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Parsonages in the North in the 1600s and 1700s – Ibestad, Tranøy, Tromsø and Karlsøy

The aim of this article is to offer a description and analysis of the changes at the parsonages and in the parsons' material conditions during the process of the protracted Reformation. The parson lived at the parsonage, and following the Reformation, he lived together with wife and children – the clerical family. The parsonage served a variety of functions: revenue-generating farm, family dwelling as well as place for preparing and performing the official duties. This work will focus on the family's living conditions from a broad perspective, and the material conditions as farm, houses, furniture and equipment will be investigated. The main question is to what degree the Reformation led to changes in the material culture of the parsonages. It is difficult to say if changes in the material culture depended on the Reformation as event and process, or if long-term structural circumstances in Europe, such as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, were the driving forces for changes. Another question is to what degree the parsonages, in this period, functioned as innovation centres in the north and thus spread ideas and expanded the area of European culture.

There are not a large number of sources to provide information on material conditions in the period following the Reformation. In northern Norway, no buildings and very little furniture from this period have survived. There are also few archaeological investigations to base one's research upon. Some answers can be found in the written sources. The source material from the 1500s is rather sparse, but there is some material available from the 1600s and more plentiful from the 1700s. Due to the source situation, I have limited my scope to 1600s and 1700s, and this makes it possible to see changes over time. The study is limited to the parishes of Ibestad, Tranøy and Tromsø. Trondenes was the main ecclesiastical centre of the north in the Middle Ages and for a time after the Reformation. A study of the parsonage at Trondenes would broaden the picture of this topic. The king's decision taken in Copenhagen in 1536, made Trondenes during the years to come, to change from a home and educational centre for a collegium of ecclesiastical men to a family residence – but this is a study in itself, and will have to be done by

archaeologist, cultural historian and architect in collaboration.¹ It is not the aim of this article to give a survey of the situation for the parsons' in all parts of northern Norway in the period after the Reformation. The parishes of Ibestad, Tranøy and Tromsø are the chosen examples.

The parsonage Houses, Furniture and Equipment – main sources

The best sources of information regarding houses, apart from the houses themselves, are in general the written appraisals made in connection with valuation of buildings, and these are the only sources that are based on the buildings themselves. Public appraisal proceedings were done and registered – now in the National Archives or State Archives.

The parish priest and his family lived at the rectory. It is difficult to find sources for which houses existed and how they were arranged in the 1500s and 1600s. King Christian V's Norwegian Code of 1687 also addresses the rectories. It informs about past conditions in Norway, regarding customary law:

As for the buildings of the rectory, which the parish priests inhabit, the following is the case: Where it from older times has been customary, the parishioners should erect and maintain three houses, which comprise a house to serve as the peoples' quarters, a building/chamber for noble visitors, and a stable. The remaining houses the parish priest himself, and his widow until the end of her grace year, will keep in good repair, as is justifiable in the case of *åbot*, whether it in the parish priest's lifetime, or following the parish priest's death, by the decree of the county governor of the diocese, or the county governor, should be assessed by the bailiff, the notary public, and the aforementioned men.²

The quote shows that there were two categories of official houses at the rectory; those that the parishioners were responsible for, and those that the clerical office was responsible for. In addition, there was a third category, which was not mentioned in the law – the parish priest's private houses. The buildings at the rectory were usually arranged around a central yard, and nobody could see that several parties were responsible for the construction and maintenance of the buildings.³

¹ An archeological excavation was done at the farm mound at Trondenes in 1962-64, but the material has not been analyzed or used in any way since then. There is also a list of ++++++ (Sigrun)

² Christian V's Norwegian Code of 1687, Book 2, Chapter 12, Article 4.

<http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/forskning/prosjekter/tingbok/kilder/chr5web/chr5register.html>

The Norwegian Code of 1687 replaced King Christian IV Norwegian Code from 1604, which in turn was based on Magnus the Lawmender's national law of 1274.

³ Horgen 1999 p. 157.

The term *åbot*⁴ is mentioned in the Code. The parish priest had a duty to maintain what befell the clerical office, also known as the clerical offices åbot-houses. The buildings that the parishioners were obliged to maintain were named the parishioners åbot-houses. When there was a change of parson or parish priest at the rectory, an appraisal would be carried out: the åbot-taxation, which included a description of the maintenance of the rectory.⁵ In the åbot proceedings, all the houses that belonged to the clerical office were mentioned, and usually also those of the parishioners. Deficiencies seen in relation to the ideal condition would be assessed, and the sum constituted the åbot that the resigning parson would pay to the next. Privately owned houses that the leaving parson sold to the new could be deducted from the åbot. In this manner, all the houses could be part of the appraisal. Åbot agreements should be entered in the court records, but some of the transactions appear to be missing, and at some rectories it was probably less common to have written agreements.⁶ The åbot appraisal proceedings for the rectories are found in the Magistrate-archives, as they were introduced into the court records in the 1600s and 1700s. What belonged to the clerical office and what belonged to the parishioners could indeed differ, especially in Nordland (which included today's Troms), and in Finnmark this system did not exist.⁷ A few åbot valuations exist for Ibestad, Tranøy and Tromsø rectories, and they clearly state that the parishioners had no obligation to maintain the rectory buildings.⁸

As mentioned, the parson could privately own some of the houses. A description of these buildings, together with furniture and other private belongings, can be found in the records of deceased people's estates, the probate inventories. Clerical estate administration started when privileges were introduced for the clergy in 1661. When a

⁴ *Åbot* = indemnity for the neglect of a rented property, was used in several senses, the most common of which is the duty of a tenant farmer to maintain the house and land. *Åbot* is also used with reference to the maintenance itself, and finally in regard to the compensation that the tenant would pay to the owner for neglected maintenance of the rented property. Horgen 1999 pp. 154-155.

⁵ Horgen 1999 p. 311.

⁶ Horgen 1999 pp. 154-155

⁷ Horgen 1999 p. 238. In Finnmark, however, there were no houses reserved for the clerical office until the 1800s. Until then the parish priest had to personally find housing for himself, usually by buying from the previous person, and maintenance was the owner's responsibility.

⁸ For Tranøy: Ekstrarettsprotokoll 69, 1798, pp. 87a–90a, where it at p. 89b reads: The parishioners have not had any obligations to maintenance at this parsonage.

For Ibestad: Ekstrarettsprotokoll 69, 1807, pp. 293b–296a, where it at p. 295b reads: The parishioners have not had to build houses to maintain.

For Tromsø: Sandvik 1965 p.126.

parson died, the rural dean along with two parsons would carry out the distribution of the deceased person's estate. The estate distribution should be carried out in the same manner for widows of the clergy, if they did not remarry outside their group.⁹ The rule was that the surviving spouse did not remarry before the administration and division of the estate had been completed and settled between the heirs. A public distribution of the estate was required when there were underage heirs or heirs who could not be present or represented.¹⁰ Sons were minors until the age of 18 years, and daughters remained minors until they married.¹¹ As married the probate records show that the husband represented his wife.

The probate documents provide a legal record of change, and were written using a common template.¹² The documents vary greatly in length, from three to thirty pages or more, depending on how much the deceased left behind and how complicated were the economic conditions. Of the greatest interest in this context are real property, furniture and household items. In the estate proceedings, these are often grouped as land and houses, livestock, furniture, wooden artefacts, copper and iron, clothes of various kinds, ornaments and jewellery, beds and equipment, foodstuffs and seeds, books, boats and fishing gear and farming implements.

The estate proceedings were recorded in protocols for each rural deanery. The website Digitalarkivet.no reveal a register of the probate inventories in Finnmark and today's Troms, including the names of the deceased and the year of the proceedings. In the period 1697–1755, a total of 52 proceedings for the clergy are listed, ten of them from Finnmark. Predominantly, the proceedings are for parsons and their wives and widows.¹³

The parson and humanist Peder Claussøn Friis (1545–1614) write in his *Norrigis Bescriuelse* on how the parsons in the north made their living. His text mainly deals with Helgeland, which he describes with rich incomes for the parish priests. Trumsen len

⁹ Special clerical estate distribution management in Norway was discontinued in 1809, and the responsibility was transferred to the civilian estate distribution managers.

¹⁰ Winge 1996 p. 14.

¹¹ Hutchinson 1996 p. 30.

¹² Winge 1996 p. 21. The template includes: presentation of the public actors, date of the commencement of the estate proceedings, where the estate proceedings are held and for whom the estate proceedings are carried out, presentation of the heirs (surviving spouse and children, the minors and with legal guardians), registration of real property and personal property, outstanding claims, registration of debt, assessment of net income and inheritance parts, as well as distributions to creditors and heirs.

¹³ <http://www.digitalarkivet.no/> Geistlige skifteprotokoller for Troms og Finnmark.

(today's Troms) he describes with two parishes – Trondenes and Trumsen (Tromsø). North of Trumsen there are but two to three fishing villages that keep a parson, he says.¹⁴

Trondhjems Reformats 1589 provides an overview of the parishes and rectories in Nordland (included today's Troms) in the latter half of the 1500s. But for Trondenes parish, which Ibestad and Tranøy belonged to, no list of resident chaplains or their places of residence is given. *Trondenes jordebok (Trondenes cadastres)*, which represents conditions before the Reformation, states Rå (Kvæfjord), Ibestad, Tranøy and Lenvik as *åbøl*¹⁵ for the priests, as well as Trondenes itself.¹⁶ This is most likely the situation, with variations, in the two hundred years following the Reformation. The collegiate church at Trondenes was dissolved at some time between 1556 and 1561.¹⁷ The large parish, with rector and rectory at Trondenes, was not divided until 1731.

