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ARISTOCRATIC LANDSCAPE

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This book is a comparative study of how the aristocracy in Western Europe organised space and landscape inside and adjacent to their residences. It discusses examples from Britain, France, Germany and Scandinavia concentrated in the period *c.* 800–1500. The overall aim is to search for a common aristocratic spatial ideology and to explain its meaning and changes through time, against the background of overall changes in medieval society. Many scholars have studied the medieval aristocracy and chivalrous culture, but this study tries to connect this culture with the landscape. The residences of the aristocracy are studied in the context of their surrounding landscape. The study focuses on six different themes that affected how the aristocracy acted in the landscape. These themes concern the role of the nobleman as warrior, the aristocracy's use of history and the memory of the place, how the aristocracy tried to isolate themselves in space, the aristocracy's urge to plan and order space, the ever-present religious dimension in aristocratic life and the importance of the individual agent.

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THE SPATIAL IDEOLOGY OF THE MEDIEVAL ARISTOCRACY

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INTRODUCTION

The medieval aristocracy was a small but important group in society. Much research has been focused on different aspects of the aristocracy, and on a European level one might at first think that there were a lot of differences within the aristocracy. It is true that the aristocracy was a very heterogeneous group, not only within different countries and regions, but also within the group. The political, economic and social importance of the aristocracy differed from country to country due to a variety of local and regional conditions such as different state formation processes and differences in the local economy. It is also true that the aristocracy was a group in change as regards structure, economy and political influence during the Middle Ages. The aristocracy of the fifteenth century was in some ways very different from the aristocracy of the eleventh century. Despite these differences, it seems to be possible to detect a number of common features among the aristocracy. These common features are most apparent on a structural level. The chivalrous society with its glorious knights, chivalric behaviour, tournaments and other attributes that meet us in literature and chronicles all over medieval Europe is perhaps best-known. Throughout Europe it is possible to detect an aristocratic elite culture based on the common concept of chivalry. A closer look also reveals that it is possible to detect similarities in how aristocrats from different parts of Europe acted regarding their built environment, castles and manor houses and in the landscape at large. This is so far, however, a rather untold story of the aristocracy.

 The purpose of this book is a comparative study of how the aristocracy in Western Europe organised space and landscape, mainly in connection with their residences. In this text the word Europe is used in the sense of Western Europe. The study has not involved examples from, or the medieval society of, southern or eastern Europe. The author is however convinced that much of the results of this study are also valid outside Western Europe. This comparison will involve examples from Britain, France, Germany and Scandinavia and will concentrate on the period *c.* 800–1500. The overall aim is to see whether it is possible to detect a common aristocratic spatial ideology and if so, to explain its meaning and changes through time against the background of overall changes in medieval society. The word "aristocracy" is used in a wider sense, since it is meant to include the whole nobility, from the mightiest magnates to the poorest village knights. It is also one of the main aims of the study to analyse not just persons and places belonging to the upper nobility, which normally is the case in studies of aristocratic culture, but to extend the study and also include the landscape and places of the lesser nobility. That is why a large amount of the examples that are discussed in the book can be characterised as residences for individuals belonging to the lesser nobility. The

focus on the lesser nobility can be said to be due to several factors. First of all, this is a group that has often been neglected, its actions and whereabouts are more difficult to trace and analyse compared to the higher nobility, whose life and actions have left large amounts of both historical sources and material culture. Secondly, if we want to study a spatial ideology within the aristocracy, the presence of this ideology also within the lesser nobility is of the utmost importance to support the argument of the book. When used henceforth the word aristocracy thereby denotes the nobility as a totality.

The aristocracy in its wider sense ruled medieval society on national, regional and local levels all over Europe. On a national level, the royal family was just one of several rich and powerful magnate families. The leaders of the church also had an aristocratic origin, in many cases from the same leading families. At regional and local levels less wealthy families controlled towns and countryside as landowners and as royal officers. In almost every respect, perhaps apart from the trading side, the aristocracy controlled medieval society. Despite their important role, the aristocracy was never a large group, not viewed if seen in its wider sense. To estimate the number of medieval aristocrats in different European countries is of course very difficult due to the lack of accurate statistics regarding the size of the population and its social structure. Thanks to written sources such as preserved rolls of arms, different tax revenues and so on, estimates of the number of aristocracy compared to the number of the overall population have been made for different countries.

