Rostgaard, see 1999, 2013, 2022f., 2028–2030, 2035. On Rostgaard, see R. Paulli, "Rostgaard, Frederik," in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, vol. 12 (Copenhagen, 3rd ed. 1982), 404–406.

<sup>62</sup> *Borgå stift*, vol. 1: Åbolands prosteri, part 1, by Sigrid Nikula (Helsinki, 1973), 194, 204.

<sup>63</sup> [Laurids de Thurah,] *Omstændelig og tilforladelig Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm ...* (Copenhagen, 1756), 158; *Danmarks Kirker*. Bornholm (as in n. 12), 104: "Anno 1673 den 4. December des Abens [sic] zwischen 8 und 9 Uhren verunglückte alhie an Schwonick Johan Hennings Bürger aus Lubek und hat diese Krone zu Ehre Gottes und der Kirchen zum Ziraht verehrt." This chandelier is now lost (Robert Egevang & Flemming Larsen, *Svaneke: Guide til byens historie* (Svaneke, 1993), 59). Possibly 1673 is a misreading or misspelling for 1678. In this case, Hennings might have commanded one of the four Lubeck ships which formed part of the Swedish fleet shipwrecked off Bornholm that year on the same day (*LISTA Derer unter Bornholm Anno 1678. zwischen den 4. und 5. Decembris gestrandeten und gefangenen Schweden* (n. pl., n. d.), )4v (the names of the ships are not given); cf. also n. 122).

<sup>64</sup> Beyer, "Sønderborg-skipperes donationer" (as in n. 1), 92.

<sup>65</sup> De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse af Øen Samsø* (as in n. 49), 65f.; *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 16: Århus Amt, part 5, by Kield de Fine Licht, Vibeke Michelsen & Niels Jørgen Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1983–87), 2402f., 2405.

<sup>66</sup> [Anngret Pods & Henning Henningsen,] *Kirkeskibe i Danmark og de tidligere hertugdømmer Slesvig og Holsten: En billedbog* (Rendsburg, n. d.), 26.

<sup>67</sup> Helena Edgren & Markus Hiekkänen, "Havet, kapellen och franciskanerna," *Hikuin* 20 (1993): 155–170, here 164.

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<sup>68</sup> Richard Haupt, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein ...*, vol. 2 (Kiel, 1888), 362; Hans Hinrich Harbeck, *Chronik von Bramstedt* (Hamburg, 1959), 23, 375.

<sup>69</sup> *ORDINAIRE Post=Tidinger* [Copenhagen] 1681: no. 27 (July 6), 32 (July 20) & 36 (August 17); Harbeck, *Chronik* (as in n. 68), 375–405.

<sup>70</sup> Ludwig Andresen, "Der Gesundbrunnen bei Rohrkarr," *Die Heimat: Monatsschrift des Vereins zur Pflege der Natur- und Landeskunde in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Lübeck und dem Fürstentum Lübeck* 38 (1928): 104–107, here 105; on miraculous wells cf. Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Repräsentationen von Heilwassern und -quellen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Badeorte, lutherische Wunderquellen und katholische Wallfahrten," in *Säkularisierungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Methodische Probleme und empirische Fallstudien*, [ed. Matthias Pohlig et al.] (Berlin, 2008), 277–330; Jürgen Beyer, "Wunderheilung," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 14 (Berlin & New York, forthcoming).

<sup>71</sup> Pods & Henningsen, *Kirkeskibe* (as in n. 66), 9; cf. also De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm* (as in n. 63), 153; Erling Vegusdal, *Gammelt or Beiera* (Oslo, 1979), 102f.

<sup>72</sup> *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4 (as in n. 33), 601.

<sup>73</sup> *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4 (as in n. 33), 584.

<sup>74</sup> *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4 (as in n. 33), 585.

<sup>75</sup> Peder Claésson, "Ljuskrönan i Våthults kyrka," *Släkt och hävd* 1990/91: 321.