Astafjord Parish

Ibestad Church and Parsonage

Ibestad church was built in stone in the High Middle Ages and was with certain alterations used until 1880, when it was torn down. From the Reformation until 1731 the parish priest living at Trondenes was responsible for Ibestad. In 1731 the large Trondenes parish was reorganized into four parishes – Trondenes, Kvæfjord, Sand and Astafjord. The new Astafjord parish consisted of Ibestad as well as Tranøy and Lenvik. This new organization lasted until 1759, when Tranøy and Lenvik became independent parishes.¹⁸ Before 1731 a resident chaplain resided at the parsonage farm at Ibestad, consisting of half of Ibestad old farm (3 *våg*¹⁹). Following the reorganization of 1731 this parsonage farm, which was located next to Ibestad church, became the rectory.

¹⁴ Friis 1632/1881 pp. 367–396. *Norrøis Bescriuelse* is Peder Claussøn Friis (1545–1614) most important work, finished in 1613. He worked on it for many years, and some parts are based on old notes. The part describing Trøndelag and the North is likely to be from Jon Simonssøn (1512–1575), educated at Nidaros.

¹⁵ *Åbøl* = residence.

¹⁶ Hansen 2003 A pp. 263 and 266, after “Trondenes-jordebøkene” in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum, bd VI* (no, 198, 274, 302 and 356).

¹⁷ Berg 2014 p. 68.

¹⁸ Hansen 2003 B p. 387.

¹⁹ 1 *våg* = old unit of weight equal to 18.52 kilos dried fish.

Clergy at Ibestad in the 1600- and 1700s

Trondenes jordebok mention Ibestad as residence for a priest before the Reformation.

Astafjord bygdebok lists the parsons to be found in the written sources from the first part of the 1600s.²⁰ From 1670 to 1750 the parsons at Ibestad are as follows:

Daniel Jenssen Hveding held a position in Ibestad 1673–1706 (b. Buksnes 1647 – d. Ibestad 1706). His father Jens Christensen was *fogd*²¹ of Lofoten and Vesterålen and his mother was Riborg Danielsdatter. Daniel left Schola Nidrosiensis in 1666 and was at the university of Copenhagen in 1668–1671. He became curate to Ibestad in 1673 to help Malte Christensen with his duties, and got the position as resident chaplain in 1676, after Malte had died in 1675.²² In 1677 he married the daughter of the Mefjord parson in Senja Birgitte Olsdatter.²³ In 1686 Daniel paid tax for himself, his wife and a servant girl. The farm held at the time 2 horses, 12 cows, 2 heifers, 12 sheep, 10 goats and 2 pigs. In 1701 Daniel lived at Ibestad parsonage with wife and four sons, but in the probate record of 1707 four sons and three daughters are listed.²⁴ The probate recorded values for 332 *riksdaler*²⁵, and when depts. was deducted 246 rdlr. was divided among the heirs.

In the next twenty years after Daniel Jenssen Hveding died in 1706 two parsons resided at Ibestad.²⁶ The one to be there for a long period was *Christian Wegner*, 1727–1749 (b. Svendborg ca.1696 – d. Ibestad 1749). His father was rural dean at Svendborg, Denmark. Christian married Lovise Charlotte Bremer²⁷ in 1725, the daughter of bailiff Frederik Adrian Bremer, and Lovise Charlotte's aunt was married to bishop Peder Krogh. Christian Wegner had his examinations from the University of Copenhagen in 1719 and

²⁰ Hansen 2003 B p. 186. Dahl 2000 p. 370. The term of office is known for the following parsons at Ibestad: Johan Olsen (Olufsen) 1612–1626. Peder Sørensen Aalborg 1647 (1643)–1649. Laurits Thommesen Lindum 1650–1653. Malte Christensen 1654/1655–1675 (suspended a period at the 1660s). Hans Jensen 1667. In the first part of the century a few names can be found, but for the period 1627–1647 the sources are silent. This does not mean the position was vacant. The sources from that period are taxation lists, and the parsons were exempted from taxation and revenue for the parsonage farms.

²¹ *Fogd* = the king's representative in a certain area/regional bailiff.

²² Dahl 2000 p. 371.

²³ Erlandsen 1857 p. 141. Birgitte Olsdatter (b. Mefjord 1645 – d. Dverberg 1720).

²⁴ *Ibid.* mentions 8 children. The probate record lists Maren, Ribor, Karen, Jon, Jens, Otto and Flemming.

²⁵ *Riksdaler* = old unit of money, used in Norway until 1875, hereafter abbreviated to rdlr.

²⁶ Christen Olsen Krogh held a position in Ibestad 1706–1725 (b. ca. 1665– d. 1726?). He was a nephew of bishop Peder Krogh and was married to Ingeborg Augustinusdatter Røg, the daughter of a parson at Trondenes. Johan Arnt Meyer held a position in Ibestad 1724–1726 (b. 1696). He was first curate to Christen Krogh and resident chaplain when Krogh died in 1725. He was at Ibestad a short period, then in 1726 moved on to Lenvik, and later became parish priest to Tromsø.

²⁷ Erlandsen 1857 p. 142. Lovise Charlotte (b. Gibostad 1705 – d. Astafjord 1770).

was in Christiania and Bergen before he got a position at Sand in 1725 – the year he married.²⁸ Christian came to Ibestad in 1727 as a resident chaplain, and he became the first parish priest when Ibestad parish was established in 1731.

When Christian Wegner died in 1749 he was 55 years old and his wife Lovise Charlotte was 44. They had five children – two sons and three daughters – all born at Ibestad and unmarried at the time.²⁹ The widow inherited half of the value in the estate, and the other half were divided among the children, but a son got double the amount of his sister.³⁰ Lovise Charlotte brought her belongings and children to the dower farm at Igeland,³¹ located across the sound from the rectory, and she ran the farm for 20 years, until her death in 1770. When she passed away two of the children were still unmarried, and one daughter had died but had two daughters. Lovise Charlotte had at the time 10 dairy cows, all listed by name in the inventory, as well as other livestock.³²

Houses at Ibestad Rectory in the 1600s and 1700s

In 1666 the houses at Ibestad parsonage were described like this by the parson Malte Christensen: “The houses and rooms at the parsonage are old and in ruins, why I will have to move to another farm, because poverty does not allow rebuilding and upkeep as it ought to be.”³³ We do not know anything about the houses at Hveding’s time at Ibestad, but when he died in 1707, a house was newly built at the parsonage. It consisted of a large living room, with a kitchen at one end and a bedroom at the other. This house had basement and a chimney. As it was newly built it was not a part of the official parsonage buildings, but that was arranged in the process of getting the new parson established.³⁴

When Wegner died about fifty years after Hveding, åbot taxation could have been done, but we do not know. A valuation of 1807 mentions the previous åbot to have taken place in 1777³⁵, and from the one of 1807 we can read that at least 13 official houses

²⁸ Erlandsen 1857 pp. 141–142.

²⁹ Ibid. says 5 children. The probate documents names: Peder Krogh Wegner (23 years), Mathias Wegner (15 years), Anna Chatarina (20 years), Else Maria (9 ½ years) and Sophia Amalia (5 years) – all unmarried.

³⁰ Probate inventories Christian Wegner, Ibestad (1750–1753).

³¹ Hansen 2003 B p. 171. Igeland had been church property for a long time and was established as a dowry farm in the 1700s.

³² Probate inventories Louise Charlotte Bremer (1770–1772).

³³ Hansen 2003 B p. 187.

³⁴ Probate inventories Daniel Jønson Hveding, Ibestad (1707). The new was Christen Krogh.

³⁵ I have not found the evaluation of 1777, but thorough searches have not been done.

could have belonged to the rectory around 1750.³⁶ In the yard there were a two storied main residence, a dwelling for the servants, a two storied storehouse for food, two small storehouses, a large granary, a large stable for cows, a stable for horses, sheep and goats, a barn, a house for cooking and baking, a small house for mangling and a well-house. Apart from the two-storied residence and the storehouse, the other houses were one story – all of them built of wood and the roofs covered in birch bark and turf. The construction was either horizontal logs or “skjelter”. The main residence was accentuated – two storied high and even boarded on the outside. The building had the main entrance and hall in the middle and a large and two small rooms on either side of the hall. The large parlour had papered walls and the room for daily use was painted at the end of the 1700s.