In England in the late thirteenth century, there seem to have been around 4,000–4,500 knights and potential knights, compared to an estimated total population at that time of around 5–6 million (Coss 1993:84). In the fifteenth century the aristocracy as a whole constituted 2 per cent of the total population (Dyer 1989:32f). In France the number of the aristocracy as a whole, including women and children, has been estimated at 400,000 persons or 2 per cent of the total population. In Sweden during the sixteenth century, when it becomes possible to assess the number of the aristocracy, this group consisted of around 3,000–5,000 persons, equivalent to 0.5 per cent of the population. In Denmark the number of the aristocracy at the same time was about 2,000 persons (Samuelsson 1993:50f). Figures like these are of course far from accurate and can in most cases be seen as qualified guesses, but the figures nevertheless underline the fact that medieval society was run by a very small elite, in most cases just amounting to 1–2 per cent of the population.

Even if this group was small it was far from homogeneous. The structure of the nobility and its heterogeneity is something that must be stressed. Over the whole of Europe, the differences within the nobility when it comes to political and economic strength were considerable. The English nobility has by scholars been divided into a three-class hierarchy of landlords. At one extreme were the holders of really large estates consisting of several castles and estates in various parts of the country. At the other extreme were landlords who had lordship only over a few dozen peasants. In between were an intermediate class. The later two groups, and especially the group of the smallest landowners, were by far the most numerous (Kosminsky

1956:96ff, Hatcher & Miller 1978:168). In many cases these smaller landowners were bound by feudal bonds to greater barons. This pattern of a small but extremely rich group of noblemen can be found in large parts of Europe.

In Småland in south Sweden the nobility was completely dominated by minor noblemen in the late Middle Ages, whose estates in many cases do not seem to have exceeded ten tenant farms beside their manor. Due to the lack of written sources it is not until the sixteenth century that it becomes possible to evaluate the structure of the Swedish nobility. It was then totally dominated by the lesser nobility. Around 84 per cent of the nobility had estates that did not exceed 30 tenant farms beside their manor. The majority of the nobility had such small estates that they had problems upholding their military obligations. In the 1560s the median value for the number of tenants farms belonging to a Swedish nobleman was as low as 6.5 (Samuelsson 1993:61ff, 82f). Beside this dominant group (dominant in number at least) was a small intermediate group and an even smaller group of really great landowners. In the late fifteenth century the royal councillor Arvid Trolle owned over 1000 tenant farms in various parts of Sweden and Denmark, to some extent concentrated around his residences Bergkvara in Småland and Lillö in Scania (Sjögren 1944).

In Brittany, France, the number of noble families during the fifteenth century amounted to some 10,000, around 5 per cent of the whole population. These families were spread over 1300 parishes, leaving some parishes with several manorial sites, in some cases for more than 25 noblemen. The larger number of noble families in an area, the poorer they were. Especially in northern Brittany some estates consisted of only a small manor, a *métairie* and an estate of no more than 20 hectares (Meirion-Jones, Jones & Pilcher 1993:159, Astill & Davies 1997:124f). In this way one can argue that there was a structural similarity between the nobility in Småland, Sweden, and Brittany, France. In both areas a considerable part of the nobility was hard to distinguish from better-off peasants. This leads to interesting questions as to how and why some individuals in certain areas became noblemen, while the same group of individuals in other areas continued as "ordinary" peasants (Hansson 2001a:245ff).

The aristocracy, being a small, heterogeneous but important group of medieval society, has of course been the subject of much scholarly research. Scholars have discussed the emergence and origin of the medieval aristocracy, its formation and change during the Middle Ages and the way in which the aristocracy expressed themselves in literature, art, dress, food and chivalrous behaviour (Bloch 1967, Duby 1977, Crouch 1992, Bengtsson 1999, Duggan 2000a).

The origin of the European aristocracy can be said to lie in a fusion of Roman and Germanic traditions in the early Middle Ages, when Germanic rulers and their retinue adapted to and adjusted Roman traditions regarding imperial insignia and symbols and mixed with the remaining Late Roman aristocracy. Noble birth, land ownership, military prowess and royal service seems to have become characteristic of the emerging early medieval aristocracy. This early medieval aristocracy

controlled large areas of land and through their close contacts with kings and princes they became castellans in the tenth and eleventh century. Around 1100 the aristocracy as a group was further broadened due to the inclusion of the newly emerged knightly class into the aristocracy. The medieval knight has his origin among the mounted warriors that were part of the retinue of greater lords. These mounted warriors, *milites*, were also among those who did castle-guard in the eleventh and twelfth century. In many cases these persons seems to have come from lesser circumstances. Originally the knight was not a noble person, *nobilis,* belonging to aristocracy. These early knights were simply persons doing military service as mounted warriors. During the course of the eleventh century the status and importance of the *miles* increased. The frequency of the use of the word *miles* in narrative writing increased and even persons from the nobility, *nobiles* were now also called *milites*. Slowly the two groups, the old aristocracy, the *nobiles* whose status was founded mainly on birth, land ownership and royal service, were merged with the "new" aristocracy, the *milites* or knights, whose status was founded in their function as mounted warriors. This process started during the eleventh century and was more or less completed in England and France by the twelfth century, resulting in a common military class. The fusion of these two groups was facilitated by their common interest in military virtues, martial arts and hunting and by the fact that many younger sons of the old aristocracy became knights in the service of other noblemen since they were more or less excluded from their families' inheritance. In Germany a similar process led to the assimilation between the *ministeriales*, legally unfree persons who did service as knights for secular and religious lords, often as high officers and more or less functioning as vassals, and the old *Reichsadel* whose position was founded on birth and land ownership. Eventually, during the eleventh and twelfth century, the aristocracy also became recognised in legal terms and thanks to their royal service as mounted warriors exempted from tax (Arnold 1995, Bloch 1967, Coss 1993, Duby 1977, Duggan 2000b, Fouracre 2000, Genicot 1967).

In Scandinavia a similar process has been noticed even if it does not seem to have taken place here until during the thirteenth century, when the Scandinavian nobility is recognised in legal terms. Just as in Western Europe, we here find an old class of magnates whose position was based on birth and control over large estates, and a new group of mounted warriors whose position as royal officers gave them opportunities to augment their social status (Bolin 1934, Andræ 1960). The main difference from other parts of Europe is the absence of a direct Roman heritage in these areas. There is, however, no doubt that there existed a domestic group of magnates in the Scandinavian late Iron Age (cf. Söderberg 2005).

In a study of the medieval manors of the aristocracy in south Sweden the author has found that the old aristocracy mainly inhabited manors centrally situated in areas with long settlement continuity. These manors seem in many cases to have been nodes for local power during centuries, manifested by place-names, Late Iron Age gravefields, runic stones and early medieval stone churches. Family

Fig. 1 The seal of Erik Magnusson c. 1300, Swedish duke. The seal clearly shows that the chivalric knight and his attributes was known and seen as a role model also in northern Europe. After Hildebrand 1862-67 plate 9.

history, lineage and the significance of the place of the manor in itself, seem to have played an important part in the maintenance and reproduction of the power and status of the old aristocracy in this local society. The manors of the "new" aristocracy, on the other hand, seem more often to have been the result of the initiative of an individual and lacked the same historical background in the landscape. In many cases they just seem to have existed during a short period of time, perhaps for only a generation. The lack of historical significance of these manors probably made them easier to dismantle than manors that had been the centre of local power for several centuries (Hansson 2001a:135ff). So even if the aristocracy in many ways emerged as one class, their different origin made them appear and act differently in the landscape.

Even if one can find many common traits concerning the origin and emergence of the aristocracy in Western Europe, it is also true that there were differences in how the nobility was constituted (Anderson 1974). In large parts of Europe the king granted land to his closest tenants-in-chief, who then themselves granted land to his retinue. The individual knight was thereby bound by feudal ties to his tenant-in-chief, and only indirectly to the king. This is the well-known process of subinfeudation.

This was most often not the case in Scandinavia, or at least this process is not as evident in the preserved medieval written sources in Scandinavia. In Scandinavia the nobility almost all had direct ties to the king. Regardless of the size of the estate,

the nobleman was most often the "king's man" and not bound by any intervening ties with other aristocrats. There are however some examples showing that a more common form of subinfeudation existed here too. In Denmark the bishops and the dukes had the right to grant privileges to their own vassals. This right was the subject of struggle between the Danish Crown and the dukes and bishops, concerning whether the vassals of the latter also should be vassals of the king, and in what way (Christensen 1968:151, 161). There are also examples of how members of the lesser nobility in Denmark received their privileges as noblemen with a lord from the higher aristocracy or a bishop as patron (Dahlerup 1970). Similar examples where noblemen from the lesser nobility did service for patrons from the aristocracy have also been found in Sweden (Hansson 2001a:148f and cited references). Regardless of these examples of bonds between greater and lesser aristocrats in the form of a patron-client relationship, however, the contact between the local nobleman and the Crown was often more direct and formal in Scandinavia than on the continent and in England.

This somewhat simplified survey of the European aristocracy has shown that there are great similarities in the origin, emergence and structure of the European nobility. Apart from this structural similarity, there were of course huge differences in economic strength and material culture between noblemen in different parts of Europe. While great landowners or barons in England and France probably had a lot in common, it is doubtful that a Scandinavian landowner could live up to their standard of living. But despite these differences they probably shared a great many common views regarding what constituted the true life of a nobleman.

So far most studies of aristocratic culture have mainly been concerned with either the image of chivalrous society that emerges through literature or the way in which the aristocracy used attributes to distinguish themselves from the "ordinary man" and to distinguish between noblemen of different status. In an influential study Georges Duby has shown how the self-image of the French aristocracy emerged from the tenth century onwards. In this study it became obvious how different concepts were used to underline and strengthen the position of various noble families. Already in the tenth century it was possible to see how the emphasis of family history and lineage was used to distinguish the nobility from "ordinary" men. It was important to descend from a "great ancestor" whose grandness, beside his land, you were supposed to have inherited. As a result it also became important to prevent the family estate from being divided among several heirs. This led to attempts to maintain the family fortune by emphasising primogeniture and trying to prevent younger sons and daughters from marriage. A religious career often became their only option. Ideas about the significance of a great family history eventually became mixed with more common thoughts of chivalry and was used by the aristocracy to seclude themselves by underlining their noble origin and their function as chivalric warriors (Duby 1977:59ff, 94ff).

Another result of Duby's study was that it was possible to detect a diffusion of cultural patterns, where ideas and behaviour originating in the royal household

and the upper parts of the aristocracy slowly descended to lower ranks. At the same time these aristocratic ideas and ideals changed, becoming simplified and more schematic. This was true both of immaterial culture, such as the emphasis of family history and lineage, and of material culture such as the way knights from the lesser nobility came to fortify their residences with moats in an attempt to imitate the king's castles. The same is true about the spread of the use of titles and seals (Duby 1977:171ff). From Duby's work is it evident that the medieval aristocracy was a self-assured group right from the beginning, using all available means to confirm their social position in society.

That this was true also for the aristocracy in Britain has been shown by David Crouch (1992). In his book he studies how the British aristocracy used lineage, titles (earl, baron, banneret, knight etc.) and more material attributes such as insignia, swords, heraldry, seals, residential circumstances, dress and diet to manifest and reproduce their hegemony in society. Founding and supporting churches and monasteries also became a way for the aristocracy to increase its prestige, apart from getting the family a dynastic burial place.

Even if almost all of these ways in which the aristocracy manifested its status have a spatial dimension, there is an obvious shortage of studies that place this aristocratic culture in the landscape. And those studies that have done so have mainly concerned the "social analysis" of castles and/or have had a focus on British examples of medieval designed landscapes.

ARISTOCRATIC LANDSCAPES

The first studies that began to show an interest in the aristocracy and the landscape were connected with castles. Castles have been an important object for historical, art-historical and archaeological research since the nineteenth century. During almost all this time castle studies were usually concentrated on single objects: the origin of the studied castle, its different phases and dating and the castle's place and importance in the political process. At the same time castle studies were mainly concerned with seeing the castle as a military structure. This view of the castle as a military object and the concentration on single objects, especially larger castles built in stone that could be connected to kings and higher nobility, was found all over Europe (see for example Liddiard 2000:1ff, Johnson 2002 for recent surveys of castle studies in Britain, Mogren 1995 for a survey of castle studies in Scandinavia). In the last twenty years, however, a broader view of the castle has emerged, with increasing emphasis on the social and administrative importance of the castle (Coulson 2003 can be seen as summary of the thoughts of perhaps one of the most well-known and persistent advocates of the social importance of the castle). In harmony with the more social view of the castle, its importance in society and in the landscape has also begun to be understood.

One of the first to acknowledge this was David Austin, who stressed the significance of the castle as centre for military, administrative social and symbolic

power and rejected the hitherto usual way of seeing castles as isolated monuments in the landscape. Castles were instead just one of several elements in a complex web of social and economic relationships aimed at organising the use of the landscape and its resources (Austin 1984). The last decade or so has also seen several castle studies that have included a study of the individual castle in its landscape setting. The importance of the castle in the landscape has recently been the aim of a study by Oliver Creighton, who has shown, not only the importance of studying the castle in the landscape for improving our understanding of the individual castle, but also the ways in which the castle influenced settlements and landscape (Creighton 2002). So far this landscape approach to castles seems to have been mainly an English approach, although continental examples also can be found (de Waha 1986, Bult 1987, Hansson 2001a, Nordin 2005).

Another area of research that has been influential in castle studies during the 1990s is the study of the spatial organisation of castles and the social meaning of space. Studies like these have shown that careful planning and design were behind the layout and display of castles (Fairclough 1992, Andersson 1997, Dixon 1998). The castle's importance as gendered space has also been studied (Gilchrist 1999a:109ff, Johnson 2002:30f) and the castle has even been recognised as a "theatre" (Dixon 1990). Today the social dimension of the castle has become as important as, perhaps even more important than, the military side of the castle. The spatial side of castle studies has also led to an interest in the organisation of the surrounding landscape. This interest in connection with modern field studies of landscapes around several castles in Britain had led to the discovery of remains of designed or ornamental landscapes consisting of gardens, deer parks, fishponds and artificially created lakes. The ornamental landscape surrounding the castle was the place where much of aristocratic life took place, "courtly love" in the garden, hunting in the park, processional routes approaching the castle, tournaments and jousts, and so on. This landscape was visible evidence of the power of the lord, showing contemporary visitors that he truly belonged to the aristocracy. Together with the castle itself, its surroundings were intended to impress visitors and create an aristocratic setting (Everson 1996a, 1996b, 1998, Everson & Williamson 1998, Liddiard 2000, Taylor 2000, Johnson 2002:19ff, Creighton 2002:72f).

The best-known British examples of medieval ornamental landscapes have been found at Bodiam Castle in East Sussex and at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire (fig. 2, 44). At both these places it has been possible to identify remains of gardens, processional walks and viewing platforms, but what has been most striking has been the importance of water and the huge amount of labour that have been used to create an artificial lake, "the Mere" at Kenilworth and the broad moat at Bodiam. Matthew Johnson has talked about the significance of "watery landscapes" in aristocratic milieus, as an attempt by the aristocracy to make their social display look like a natural part of the landscape, and thereby beyond history and under no circumstances to be questioned (Johnson 2002:53). Even if the study of medieval ornamental landscapes so far mainly has been a British spe-
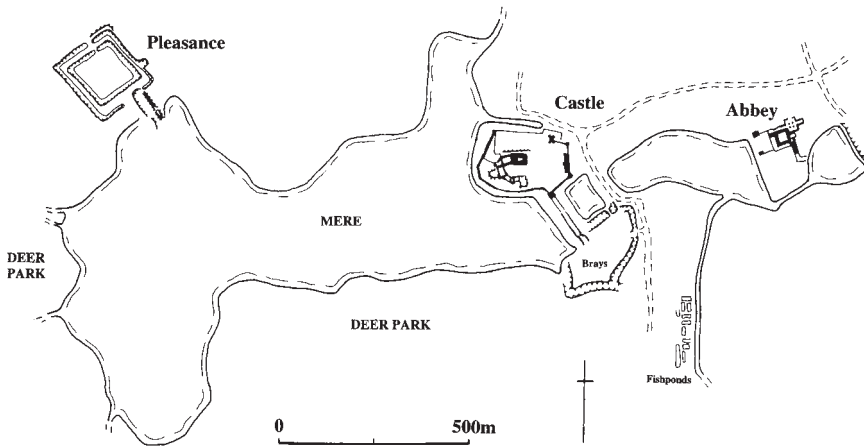
Fig. 2 The aristocratic landscape at Kenilworth, with the castle, the park, the abbey, the artificial lake, the fishponds and the "Pleasance". After Johnson 2002:137 fig. 5.1.

ciality, one can be certain that similar landscapes were a common feature all over western Europe.

The modern trend of social castle studies, including its spatial part of designed and ornamental landscapes, can partly be seen as studies that have placed the aristocratic culture in the landscape. But this is only true for parts of the aristocracy, since almost all of those studies that have been done have concerned castles and landscapes that can be connected with either the royal family (Kenilworth) or persons from the higher aristocracy (Bodiam, Castle Rising, Knaresborough) (fig. 2, 3, 25). We still lack studies regarding the spatial pattern of the minor castles of the lesser nobility and their landscape. The castle was not the only aristocratic dwelling during the Middle Ages. To be able to talk about a study of the aristocratic spatial ideology in the landscape, we must also include other aristocratic places beside castles, from moated manor-houses to "unfortified" manor-houses, in order to see whether this type of aristocratic places were also part of the same ideology but on another and perhaps smaller scale. There is a lack of studies comparing aristocratic milieus from different strata of the aristocracy, trying to establish how the lesser aristocracy organised their manor houses and surrounding landscape. There is also a paucity of comparative studies. So far the studies that have been performed have been mainly local and concerned single objects or similar objects in the country.

There is more or less consensus that we are able to talk about a common European aristocratic elite culture in the Middle Ages based on evidence in literature, chronicles and other written material, but so far this culture has not been connected to the landscape to any large extent. There is also a lack of understanding and explanation of why the aristocracy bothered to design their landscape and why they planned the layout of their castles and landscapes to such an extent.

Fig. 3 Castle Rising in Norfolk as an example of architectural planning. When one enters the courtyard through the gatehouse, the impressive keep comes into focus. Photo M. Hansson.

With some exceptions there have been few attempts to explain the reason behind the way the aristocracy acted in the landscape based on a wider context of medieval society (see Gilchrist 1999a, Johnson 2002). We often meet explanations concerning the urge for status and the importance for a nobleman to fulfil the demands of his "class", or that he had a military need to defend his residence, but we often lack discussions regarding communication and meaning. To whom was the designed landscape meant to be important, other noblemen or ordinary peasants?

In this discussion we must not forget that the aristocracy was also responsible for remodelling the landscape apart from creating designed landscapes. Noblemen were also involved in planning and replanning villages and open fields, markets and boroughs, in founding and remodelling churches and monasteries and so on. When discussing an aristocratic spatial ideology this is also a question that has to be addressed. