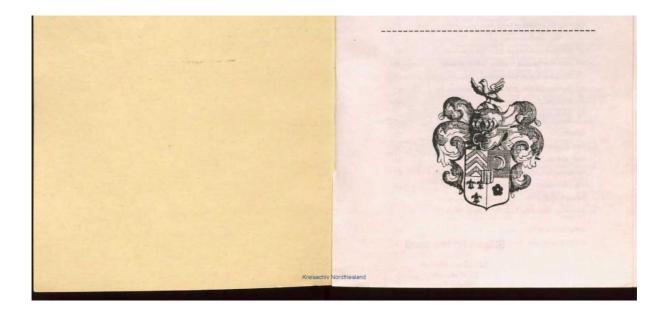
North Frisian District Archive

# JOHAN VAN WOUWER

and his Legacy



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District archive Schloss vor Husum 2250 Husum

### JOHAN VAN WOUWE and his Legacy

#### Preface

As executive director of the van Wouwer Legacy, with its headquarters in Husum, I always thought it was a shame that in trying to find out information about our legacy donor, we were only able to turn to a few available files, meaning that information was correspondingly sparse. Apart from the testament manuscripts which I discovered were full of mistakes, legal files and annual accounts dating back to the First World War, and a few family trees which were also full of gaps, there was nothing available about van Wouwer.

In 1964 a Danish genealogist, Dr. med. C-M.A. Christiansen from Naestved, visited me and showed me the material that he had gathered to date about the van Wouwer family tree and its coat of arms. After completing his work he wanted to have the data published. Unfortunately he died in 1965. His wife organised the publication of the available material (which was incomplete) in Denmark, thanks to a grant from the legacy. This brochure could then be distributed among the descendants of the lineage.

At that time I started to gather material for researching the life of our benefactor. It was only when I retired that I was able to dedicate myself intensively to this task. County Commissioner Dr. Petersen, the sole executive board member for the legacy, agreed and suggested that an extract of the material collected should be published in a booklet. I was delighted to follow this suggestion.

Some of the material I requested in writing but I also needed to travel to different locations to view the material available there.

A great deal has been written about our van Wouwer, sometimes with contradicting opinions. Many of his letters and letters written to him survive, primarily in Latin. My aim was to get as near as possible to the truth. It was difficult to decode the lettering in the original documents written with quill pen. However I hope that I have interpreted and weighed-up everything correctly.

Husum, November 1982

Werner Sarau

#### The van Wouwer Family Tree

Johan van Wouwer came from an ancient lineage of Brabant. The name first appears in a list about the Escoutettes (masters of the feast) of the Margraves of Antwerp and this was in 1141, Gilles van de Wouwere and 1199 Henry van de Wouwere, later 1317 Gieles van den Wouwere, also known as Egidius de Vivario (Latin: zoo) and 1370 his son, also known as Gieles, who was a warrior of Bäsweiler and who was knighted. After that the lineages become fairly dispersed and the same Christian names reappear time and again so that it is difficult to trace back the ancestors of our Johan van Wouwer. However it is clear that the information given by von Noodt and Wilckens about Wouwer's ancestors are not correct.

The following ancestry is probably correct, according to my current state of research:

Nicolas van den Wouwere Fur trader in Antwerp married to Johanna Wesemale died 1471

Joost van den Wouwere Fur trader in Antwerp mentioned between 1510-1545 married Anna Aerntssen

Joos van de Wouwere died 30.11.1562 buried in the Falkonskirche in Antwerp Nicolaus van der Wouwer Trader in Hamburg fled ca. 1560 from Antwerp married Sophia von Wintem died 1599 in Hamburg

Johan van Wouver born 1574 in Hamburg died 1612 in Schleswig The Falkonskirche (Falcon Church) in Antwerp has since been demolished and only the Falconsrui (Falcon ruins) remain as a reminder of this church. However the gravestone was captured in an image in the book "Verzameling der Grafen Gedenkschriften von de Province Antwerpen" of 1859, p. 309. The coat of arms of the van der Wouwer lineage depicted there, which developed into the different lineages, was used by Johan van Wouwer in his signet ring. It can be seen on the title page of this booklet.

The name, however, is originally Dutch and should be pronounced in English "Vow-er". Even today in Eiderstedt, people still refer to "Vowerland" in the Sieversfletherkoog (Sieversfleth polder). Friedrich Lindenbruch, a contemporary of van Wouwer's from Hamburg, spoke about the "man with the barking name" (in German, dogs bark with a "vow" sound).

The name Wouwere is the same name; some members of the family wrote the name in a different way. The "e" comes from the linguistic inflexion in Dutch. The father of our van Wouwer called himself "van der Wouwer". His son Johan left out the "der", probably to make his noble lineage more noticeable to others. The descendants of the family changed the name into "von Wowern".

#### General Details about his Period

Johan van Wouwer lived from 1574 - 1612. It was the period of late humanism and the end of the Renaissance. Germany was made up of many princedoms. The Emperor, Rudolf II, was in Prague. Prussia had not yet achieved its later size. In England, Queen Elizabeth reigned; through Francis Drake she conquered the Spanish Armada and she had Mary Queen of Scots executed. Then James I, from the House of Stuart succeeded her. In France Henry IV, the first Bourbon king, was on the throne from 1589 - 1610. In Denmark, which at that time included large parts of Norway, King Christian IV reigned. Sweden was ruled by King Charles IX, then by Gustav II Adolf, who later died at the Battle of Lützen. The Kalmar War took place between Denmark and Sweden in the years 1611 - 1613. Under Philip II, Spain tried to suppress and catholicise the Netherlands. Religious disputes were the order of the day all over the place. It was the time preceding the 30 Years' War.

In the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, Duke Adolf ruled, followed by Duke Johan Adolf. The population of Schleswig-Holstein was 450,000. Flensburg had ca. 4-5,000 residents and Husum about the same; Tondern and Hadersleben perhaps 1800.

In Schleswig-Holstein the cereal crop harvests were good at that time, but the Spanish fleet in the Spanish-Dutch War hindered cereal exports to the Netherlands until the cease fire of 1609. This had a very negative effect on the prices.

In Germany, operations to extract Ruhr coal had been carried out since 1590.

Noblemen were dressed similarly to the princes; at least in terms of clothing they were state-ofthe-art. Fashion was primarily influenced by the Spanish court clothing.

From 1582, the Gregorian calendar began to be introduced.

In the field of painting the painter Peter Paul Rubens lived from 1577 - 1640; he died in Antwerp. And in the field of music, the first opera was composed in 1594 in Italy, home of the composer and musician Claudio Monteverdi (1567 - 1643).

During this time William Shakespeare lived in England from 1564 - 1616.

### Youth

Johan van Wouwer was born on 10th March 1574 in Hamburg. His friend Geverhard Elmenhorst, an academic, who also came from Hamburg and lived there, has described briefly and imprecisely Wouwer's biography. At first he doubted the date of birth and made enquiries. In the description of Wouwer's life, however, he then precisely quotes the above date. And we should accept this as correct because E. had the possibility of asking Wouwer's mother and two surviving brothers.

In a letter of 1594, van Wouwer had stated that he had not yet reached his twentieth year, but he perhaps had made himself younger for the academic world so that his achievements in his younger years would be evaluated even more highly.

It is very likely that he was born in the street "Auf der neuen Burg" because in 1573 his father had purchased this "inheritance". It passed to his wife and children on his death in 1599.

His father was Nicolaus van der Wouwer, who had moved from Antwerp (Brabant) to Hamburg in ca. 1560, probably because of religious unrest in the Netherlands caused by the Spanish. He married Sophia von Winthem, daughter of the Dutchman Sebastian von Winthem, in 1562; she was also resident in Hamburg. Nicolaus was wealthy. He was a salesman and fur trader.

Johan's sister Anna was born ca. 1562. His brother Sebastian was born ca. 1564 and his brother Nicolaus c. 1566. It is possible that Johan had a further brother. In the documents of the Hamburg State Archive, a Balthasar van Wouwer appears in Hamburg, married to someone called Agneet. 1597, as the pest raged in Hamburg, his child was sick and his wife received support from the Dutch Funds for the Poor. It seems therefore that Balthasar was no longer alive in 1597.

In 1589 Hamburg had ca. 40,000 residents. It had opened its gates to people fleeing or migrating from the Netherlands. During the first half of the 17th century ca. 10,000 Dutch residents can be documented in Hamburg.

The city, enclosed by dams, stretched as far as the "Neuer Wall" (New Wall) to the west. The Jungfernstieg was at that time a dam to shield the city from the Alster. This dam flowed into the Dammtor. In the south, where the Alster flowed into the Elbe, the Schartor was located. The

orphanage was built inside this gate and outside the gate there were various properties and gardens, including one owned by Wouwer's father. In the east there was a dam where today the main railway station is located. The route to Wandsbek led through the Hospitaltor

In 1582, Wouwer's father purchased an "inheritance" in Spitalerstraße and one year later, a further plot of land there with a garden, which he made available to the poor. The accommodation here was later referred to as almshouses. The father's charitable foundation, also in Sptalerstr. is still in existence today, in Tarpenbeckstr. But under a different name. In 1583 the family was living in Spitalerstr.

Johan was therefore an afterthought. As he was 7 years old, his sister already got married to Albert von der Fechte. He did not appear to have had much time to enjoy his childhood. From his earliest youth, his talent shined through. In Hamburg he attended the Johannes School, later known as the Johanneum, where Werner Rolevinck (Rollfinck) was rector from 1575 - 1590. Here he was prepared for the entrance examinations to university. His preceptor (teacher) was this rector. He rapidly learned Latin and Greek as well as other subjects, so that he was ahead of all the others after a short time. He left school at the age of 11 already.

After his school education, he was sent to Marburg by his father.

### Student Years

Initially van Wouwer went to Marburg in the federal state of Hessen. The court at Hessen was sympathetic to Calvinism. At that time the universities were organised according to the religion of the ruling princes.

In Marburg he studied law. Whether he arrived there at the age of 11 however, is very doubtful, because the pest was raging in Marburg in 1585. In the matriculation lists still surviving today, he does not appear for the years 1585 - 1588. However this does not mean that he did not study there, because the names were entered either by the students themselves or the rector "by ear". A similarly sounding name appears in the 1589 list; the student came from Hamburg. This name is placed directly under the name of Caspar Rhedenius. In 1590 van Wouwer gave a public demonstration of his ability; Rhedenius was the chairman of the commission. Wouwver spoke on the subject "Theses on the legal protection of blood relatives", naturally in Latin, the language of academics in those days. I was not able to determine how long he stayed in Marburg.