<sup>76</sup> Johannes Peringskiöldus [Johan Peringskiöld], *MONUMENTORUM SVEO-GOTHICORUM LIBER PRIMUS, UPLANDIÆ PARTEM PRIMARIAM THIUNDIAM CONTINENS, Cum ANTIQUITATIBUS AC INSCRIPTIONIBUS ...* (Stockholm, 1710), 277; cf. also Gunnar Hellström, *Stockholm stads herdaminne från reformationen intill tillkomsten av Stockholms stift: Biografisk matrikel* (Stockholm, 1951), 279.

<sup>77</sup> Petersen, "Aus dem Leben" (as in n. 13), 243; *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein. Kreis Südtondern* (as in n. 13), 86.

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<sup>78</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. Tønder Amt* (as in n. 12), 422, 425.

<sup>79</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. Tønder Amt* (as in n. 12), 332: “de kercke darin er gedöfft Inwending [sic] zum vermalen und stafferen.”

<sup>80</sup> De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm* (as in n. 63), 137f.; *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 56f.

<sup>81</sup> Friedrich Seestern-Pauly, *Actenmäßiger Bericht über die in dem Herzogthume Holstein vorhandenen milden Stiftungen*, vol. 2 (Sleswick, 1831), 209.

<sup>82</sup> Olof Langlet, “Äldre ljuskronor, väggarmar och väggplåtar i Ulricehamns kyrka samt deras givare,” *Ulricehamns kulturhus: Verksamhetsberättelse 1974*: 12–19, here 12.

<sup>83</sup> Pods & Henningsen, *Kirkeskibe* (as in n. 66), 46.

<sup>84</sup> Kaalu Kirme, *Kirikuhõbe uusajast tänapäevani* (Tallinn, 2012), 119; Nicolai von Essen, *Genealogisches Handbuch der oeselschen Ritterschaft* (n. pl., 1935), 31; O. M. von Stackelberg, *Genealogisches Handbuch der estländischen Ritterschaft*, vol. 1 (Görlitz, [1931]), 482, 619.

<sup>85</sup> De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse af Øen Samsø* (as in n. 49), 25f.; *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 4: Holbæk Amt, part 4, by Marie-Louise Jørgensen et al. (Herning, 1990), 2690.

<sup>86</sup> Kurt Nielsen & Søren Skovfo, *Nibe Kirke: Dens bygning, udsmykning og mennesker* ([Nibe,] 1995), 38f., 43f., 48.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. n. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Sortfeld, “Den hellige Kirke i Thy” (as in n. 59), 344, 349; *Hellvi LI:a-1: Kyrkoräkenskaper pro 1651–1735*, [ed. Anders R. Johansson] ([Lärbro, 2000]), anno 1735; Tryggve Siltberg, *Gotlandskyrkan under dansktiden* (Visby, forthcoming), ch. 40.

<sup>89</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. København*, part 2 (as in n. 4), 479–481, quotation 479: “en fattig kirke i Jylland.”

<sup>90</sup> Michael Behrens, “Historia ecclesiae Wandesebecensis,” ed. Eickhoff, *Schriften des Vereins für schleswig-holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. 6 (1914–17): 63–96, here 73f.; *Kirchen-Inventar für die Glückstädter Stadt= und Landgemeinde* (Glückstadt, [1862]), 4f.; Franz Michaelsen, “Die Stadtkirche,” in *Glückstadt im Wandel der Zeiten*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt, 1966), 108–127, here 108; *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 115.

<sup>91</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Gotland*, vol. 3 (as in n. 38), 173; [Laurids de Thurah,] *Omstændelig og Tilforladelig Beskrivelse over den liden Øe Amager ...* (Copenhagen, 1758), 45; id., *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm* (as in n. 63), 60, 62, 76, 102, 112, 116, 119, 133 (fig. XV), 159f., 174, 181–183; *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm*, 63, 89, 91, 104, 124, 160f., 172, 218, 359, 533.

<sup>92</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 1: København, part 1, by Victor Hermansen, Aage Rousell & Jan Steenberg (Copenhagen, 1945–58), 142, 265, 319f., 542, 688f.; *Danmarks Kirker. København*, part 2 (as in n. 4), 104–106, 308, 443, 578.

<sup>93</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. København*, part 1 (as in n. 92), 314, 316, 319 et passim; *Danmarks Kirker. København*, part 2 (as in n. 4), 289, 292, 476f., 479 et passim.