None of the 13 official houses at the Ibestad rectory were boathouses or at the seashore, which means that kind of buildings belonged to the parsons private estate, and they are mentioned in the estate proceedings as two old boathouses, storage and a large turf hut (gamme). Wegner also had boats of different sizes and fishing equipment.³⁷

Furniture and Equipment at the Rectory at Ibestad in the 1600s and 1700s

In the probate record of Daniel Hveding in 1707, 45 religious books are listed, together with 3 valuable silver items. Apart from that, there were ordinary belongings for a household of this kind – in pewter, brass, copper and iron. Of furniture a corner cupboard and several tables with chairs are mentioned. The farming was quite extensive, with 17 dairy cows, goats and sheep, and equipment for fishing shows the use of sea resources.³⁸

Christian Wegner’s estate nearly fifty years later comprised a lot of money, some gold items and a considerable number of silver items. A fair amount of the valuables were apparently inherited from Wegner’s family in Denmark, and it came to Ibestad during the settlement of the estate. Apart from these valuables, the estate did not contain furniture and household items of special value – there were tables, chairs and cupboards. Ibestad was an area with grain growing, and 20 barrels of grain and 2 with Spanish salt

³⁶ Åbot valuation Ibestad rectory 1807.

³⁷ Probate inventories Christian Wegner, Ibestad (1750–1753).

³⁸ Probate inventories Daniel Jenson Hveding, Ibestad (1707).

are listed in the probate record. The livestock was much the same as fifty years earlier, with 15 dairy cows, goats and sheep as well as 3 horses.³⁹

Concluding remarks on Ibestad

Ibestad parish comprised the Sami areas of Astafjord, and the parson at Ibestad had a special responsibility to assist the Sami mission in his parish. For the Pietistic movement in the 1700s the christening of the Sami was important. Christian Wegner cooperated well with the local mission, as he had other theological sympathies than the previous parson at Ibestad, Christen Krogh. While he was broad-minded and liberal, Wegner's period was characterised of zealous and hard church discipline.⁴⁰ When bishop Eiler Hagerup on his visitation to the north came to Ibestad in 1734 and a sermon at the church, he commented: "The parson Wegner preached badly. The congregation, old and young, were poorly informed." The bishops concluding remark was that the congregation at Ibestad was the worst he had met at his visit to the north, but he had good words to say about the missionary Erik Berg and his work among the Sami of Astafjord.⁴¹ When bishop Nannestad visited Ibestad in 1750, Christian Wegner had passed away the year before, and the visitation sermon was conducted by Peder Krogh Hind, then missionary and residing chaplain at Tranøy, which at that time still belonged to Ibestad parish. The bishop said on this occasion that the youth at Ibestad were lacking education.⁴²

Tranøy Parish

Tranøya – Church and Clergy in the 1700s

There had been a wooden church on the island Tranøy since the Late Middle Ages, served by the clergy at Trondenes – the main church until 1731. In 1731 the large parish was, as mentioned, reorganised and the church at Tranøy was to be served from Ibestad, now the head church of the new Astafjord parish. In 1738 it was decided to have a chaplain on Tranøy, which from then on was the parsonage farm. Before 1738 Tranøy belonged to the church patrimony. When in 1759 Tranøy was established as a parish, the

³⁹ Probate inventories Christian Wegner, Ibestad (1750–1753).

⁴⁰ Hansen 2003 B p. 381.

⁴¹ Finne-Grønn 1948 (Hagerup 1734) p. 318.

⁴² Wolff 1942 (Nannestad 1750) p. 18.

island Tranøy became the rectory farm. Tranøy is the name of the farm, the island that the farm and the church are situated on, and from 1759 it was also the name of the parish.

A few names are known of chaplains working at Tranøy before 1743, but very little is known about them.⁴³ *Peder Krogh Hind* (b. Kvæfjord 1708 – d. Hemnes 1776) is the first we have some knowledge of.⁴⁴ He had his theological examination in Copenhagen in 1740⁴⁵, and he held the position as missionary and resident chaplain at Tranøy 1743–1756, with responsibility for Tranøy and Dyrøy. He was married to the daughter of the parish priest at Kinsarvik, Maren Jørgensdatter Brose. Peder moved on to be parish priest at Hemnes.⁴⁶ When bishop Nannestad visited Tranøy in 1750, he had no comments on the parson. But he mentioned that the church was in bad shape, held by the parishioners, as the taxes went to the main church at Ibestad.⁴⁷

Elling Pedersen Rosted (b. Bergen 1720 – d. Tranøy 1796) was the next parson at Tranøy. His father was *sorenskriver*⁴⁸ at Innerøy in Trøndelag. Elling had his exams from Copenhagen University in 1745.⁴⁹ Previous to Tranøy he was a missionary to the Sami of Tysfjord in 1749 and parson at Torsken from 1750. He was parson at Tranøy 1757–1796, first as a resident chaplain and missionary to the Astafjord Sami. From 1759 he was the first parish priest at Tranøy. He was first married to Mette Sophia Nielsdatter Schütte⁵⁰, secondly to Margrethe Hammer⁵¹. In 1785 Elling Rosted was 65 and married for the third time – to Johanna Helm, who died in 1797, the year after her husband.⁵²

Elling Rosted was parson at Torsken from 1750 to 1757. He married his first wife during his first years at Torsken. She died in 1753, after having given birth to their first child Bergithe the year before.⁵³ The year after he lost his first wife, he married

⁴³ Erlandsen 1857 p. 169, mentions Peder Sørensen (1647) and Johan Sebastian (1720).

Eriksen 1972 p. 16, mentions Jens Schelderup as residing chaplain from 1738 to 1743.

⁴⁴ Quigstad and Wiklund 1929 p. 250. Schnitler mentions him in his notes from 1743 as missionary.

⁴⁵ Ostermann 1945 p. 108.

⁴⁶ Erlandsen 1857 p. 42. Peders daughter married his successor at Hemnes.

⁴⁷ Wolff 1942 (Nannestad 1750) p. 35.

⁴⁸ *Sorenskriver* = county court judge

⁴⁹ Ostermann 1945 p. 131.

⁵⁰ Probate inventory Mette Sophia Schütte (1753).

Hansen 2003 B p. 382 – Mette Sophia was daughter of parish priest at Vega, Arnoldus Schytte.

⁵¹ Probate inventory Margrethe Hammer (1785–1786), the daughter of bailiff Jens Hammer in Trondheim.

⁵² Probate inventory Johanna Helm (1799), the daughter of parish priest at Dverberg, Otto Mortensen Helm.

⁵³ Erlandsen 1857 p. 169

Margrethe Hammer, and they had several children together.⁵⁴ He struggled to make a living for his small family at Torsken, and started to use nets to catch cod west of Senja, a fishing method new at the time. When the parishioners saw their parson's great catches, they ruined his nets. He had a strained relationship to the people at Torsken.⁵⁵

After leaving Torsken, Elling Rosted lived at Tranøy with his family for nearly forty years. The rectory was the only farm on the island, and it was privileged to catch salmon⁵⁶ and seal, and had the rights to birds and eggs.⁵⁷ Rosted is known to have been hardworking, and in his period he improved the farm and the houses. He also conducted the building of a new church at Tranøy, a work that lasted for five years, the church being inaugurated in 1775. Sealing in the nearby Tranøybotn was one of the economic staples at Tranøy, and Rosted worked to get a more effective catch and more profit. He lived in the Age of Enlightenment, and was himself engaged in collecting and spreading knowledge about the natural resources of his surroundings. He wrote and published works about the common seal and the Greenland shark, and how to catch the two.⁵⁸ He also wrote a general manuscript about the nature of Senja and Tranøy, but this was not printed until 1973.⁵⁹

Twice a year Elling Rosted visited the Sami of Salangen and Gratangen – the “Finne”-schools as he called them. Reports from these travels are in the church records for Tranøy. These are descriptions of the weather, how many days he was away etc. He was usually away for two to three weeks at a time, and he visited the Sami in their tents and turf-houses and gathered the people for education. In Rosted's period schoolteachers were engaged for these Sami, and then the parish priest just had to oversee the teaching, curriculum and knowledge of the people.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ At Rosteds death the children were registered in the probate documents as 1) Mette Sophie Schütte, married to Johan Jacob Kildahl. 2) Anna Margrethe Rosted, married to Michel Jenson Trane. 3) Petrica Jacobina Rosted, married to a miller at Bornholm, Hans Pederson.

⁵⁵ Eriksen 1972 p. 16.

⁵⁶ Jørgensen 1997 pp. 168A–168B: *Aslak Bolts jordebok* reads “— by Tranøya east at Senja are the Tyri salmon-fishery owned by the archbishop.” This jordebok is a register from 1432 of Nidaros archbishops ownership. The Jordebok got the name of Aslak Bolt (archbishop 1428–1450).

⁵⁷ Mordt 2008 p. 219. Quigstad and Wiklund 1929 p. 253.

⁵⁸ Eriksen 1972 pp. 16–18.

⁵⁹ Rosteds manuscript is at Videnskapsselskapet in Trondheim, and has the title ”E. Rosteds Beskrivelse over Nordlandene”. It was printed in *Årbok for Senja* 1973, pp. 33, 43.

⁶⁰ Eriksen 1972 p. 18.