In 1591 the Leiden professor Justus Lipisius visited the parents of van Wouwer in Hamburg. This visit would appear to be the reason why he was sent by his father at the age of 18 to the New University in Leiden in the Netherlands.

At the time, this university was the stronghold of intellectual freedom in the religious disputes of Europe. It was founded in 1575, a year after the Spanish occupation. At the beginning of the 17th century it was the leading college in Europe.

Van Wouwer studied for 5 years in Leiden, continuing his legal studies. But he also dedicated himself with enthusiasm and success to other academic subjects and the antiquity. The

professor at the university was initially the celebrated humanist and philologist Justus Lipisius and later the celebrated French philologist Josef Justus Scaliger.

The matriculation register in Leiden show the following entries:

| 2.9.1593 | Enrolment Litterae   |
|----------|--|
| 1554     | recension: philosophy<br>(lives with widow Holman, the widow of the professor of theology Joh.<br>Holmann) |
| 1595     | recension: Jura (lives with widow Holmann)   |
| 1596     | recension list is missing  |
| 1597     | no recension of van Wouwer is listed.  |

In 1594 van Wouwer wrote to his cousin in Hamburg, Sebastian von Bergen, that he was not satisfied with his teachers. In January 1594, on the suggestion of the university, he gave a lecture in Latin about the true greatness of man.

Student connections in Leiden had not yet reached a national level. A ban on fighting duels, a strong rule by the town and a ban on weapons meant that Leiden was spared the barbaric customs typical of other university towns.

During his student years in Leiden, Wouwer developed relations with academic humanistic men who were widely known, or became so, such as Professor Scaliger, Professor Janus Gruter, Daniel Heinsius, Blyenburg, Scriverius, Meursius, Merula, Vulcaniua and Dousa, but not with the two Calvinist theologians Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus. His tendency towards Calvinist was not actually as pronounced as people have said.

From time to time he visited Hamburg from Leiden, namely in May and August 1595. In June or July he travelled from Leiden to England. From Grounwick [translator's note: possibly, Greenwich?] he wrote to Janus Gruter that in London the pest was raging so badly that every week ca. 2000 bodies were piled up; he left the country rapidly.

Already during his student years, van Wouwer had started to write: in 1595 in Leiden, he published the works of "Petronius" a writer during the age of Nero, together with his own notations, dedicating this work to Scaliger.

It was reprinted in 1604 in Leiden, in 1626 and 1634 in Amsterdam and in 1629 in Hanover.

In 1596 he also wrote and published a commemorative essay on the occasion of the marriage of the patrician Damasius Blyenburg.

In 1595 he tried to be accepted as a teacher in Hamburg while he was living in Leiden but was unsuccessful.

In 1595 his sister, Anna von der Vechte died and on 28.05., he expressed his condolences in a written work.

During his final 2 years in Leiden he had fallen under the influence of the young members of the nobility von Scagen and Bergerhorn. In 1595 he went travelling with them for several months at a time. It is probably that van Wouwer was kept from his studies by his frequent travels in the region and that he did not complete his doctorate.

Heinrich Lindenbruch, who was also from Hamburg, was studying in Leiden at the same time as him. Together they researched the writers of antiquity.

### Sojourn in France

Towards the end of 1596 van Wouwer travelled from Leiden to Gallien, today part of France. His friend Heinrich Lindenbruch, whom he would refer to as his brother, went with him. In the spring and summer of the following year they were in Paris. Van Wouwer developed relations with various academics such as Jacob Bongarsius, one of King Henry VI greatest statesmen and a humanist at the same time, the Dupuy brothers, French humanists, as well as Petrus Danielus, a lawyer to the house of Orleans and counsel to Fleury Abbey, but in particular with Dominicus Baudius, who remained a close friend until his death.

In Paris they discovered a library that was equal, in his opinion, to the famous Library of Antiquity in Alexandria. It contained rare manuscripts which few people had taken an interest in.

The famous book collection of the St. Victor Monastery was also located in Paris. From this library van Wouwer and Lindenbruch were reputed to have stolen 16 irreplaceable manuscripts; a monk had accused them of this. Lindenbruch was imprisoned for a short time because of this. It is not known if van Wouwer suffered the same fate. In any event, both of them always said that they were not guilty which would seem to be true because through the intervention of the well-known French humanist Pierre Dupuy, both of them were released. Following this, Lindenbruch returned immediately to Hamburg. Owing to this event, the two of them were referred to in France as "les Corsaires de Hambourg".

In autumn 1597 van Wouwer then moved on to Lyon. En route he was captured, robbed and wounded by robbers. He survived only with great effort and difficulty.

From Lyon he was invited to Montpellier by Bishop Guittardus Rataeus. In February 1599 he met Isaak Casaubon, a professor and priest, a contact which proved very fruitful for him. He wrote to Heinrich Lindenbruch from Montpellier that he was now with Casaubon, who was the most educated man of the age and very charming.

In 1598, van Wouwer published the work of the ancient writer Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Arles, which he had revised and annotated. It was printed in Paris and, in 1617, in Hanover. He had discovered the manuscript in the St. Viktor Library. He dedicated this work to Bishop Rataeus.

In June 1599 van Wouwer visited Paris again and met his namesake Jean a Wouwer from Antwerp. They were related and academics tend to confuse them with each other because both were active in the literary field. Jean was married. A short time later, van Wouwer was in Leiden again and then in February of the following year, in Hamburg.

His father had died in 1599. He is buried in Hamburg in the St. Nicolaikirche. The grave no longer exists.

Intellectual life around the year 1600 was under the influence of late-humanism, with which the citizens actually did not have anything to do with any more. Owing to the isolation of the academics, books and letters in Latin formed the basis for the exchange of ideas and for discussions. Those who accepted the Latin letters of a humanist such as Chyträeus or, later, also for van Wouwer, were taken into this academic circle and became connected to the recognised figures of European humanism such as Scaliger, Dousa, Meursius, Heinsius etc.

#### Sojourn in Italy and Prague

Italian was the destination for all those interested in literature, history and the arts. The spirit of antiquity was still vibrant there. I was not able to establish when and from where van Wouwer set off for Italy. But he definitely stayed there for two years. The first ascertainable letter dates from 16.06.1600 from Florence to his cousin Sebastian von Bergen in Hamburg. This letter concerns Wouwer's brother Sebastian, who was a textile trader in Hamburg. In the meantime he visited Frankfurt in September because of his other brother, Nicolaus.

Van Wouwer carried out extensive studies into the book and manuscript collections of the libraries and also gave tips to some of the academics. He stayed at the following places: June to December 1600 in Florence January to February 1601 in Rome Spring in Napes and Sicily Summer in Florence again October in Venice November in Rome December in Florence, from January 1602 in Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Mantua, Siena, Verona, then until April 1602 in Rome May in Venice June in Rome then via Venice to Prague.

He was valued and honoured for his high-level intellectual abilities by princes, members of the court and educated people. In 1601 he wrote to von Bergen that he had been offered a position among the most senior and most secret ministers of state at the court of the Grand Duke of Florence. Due to jealousy of others (thousands of Brutuses) he made a timely escape, giving his poor health as an excuse.

In the summer he returned to Florence owing to the great heat in Rome, and also to say thank you to the prince, who was well-disposed to him. Here he also met a Count of Hohenzollern.

In Rome, as well as holding discussions with the academics and cardinals, he spent his time scouring the Vatican and Medici libraries as well as other public and private libraries, but also collecting special manuscripts of ancient authors and inscriptions on monuments.

In Rome he had an ancient monument, the "Columnia Antoniana", sketched at great expense, in order to help Janus Gruter, Professor of History in Heidelberg who was collecting inscriptions. Gruter was so impressed that he wrote he would rather kiss this sketch than the bride he was about to marry. Van Wouwer helped him with several inscriptions.

In Rome van Wouwer apparently had access to Pope Clemens VIII via his connections to the cardinals. However in his letters in which he normally describes everything in detail there is no information about this. G. Elmenhorst picked up on this incident in his biography of van Wouwer, however. Perhaps van Wouwer had told him about it in person.

At that time the rumour circulated that he had converted to the Roman Catholic faith. In a letter to Baudius in 1603 he countered this rumour, blaming it on the Dutch and German schemers in Rome who became suspicious of his trusted relations with the cardinals and the papal prelates. He even named names. He wanted to warn all those travelling to Rome against citizens of their own nationality. After his sojourn in Italy he had no more contact to the cardinals.

After van Wouwer had been invited to Prague on 16.07.1601 and previously already in April, he visited, in June 1602, the court of Emperor Rudolf II, which was under the influence of humanism.

Emperor Rudolf was a solitary figure on the imperial throne. He was more interested in polished gems, paintings, the wonders of nature and the night sky than in politics. He left a great deal to his councillors who thereby gained a high degree of influence. In 1599 he made the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe his court astronomer, who died on 24.10.1601 in Prague. Brahe's assistant was Johannes Kepler, who then became the imperial mathematician. Van Wouwer would have met him in 1602 at the imperial court.

Van Wouwer stayed in Prague for 2 months, and spent a substantial amount of time in the company of the imperial councillor John. M. Wacker von Wackenfels. Influential men at court offered him a senior position. He wrote to Baudius that he had been voted onto the imperial council. For two months' work he had received immediately a substantial payment. He did not take up the position. In August 1602 he left Prague to attend to urgent business in his homeland. He wrote to Baudius in 1603 that the position on the imperial council was still open to him.

### Literary Period in Hamburg and Wandsbek

After his travels through France and Italy, van Wouwer was in Hamburg between September 1602 until early 1603; then he travelled for 3 months to the north-east coast where he was involved in a shipwreck. He also spent a long time at the castle of Benedikt Ahlefeld zur

Lehmkuhlen and tutored his son, Friedrich Bertram. Following this Friedrich Bertram went to Leiden where he was eloquently welcomed by Dominius Baudius on account of the education given him by van Wouwer.

Following this van Wouwer took up the studies in Hamburg that had occupied him already in his youth. From here he exchanged regular letters with Scaliger, Baudius, Heinsius, Gruter, Scriverius, Velser, Meursius and Kirchmann; he was also in touch with Lipsius. He also belonged to the Hamburg humanist circle that was particularly influenced by Scaliger and the Leiden philologists. After 1597 van Wouwer was apparently at the centre of academic life in the Hanseatic city of Hamburg.

As a sideline, he tried to be accepted as a public official for the city of Hamburg, something he had already attempted in 1595. In the year 1600 he wrote to von Bergen with a certain amount of bitterness about the selection of senators in Hamburg, as he himself wanted to be a senator. Time and again he attempted to serve his home city but he did not have any patience. In 1604, the council decided to promote him, with the words, "Advancement of Johan van Wouwer, our native son, honourable and highly educated, has many languages, experienced and talented, publisher of many papers". The letter of the council was sent to the ministers in Lübeck, requesting information. It is not clear why nothing came of this.