<sup>94</sup> On some cases of death in foreign lands not leaving visible traces, see Beyer, “Se Gotland och sedan dö” (as in n. 24).

<sup>95</sup> J[ohn] Wilhelm Hamner, *Visby domkyrkas gravstenar* (Stockholm, 1933), 41; *Sveriges kyrkor: Gotland*, vol. [11, 2] (no. 202): Visby Domkyrka. Inledning, by Gunnar & Karin Svahnström (Stockholm, 1986), 84, 88–91.

<sup>96</sup> Visby, Public Record Office (*Landsarkivet*): Personarkiv Karl Peter Kristiansson, F III 10:1, no. 2: Inskriptioner (1889), 58.

<sup>97</sup> De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm* (as in n. 63), 118; *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 92.

<sup>98</sup> *Danmarks Kirker. Bornholm* (as in n. 12), 582.

<sup>99</sup> Whether the monuments also formally became the property of the church, is a different question altogether, cf. for the legal situation at Lubeck: Georg Fink, “Gutachtlicher Bericht betr. die Eigentumsverhältnisse der Kunstgegenstände in Lübeckischen Kirchen (1930),” ed. Antjekathrin Graßmann, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 84 (2004): 225–247.

<sup>100</sup> *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein*, vol. 10: Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Schleswig, part 2: Der Dom und der ehemalige Dombezirk, by Dietrich Ellger et al. ([Munich,] 1966), 545–620; *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 6: Gravminnen, by Herman Bengtsson (Uppsala, 2010), 1–226; Eugen v. Nottbeck & Wilh[elm] Neumann, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt [Reval]* (Tallinn, 1904), 43–60, 141–145.

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<sup>101</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 5: Inredning och inventarier, by Herman Bengtsson et al. (Uppsala, 2010), 151f., 154f., 176; *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 6 (as in n. 100), 175.

<sup>102</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 5 (as in n. 101), 167f.

<sup>103</sup> J[ohan] H[enrik] Schröder, *Upsala domkyrka och dess märkvärdigheter* (Uppsala, 2nd ed. 1857), 19.

<sup>104</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 3: Københavns Amt, part 4, by Erik Moltke & Elna Møller (Copenhagen, 1951), 515–689.

<sup>105</sup> *Samlinger af Publique og Private Stiftelser, FUNDATIONER og Gavebreve ...*, ed. Hans de Hofman, vol. 9 (Copenhagen, 1763), 183f.; an anonymous donation of 1738 on p. 202.

<sup>106</sup> *Samlinger* (as in n. 105), 185 (two cases of 1712 and 1713 respectively).

<sup>107</sup> A[dam] O[learius], *Kurtzer Begriff Einer Holsteinischen CHRONIC ...* (Sleswick, 1663), 238; *Kirchen-Inventar* (as in n. 90), 4; Haupt, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein*, vol. 2 (as in n. 68), 462; Michaelsen, “Die Stadtkirche” (as in n. 90), 108.

<sup>108</sup> *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein*. Stadt Schleswig, part 2 (as in n. 100), 474 (with printing error “1550” in stead of “1559”).

<sup>109</sup> Wolf, *ENCOMION* (as in n. 22), 336f.; *Danmarks Kirker*. København, part 1 (as in n. 92), 48.

<sup>110</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 5 (as in n. 101), 182–184, 291–294.

<sup>111</sup> *Sveriges kyrkor: Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 5 (as in n. 101), 152, 326–330; Björn Asker, “Stenbock, Magnus,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 33 (Stockholm, 2007–11), 278–285.

<sup>112</sup> Johannsen, “Svenskekalken,” (as in n. 10).

<sup>113</sup> Petrus Johannis Resenius [Peder Hansen Resen], *INSCRIPTIONES HAFNIENSES ...* (Copenhagen, 1668), 149; *Danmarks Kirker*. København, part 1 (as in n. 92), 551.

<sup>114</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*. København, part 1 (as in n. 92), 326.

<sup>115</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*. Holbæk Amt, part 4 (as in n. 85), 2705f., 2690–2693.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Lutz Röhrich, “Gespannwunder,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 5 (Berlin & New York, 1985–87), 1179–1186.

<sup>117</sup> Julius Münter, "Ueber diverse in Pommerns Kirchen und Schlössern conservirte Walthier-Knochen," *Mittheilungen aus dem naturwissenschaftlichen Vereine von Neu-Vorpommern und Rügen* 5/6 (1873–74): 31–75; Arnold Japha, "Zusammenstellung der in der Ostsee bisher beobachteten Wale," *Schriften der Physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg in Pr.* 49 (1908): 119–189; Ingvar Svanberg, "'Ett sijdobehn aff en Jungfru': Om valben i svenska kyrkor," *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* 129 (2006): 91–121.

<sup>118</sup> Copenhagen, Public Record Office for Zealand, Lolland-Falster and Bornholm (*Landsarkivet for Sjælland, Lolland-Falster og Bornholm*): Københavnske kirkearkiver, no. 11: Skt. Petri kirke, H.3: Korrespondence, Kopibøger og journaler, Hovedprotokol C (1736–47), 20. According to Louis Bobé, *Die deutsche St. Petri Gemeinde zu Kopenhagen: Ihre Kirche, Schulen und Stiftungen MDLXXV–MCMXXV* (Copenhagen, 1925), 192, who unfortunately cannot be trusted in every detail, the donator was a tailor.

<sup>119</sup> M[artin] R[einhard Krüger] Ursin, *Stiftsstadten Viborg: En topografisk, historisk og statistisk Beskrivelse med tilhørende Grundtegnig* (Copenhagen, 1849), 180.

<sup>120</sup> Dunckel, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte* (as in n. 50), 21.

<sup>121</sup> *Danmarks Kirker*. Holbæk Amt, part 3 (as in n. 61), 2041.

<sup>122</sup> De Thurah, *Omstændelig ... Beskrivelse, Over ... Bornholm* (as in n. 63), 111f. (on the naval disaster, see 263–267); *Danmarks Kirker*. Bornholm (as in n. 12), 376.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Michael Werner & Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond comparison: *histoire croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30–50.

<sup>124</sup> Beyer, "Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion" (as in n. 1), 119f.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Vibeke Michelsen, "Genbrug af gravsten," in *Kirkens bygning og brug: Studier tilegnet Elna Møller*, [ed. Hugo Johannsen] (Copenhagen, 1983), 181–200.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Beyer, "Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion" (as in n. 1), 145.

<sup>127</sup> On this term, cf. Willem Frijhoff, "Wetenschap uit de tweede hand," in *Bij de wereld wil ik horen! Zesendertig columns & drie essays over de vorming tot academicus*, ed. Henk Procee et al. (Amsterdam, 2004), 61–63.

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<sup>128</sup> *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, ed. Werner Hofmann (Munich, 1983); Wolfgang Brückner, "Kulturprägung durch Konfession: Evangelisches Volksleben in Franken und seine Erforschung," *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 19 (1992): 129–154; id., "Konfession, Konfessionen," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 8 (Berlin & New York, 1994–96), 116–122; R[obert] W. Scribner, *Religion and culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leyden, 2001); Renate Dürr, "Prophetie und Wunderglauben: Zu den kulturellen Folgen der Reformation," *Historische Zeitschrift* 281 (2005): 3–32.

<sup>129</sup> Hilding Pleijel, *Svensk lutherdom: Studier i luthersk fromhet och svensk folkkultur* (Stockholm, 1944); Pentti Laasonen, *Pohjois-Karjalan luterilainen kirkollinen kansankulttuuri Ruotsin vallan aikana* (Helsinki, 1967).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Jürgen Beyer, "Mis teeb Eesti luterluse kultuuriloole huvitavaks?," *Vikerkaar* 24,7/8 (2009): 79–90.

<sup>131</sup> For other applications of this approach, see Beyer, "Stiftung, Plazierung und Funktion" (as in n. 1); id., *Lay prophets in Lutheran Europe (c. 1550–1700)* (Leyden & Boston, forthcoming).

<sup>132</sup> A comparison between confessions – a theme often discussed in English and German language research – concerning donations as such, however, should rather be based on donations by locals, as these are much better documented and occurred more frequently.