The Houses on Tranøy in the 1700s

Before Tranøy became the home for the resident chaplain in 1738 and a rectory in 1759 it was in some periods an ordinary farm, as mentioned, belonging to the church patrimony. Some of the houses from that time presumably continued as houses for the rectory, but we do not know. The oldest house on Tranøy today is by some believed to have been built by Peder Krogh Hind in the 1740s.⁶¹ Ola Øgard Svendsen says the house was built around 1770.⁶² The åbot evaluation of 1798 tells that Rosted built the house.⁶³ Hind might have started the building and Rosted continued, but we do not know.⁶⁴

At the end of the 1700s twenty-one houses belonged to the rectory at Tranøy. Fourteen of them were in or near the parsonage, two boathouses and two wharf-side sheds by the sea at Hamnessjøen and one boathouse at Smevigen, both localities on Tranøy itself, and two mountain-farm houses for summer use were on Senja (Revsnes and Møchelnæsset). The rectory yard lay at a short distance from the church, the fencing surrounding the church and the old graveyard today runs next to the yard, with the entrance facing the rectory. In 1750 this enclosure was said to be in good shape and made from turf.⁶⁵ There were houses for people and husbandry, as well as storage houses of different kinds. The main residence was two stories high, with parlour, daily living room, entrance and kitchen on the ground floor. All the other houses were presumably only one story high, as a second storey is not mentioned. Apart from this relatively new residence there were two old dwelling houses, one used for the children and as a study (with leaded light windows), and the other for the servants. There were storehouses for tithe and for rye, as grain was grown in this area. There were smithy and a cooking house. As for the husbandry, there were barns and houses for horses, cows and sheep. Rosted's successor requested barns for 28-30 dairy cows and heifers, 50-60 sheep and goats, as well as stable for 4 horses when he came to the rectory at Tranøy.⁶⁶ This indicates a large and active

⁶¹ Eriksen 1972 p. 16.

⁶² Svendsen 1981, p. 32.

⁶³ The åbot evaluation of 1798 tells that the houses at Tranøy parsonage was valued at the following years: 1757 – requisitioned by the residing chaplain to Tranøy and Dyrøy Peder Krogh Hind when he was leaving and Elling Rosted coming. 1761 – the valuation of 1757 was disallowed by the court. 1762 – new evaluation was done. 1798 – parish priest Bernhoff called for a new evaluation after Elling Rosteds death.

⁶⁴ The åbot evaluation of 1757 has not been found – a serious look through the protocols is still to be done.

⁶⁵ Wolff 1942 (Nannestad 1750) p. 35.

⁶⁶ Ekstrarettsprotokoll 69, 1793–1807, valuation Tranøy rectory 1798, pp. 87b–88a.

farm operation. When Rosted died, he had started to build a private house to be used by his widow, but it was not ready when he passed away. She died a year after her husband, and during that time she was allowed to live at the rectory – the so-called year of grace.⁶⁷

The houses were built of horizontal logs and “skjelter”, and only the main house was boarded on the outside. As far as the roof covering is concerned it is not mentioned explicitly, but for five of the houses the timber holding the turf is mentioned as being rotten, so the roofs were covered by birch-bark and turf. How the buildings were arranged in the yard we do not know, except for a few notes in the åbot valuation. There is mentioned explicitly that one of the storehouses was situated between the church and the yard and that the tithe-storehouse was situated in the meadow south of the residential houses. It is also mentioned that the old house used for the children was located at the next side of the main residence, which can be understood as the two stood at a right angle to each other – indicating a somehow square yard.

Rosteds main residence is still standing on Tranøy, and is the oldest building on the island. It is a house of two full stories, with turf roofing, about 18 metres long and 7 metres wide, with vertical boarding on the outside. The walls are painted red and the small paned windows in regular rows are white. The main entrance faces the yard and the approach from / to the harbour and the boathouses. This main entrance door is in itself simple, but together with the two windows embracing the door, and the second story window centred above the door, there is a pronounced emphasis on the entrance and the middle of the house. This impression is further strengthened by the vertical white encasings of the log ends. This is a façade composed in the renaissance / baroque mood. The vertical white encasings on the façade indicate the main rooms inside – with entrance hall and a room behind in the middle, and a large living room on each side. These are also the rooms mentioned in the åbot valuation of 1798. Today these three main rooms are further divided, and only an in-depth survey of the building itself can indicate when this was done; some of it might have been early.

Furniture and Equipment at the Rectory at Tranøy in the 1700s⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Prosten for Senja protokoll 97, pp. 627–629, skifte 1797–1799.

⁶⁸ Probate inventories after Elling Rosted (1796–99), as well as the probate inventories after his wives.

The probate record shows a complicated settlement of values after Rosteds death. The estate took three years to settle and the protocol comprise 60 pages. An auction was held in 1797, as part of the procedures, in which a lot of furniture and household goods were sold – altogether for 1362 rdlr. The parsonage at Tranøy was nicely furnished in accordance with the family's status – with tables, chairs, secretaries, chests etc. There were a lot of silver, linen, glass and porcelain items, and brewing kettle and coffee kettle in copper. Nearly every room had beds with bedclothes, like sheepskins, pillows and quilts filled with down and feathers from seabirds and grouse. The estate held no jewellery, apart from a pair of cufflinks for the master himself, made of gold and enamel.

Concluding remarks on Tranøy Parish

Hans Kristian Eriksen states that when Elling Rosted died in 1796, he had made Tranøy into an attractive place for a parish priest. Houses were built, land was cultivated, the sealing was made efficient, and pastures as well as land with firewood and building timber on Senja itself belonged to the rectory farm.⁶⁹ That is certainly so, but the valuation of the houses after his death also indicates neglect, as many of them were badly in need of repair. This can be understood in the light of his age. He was 76 when he passed away, and he, as was customary, worked as parish priest until his death. The valuation of the houses shows that Rosted's heirs owed the new parish priest 247 rdlr., for him to get the houses in order, of which the privately owned houses of 81 rdlr. could be deducted.⁷⁰ The assets to be divided between his wife and three daughters were valued at 1914 rdlr.⁷¹, which indicates that Rosted and his family had done well at Tranøy.

Tromsø Parish

The Tromsø Church, Parish and Clergy

There had been church on the island of Tromsø since the king Håkon Håkonson had one built around 1250.⁷² All of today's Troms north and east of Malangen, except Hillesøy,

⁶⁹ Eriksen 1972 p. 18. Rosted was succeeded by *Tobias Brodtkorb Bernhoft* (b. Meldalen 1764 – d. Tranøya 1802). He was parish priest at Tranøy 1797–1802.

⁷⁰ Ekstraretsprotokoll 69, 1793–1807, valuation Tranøy rectory, p. 89b.

⁷¹ Probate inventories after Elling Rosted (1796–99).

⁷² Bertelsen 1994 p. 236.

was included in Tromsø parish in the 1500s, 1600s and the first part of the 1700s.⁷³ At the transition between the 1500s and 1600s there were nine churches or chapels in this large parish. Four parsons served the churches. The parish priest / vicar held the rectory and farm in Tromsø and the other three were resident chaplains in Skjervøy, Karlsøy, and occasionally Torsvåg / Helgøy⁷⁴ but with private farms. They had to pay for house and land. For long periods, there was also a curate at Tromsø.

In the Late Middle Ages and after the Reformation, the office of parish priest of Tromsø was held by one of the canons of the chapter of Nidaros, and he had a vicar in the north. All revenue from the parish went south to Trondheim. This was mainly fish tithes allotted to the parish priest and church, and land rent from the farms owned by the church. The parish priest at that time employed a vicar and resident chaplains to serve the large parish. Tromsø parish was rich in revenue from the major fisheries, but was at that time a poor position for those who carried out the clerical work. This led to the vicar and chaplains not staying any longer than necessary before they moved to a position with better conditions. The King made a new arrangement in 1638 – he decided that the parish priest should reside in Tromsø and that tithes and revenues would remain his.⁷⁵

In the following, the material conditions of the parish priest of Tromsø and his residing chaplain at Karlsøy, in the 1600s and 1700s, will be analysed. Tromsø is an island, and it was six farms as well as the rectory farm and the church on the island. The parish and the church had the same name as the island. Karlsøy is also an island and at that time the parsonage farm was the only one, with the church near the yard.⁷⁶

The Material Conditions of the Tromsø Parsons – 1600s

The first probate document in the clerical estate proceedings protocol for Tromsø deanery is related to the parish priest of Tromsø, *Niels Pedersen Bredal* (b. Malmø ca. 1620 – d.

⁷³ Bratrein 1990 p. 110. The large Tromsø parish was in 1776 divided into Skjervøy, Lyngen, Karlsøy and Tromsø parishes.

⁷⁴ *TR*. pp. 90–91 lists Tromsø, Mjølvik, Helgøy, Torsvåg, Kvitnes, Vannvåg, Karlsøy and Skjervøy. Bratrein 1989 pp. 325 and 238, says that Nordskar church was built between 1590 and 1600 and was not included in the list in the *Reformats* from 1589.

⁷⁵ Høgsæt 1994 pp. 319–325.

⁷⁶ Mordt 2008 p. 226 and p. 228.

Tromsø 1697).⁷⁷ He had taken over the Tromsø parish around 1660 and held it until his death in 1697. He married Lucia Jørgensdatter Bull.⁷⁸ Both the fact that he was first cousin to Bishop Bredal in Trondheim, and that he remained in office for 37 years suggest that Tromsø had become attractive. Revenues made it possible for him to hire extra assistants for the rectory on a large scale, in addition to the chaplains who relieved him of much of his work in the parish. In 1666, he had five male servants; mainly for the farm work and they most likely took part in the fisheries during the winter. He also ran a *jekt*⁷⁹, the northern Norwegian cargo vessel, as the stockfish revenues had to be brought south for trade purposes.⁸⁰

The documents indicate that the Bredal estate was extensive and testify to its prosperity, but there were also debts.⁸¹ The estate included gold jewellery and silver objects; the gold chain Lucia received as part of the inheritance when her husband died, for example, was valued at 64 rdlr. This gold chain could have been inherited from her parents, or it could have been an engagement present from her husband. A gold chain of about the same value was a few years later classified as an engagement present for a parish priest's wife further south.⁸² In the Bredal estate, there were wedding silver, a silver pot and ten silver spoons, luxury items in that day. There was damask, eiderdown duvets and locally manufactured goods such as pillows filled with feathers from grouse and puffin. Besides all kinds of furniture, home appliances and books, there was also equipment for haymaking, but no fishing tackle. Bredal must have sold the ship earlier, because it was not part of the estate proceedings. Apparently it was sold to his curate and successor in Tromsø, Ole Audunsen.⁸³ Bredal lived with his family on the rectory farm; accordingly, the rectory houses were not part of the probate proceedings. However, Bredal had apparently established a small private farm, because included in the estate we

⁷⁷ <http://forum.arkivverket.no/topic/147837-62452-hvem-er-far-til-niels-pedersen-bredahl/> (accessed 7 January 2013). Bredal came from Malmø and was enrolled at the University of Copenhagen in 1640. He was chaplain at Trondenes about 1649–1659, when he became parish priest of Tromsø.

⁷⁸ Dahl 2000 p. 377. She was probably the daughter of Jørgen Bull in Stadsbygd.

⁷⁹ *Jekt* = cargo ship with one mast and a square sail, used between northern Norway and Bergen.

⁸⁰ Høgsæt 1994 pp. 329–331.

⁸¹ Probate inventories Niels Pedersøn Bredal (1697–1761).

⁸² Haraldsen 2008 p. 366. This was at Veøy in Romsdal.

⁸³ Høgsæt 1994 p. 331.

find seven houses situated at the farm “Storjorden”.⁸⁴ There was a main house, a cooking house, a cottage, a shed, a cow house and two old hay barns. For the main house at Storjorden, I imagine a log construction with a turf roof. The entrance is in the middle, with a small hallway beyond it and a kitchen behind the hallway. The living room is located on one side of the kitchen with a small room beyond. On the other side of the kitchen are the two added chambers built to the same width as the rest of the house. A back room is built in the middle of the back wall as an extension of the kitchen. The stairs to the loft is most likely in the hallway.⁸⁵

At the distribution of Bredal’s property, all the houses at “Storjorden” were transferred to the widow Lucia, along with 7 cows, 14 sheep and 4 goats and the haymaking equipment. This was in the late 1600s and no dower farm was established at Tromsø rectory until 1730. At that time, Storsteinnes (on the mainland) was established as the parish’s dower farm, a farmstead for the parish priest’s widow to use as long as she lived.⁸⁶ The minister Bredal had been prescient enough and had sufficient private finances to procure a livelihood for his wife when he died. Lucia Bull died in 1701 in Tromsø, four years after her husband, and there was a distribution of her estate.⁸⁷ As the couple had no children, the assets were mainly divided among their relatives. Niels Pedersen Bredal had many books, but we do not know the quantity, as they were not part of the estate. We can read in the probate record that the books had been given to his superior in Trondheim, when he was on visitation to the north a couple of years before.⁸⁸

The very same year (1697) as the probate case for the parish priest of Tromsø was settled, the distribution of the estate was conducted after the death of resident chaplain at Karlsøy, Peder Arensøn (Nideros) (– d. Karlsøy 1694). It tells a different story than the documents of his superior in Tromsø. Peder was from Trondheim, and his father worked as a travelling merchant in Nordland. Peder was married to Anne Jørgensdatter, the

⁸⁴ I have not been able to find where “Storjorden” was located. O. Rygh: *Norske Gaardnavne* does not give the name in this area. http://www.dokpro.uio.no/rygh_ng/rygh_felt.html (accessed 7. January 2014). Most likely Storjorden was a part of the rectory’s land.

⁸⁵ Based on the description in the probate inventories.

⁸⁶ Høgsæt 1994 p. 340.

⁸⁷ Probate inventories Lucia Bull (1701).

⁸⁸ Probate inventories Niels Pedersøn Bredal (1697–1761), p. 8. “Da Blefve Alle Hr. Niels Bredals Böger i hans Lefvendelif, nest forleden Aaar, forærede till Hans Højærverd[ige] *Sup[er]inten-denten*, der Hand var i Tromsen i Sin *Visitations* ForRetning, med Hans Qvindes Samtyche, udj gotFolchis Nerverelse og paahör. Som og effter den Sl. Mands Dödelig Afgang, effter Löffte Blefve fremschichede.”

daughter of a *fogd*⁸⁹ in Senja.⁹⁰ They had four children who all lived in the parish.⁹¹ His wife Anne still lived at Karlsøy in 1726, poor and bedridden.⁹² There was no dower farm at Karlsøy, and the husband managed poorly to provide for her after his death. The Karlsøy resident chaplain's annual income was 60 våger stockfish, while the Tromsø parson had 130 våger. At Karlsøy the chaplain even had to find a house and land to rent in order to keep livestock. Peder stayed at the island of Karlsøy but leased land on the island of Reinøy. In 1683, the chaplain had wife and two children who stayed at home, and a servant girl and two little girls to be fostered. He had two cows, one bullock, four sheep and three goats. He sought an exemption from additional tax, because the family lived in penury and poverty, poorly afflicted by the cold and frost, and had too little food if the parishioners did not give them the bare essentials. He avoided the taxation, but two years later he was "bound by his debts and of no wealth" and could not afford servants.⁹³

The estate proceedings at Peder's death in 1694 indicate the level of poverty.⁹⁴ He owed debts to nine people, located locally and in Bergen, Trondheim and Copenhagen, and the distribution indicates his financial difficulties. The debts were twice the assets of the estate. The value of the estate, including the houses and contents came to a total of 67 rdlr. As we have just seen, the value of the Tromsø parish priest's wife's gold chain was about the same. At the estate proceedings of the Karlsøy chaplain, there was of bed clothing "none outside the widow's essential use". Among the utility articles for the household, there were two tin cans, three tin plates, one copper pot, three iron pots and one pair of iron candleholders. The candleholders and a small iron pot was payment for the work on the distribution of the estate.

At the chaplain's farmstead at Karlsøy in the mid-1690s there were in addition to the main house, two sheds, a turf hut and a "Finn storehouse". The turf hut was probably a turf cow house, but there was only one horse, no other livestock. The "Finn storehouse" is difficult to classify. It could have been a typical small Sámi storehouse built of logs and used to store clothes and food like fish, meat and cheese. Alternatively, the name

⁸⁹ *Fogd* = the king's representative in a certain area / regional bailiff.

⁹⁰ Dahl 2000 p. 381. She was daughter of Jørgen Carstensen Bordlund.

⁹¹ Bratrein 1989 p. 446.

⁹² Ibid. 1990 p. 124.

⁹³ Ibid. 1989 p. 447.

⁹⁴ Probate inventories Peder Arneson Nidaros (1697).

might just indicate that it had previously been housing for the Sámi from the other islands when they came to church at Karlsøy. In the estate, there was an old *fembøring*⁹⁵ but no fishing tackle. From the description in the assessment of the property, and based on what we know about the method of construction in the 1600s, I have pictured a small log house with a low loft. The entrance probably opens directly onto the kitchen from which there is a door into the living room. From the kitchen, there is most likely a steep staircase to the low loft, which probably includes a window in each gable wall. The other four windows are located as follows: one in the kitchen, two in the living room and one in the adjacent chamber, as the house had six windows, partially “old and broken”. There is a fireplace and chimney in the kitchen, and an iron stove (*bilegger*⁹⁶) fired from the kitchen hearth in the living room. The kitchen may have a dirt floor, or possibly be decked with stone slabs. Seen from the outside, the adjacent chamber is probably lower than the house, and whether it is built so that the entrance is from the kitchen or living room is uncertain, either is certainly possible. The roofs are most likely covered with turf. There was little furniture in the estate. The probate documents mention that in the living room there was a bed and a table with chairs. In the chamber, there was a table and chairs. The remaining furnishings in the house included two chests, three benches, an old cabinet with two doors and three compartments, but the location is not known.

It is interesting that despite his poverty, the chaplain had books. There were 15 books registered, religious books in Latin and German.⁹⁷ I imagine that the chamber was the chaplain’s study and where he kept his books. The historian Bratrein says: “Peder Arnesen’s miserable circumstances were probably fairly representative of the local clergy in the 1600s.”⁹⁸ He refers to the resident chaplains at their stations in the parish. As we have seen, it was a completely different situation with the parish priest of Tromsø after he had taken over the earnings from the parish in 1638. It had previously been bad there too, but hardly as miserable as we have seen on the island of Karlsøy.

The Material Conditions of the Tromsø Clergy – 1700s

⁹⁵ *Fembøring* = large open fishing boat, with sail. Usually a crew of six.

⁹⁶ *Bilegger* = box-shaped iron oven that passed through the wall between two rooms. The closed oven was in the main room, while the fire was tended from a fireplace with chimney in usually a kitchen.

⁹⁷ 10 in Latin and 3 in German.

⁹⁸ Bratrein 1989 p. 447.