In 1603 van Wouwer dedicated a long speech of praise (panegyric) to the Danish King Christian IV against the Holstein knights. The people in Hamburg only allowed it to be sold when he had rewritten the initial pages. King Christian IV and his court did not feel that the speech was relevant to them, and in Hamburg, too, the speech of praise was not kindly received, especially as Christian IV was regarded as a dangerous neighbour. Scaliger and Baudius rebuked van Wouwer's style and said that besides, the foreword was too long. Van Wouwer excused himself by blaming it on the printer of the book. The entire speech is written in Latin.

In 1603 van Wouwer published his most important work, "Tractat de Polymathia" in Hamburg under Frobenius. It was printed in the same year in Leiden, in 1604 once again in Hamburg and in 1633 in Antwerp. In 1665 von Thomasius in Leipzig printed it with a justification of van Wouwer, and 1701 it was reprinted in Leiden. All his works were written in Latin. As it is his most important work, it seems appropriate to list the topics, dealt with in 31 chapters. They are: linguistics, logistics, literature, history, erudition, critique, rhetoric, mathesis, general boundaries of the arts, encyclopaedia, philosophy of architecture, liberal sciences, foundations of extravagant lifestyles and poor education, malevolence and avarice.

There was criticism and praise. A French academic of Wouwer's time even accused him of plagiarism, namely, that he copied the notes of Casaubon when he was in Montpellier, France. However Casaubon himself announced that he was pleased that this extremely well-educated young man had taken on to studied some of the same material as he. In any case, the jealousy of the academics was considerable. Copyright protection did not exist at that time. The later Professor of Church History in Amsterdam, Gerard Jon. Voß, who had supported van Wouwer

during his student years, used parts of Polymathia for his own writings, without crediting van Wouwer. However many 17th and 18th century academics highly valued the work.

In 1603, van Wouwer also published the work of the ancient writer and church father Tertullianus" with commentaries and improvements, both his own and those of other academics. He found the old handwritten manuscript in the Vatican Library. Its damage was regarded to be beyond repair by most critics. It was printed in 1603 and 1612 in Frankfurt a. Main and Oxford, and 1634 in Paris.

Also in 1603 in Hamburg, he published the work of the ancient writer Julius Finnicus Maternus "On the error of profane religion", after revising and annotating it. It was printed by the Frobenius booksellers. In the same year he also had the work Octavius by Minutius Felix and the work on the uselessness of idols by Cyprianus printed in Hamburg by Frobenius. He had already wanted to publish these works in 1601 in Italy. The publishing of the Minutius Felix caused an argument with Elmenhorst, but Jos. Scaliger mediated in this from Leiden. The Firmicus, Felix and Cyprianus were later always published together, in 1645, 1652, 1666 and 1672 at Leiden and 1678 at Oxonia (Oxford).

In 1606 van Wouwer had another work printed at Frobenius, the revision of the works of the ancient writer L. Apulejus, with annotations. He had found the manuscript in Janus Gruter's library in the Pfalz region. Many areas of this writer's work are still unclear and were regarded as a lost cause by other academics. Thanks to van Wouwer, the Apulejus is readable today. The work was reprinted in 1623 in Leiden.

Many of the works penned by van Wouwer have been lost over time. Those mentioned, however, can still be found in various German libraries today. Elmenhorst has listed another 12 in his biography. In his "Cimbria literata" Moller mentioned another 11. These 23 works are no longer listed in Schröder's Hamburg lexicon of writers from 1883.

Many people were envious of him and he was often the victim of slanderous gossip. Even if he referred to these people disparagingly as "robbers of his good reputation", he was still angry about it.

Owing to arguments with his family, in Hamburg van Wouwer lived from 1602 - 1604 with the family of Joachim Kellinghusen along the Hüxter, a Hamburg street which still existed until recently. It is not known what the arguments were about. In October 1594 he wrote that his brother (probably Sebastian) would need to be given a kick up the backside owing to his very free lifestyle. In June 1600 he complained about his brother Sebastian's stubbornness, and in August and December 1601 he complained about both brothers.

Joachim Kellinghusen was married to Anna Scharmbeke. Together they had 4 children: Nicolaus, Christoffer, Elisabeth and Cillie. Van Wouwer valued Anna K. highly and had endured several procedures, particularly relating to the house along Hüxter, because of her. He was sickly even then and according to him, she had looked after him in times of sickness and misfortune, risking life and limb. There were many woes and tears in the family, owing to the many Kellinghusen debts. According to van Wouwer, Kellinghusen was involved in scheming business deals. His associate was a man called Walrave, who was almost killed by the son of Kellinghusen. Van Wouwer arranged for Sebastian von Bergen to adjudicate in the case. Owing to these unpleasant circumstances, he felt so uncomfortable that he went into the countryside to Wandsbek. From there, and later from Gottorf, he helped Anna K.'s husband, out of reverence to her, and paid certain debts, so that ultimately by 1611 the house on the Hüxter belonged to him. But he strove to get rid of the house as soon as possible, aided by his cousin von Bergen. He did not manage this, owing to his early death.

In 1604 van Wouwer stayed for a time at the courts of the Duke of Holstein, Johan Friedrich, Archbishop of Bremen. The duke wanted him to stay at court.

From mid 1604, the lawyer Johan van Wouwer was leaseholder at Schloß Wandsbek des Breide Rantzow. This appears to have continued until 1610. Until 1607 he only left Wandsbek for short period. Even in 1608 he lived there for a while and invited Elmenhorst to dinner; he would have him collected by cart. On 10.12.1609 and 05.01.1610 he was also at Wandsbek. In one of his final letters from Wandsbek, he mentioned the sale of a horse to a Hamburg client and in another letter he mused on how much one would be able to earn if one let cows run free on leased grazing land. In Wandsbek he had sublet a bark mill and a corn mill to two men from the Netherlands. He also had to act as a magistrate in his role as leaseholder. He once wrote that he had to interrogate a whole load of witnesses in a murder case.

Owing to van Wouwer's diplomatic agility, in early 1606 he was sent by the Rantzowers from Wandsbek to the court of the Duke of Braunschweig due to the unrest in Braunschweig, where many royal and imperial envoys were gathered. In a letter written at a later date when he was in Bremen, in Latin, 6 sides long, he described what happened in Braunschweig.

From Bremen he travelled, also on behalf of the Rantzowers, to Brussels in Spanish-occupied Belgium to Archduke Albert (or Albrecht) of Austria as his governor and advisor. To fulfil his commissions he needed the entire summer of 1606, returning ill, actually half-dead, to Hamburg. Anna Kellinghusen, who also contacted him in Wandsbek, looked after him in Hamburg.

One has to image how the roads used to be, not to mention the uncomfortable travel coaches which did not have adequate suspension and the primitive (by today's standards) stops for overnight stays, the journeys which lasted days or weeks before one reached one's destination. So it is no wonder that these travels took their toll on him. He had undertaken many such journeys. These difficulties were substantial when one considers that a journey from Flensburg to Hamburg used to take 4-5 days.

#### Service in East Frisia

Count Enno III from East Frisia had already asked van Wouwer to come to East Frisia several years earlier. At the end of 1606 he was offered a job as steward of the court. But this wasn't

enough for him. In a letter of 10.12.1606 to chancellor Thomas Frantzius in Aurich, former professor in Wittenberg, he asked for an appointment as a councillor. He highlighted his legal training and political experience. His wish was granted. The appointment certificate was issued on 06.02.1607 in Esens: a position as councillor and steward with an annual salary of 400 Reichsthaler, 2 servants, free board and lodgings and 2 horses.

He took up the appointment in May 1607 and was entrusted with educating the count's sons. When he arrived he found that the city of Emden was at war with the count. East Frisia was close to being destroyed. This war lasted until December 1607 when the people of Emden final grudgingly accepted the provisional peace suggestion of the Dutch States-General. Owing to this unrest, induced by the people of Emden, Count Enno sent van Wouwer together with his 3 sons to Gottorf in Cimbria (Schleswig-Holstein) to his brother-in-law, Duke Johan Adolf in July 1607. Count Enno was married to his sister. The sons were 8 year old Edzard Adolf, 5 year old Rudolf Christian and 2 1/2 year old Ulrich. Ulrich later said that van Wouwer was a strict steward and often hit him with the chambermaid's iron rod. His successor, Nicolaus Kellinghusen, was said to be too pious and they didn't learn anything from him. This appointment had been created by van Wouwer for the son of Joachim Kellinghusen. In Gottorf van Wouwer seemed to have been with the sons of the Count until at least January 1608, because in January 1608 he wrote a letter to Friedrich Lindenbruch, the younger brother of Heinrich L. What's more, the provisional peace negotiations with Emden were only completed in December 1607.

In Gottorf, Duke Johan Adolf was so taken with van Wouwer that he had to promise to enter into his service. And he did this as, in comparison to the Gottorf court, he described the East Frisian court as a Lilliput court.

On 04.10.1607 Duke Johan Adolf gave him an appointment as counsellor with the stipulation that he continue to give counsel to the Duke's brother-in-law Enno.

It is not clear what van Wouwer's duties were, when he returned to East Frisia from Cimbria. He was definitely already in Den Haag in March 1608 and took part in the peace negotiations between the Netherlands and Spain on behalf of Count Enno. The aim was to end the ca. 40 year War with the inclusion of East Frisia. Van Wouwer's participation was proved by his letters to Sebastian von Bergen from Den Haag in March and May 1608. However he is not mentioned in the respective references on East Frisia from this time.

During his stay in Den Haag he wrote a poem in honour of the Spanish field commander Marquis Spinola. This field commander became well-know thanks to the painter Velasquez, who captured him in a painting.

Here in East Frisia van Wouwer also became friends with the Dutchman Johan Clausen Koth Rollwaghen, who worked for Count Enno, and the counsellor Wiarda, with whom he corresponded from Gottorf. Rollwaghen was a Mennonite. In July he seems to have given up his position in East Frisia completely. Via Stade he moved to Hamburg and Wandsbek, organised several things and paid for books at Frobenius and Lindenbruch. During this time he had wine fetched from the "Erbaren Radts Weinkeller in Hamburg".

#### Gottorf Period

#### A) Gottorf

In Gottorf, Duke Johan Adolf, born in 1575 and younger son of Duke Adolf who had had the Husum Schloß built, had ruled since 1590. His two older brothers, Friedrich II, died in 1587 and Philip, who died in 1590, had only ruled for a short time.

Duke Johan Adolf had been brought up at the court in Hessen which was influenced by Calvinism, and greatly encouraged scholarship. He was also liberal in his outlook. He married Augusta, the sister of the Danish King Christian IV.

The Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf was not a single cohesive territory. Royal territories interrupted the cohesion; the territory of Tondern on the west coast belonged to the duke, for example; the territory of Flensburg with Bredstedt belonged to the king; the territory of Husum and Eiderstedt with the Norderdith marshes to the duke and the Süderdith marshes to the king. The island of Helgoland belonged to Gottorf. In 1618, the princedom of Gottorf was 5,000 qkm large and had approximately 15,000 residents. The Lollfuß and Friedrichsberg did not belong to the city of Schleswig.

The current appearance of Schloss Gottorf corresponds to the illustration of 1584. With its east and north wings it looks the same as today. The so-called Schlachterturm tower was located in the northwest corner. The large dam carrying the main path today was constructed in 1592 for the benefit of the castle moat. Three strong bastions were constructed to protect the castle. Outside the moat there were three gardens. The large garden area, which stretched as far as Hesterberg, is no longer available. Approximately on the site of today's Oberlandesgericht (regional court of appeal), there used to be a pleasure garden "hortus" which was also referred to as the kitchen garden. An outlying building also existed, the "Meyerhof", which provided agricultural products to the court.

Inside the castle there was a chapel with organ and a turret in the northern wing. The prayer stool was constructed during the time 1609 - 1614 and the library was created in 1606 in three arched rooms. The chancellery rooms were located in the southern front building.

The language spoken at the court around 1600 was High German; that of the church was Low German. The overall tone at the Gottorf court was akin to coarse conviviality. A lot of drinking took places, primarily beer and wine. There was a great deal of eating as well; fish was very popular as well as game, poultry, ox and pork. The potato had not yet been introduced; it was

first referred to around 1623. At that time forks were not used. Around the year 1597, 433 people of every social class were fed from the court kitchen every day.

The following artists were active at the court in van Wouwer's time:

Painter Abraham de Keister, 1604 appointed and still alive in 1624

Painter and artist Jacob von Voordt 1596 appointed;

Sculptor Wilhelm Schmidt, lived from 1597 - 1635;

Armourer, gilder and craftsman Marten from Brussels, 1596 appointed; died in 1629;

Husum carvesman, who was active from 1604 - 1632 both in Husum and in Schleswig;

Woodcarver Andreas Salgen, until at least 1609.

One of the two painters could have painted the picture of van Wouwer which hung in the library.

A Dr Matthias Carnarius (originally with the name Vleeschouder) was the duke's personal doctor; later also a Dr. Steffan von Schönefeld, who also treated van Wouwer.

Drummers and trumpeters were also employed at the court. Three mounted trumpeters formed part of the court orchestra. A tower brass consort was also employed. All received food and drink free-of-charge.

The path from Schloss Gottorf to the cathedral, which had a tower 107 metres high that was first added in the years 1888 - 1894, led through the village of Lollfuß. Dirt and garbage poisoned the air. A complaint about this to the duke in 1613 was successful. Senior court officials settled artists and craftsmen employed at the court in the village of Lollfuß.

The Kratzenberg, known as the Friedensberg today, was located south of the Schloss. With the exception of Eiderstedt and Nordstrand, the juristic law of Waldemar II was followed at the Duchy of Schleswig. In the Duchy of Holstein, the statues of the Sachsenspiegel formed the legal code. The towns had special rights.

#### B) Employment as court and privy councillor

Van Wouwer accepted the appointment as councillor in Gottorf for the following reasons:

1.he shared the views of the duke, who was an educated man.

2 . they had mutual interests, particularly a joint understanding of the modern state and cultural affairs,

3. in 1606 the duke had created a precious book collection,

4. van Wouwer hoped for a better salary and good service,

5. it was close to his home town of Hamburg.

He accepted the appointment as councillor in October 1607 in writing on 31.10.1607 in Gottorf. This entailed an annual salary of 200 Reichsthaler, to be paid "auffen Umbschlag" (in Kiel), plus reimbursement of expenses for external businesses on presentation of receipt.

During his time, the duke summoned men from Hessen, Bremen and Holland to be considered for the position of councillor, but van Wouwer was the most outstanding and received the job.

At the end of 1607 van Wouwer was very close to being offered the position of canon in Lübeck (having been recommended by the duke), but however he did not want it!? We do not know if he later became the canon. In the appendix to his testament he specified that "the documents of my canonicat concerning Friedrich Bartram von Alefeld zur Lehmkuhlen should be handed in".

In July 1608 therefore, van Wouwer finally entered employment in Gottorf. Niels Junge, a man from Dithmarsch, had been chancellor there since 1598.

During his stay with the sons of the East Frisian count, he had also been steward to the sons of the duke, Friedrich, Adolf and Hans; at the beginning of October 1608 he became steward to the young man (later Duke Friedrich).

He was also given overall supervision of the duke's library. The recently appointed librarian was the lawyer and Cavinist Matheus Chitraeus who received 50 Reichsthaler and free board and lodgings at the court. In the same year he became advisor to the court justice. Later van Wouwer arranged for his student colleague Henricus Lindenbrog (Heinrich Lindenbruch) to be appointed librarian for 125 Reichsthaler and free accommodation at the court, under the following conditions:

1. To establish and maintain the library in good order,

- 2. To classify the books in order,
- 3. to make an inventory.
- 4 . buy no books without the knowledge of councillor van Wouwer,
- 5. to say horas daily for the atonement of the duke.

The library was and became a rich treasury of renowned medieval manuscripts. Van Wouwer was an enthusiastic collector who tried to use his connections to academics to purchase books and manuscripts abroad. Geverhard Elmenhorst and Friedrich Lindenbruch, both resident in Hamburg, helped him greatly in this; also the appointment of the bookseller Georg Ludewig Froben (Frobenius) from Hamburg as purveyor to the court.

A portrait of van Wouwer, among others, was hung in the library. It was said to have been lost when the ducal library was transferred to the royal library in Copenhagen in the 18th century. In any case, it cannot be found anymore. The main catalogue of the ducal book collection transferred can still be found in Eutin District Library. Van Wouwer undoubtedly accomplished a great service when developing the Gottorf library.

After deciding to stay indefinitely in Gottorf, van Wouwer was given the title of privy councillor or secret privy councillor, also master of the council. He was the first to be awarded the title privy councillor; this title does not appear in the appointment certificate but only in the letter address. It is probably just an indication of the trusted position of favoured councillors.

For him, the privy council affairs included secret business and financial matters. In Gottorf the financial need was constant, partly as a result of wasteful management of the court. It was therefore van Wouwer's task, together with the court marshal who was responsible for the economic management of the kitchen, to oversee the weekly lists of the vintners and kitchen clerks. Van Wouwer attempted to find a way out of financial need but had little success. He increased several taxes and reduced outgoings, for example the governor of Eiderstedt received an annual salary of 1000 Reichsthaler until the year 1611; van Wouwer reduced this to 400 Reichsthaler. The levy for the annual credit of the people of Helgoland was increased from 72 Reichsthaler to 80 Reichsthaler. He also initiated the land tax of the year 1611 (hundredth pfennig). When the chancellor Dr. Laelius was appointed at the end of 1611, it was said that he should share the chancery and privy council affairs with privy councillor van Wouwer, proving that van Wouwer had great influence.

During his short time in office he had not been able to get the financial problems under control. Posterity judged him harshly for this, "....a continuer and preparer of grotesque damage", does not seem very fair to me when I weigh up the correlations known to me. Money, by the way, was extremely scarce. In 1609 the district clerk Numsen from Tondern complained to him, "The people have no money".

His tasks also involved checking the accounting of the treasury and official accounts. Together with privy secretary Hieronymus Moller, he checked the treasury accounts of 1605 on the 29.10.1611.

As the councillor responsible for finances he would have initiated the seven coin edicts issued between 1609 - 1611, which were intended to regulate the value of the different coins to one another.

His power in Gottorf was substantial. He wrote to friends in 1611 and 1612 that he was carrying the burden of rule alone and without support; that he often had to wake up the 600 servants of the state from their permanent state of slumber and lead them into public watchfulness and that nothing had changed after the resignation of the chancellor Junge and the other ducal councillors. He had not been the originator of this government restructuring and had also not wanted to intervene.

### C) Activity as church councillor

His financial responsibilities also included the financial affairs of the church. In 1608 the duke appointed Broder Boysen (Boethlus) to visit the churches for this area, i.e. in the area for which van Wouwer was responsible. Van Wouwer had instructed that the church taxes should be collected by secular institutions and that the church councillor should monitor the invoices of the church.

The fact that he was responsible for the church finances could have been the reason that he was appointed head of the konsistorium, the church council. Secular councillors had dominated the konsistiorium since 1607. They were councillors who processed matrimonial issues and other konsistorial procedures, as well as the general provost at that time Jac. Fabricius. The chancellor also belonged to this council.

The Gottorf court at the time of Duke Johan Adolf leaned towards Calvinism. The duke's Calvinist sympathies stemmed from Hessen. In 1600 he appointed a priest from Kassel as court preacher, Johan Strack, who time and again preached to the duke against the ancient preacheroath and the use of ancient mass things. The duke gathered councillors who were Calvinist sympathisers around him. Van Wouwer was his closest advisor. A nobleman from Tecklenburg, Johan von Münster, a Calvanist, resided there.

Van Wouwer was born a Protestant. In Leiden he had witnessed the heroic resistance of the Reform Dutch people against the Catholic Spanish every day.

He explained the basic tendency of his faith in a letter from 1603. He wrote that every individual should honour and respect that which he believed to be good. Religion brings to the one or the other as much damage as advantage. People who want to reform religion have often cut into pieces a lot of material – in their careless eagerness – which they perhaps only needed to separate. His opinion of religious people was determined by "sensus communis". Everyone is permitted to feel as if his own bride is the most beautiful to him. He was therefore also a rationalist. For him it was easy to be tolerant. He wanted to be regarded as a liberal in religious matters. In theology he rejected the strictness of most Protestants, was mild to dissenters, also to followers of the Pope.

Breide Rantzow allowed Jews and Mennonites to settle in Wandsbek. This settlement was not a problem for van Wouwer, thanks to his tolerance in religious matters, acquired when he was abroad. It was not a problem for him to accept the wishes of the duke regarding the removal of

certain papal elements such as artistically decorated altars and ecclesiastical mass garments in the church; he was accused of organising the changing of the preacher-oath in January 1607 and in April of the same year, the dispute was forbidden by the chancery. However this cannot be the case because van Wouwer was first in Gottorf in August 1607.