In the mid-1700s the parish priest and rural dean of Tromsø died, as did the resident chaplain at Karlsøy, and the distribution of both estates date to 1753.

Henning Friedrichsen Junghans (b. Orkdal 1680 – d. Tromsø 1753)⁹⁹ was parish priest of Tromsø from 1719, when he came from a position in Kvæfjord.¹⁰⁰ Apparently he applied on recommendation from Thomas von Westen, who wanted a serious Pietist in Tromsø, an important position facing the christening of the Sami in this area.¹⁰¹ Junghans had the position in Tromsø until his death. When bishop Hagerup was on visitation journey in 1743 he said about Junghans – he is good, well educated and a Christian man.¹⁰² Bishop Nannestad visited in 1750 and found the youth well educated.¹⁰³

The probate records indicate that Junghans amassed a considerable fortune over the years.¹⁰⁴ There were two estate proceedings associated with Junghans. He was first married to Ane Melchiorsdatter Meldal¹⁰⁵, and they had seven children. When she died the youngest of their children was four years old, while the oldest daughters had married and moved out of the home. The estate proceedings were held in 1737 to 1739. The law stated that if there were any under-age heirs, the distribution of the estate had to be carried out before a surviving spouse could remarry. While the distribution of the estate was arranged, Junghans married the widow Dorothea Catharina Bugge.¹⁰⁶ She had been married to the parish priest of Hammerfest.¹⁰⁷

Each of the Junghans estate settlements provides a good overview of the family's goods. Each estate was valued in the range of 1400-1500 rdlr. for distribution among the heirs. Fifteen years elapsed between the two estate proceedings, and they illustrate the changes in real estate during this time. The parish priest owned a jekt at the first

⁹⁹ Junghans was born in Orkdal and married for the first time in 1710 Ane Melchiorsdatter Meldal (1682–1731), the daughter of the parish priest of Meldal, where Junghans was a tutor. They had seven children together. The distribution of the estate was held in 1737–1739. At that time Junghans married Dorothea Catharina Bugge (1696–1767). She was previously married to Peder Harboe and had a son with him. Dorothea Bugge and Henning Junghans had no children.

¹⁰⁰ Erlandsen 1857 p. 184.

¹⁰¹ Høgsæt 1994 p. 333.

¹⁰² Finne-Grønn 1948 (Hagerup 1734) p. 318.

¹⁰³ Wolf 1942 (Nannestad 1750) p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Probate inventories Henning Junghans (1753).

¹⁰⁵ Probate inventories Ane Meldal (b. Meldal 1682 – d. Tromsø 1731). Probate (1737–1739).

¹⁰⁶ The marriage was probably in 1738, as in the probate record there is listed a silver vessel with the engraving "H. Junghans D.C. Bugge 1738". (D. C. Bugge b. 1696 – d. Tromsø 1767).

¹⁰⁷ Erlandsen 1857 p. 12. Peder Harboe had the Hammerfest calling from 1720 probably to 1733. A new person was appointed in 1734.

proceedings, but he apparently got rid of the ship before he was old. Livestock breeding was intensified at the rectory in the period. Whereas 23 cattle and 20 sheep were recorded in the first valuation, the number had increased to 33 cows and 80 sheep in the next. There was some gold in both estate proceedings, but most of the gold jewellery was distributed to the daughters in the first proceedings. Both estates contained a lot of silver, including more than twenty silver spoons. In addition to what was common to find in estate proceedings, such as tin, brass and copper, there was “Porcelain, glass and such”, and a large clock. There was a comprehensive library, and in the last proceedings 80 titles were accounted for. Among the more special items we find “tea equipment”, which as early as the 1730s included a lacquered tea table, a teakettle and a tea box. At the rectory, there were curtains with valances, which at the time were most elegant, and we can assume they were found in the most representative rooms.

The Tromsø rectory was a large farm and Junghans was a pioneer in grain cultivation, he also distributed seed among his parishioners.¹⁰⁸ The rectory buildings belonged to the clerical office.¹⁰⁹ Some of the houses were the parish priest’s private property. In 1737, a storehouse and a new cottage were private, as well as two old chambers and a shed, the latter three “inside the yard”. There were also several boathouses and houses at the shore that belonged to Junghans; in total the private buildings were valued at 64 rdlr., while in 1753 the private buildings were valued at 41 rdlr. It is clear that the stoves in the rectory were the parish priest’s private property, as they were included in the settlement of the estate. There were different types of stoves, but mainly of the *bilegger* type. Dorothea Catharina Bugge lived until 1767 and survived her husband by 14 years. She stayed at the dower farm *Storsteinnes*, established in 1737.

At *Karlsøy*, *Hans Molde* (b. *Romsdal* 1710 – d. *Karlsøy* 1753) worked as resident chaplain for ten years, from about 1743¹¹⁰ until his death, at the same time as Junghans in *Tromsø*. When bishop *Nannestad* was on his visitation tour to the north in 1750 he

¹⁰⁸ Erlandsen 1857 p. 184.

¹⁰⁹ Åbot evaluation of *Tromsø* rectory was held in 1807, and it is found in the protocols. It makes a reference to åbot held in 1782, but this is not found.

¹¹⁰ Finne-Grønn 1948 (*Hagerup* 1734) p. 325: At bishop *Hagerups* visitation in 1743 *Simon Kildal* was parson at *Karlsøy*. *Norsk biografisk leksikon*: *Simon Kildal* d.e. came to the north as missionary and teacher for the Sami. He became parish priest to *Trondenes* in 1745. Erlandsen 1857 p. 161: *S. Kildal* was missionary to *Karlsøy/Lyngen* from 1728 and parson at *Karlsøy* in 1730, and he stayed there until 1742, when he was appointed parish priest to *Flakstad*.

commented: “May 31., visit to Carlsøe church and Hans Molde preached. A large number of youth attended, both Sami and other, and they were not well educated”.¹¹¹ The probate documents¹¹² illustrate how the economic and material conditions of the resident chaplain in Karlsøy had improved considerably during the 60 years that had passed since Peder Arensøn (Nideros) died. The assets in the estate of Molde were valued at 960 rdlr., and after debt had been deducted, a total of 843 rdlr. was distributed between widow Rebecca Lemmel and the couple’s two daughters Birgitta Rebecca and Anna Dorothea. The widow got half the estate and the daughters one quarter each, as was the rule. The value of the estate after Molde was about half the value of the Junghans estate. There is another striking difference in the content of the two estates other than simply the total value. The rectory in Tromsø contained many of what at that time would be characterised as luxury items. Such items also existed in the parsonage at Karlsøy, for example silverware, but there the assets were to a far greater extent attached to the houses, boats and equipment for operations at sea as well as livestock – these were required in order to make a living for a family as resident chaplain at Karlsøy.

Molde’s farm at Karlsøy comprised many houses in the mid-1700s, and the resident chaplain owned them all. Besides the residential house, there were cooking house, two servant’s cottages, two shacks, four sheds, two barns, two hay barns and a boathouse, a total of 15 buildings. Molde had probably rented land to graze his cattle at Storvollen on Reinøy, as he had a cottage and a boathouse there. On Helgøy (Helløen) there was a chaplain’s cottage, a shed and an outhouse. It is uncertain whether the chaplain owned the cottage itself, but he was the owner of the bilegger oven in the living room, as well as the shed and the outhouse. These were houses that were in use when he served his clerical duties on that island. None of the chaplain’s houses are described as turf huts, so we can assume that they were single story houses built of timber, either of log or pole construction. Most roofs were probably thatched with turf, but there could also be boarded roofs among them.

We can form an idea about the residential house based on the brief description given in the appraisal, and the summary of ovens is of great help. I envisage an elongated

¹¹¹ Wolff 1942 (Nannestad 1750) p.22.

¹¹² Probate inventories Hans Molde (1755–1756).

house where the main entrance is to the kitchen with a fireplace and chimney. On one side of the kitchen is the large living room with a bilegger oven fired from the hearth in the kitchen. At the end of the living room there are two chambers, one of which is described as the Bishop's bedroom, which has a *vindovn*¹¹³. On the other side of the kitchen is the children's living- and bedroom at the front of the house. The children's room is heated with a bilegger oven, and if that is the case there must be a firing location in the room behind, and there the baking oven must be located. At the back, with access from the kitchen, lies the pantry. The appraisal does not include a loft, so we must assume that the house had no loft. However, there may also have been a low loft used for storage purposes, such as over the nursery, the baking oven room and the pantry.

The house was furnished in accordance with the resident chaplain's rank, and there was plenty of linen and bedding, including reindeer pelts and sheepskins. Sheepskins probably came from the animals on the farm, whereas the reindeer pelts were obtained through trade with the Sámi in the area. There was silverware made in Trondheim, Bergen and Copenhagen. More surprising is a copper "Tea boiler" and "Tea things", as in the Tromsø rectory. Also at the clerical home at Karlsøy there were curtains with valances, just like in Tromsø. The chaplain had, among other things, a clerical collar and four "clerical wigs" for use in his service, and one cane. In total, there were 150 books of various sizes. It was mainly religious literature in Danish, German and Latin, but the parson's family also had books as "1001 Nights".

The resident chaplain Molde was busy at sea and on land in addition to his clerical duties, and it must be this multilateral operation, which made conditions tolerable in the parsonage on Karlsøy while he was the resident chaplain. The estate lists 2 horses, 15 cows, 20 sheep and 16 goats – suggesting relatively large farm operations. The boathouse stored a total of eight boats of different sizes and types as well as fishing tackle. He most likely hired men to take part in the large fisheries in wintertime.

Hans Molde's widow, Rebecca Lemmel, continued to stay at Karlsøy near the parsonage after her husband's death, most likely in one of the servants' cottages, which was one of the houses she was awarded at the distribution of her husband's estate, and

¹¹³ *Vindovn* = box-shaped iron oven. The oven is tended through a door opening, usually on the shortest side of the oven.

she survived him by almost 30 years. Fifteen years after her husband's death, she was designated as poor. An application for a pension from the mission treasury was made on her behalf, and she was then characterized as blind and frail. In 1782, she died in the home of her daughter.¹¹⁴

The Parsonage with Father and Mother

The parsons had in the 1600s and 1700s a key position in the local society – in religious, social and cultural matters. The parsons had the role as conveyors between Good and humans, between magistrates and the people. The parsons reacted the program of the Reformation and Church policy to the everyday life of the people. The bishops came on their visitation rounds to the north to control the parish priests sermons and teaching.¹¹⁵ As we have seen in the case of Ibestad and Tromsø, his officials in the North did not always impress him. The parson was often the only scholarly person in his area, and he helped his parishioners with religious as well as earthly questions – this was especially so in the North. The parsons were a link between the culture of learning they themselves belonged to and the local society. High and low in this society had their errands at the parsonage – the bishop, the regional and local bureaucracy, the tradesmen as well as the farmers and fishers – rich and poor. The church and the parsonage, with the parson and his family, were an important meeting point and a centre for culture. Due to the many tasks the parson performed he can be characterised as communicator or go between. But he did not have a neutral position. At the Reformation the King became the head of the Church in Denmark and Norway, and the parsons were to convey the legislation to the people and take part in the prosecution of offenders. The parson was at the bottom of the state administration. It was his duty to preach obedience to the superiors inducted by the King and thereby by Good.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Bratrein 1990 pp. 120, 125.

¹¹⁵ Ingesman 2016 pp. 206–230.

¹¹⁶ Appel and Fink-Jensen 2009 pp. 8–11.

In a new PhD focusing on the parish priests sermons, one of the conclusions is that Norway at this period was ruled from the pulpit.¹¹⁷ The Kings power was based on religion; it was used to legitimize his decisions and ruling. The sermon functioned also as an important media at that time, where the parishioners got knowledge and understanding of the world they belonged to through the parson's words. The King was the Father of his people in Denmark and Norway, and he was given his powers from the Father in heaven. At the local level the Father and Mother lived at the parsonage, and they and their children were ethical role models for the parishioners. This was the ideal situation, but the reality in the parsonages could at times be different.

The Incomes and the Economy

As we have seen, the economical situation at the parsonages varied a lot. In general the parish priests income can be divided into three categories: Firstly – an official clerical residence with land and other privileges was part of the parish priests wages, as well as the revenue (glebe) from the church's land in the parish. The size and incomes from the farm and the glebe-land varied a lot. This was especially so in the north. Secondly – the tithes, which meant that the parishioners should give a tenth of their income as fish, farm products and grain to the church. After the Reformation it was decided to split the tithes in equal parts to the parish priest, the church building (fabrika) and the King. The tithes were a basic fee, not depending on how much or little the parson did for his parishioners. The people had the duty to pay and the parson had the duty to serve them. The third category of income was payment for church events as weddings, baptism, funerals etc., and it varied greatly from parish to parish and from year to year.¹¹⁸

The clergy were an important part of the society in the 1600s and 1700s in the north. They usually had education and a social background that gave distance to the rest of the people. Some of the merchants, often with background and family-ties in Trondheim, also held this position, and together with the regional bailiff, county court judge and clergy they constituted a local upper class. Compared to several merchants in

¹¹⁷ Øystein Lydik Idsø Viken, *Frygte Gud og ære Kongen: preikestolen som politisk instrument i Noreg 1720-1814*, Oslo 2014.

¹¹⁸ Appel and Fink-Jensen 2009 pp. 100–101.

the Tromsø parish¹¹⁹ and in the Astafjord parish¹²⁰ in this period, the clergy seem to have been fairly well off, apart from Peder Arensøn at Karlsøy, as the table indicates.

The relative values, converted from the probate records, are in the table grouped to indicate the differences between the households of the parsons in the 1600s and 1700s. Firstly, the necessary essentials are listed, to have a living and keep a family, and apart from Peder Arensøn the households had these – to a varying degree. Next come valuables like gold, silver, furniture and linen, investment items if the household had a surplus, and items showing off status and the family's rank in society. The houses had a larger relative value in the households at Karlsøy than in Ibestad, Tranøy and Tromsø, as the parish priests there had clerical farms and residences, and the chaplains at Karlsøy had a private farm and residence.

The probate records indicate that the material conditions of clerical families were better in the 1700s than they were in the 1600s. They also illustrate the significant differences between the resident chaplain at Karlsøy and the parish priest in Tromsø – both in the 1600s and 1700s, which were related to how the revenues from the church-owned land and the fish tithe was shared between the clergymen and whether they lived on official clerical farms or not. The incomes depended also on the parson's excellence in running a farm and taking part in the fisheries, or hire people to do this. The probate records show equipment for use at the fisheries and the farming. The clergy did not have a pension, which meant that despite age and illness they kept working until their death. If they had the financial means, an assistant could be hired for help, as in the case of Tromsø, but that was not possible for Peder Arensøn at Karlsøy.

The Houses

We only have brief descriptions of houses. The tax documents indicates many houses on the parsonage farms, and in the cases of Ibestad, Tranøy and Tromsø the clerical office and / or the parson owned them, the parishioners had no obligations, as they had further

¹¹⁹ Bratrein 1989 pp. 519, 532, 533 mentions three merchants and their assets based on the probate records: Hans Hegelund, Hansnes, 1700, 1276 rdlr., Christen Hegelund, Helgøy, 1696, 650 rdlr., Knut Christensen, Søreidet, 1696, 257 rdlr.

¹²⁰ Hansen 2003 B p. 301 lists four merchants and their assets based on the probate records: Rasmus Jacobsen, Fjordbotn, 1711, 299 rdlr., Nils Jensen, Breivoll, 1729, 479 rdlr., John Steffensen, Lilleskog, 1719, 213 rdlr., Kristen Mathisen, Sørvik, 1710, 1263 rdlr.

south. At Ibestad and Tromsø the houses by the seashore belonged to the parson, but not at Tranøy. Karlsøy had no clerical farm at this time. It is hardly any information on how the houses were arranged in the yard, but a sentence from Tranøy indicates a somehow square yard, as was the custom for parsonage farms in some areas in the south of Norway and in Denmark.¹²¹ The houses were in log-construction and in skjelter, and the roofs covered in birch-bark and turf, although some roofs might have been boarded. The farm-houses were one story high, only the residences had a upper story or loft – clearly described for the private dwellings of Karlsøy and Tromsø in the 1600s, and the parsonages of Ibestad, Tranøy, Tromsø and Karlsøy in the 1700s. The many iron stoves of the *bilegger*- and *vind*-types in the residential houses of the parsonages indicate a second story, as the stove tell a lot about the type of house. In Norway a smoke-stove, as well as an open hearth, both without a chimney, was usual for heating and cooking among ordinary people along the coast until 1800, and some were built that late. A house with smoke-stove did not have chimney, the smoke escaped through the stove opening and disappeared through a hatch in the roof. A house of this kind did not have a second storey or loft and did not have windows, at least not in the 1600s. From around 1600 the first residences in Norway had chimney and in 1622 Bærums verk made the first iron stoves in Norway, and they were expensive. At about the same time leaded glass windows appeared in Norway. In the 1600s and especially during the 1700s the iron stoves got prevalence, and with them houses with chimneys, an upper storey and windows. By 1850 the iron stove had replaced the smoke-stove.¹²²

The *bilegger* is a box-shaped iron stove that passed through the wall between two rooms. The closed stove was in the main room, while the fire was tended from a fireplace with chimney in a neighbouring room, usually a kitchen. *Bilegger* was mainly used along the coast, as it worked best fired with peat. The *vind*-stove is also a box-shaped iron stove. It is tended through a door opening, usually on the shortest side of the stove. The smoke is taken to the chimney or above the roof by a smoke-tube. It is draft or “wind” through the stove from the door to the chimney, which gave the name. The *vind*-stove

¹²¹ Horgen 1999 p. 188.

¹²² Christensen 1995 pp. 118-150. Eilert Sundt also describes this transition and the variation of this process in his book *Om bygnings-skikken på landet i Norge*, (1862).

worked best fired with wood.¹²³ The probate records shows that the stoves in the parsonages mainly were of the bilegger-type, but also a few vind-stoves are mentioned.

As we have seen at the residence at Tranøy, which are the only one still standing, the façade facing the road from the harbour is composed in the renaissance mood, with symmetry and highlight of the middle part with the entrance. At Moldes house on Karlsøy the entrance was also in the middle of the house, as was the entrance at Bredals farm Storjorden in Tromsø, built at the end of the 1600s. House-plans and façades emphasising symmetry and the middle of the house, new technical inventions as the iron stove and the chimney, the upper story as well as windows, most likely were introduced at the parsonages and spread to the ordinary people in northern Norway as the time went on and the economy made it possible.

The Parsons

The Reformation did not permanently define the role as Lutheran parish priest, and the laws concerning the church and the parsons were adjusted and changed several times (1537, 1539, 1542, 1629, 1685). The role was also defined by the parish priests themselves through the work and the understanding generations of clergy had of their work. It is not unusual that law and practice differ, and the situation in the periphery of the Danish-Norwegian kingdom certainly was not as regulated as in the centre.¹²⁴ To get a position as parish priest or parson you had to have exam from a university, a decision from 1569. But several times through the 1600s it was clarified by the church administration in Copenhagen that to become a parson you should have been two years at a university, though it was possible to shorten the period. To get a position as a parish priest you had to be 25 years, and many worked as teachers and curates until they got the age or a calling.¹²⁵ The parsons I have studied in Ibestad, Tranøy, Tromsø and Karlsøy seem to have been educated in Copenhagen, and one of seven had the childhood in northern Norway, the rest in southern Norway or in Denmark. The women they married often had their childhood in northern Norway, several at a parsonage.

¹²³ Christensen 1995 pp. 156-170.

¹²⁴ Appel and Fink-Jensen 2009 pp. 14, 343.

¹²⁵ Ibid. pp. 314-323.

To do his work the parson needed religious books. The listing of books in the estates can witness the owner's interests, education and theological and cultural level. Books were especially necessary for the clergy, compared to other social groups in this society, and all our parsons had books. The 12 books of Peder Arensøn at Karlsøy in the mid-1600s tell a different story to the 150 titles of Hans Molde's library in the parsonage at Karlsøy in the 1750s.¹²⁶ It is difficult to know how many of the parishioners could read and write, and how many books they possessed, as this kind of study has not been done in northern Norway. But it has been done in certain areas in southern Norway and surprisingly many men and women down to the age of seven could read and write prior to the decree of 1739, which stated education for everybody.¹²⁷

The Women in the parsonages

As we have seen, some of the parsons married several times – it was apparently important to have a woman at your side at the parsonage. As most of the wives were born and raised at parsonages in the north, this would give a new parson from the south local knowledge on how to behave as well as ties to other families at the same level. The wives and daughters were extremely important in building and maintaining local networks.

As far as the legal situation is concerned, Christian V's Norwegian Code (1687) gave equal rights to all women, independent of class and where they lived.¹²⁸ The probate documents show that a woman apparently had to have a guardian when economical matters were at stake. The father was the guardian until a woman was married, and when married it was her husband. If those two did not exist an official person was appointed. The probate documents also tell of the rules for inheritance, and a daughter inherited half the amount of her brother.

When a parson died the widow was in a difficult position, and widows tended to survive their husbands. For one year after the husband's death the widow enjoyed the income of the deceased husband's office (year of grace) provided she paid for a substitute

¹²⁶ I have not studied the lists of books, although I consider it as interesting. Gina Dahl has written several books on the topic, as *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway, 1650-1750* (Brill 2010), *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Brill 2011) and *Libraries and Enlightenment. Eighteenth Century Norway and the Outer World* (Aarhus University Press 2014).

¹²⁷ Jostein Fet's books on this topic: *Skrivande bønder : skriftkultur på Nord-Vestlandet 1600-1850*. (Samlaget 2003) and *Den gløynde litteraturen : gamle bøker i privat eige på Sunnmøre* (Samlaget 2015).

¹²⁸ Blom and Sogner 1999 p. 108.

parson, and during that year she was permitted to remain in the parsonage. Thereafter, the widows were left without any sustenance, as we have seen in the example from Karlsøy. In Tromsø a dower-farm was established in 1737 to help with this situation, and the same happened in Ibestad at about the same time. The arrangement with a dower-farm was established in Norway in the 1600s, and these were free of taxes, as the clerical farms.¹²⁹ The arrangement was established in the parishes in the North later than in the South.

The probate documents can, when studied in detail, give information on the family's belongings and from whence it came. As likely as the men, the wives were able to bring valuable goods to the clerical family-union. For example, a study of initials on linen and silver can tell about family possessions, how it came into the family and where it was made. The probate records also tell the story about the meeting between local culture and tradition and what the clergy brought from the south, as in the case of bedclothes. As we have seen at the parsonage at Karlsøy in the first half of the 1700s, there were reindeer pelts, sheepskins and linen.

In both Molde's household at Karlsøy as well as in the rectory at Tromsø tea-utensils were precious objects in the first half of the 1700s, and at the Rosted household at Tranøy a copper coffee kettle was listed at the probate inventory some years later. Tea at the parsonages in the north in the first half of the 1700s is surprisingly early. In the wake of the colonial expansions in the early modern period new goods spread across Europe, among these were tea and coffee.¹³⁰ Exotic goods as coffee and tea appear to have been rare in the 1700s, but custom records indicate some coffee and tea import. Most of the tea arriving in Copenhagen was shipped on to England, and the amount of tea arriving in Norway was very small.¹³¹ In 1700s Norway coffee and tea were primarily consumed by the urban upper classes, and to some extent among the wealthier rural population. Coffee and tea were also linked to new and more acceptable forms of socializing which especially impacted on women's social spheres. Functioning as substitutes for alcoholic drinks, they enabled the emphasis of new ideals, as more dignified and genteel manners and behaviour. Tea and coffee were served at the

¹²⁹ Sandvik 1965 p. 147.

¹³⁰ Tea came from Asia, and the ships from Europe used one year forward and another year back. Tea was the ships most costly commodity. Is it possible that tea could have arrived in the North trough trade with Russian merchants this early?

¹³¹ Hutchinson, Ragnhild 2011 pp. 157, 158, 166-173.

coffeehouses in Europe in the last half of the 1600s. But in most countries the coffeehouses could not be visited by women, they were arenas for men. Tea became increasingly popular as a drink among the women, mainly of upper and mercantile classes, and it was used as a court beverage in Europe. Tea was considered more elegant, domestic and feminine than coffee. Coffee and tea could also be used as expressions of individuality and status in relation to others, or at least of how a person wanted to be perceived by others. At least some of the clergy in the north followed the latest fashions from towns such as Copenhagen, where at this time drinking tea signalled high social rank and culture.

Coda

With the Reformation the parson with wife and children – the clerical family – got their rightly home at the parsonage, and it led to changes in the material culture. The Reformation was a process, and it was a process of change in the material conditions of the parsonages of the North. It is not possible from the available sources, to say if changes in the material culture depended on the Reformation process, or if long-term structural circumstances in Europe, such as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, were the driving forces – most likely these worked together. Wife and children, a family in the parsonage, was strictly a result depending on the Reformation. More advanced houses was introduced in the North in this period and the driving force were most likely the heritage from the Renaissance and new technical innovations. The colonial expansions and exotic goods as coffee and tea led to new forms of socialising both for men and women. The tea-equipment was presumably prestigious for the women, whereas the parsons' pride was his book-collection. The Enlightenment encouraged experiments with fishing equipment, new grain and expansion of the grain-growing area as well as new methods to exploit the surrounding resources. This led to expanding economy in the parsonages, which also gave possibilities for new goods and habits. The parsonages, in this period, functioned as innovation centres in the north and thus spread ideas and expanded the area of European culture. The parson and his family had together with other public officials, a key position in the society in northern Norway in the 1600s and 1700s – in religious, social and cultural matters. To pass the threshold into a parsonage or a

tenants home were not the same matter.

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Illustrasjonstekster

1. Skjelter is an old building-technique, here illustrated by a shed at a museum in Tromsø. The building has just one row of logs at the bottom, corner posts and vertical planks (skjelter) and then a row of logs under the eaves and log gables. This kind of building is very useful for storing anything that needs drying and good ventilation.
Photo: Ingebjørg Hage 2014.
2. Map of the island Tranøy with surroundings. The church and parsonage, the two landing sites and the two summer-farms are marked on the map.
Illustration: Ingebjørg Hage 2017.
3. This is how the previous rectory at Tranøy looks today. The oldest residence is to the left and is from Rosteds period, as is also the church, inaugurated in 1775. The church had at that time a steeple over the crossing. Today's steeple over the entrance and choir was added in the 1800s.
Photo: Hugo Løhre 2014.
4. Map of the large Tromsø parish around 1600.
Illustration: Ingebjørg Hage 2014.
5. The schematic diagram shows how the bilegger-stove works, with the fire tended from the kitchen.
Illustration: Ingebjørg Hage 2017.
6. The old church at Karlsøy was measured on order of Bishop Nannestad in 1750. The church was built around 1620 and extended in 1770 and 1790. This is how it looked when Peder Arensøn and Hans Molde lived at the parsonage and preached at the church.
Illustration: Ingebjørg Hage 1988 for *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok*.
7. Overview of the relative values of the parsons as shown in the clerical probate records – Ibestad, Tranøy, Tromsø and Karlsøy in the 1600s and 1700s.
Made by Ingebjørg Hage 2016.
8. The number of buildings at the parsonages and tentative plans of the residences - Ibestad, Tranøy, Tromsø and Karlsøy in the 1600s and 1700s.
Made by Ingebjørg Hage 2017.