Fabricius was the general provost and Brenneccius was the court preacher. The general provost opposed the new direction. The duke gave van Wouwer the task of checking a certain sermon by Fabricius in advance. After checking this sermon, van Wouwer gave the returned the task through the privy secretary Moller, saying that it had not been possible to correctly decipher the unclear handwriting of the provost. It has been alleged that van Wouwer occasionally held back the duke in religious matters.

At the end of 1609, a Calvinist-minded student, Henricus Rudolphi, preached in the court chapel. The provost withdrew his objections the following Sunday. After this, Fabricius received his resignation commission on 02.01.1610. This Rudolphi then became court preacher. But van Wouwer did not believe he was intelligent enough. Instead of Rudolphi, Philip Caesar from Hessen, also a Calvinist, became court preacher, apparently owning to the instigation of van Wouwer.

The duchess was a dedicated Lutheran. Every Sunday she walked the long path from the Schloss to the church, wearing a raincoat. There the Lutheran theologian Georg Rose and later D. Chr. Sleidenus preached.

The preacher and astrologist Nicolaus Heldvader, who had lived in Hellevad near Apenrade since 1590, had many disagreements with van Wouwer. Heldvader had written about the threat of Calvinisation as early as 1597. In 1609 van Wouwer asked him to cast his horoscope. Heldvader did this and also reprimanded van Wouwer for his mistakes. This angered van Wouwer so much that he forced Heldvader out of his church position. A complaint to the duke, who at that time appointed the priests, was unsuccessful. In 1611 Heldvader was reinstated. However it was demanded that he pay the debts of his predecessor. While the regional court judged him to be not guilty, the Gottorf ecclesiastical court chaired by van Wouwer dismissed him again, this time for lèse majesté. After his release, Heldvader travelled to Denmark where he became a calendariograph.

Posterity regarded van Wouwer as being a reformist in disguise and a protector of all sects, but not a Lutheran.

#### D) Responsibility for dykes

As privy councillor, van Wouwer was also responsible for the dyke network. He was said to be, "... a beginner in the Dutch dyke system, for all those around here under Rollwaghen"

In 1608 the duke appointed Dutchman Jan Claas Koth Rollwaghen" as the "general moat expert" for the entire marsh, from Eiderstedt to Tondern. The duke had got to know him when

visiting his brother-in-law in East Frisia. On 15th October 1608, Rollwaghen wrote from Lierort /East Frisia to van Wouwer and then on 16th August 1609 from Alckemair/Holland. In the letters he mentions the dyke construction of the Sieversfletherkoog, for example the sluice paddles had been left lying around, the workers had taken the branches, the sacks were provided by the governor.

Rollwaghen's particular service was the elimination of the bullwarks in front of the new dykes; a relatively flat outer embankment replaced them.

The dyke installation of the Sieversfletherkoog began in April 1610 and ended the same year. According to Heimreich, wheelbarrows were used in building the dykes for the first time. Previously three-wheel carts were used, pulled by horses or oxen. Wheelbarrows had already been used in 1538 to build Rendsburg Castle. The opinion that Koth received the surname Rollwaghen after he had used the wheelbarrows in Sieversfletherkoog is untrue. This name is his correct family name which he received at his birth in 1564 in Holland.

When dividing up the land in the Sieversfletherkoog, van Wouwer received 82 demat and 3 rüten.

In the spring (Johanni) 1611, the Augustenkoog, named after the duchess Augusta, was dyked. In a decree of the duke, van Wouwer is referred to as the initiator of this "new polder in Osterhever". He was rewarded with 100 demat of land.

These 100 demat were later exchanged with the duke for 39 demat, 155 rüten and 10 feet in Sieversfletherkoog, which the legacy still owns today.

The Freesenkoog was dyked during summer – September 1611. Van Wouwer received 18 and 40 and 20 demat.

Rollwaghen and his son Claus Jans Koth Rollwaghen received their share of all of these polders. Several employees at the court such as Hieronymus Moller and Abel Spieß, friends of van Wouwer, were also given land and of course the residents of the neighbouring parish communities.

As well as local workers, foreign dyke workers were also used when building the dykes – and they were rough people. A ducal decree from 1611 described them as follows, "many of them decided to go to work with rods and weapons and then led an annoying life with curses, rebukes and drinking, carrying out and encouraging arrogance".

Naturally the owners had to bear the burden of this. For the estates in the Sieversfletherkoog van Wouwer paid 30 Thaler estates fee in 1612 and ca. 20 Thaler towards dyke and building costs. He received payment of 5 Thaler per demat. At the same time he had buildings constructed on his land in the Sieversfletherkoog.

In 1611, one demat land in Eiderstedt cost around 120 Mark lübsch (Hamburg Mark).

The Spadelandrecht common law formed the legal basis for the dyke network from 1552 onwards, and also the Eyderstedter dyke regulations from 1595, written in Low German.

### F) Activity as district magistrate

Van Wouwer travelled a great deal. In November 1608 he stayed in Apenrade and Tondern. He was so taken with Apenrade that he decided to choose this city as his "pausilypsum" or "solace in adversity".

On 4th October 1609, he was with privy secretary Hieronymus Moller and Wilhelm Schaffenradt in Husum to establish the border between city and county.

At the end of 1609, the district magistrate of Apenrade, Otto von Qualen, resigned. His successor was van Wouwer, probably only as a secondary job. At the beginning of the year 1610, the burgermeister of the town of Apenrade, Claus Fernarch, was murdered. As district magistrate, van Wouwer had to conduct the proceedings as far as prosecution. During this time, torture was still possible when solving murder cases.

On 10th October 1610 the town received a huge economic setback due to a raging fire. As district magistrate, he also oversaw the 1610 Apenrade church accounts, in the presence of the provost and the district clerk.

Probably triggered by the transfer of the Apenrade territory to van Wouwer, in 1610 the local nobility demanded at the regional parliament that the duke fill the position of district magistrates solely with locals. But when the district magistrate of Gottorf, Heinrich von Buchwald, resigned in 1611, van Wouwer nevertheless received the district magistrate position. The district clerk there was Hans Lucht from 1604 - 1629 and corn clerk Henning Eckleff, from 1605 - 1647.

Before taking office, van Wouwer was with Buchwald, who was also known as Bockwold, at the bailiff's in Stapelhom regarding the marshes.

According to his own accounts for 1610 - 1611 and the official invoice of 1611, van Wouwer went from Gottorf to the following places:

| 8 13.11.1610 | in Tondern              | (Collection  |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
|              | visited the church here | of fines)    |
|              |                         |              |
|              |                         |              |
| 14.11.1610   | in Apenrade             | )            |
| 29.11.1610   | in Lunden               | ) Collection |
| 02.12.1610   | in Tönning              | )            |

# 23.2. - 12.3.1611 to Hamburg/Wandsbek via Meggerfahr, Höbeke, Westensee, Hogenhude, Flintbek, Bramstedt.

In Hamburg he visited Kellinghusen, Hinrich von der Fechte, Sebastian von Bergen. It is proved that he had his servants Nobis, Hildebrand and Grum with him. He also visited Hamburg Cathedral. He returned via Ulzburg, Neumünster, Nortorf and Soreke. The poor received tips.

| 21.4.1611       | to Eiderstedt via Wohlde (at midday).  |
|-----------------|--|
| 22.4.1611       | Sieversfleth; then gave the day labourers; the following days in Garding and then in Tönning.  |
| 5.5.1611        | in Tönning in Asmus Moldenit's house.  |
| 69.5-1611       | with Vogt von Süderstapel "magistrate work".<br>There was Hendsburger and Lübeck beer, 2 Lambs, bread, spices and<br>oats for 4 horses |
| 17-5-1611       | in Tönning in Asmus Moldenit's Haus.   |
| 68.7-1611       | in Tönning with Härmen Hoyer and Rollwaghen.   |
| 26.7.1611       | in Tönning in the house of Hoyer.  |
| 4.8. + 6.8.1611 | in Lügumkloster and Apenrade.  |
| 17.8.1611       | in Coldenbüttel in the house of Arvast; also on 2.10.  |
| 57.10.1611      | in Tönning in the house of Hoyer and Rollwaghen;<br>from there to Newenfähr near Coldenbüttel.   |
| 5               | two days in Freesenkoog with the district clerk<br>and Vogt "magistrate work".   |
| 28.12.1611      | in "Caspel Arurde" (Erfde) and carried out "magistrate work" in the presence of the duke, 1 bucket of oats for the coach horses.       |

#### F) Castle director, apartment and household

Initially van Wouwer lived in Schloss Gottorf. He was referred to as theCastle director, a special honour given to only the most trusted councillors.

He was a superb conversationalist, articulate and erudite. Although Duchess Augusta was his opponent in religious matters, she said of him, "I could have listened to him speaking from 12 to 5 and imagined that it only an hour had gone by". He tried to please her with various amusing books.

He himself loved dogs and horses, enjoyed listening to music and enjoyed a drink every now and again. He was apparently celibate and was not interested in getting married.

The house where van Wouwer later lived, probably the district magistrate's house, was located in Kratzenberg. Among other things the house had a reception room, bathroom, cellar, bakehouse and library. After the death of van Wouwer, the chancellor moved in there because after 1612, Duke Johan Adolf administered the Gottorf district himself.

The restoration work for the house is listed in the Gottorf official accounts of 1610 and 1611, for example, chamber renovated by bricklayer, 35 days carpentry work, tap delivery, windows renewed, lead glassed, in every window, 2064 rods inserted.

As servants, van Wouwer had his maid Anke, the coachman Carsten, and manservants Peter Grum, Hildebrand von Horn, Jürgen Karl oder Kahlen, Thomas Esmarch, who was in charg of the accounts and Berndt Nobis, his most trusted servant, who had studied law in Rostock and then became a lawyer.

The daughter of Joachim and Anna Kellinghusen from Hamburg, Cillie Kellinghusen managed his household, both in Wandsbek and Schleswig. She had also looked after him when he was seriously ill.

In the Schleswig State Archive there are still some invoices to him; one for fabric and thread delivered to him in 1608 is illustrated here.

Accounts for his household and his business activities are still available. They initially contain some of his own notes; from 1610 onwards, those of his servant Esmarch. Some from the year 1611 are listed here:

Purchase of foodstuffs and spices such as

meat, fish, cabbage, turnips, eggs, sugar candy, syrup, apples, currents, long raisins, bitter oranges, plumbs, aniseed oil, almonds, cloves, nutmeg, pepper, fenugreek, pepper, sweets, beer from Kiel and Hamburg, wine (from the Rhineland, desert wine, French wine, Reval wine, bitter wine), mead, wine vinegar, isoppen water, cardbenedict water,

### also:

Tönnie's carpenter to stabilise 2 beds and 2 lights on the squire's bookcases and tables; Hans Remer for 2 new paddocks, Anthoni book binder to bind books. 1 connector in the stable, Heinrich the apothecary Hans Kleinschmidt for 1 rope, small draw or apothecary fitting, tip for the old lady Peter Spörer for 1 pair of rods for Bede in the church on the occasion of the funeral of the Schönfeld person the mason for doing the tiled stove, the barber's apprentice Marx, money for the coachman Karsten 16 units of cape/cloak 1 braid of hat ribbon Franz Gerdner to Husum for table (lived with the brother of the servant Peter Grum), Red ribbons in the comb bag, Melchior's apprentice for putting pieces in the squire's doublet, Jürgen Fürboter for improving the axe and watering the ox, Claus coppersmith for improving a stool basin,

1 cart load of oats for the house One pair of stockings Some men putting on a wheel (accident!) repairing the squire's doublet and making 2 pairs of trousers smaller, Carpenters for doing work in the squire's garden, repairing the squire's silk stockings Christoffer the painter for gold-embossing 2 frames; also making 2 black frames, stuffing 2 horse heads, for painting the squire's coat of arms. 1 pair of leather gloves for the squire fastened earband for the squire. Fabric and tailor's fee for horse blankets, 1 comb, 1 water glass, 1 sponge, weaving fee for weaver 1 unit of red fabric for cushion Seamstress for the fabric of the collar Shepherd boy and women cleaned house, for slaughtering Joachim Schneider, took of the squire's coat and added 2 buttons, to Heinrich Goldschmidt, Gorrie's woodcutter for sawing wood, old man in Lollfuß,

Steffen von Köllen for repairing the squire's boots J Gramer for 2 pairs of soles and 12 studs, improved the squire's brown coat. 1 brass snuffer, the chimney sweep, repairing the squire's shoe, Hans Kleinschmidt for wood to warm the bed, Godfather money for Andreas Discher's child for the squire's jacket, 5 quarter dwelch, black and red sewing thread, 10 units of black braid, buttons, wage for seamstress, clothing for the coachman's son  $2 \frac{1}{2}$  units of green fabric and seamstress wage for painting the squire's coat of arms in the marshal's family register a poor pupil Cillie for godfather money 2 pairs of sheets for town musicians (on 24.12) for 2 poor boys (on 25.12) and the trumpeter's for New Year.

#### <u>Illness</u>

Van Wouwer's illness was a great trial for him. And his appearance reflected this. The councillor of the duke, Broder Boisenius, described him in 1612, the year of his death, like this: pale, wan, thin, pallid and more like the shadow of a person...

Whereas van Wouwer in his young years was radiant with health, he wrote at the age of 27 from Venice to his cousin Sebastian von Bergen in Hamburg that he was in a sickly condition; he had very great pain in his head and teeth and his heart tremors which usually accompanied him anyway were increasing day-by-day; in 1604 he wrote from Wandsbek to the bookseller Frobenius in Hamburg that he was ill and could not take part in lively social occasions.

In 1609 he mentioned painful headaches and in 1611 he wrote to a good friend that he had an ulcer on his bladder, podagra, constipation of the spleen, heart tremors, a cough, damp, pain in hypochondiacis, and could die, as it were, at any moment. In 1612 he wrote from Tondern to the same person that he had been living with the worst pain for a whole year already; he had often prepared himself for death with joy, but that nature was standing in his way 'like a mother-in-law'. He had got used to not enjoying any food and was holding back his soul, which was willing to depart, with anger. He drank no wine or beer, was continually sweating, ate a minimal diet and if he deviated from it in the slightest, he nearly died of pain. The bladder ulcer was particularly unpleasant for him as it was incurable. The stone pain, the beginning of consumption and the inherited misery of podagra only added to this.

To alleviate his pain, van Wouwer sometimes drank the concoctions of the distiller Saxo Oven from Tönning who brought him mixes made to a recipe of someone called Penoti.

An apothecary invoice from 1607 and 1609 is still in the State Archive – see illustration. The apothecary was Henricq Poggwisch.

In Gottorf he was treated by court doctor Dr Steffen von Schönefeld. In his final days a Dr Oldenmann was called in as well as the court barber Diederich Vicken.

### The Testament

When van Wouwer felt his end to be near, he compiled his testament on 16th March 1612. It is written on 12 pages, signed personally with Johan van Wouwer and sealed with his insignia. Seven witnesses have signed and added their seal. It was written at 3pm at his house in Schleswig in the front parlour downstairs. The official imperial public notary Daniel Sellmer has added his seal on the same day.

The Testament includes (briefly summarised) the following points:

1. Burial regulation: a grave should be purchased in the cathedral; if this is not possible then in the St Michaeliskirche; about the grave there should be a large stone with a certain simple grave inscription; the funeral should be carried out without pomp; the sermon should not be given by the cathedral chaplain Georg Rose; it should mention only his parents and himself: born in Hamburg, then only the word of God according to a text from Job; I know that my Redeemer liveth; no announcement of his death to his blood relatives and friends; for the burial, nothing should be borrowed, everything should be bought; a velvet cloth should be lain over the coffin and afterwards his three servants should receive this;

2. His library and books should go to the Duke, but left in the same order and in a special chamber; Berndt Nobis should make an inventory of them in advance;

3 . an excellent academic man may finish his books and have them published and commemorate him annually on the anniversary of his death; for this he should receive 200 Hamburg Mark; another academic man should receive 100 Marks for the same purpose, plus 200 Mark annually in perpetuity to the Hamburg Orphanage; also minimal expenses for their trouble to the executors;

4. all debts should be paid from the 82 demat farm in Sieversfleth; if possible, 500 Reichsthaler to the small girl Elisabeth Kellinghusen on her engagement, however invest it for interest immediately; if she dies before becoming engaged, give the interest to poor bedridden people;

5. from Freesenkoog farm, 400 Mark annually to Mrs Anna Kellinghusen; after her death, 200 Mark annually to her daughter Cillie Kellinghusen; after Cilli's death, 200 Mark annually to her sister Elisabeth; after her death, a legacy in which the descendants with the name van Wouwer should always be given priority;

6. all furniture should go Schleswig to Anna Kellinghusen, except those items listed in a register;

7 . Chains and small items of his lifetime give to good friends;

8 . to Hieronymus Moller, the best and largest goblet; to Abel Spieß, the next largest and to M. Diederich Vicken, a smaller one;

9. Servant Berndt Nobis 100 Reichsthaler, Thomas Eßmark50 Reichsthaler, Hildebrand 50 Reichsthaler, also the clothes, boots, rifles that are not listed in a register;

10. Sell horse and cart for money and give from this coachman Carsten 30 Reichsthaler, servant Jürgen Karl 20 Reichsthaler, the maid 20 Reichsthaler, the rest to cover debts.

11. Spreng Manor should revert to the Duke in the Bordesholm district; money expended should be reimbursed; from this to M. Diederich Vicken, an honest wage; to Henrico Lindenbrug 100 Mark; to Nicolai Kellinghusen 100 Mark; otherwise use to meet debts, possible the remainder for bedridden people;

Hieronymus Moller and Abel Spieß were the executors, his beloved and highly cherished friends; subsequently the successors in office. The dukes were requested to appoint these, if necessary.

Appointment as heir: mother, on her death, his brother and the children of his sister for inherited good and approximately 5000 Mark from brewery inheritance on the Hüxter in Hamburg.. Joachim Kellinghusen becomes owner if he pays 12,000 Mark to the inheritors; also 150 Mark main office in Moritz Gagelmann's house in Hamburg near the Mühlenbrücke; also farm near the Hamburg gate should be occupied; others, according to lists. The prerequisite for inheritance is a declaration before the duke that the testament will not be disputed.

Those who do not declare will be excluded; their proportion goes to the orphanage. If his mother declines, then everyone should be excluded from the legacy.

### Death and Burial

Shortly before his death, van Wouwer requested that the duke comfort him by the grace of a visit. But the duke did not come and did not see him alive again, because van Wouwer died on 30th March 1612 in the evening, 'a quarter to ten' at the royal court in the city. Dr. von Schönfeld was present, also the court preacher Philip Caesar, the court barber Diederich Vicken who had looked after him during his illness and the privy councillor Abel Spieß.

The next morning his testament was opened and read in the presence of the duke, the chancellor Dr. Laur.Laeilus, the privy clerk, Hieronymus Moller and the privy councillor Abel Spieß.

His instructions about the burial were followed. According to the invoice which survives, someone called Matte Bade was the envoy [translator's note: who formally invites people to the

funeral]. 10 students carried the coffin. There were two coffins intertwined with 6 drapes; a velvet cloth lay over them.

Following the coffin were, among others, the chancellor, Marshal Dallwig, Hartinghausen and Justice Armbeken, as well as Hier. Moller and Abel Spieß as testament executors. These received one Reichsthaler per person. 80 students also followed the coffin. It is not recorded if the duke was there, because in the invoice only those who received money were listed. But it is very probable.

Court preacher Philip Caesar gave the sermon.

He was buried in a excavated and brick-lined crypt in Schleswig Cathedral. For the crypt, 600 stones and 5 pounds of limestone were used. On the blue top panel were inscribed the words:

Hic Sita sunt ossa et cineres Joan Wouweri, obiit XXX. Mart. An. MDCXII (Here rest the bones and the ashes of Johan Wouweri, died 30th March 1612)

The "Thumb chapter of Schleswig" was paid 160 Thaler for the grave. 3 1/2 pounds of wax were needed for candles; for bread, malt, salt and beer, ca. 18 Thaler were used.

The grave lay in Schleswig Cathedral "in the intersection for the altar, not far from Kielmann's large grave, past the small altar, after the Petri door, the 13th Grave under the small wide passage under the earth".

Since 1848 the grave can no longer be found because the graves were filled up during the construction of a new floor.

### **Testament Executors**

The executors of his testament appointed by van Wouwer were initially his friend Hieronymus Moller, councillor and privy secretary, and Abel Spieß privy clerk (financial manager).

Moller died in 1614 and Spieß in 1621. Until 1713 their successors in their offices became the executors. After the dissolution of the Duchy of Gottorf, the Danish King appointed the respective senior governor and governor of Eiderstedt as executors, probably because the estates of the legacy are located in Eiderstedt. The successors of the governors were the county commissions of Husum and Eiderstedt from 1865 onwards. From 1970, the districts of Husum, Eiderstedt and south Tondern were combined to form the district of North Frisia, so that from 1970 the county commissioner of this district is the sole administrator.

Below the names of the executors since 1612 are listed:

| Ka.Sekr.    |       | Ka.Meister |       |
|-------------|-------|------------|-------|
| Hier.Moller | +1614 | Abel Spieß | +1621 |

| Ka.Sekr.                              |                 | Ka.Meister                           |                 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Marcus Schwencken                     |                 |                                      | 1634            |
| Ka.Sekr.                              |                 | Ka.Meister                           | 1004            |
| Jacob Prußung                         | 1656,1634       | Jürgen Hollmer 1656 + 1              | 1607            |
| Jacob I Tubulig                       | 1050,1034       | - 0                                  | 1695            |
| Ka.Sekr.                              |                 | Staller                              | 1095            |
| -                                     | +1686           | -                                    | 1737            |
| Dr.Frid.Jügerdt<br>Hinrich Brammer    | +1080<br>1695   | Justizrat Jessen +                   | 1707            |
| Oberstaller                           | 1093            | Staller                              |                 |
| Chr.Sehested                          | 1713-1721       | -                                    | 1790            |
| Oberstaller                           | 1/13-1/21       | Joh.Thomsen, Garding<br>Staller      | 1700            |
|                                       | 1795            | ~                                    | . 1757          |
| Nic.Frhr.v.Gersdorf                   | +1735           | R.S.Widerholt, Tönning<br>Staller    | g 1737          |
| Oberstaller<br>Otto v.d.Luhe          | 1740            |                                      |                 |
| Olio v.d.Lune<br>Oberstaller          | +1749           | Chr. Fr. Momme, Tönn<br>Staller      | ing 1771        |
| Friedr.v.Reventlow                    | 1750            | -                                    |                 |
| Oberstaller                           | +1752           | Boye Nommels, Tönnir<br>Staller      | ig, 1810        |
| Hans V.Ahlefeldt                      | +1761           | -                                    | 9-1865          |
| Oberstaller                           | +1701           | County Commissioner                  | 9-1003          |
|                                       | $d_{\perp}1700$ | L.Frhr.v.Richthofen                  | -1873           |
| Joh.Siegfr.v. Schönfel<br>Oberstaller | d+1799          |                                      | -10/0           |
| Victor v.Levetzow                     | +1826           | County Commissioner                  | -1874           |
| Oberstaller                           | 1820            | Otto Lempfert<br>County Commissioner | -1074           |
|                                       | +1848           | 5                                    | -1880           |
| Ernst von Krogh                       | +1040           | Cay-W. vom Rumohr                    | -1000           |
| Oberstaller                           |                 | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Chr.G.W.Johnnneen                     | 1850 - 1864     | Herrn. Madlung                       | -1889           |
| County Commissione                    |                 | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Graf L.zu Reventlow                   |                 | Fr.W. Dierig                         | -1893           |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Fr.Werner Hesse                       | -1920           | Walter Fritsche                      | -1909           |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Dr.Heinrich Clasen                    |                 | Chr.Frhr.v.Heintze                   | -1914           |
| County Commissione                    |                 | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Ottn Hamkens                          | 1933            | Carl von Dobbeler                    | 1914            |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Fr. von Lamprecht                     | 1936            | Otto Graf zu Rantzau                 | 1914            |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Werner Kalmus                         | -1940           | Dr.Dan Graf zu Rantzau               | ı <b>-</b> 1919 |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Dr. H.von Rumohr                      |                 | Nic. Chr. Reeder                     | -1932           |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Fr.W.Jenetzky                         | -1941           | Dr.Heinr. Clasen                     | -1933           |
| County Commissione                    | er              | County Commissioner                  |                 |
| Dr.Aug.Fröbe                          | -1944           | Otto Hamkens                         | -1938           |
| 0                                     |                 |                                      |                 |

| County Commissioner |       | County Commissioner |        |
|---------------------|-------|---------------------|--------|
| Dr. August Kuhn     | -1945 | Dr. Hg.von Rumohr   | -1935  |
| County Commissione  | er    | County Commissioner |        |
| Kuno Tönnies        | 1945  | Karl Wolff          | -1946  |
| County Commissione  | er    | County Commissioner |        |
| Dr.Franz Suchan     | -1947 | Bernh.Grage, farmer | -1950  |
| County Commissione  | er    | County Commissioner |        |
| Reinh.Borzikowsky   | -1967 | Dr. Kurt Bähr       | -1969+ |
| County Commissione  | er    |                     |        |
| Dr.V.Wolfsteller    | -1970 |                     |        |

- from 1970 County Commissioner Dr. Klaus Petersen, alone -

Implementation of the Testament

The testament executors carried out the directions in the testament.

The velvet cloth which lay over the coffin during the funeral was given to his three servants.

His servant Berndt Nobis catalogued the library before transferring it to the duke. The book signatures can still be identified today: W.H and W.Th for Wouwer History and Wouwer Theology. In the two older catalogues in Kiel University Library, the librarian Mr Mecken has been able to identify the book signature "W.Th" more than 400 times and "W.H" more than 56 times. The majority of books were from the 16th century.

The following sums are proven to have been paid to the following academics whocommemorated him on the anniversary of his death:1657 to Nicolaus Joh. Kruse40 Thaler1658 to Samuel Voß200 Hamburg Mark1667 to Adam Olearius66,32 ThalerThe duke's librarian

Others who also commemorated him:

1657 Geverhard Elmenhorst, his friend,1674 Georg Schröder,1706 Andr. Ludw. Kingsman in the Schediasimate.

The 82 demat land in Sieversfleth was sold to the duke in 1614 to meet debts. It brought in a sum of 5560 Reichsthaler.

For Elisabeth Kellinghusen, 500 Reichsthaler was invested, earning interest. It brought 6% annual interest. In 1629 the capital had increased to 850 Reichsthaler. She married a man called G. von Zeist in 1635 and was paid the capital accrued;

Anna Kellinghusen, the mother, received 400 Mark annual until her death in March 1639, initially with some difficulties, probably because the leases from the Sieversfletherkoog were not paid in full due to water damage. Cillie did not receive anything more as she had already died unmarried in June 1638. Her sister Elisabeth therefore received the prescribed 200 Mark in 1639.

The furniture, clothes, etc. and the golden goblets were presumably also handed out.

The payments to the servants were also made in full because the funeral accounts show payments to the maid Anke and the servant Jürgen Karl, as well as part payment of 20 Reichsthaler of the servant Hildebrand.

The two doctors Schönefeld and Oldenmann and the court barber Diedrich Vicken also received 40 Reichsthaler each.

His mother and brother did not dispute the testament. His mother became owner of the inherited properties. She also became owner of the brewery inheritance in Hamburg on the Hüxter, because Joachim Kellinghusen could not pay the 12,000 Mark referred to. She had transferred the garden area in front of the Schartor gate in 1613; he sold it in 1619.

Regarding point 5 of the testament: after execution of the other points in the testament, the legacy which still exists today has been created.

#### The Legacy

The relevant point in the testament reads thus:

"After her death (Elisabeth Kellinghusen), the above-mentioned money should be applied according to my directions and then money should be taken, both with the entire accrual and with the present time, from the legacy concerned annually and saved in the following way: that namely the relevant goods are consolidated and prescribed to an eternal tenure: So that if someone from my family or descendants, male gender, who bears my name, falls into poverty, lack of nourishment or another problem, through no fault of his own, that he should gain assistance and help from this fund. Furthermore if any of my descendants, whereby those most closely related to me are always to be preferred, are unable to marry because of lack of a dowry, should also receive assistance from these funds. Furthermore if any of my descendants are not able to follow their studies because of poverty, or otherwise at the beginning of their honest career, not have any material means, the funds should also help him to the same degree; however it is not my intention and the intention of the prescribed conditions to help everybody and anybody into work, but it is important to reveal what paths, to what end and to what purposes the beneficium will be used for. When all prescribed conditions have been fulfilled and put to work, it is my wish that in particular all those of my descendants who bear my name should be given priority in the enjoyment of this beneficium, in consideration of the predefined conditions; if such people are not available to enjoy the benefit of the prescribed conditions and the above-mentioned money could not otherwise be used, then the said funds should be distributed to the descendants most related to me in linea recta and used for their benefit, whereby then my descendants from the female lineage should be taken into account, without differentiating and giving preference to who is the oldest and nearest to the others; special attention should be paid to the fact, and it should be understood, that when there are no longer descendants that bear my name available, who can benefit from the fund as poor and needy, that I do not want other people, either from the female lineage or otherwise, who do not bear my name, to be able to enjoy this beneficium; but in this case, as explained previously, the three oldest, whether they are from the male or female lineage, should be able to enjoy this beneficium. If no relatives are available, both on the male or female lineage, in other words, if such lineages completely die out and none of mine can enjoy this beneficium, in this case the jus patronatus should fall to the honourable Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf lineage, who should decide in its discretion how to use the money correctly and distribute it among people whom it deems are worthy of it."

After fulfilling all points of the testament, all the income from the leases was merged, forming the foundation of the legacy after deductions were made for running costs. This must have been after 1640 because Anna Kellinghusen only died in 1639 and following this, her daughter Elisabeth received 200 Mark annually. In the annual accounts for 1657, an invoice for 100 Reichsthaler for students appears for the first time, and for the last time in the year 1667. Nothing else seems to have applied for study purposes. From 1668, the annual surplus was paid to the three of his nearest relatives in linea recta.

Over the course of the centuries it became more and more difficult for executors to discover who these three people should be. Complaints were made and the Danish King became involved, in 1729, 1733 and the last time with his court of appeal at Schloss Gottorf on 24th November 1758. Following this, the surpluses should be divided into four parts, respective to the genealogical lines, and shared amongst the descendants. During that time, the genealogical lines were the four brothers Sebastian, Johann, Hans or Hans Sebastian, and Jürgen. When one lineage died out, their proportion should be divided up among the other lines. The 300 Mark put aside for eulogies was abandoned.

This is how it remained until 1959. It became more and more difficult to establish the various genealogical lineages and sublineages with their descendants. Some connections were broken because the descendants moved outside Europe and did not stay in touch. The amounts for individual persons became ever smaller, as the lineages branched out even more. This was exacerbated by the fact that the legacy had to pay corporate tax from 1925, which amounted to 45% of the net surplus. In some cases, payments in 1959 were only 15.28 DM.

To avoid the high deductions, the two executors decided to convert the legacy into a charitable foundation according to tax guidelines, so that money could only be paid to descendants in

need. This was also the original intention of van Wouwer. But in his time, there were no applications.

From 1960, the legacy has been recognised as charitable and later also as non-profit. This means that the legacy does not have to pay corporate and capital tax, meaning that now large sums can be paid, however only on application so that need can be assessed. The limit is three times the indicative rate of social aid; there are also supplements for old age, illness and for the payment of rent. 20 - 30 applications are registered per year and hardly any of them need to be turned down.

The income for the legacy comes from the leasing of the land in Sieversfletherkoog, currently 29.47.81 in size and in the Freesenkoog, currently 31.66.10 in size; plus some stocks.

While the size of the estates in Sieversfletherkoog has remained constant over the years, this has changed in Freesenkoog. Defensive trenches were built and also the motorway through the land today. Theodor Storm, among others, removed the bridge necessary for this.

Owing to the tax status, a charter had to be written which is reproduced here.

The minister of interior affairs for the State of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel supervises the legacy and also approved the conversion.

The question remains as to how to establish who the descendants are. As Johan van Wouwer was unmarried and had no children, descendants are the children of his brother Sebastian, as his brother Nicolaus had only one daughter who died in a nunnery in Hamburg.

In his chronice of Coldenbüttel, Pastor E. Bruhn maintains that the leasing income was paid to the descendants of the illegitimate children that van Wouwer had with his housekeeper. This is incorrect! Van Wouwer had no illegitimate children. His housekeeper, as previously mentioned, was the daughter of Anna Kellinghusen, Cillie. He did not bequeath her anything in his testament. He also did not bequeath anything for his alleged children. He would have taken them into consideration. If he had had children they would have appeared, at the latest, when the payments from the legacy began. However only descendants of Sebastian van Wouwer, who moved to Sweden, got in touch. He died there in 1615.

### Various Evaluations of his Person

In conclusion I feel it is appropriate to record some evaluations from learned contemporaries of Wouwer and also some opinions after his death, both positive and negative. I will leave the reader to weigh them up.

In 1599 Justus Lipsius wrote to the cousin of van Wouwer:

"I have always valued the modesty and integrity of this young man, and as I saw him for the first time in Hamburg nine years ago, I always praised his talent. Let him live, grow and carry the light forth from we who have become tired along this path; I trust him gladly with the judgement."

Joseph Scaliger called him "...a young man I greatly treasure in his character and education" and praised him [in a letter] to Elmenhorst, "I would be very surprised if one could do something better in this matter than he, who far surpasses you in age and experience" and regarding his character and education, he said another time,

"No-one is less uneducated and less un-polished as van Wouwer; he is less uneducated as any other Frenchman or Italian man" and yet he also wrote,

"that this one is a great bag of wind and plagiariser".

Isaac Casaubon wrote to Peter Scriverius in 1604 calling him,

"a very educated young man" and in 1613 to Joh. Witten,

"It pained us greatly when we recently learned that Joh. v. W, your old companion, had lost his life. With him, the academic world has lost a great intellect."

Paulis Herula wrote after his death,

"The educated young man, J.v.W. very carefully brought up and selected by Apollo and the Muses, was very dear to me owing to the special studies that he diligently pursued." Dominius Baudius wrote to the Puteani brothers in 1605,

"In my opinion v.W. surpasses all citizens of his homeland in good characteristics, erudition and talent. Naturally he also has faults, as no-one is born without these. But his good characteristics outweigh them by far, above all his great intellectual power that he achieved not through plagiarism; he has only his innate talent to thank for this.

To Alb.von Vechte, he calls van Wouwer an incomparable man, there is no-one living today whom he values more highly and whose friendship he would like to maintain longer. However he also criticises his ambitiousness and boastfulness.

To Andreas Schottius he is a man who was very well acquainted with the difficult academic disciplines.

Daniel Heinsius wrote in 1614,

"If anyone had marvelled at the virtues of v.W., his sharp and divine intellect, his incomparable judgement, his generosity and the fact that he was not only an academic but also equal to any at the courts of princes and on very difficult official business, then this person was me."

Jacob Lectius called him a politically very talented man.

Nicol. Rigaltus called him an extraordinarily learned man with a very sound judgement. Caspar Sclioppius,

"May God want this young man to stay among us for as long as possible."

Joh. Huswedel said in an epigram in reference to his death and the ungratefulness of his home town, that he had achieved the eternal glory of an immortal reputation among academics and poets.

Joachim Vagetius said the following about him,

"J.v.W. has recently died an early death in Gottorf; born in Hamburg, a man of exceptional talent and such great erudition that he was by far the first among the academics of his age."

For Caspar Danckwerth he is,

"...a young man among the academics more famous and in all writings, a cunning man."

In 1682 Samuel Reyher in Kiel calls him the celebrated "Varro" of our century and a well-known historian.

Conrad Sam. Schürtzfleisch calls him a learned man who knew well enough all the writings and culture of the Greeks.

Christoph Gräfius praised his knowledge of the Hebrew language.

Joh. Moller in his "Cimbria literata" gave the verdict,

"For me he was the first man of his time for the duke at the court of Gottorf and also the most learned of the educated men of Cimbria; but also a man who stood out owing to his good characteristics and his bad ones."

Friedrich Lindenbruch, who was the greatest enemy of v.W. among the academics, said to Janus Gruter in 1613,

"by God, it is good that the Cicero of Gulielmus has been freed from the thieving hands of that man with the barking name because that author brought forth nothing good from his falsespeaking mouth, only that which was stolen from others and which he pretended was his own intellectual property."

and in 1616 to Morhofius,

"I am very grateful to you that you have sent the letters of v.W. to me. The postman did not have very much to carry with them, because no-one will become more learned or better by reading them...

He knew very precisely the art of copying foreign writings, adding something new, formulating it then differently and presenting it as his own work...

He understands nothing of Hebrew; he basically did not even read the authors whom he praised. From Geography too, he knew practically nothing...

If there was really a sign of a minimal degree of knowledge, then he had acquired this without doubt in Italy, where he listened carefully to the academics and wrote down all observations..."

Nicol. Heldvader called him a trader's son from Hamburg and a certainly not coarse parasite of the Roman priesthood.

Burch. Gott. Struve called him in 1705 admittedly a learned man but without character, gloryseeking and negligent of faith; in character he was without faith. Later he classified him as belonging to the atheists and called him a man without character, glory-seeking and indifferent in his faith, because for him there were no other values apart from education and scholarship. Theod. Jansonius accused him of plagiarism.

In 1665 the Leipzig Professor Jac. Thomas defended v.W. from the accusations of plagiarism in the new edition of "Polymathia" and rejected them.

Regarding these accusations of plagiarism Jac. Casaubon wrote to Peter Scriverius in 1604, "Recently I was pleased as I saw that J.v.W., the extremely educated young man, took on in part the editing of the same material; but I would have been even more pleased, if he had taken on everything which we are editing, so that we would have had a real opportunity to spare ourselves this work."

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## List of illustrations

Gravestone in the Falkonskirche in Antwerp

His signet

Excerpt from the matriculation list of Leiden University, 1593

Titlepage of his main work, 1604

Letter to his cousin Sebastian von Bergen in Hamburg, written in German

Apothecary invoice for van Wouwer

Grocery invoice to van Wouwer

Invoice from the bookseller Frobenius from Hamburg to van Wouver Schleißwygh, 1584

Copperplate engraving (section) from the Description and Representation of the most illustrious cities of the world 1582 – 1618 by Braun and Hogenberg

Duke Johan Adolf von Gottorf, 1601 Unknown painter; Schloss Gripsholm

Duchess Augusta von Gottorf, 1601 Unknown painter; Schloss Gripsholm

The territory of Gottorf in the 17th century

Final page of his testament

#### Charter of the van Wouwer Legacy

from 26th January 1976, updated 20th August 1979

The legacy is founded on the testament of Johan van Wouwer from 16.03.1612. According to § 20 paragraph 1 of the law on legally capable charities in the civil law code (charities law) of 13.07.1972 (GVOBI. Schleswig-Holstein, p. 123), it creates the following charter, which replaces the charter of 07.12.1959, updated 21.04.1970,

1

<u>Name, place of business and legal structure</u> The legacy is a legally capable family charity of the civil law code with the name "van Wouwersches Vermächtnis" (van Wouwer Legacy). Place of business is Husum, courthouse.

2

Purpose of the charity

From 01.01.1979 the legacy exclusively and immediate charitable and non-profit purposes in accordance with §§ 52 + 53 fiscal law code of 16.03.1976, in this order of succession: 1. Support of all descendants if they are in need, 2 . annual pension to the orphanage, Hamburg - youth authority of the city of Hamburg,

3 . revenue not used in 1. and 2. should be used for other charitable or non-profit purposes.

The charity fulfils its purposes using the revenue of the charity's assets and the donations of third parties. The annual surpluses may only be used for purposes according to the charter. The charity must not benefit any person who is alien to the purposes of the charity, with administrative expenses, or by disproportionally large payments.

# 3

Assets

The assets of the charity are comprised of estates in Freesenkoog and Sieversfletherkoog, currently approximately 55 hectares and of fixed interest stocks. The estates should be leased for periods of at least 6 years.

Suitable persons should be appointed to supervise the estates.

# 4

# Charity executive board

The executive board and the only institution of the charity is the respective county commissioner of the district of North Frisia. In the case that this person does not accept the office, or vacates it, the institution responsible for the charity appoints another person to the charity's executive board for the duration of the transition period.

The executive board decides on all matters concerning the charity. It represents the charity legally and non-legally.

To relieve him, the executive board can appoint a suitable person as managing director and commission this person with the management of the ongoing administrative duties.

The executive board can be reimbursed for his necessary expenses that occur during his work for the charity. As payment in lieu for these expenses, he can also grant himself a fixed-price expense allowance.

### 5

# Managing director

If a managing director is appointed, he must follow the instructions of the executive board when carrying out his duties. He is not a special representative according to § 30 BGB (German civil law code).

The managing director is entitled to claim expenses.

### 6

# Applications and decisions on grants

The grants according to § 2 figure 1 must be applied for. The grants must be submitted by 30th June of each year to the charity in Husum, courthouse. The executive board decides on the applications submitted according to the charter and his free judgement. His first priority is to take into consideration the descendants who are most closely related to the benefactor and who bear his name.

There is no legal appeal against the decision of the executive board.

**Business year** The business year is the calendar year.

8

Change of charter

The executive is permitted to change the charter. The change must be approved by the supervisory body. A change to § 2 requires the approval of the relevant finance office.

9

Coming into effect of the charter The charter comes into effect with the approval of the regulatory body. Husum, 20th August 1979 VAN WOUWER'S LEGACY

signed. Dr.Klaus Petersen

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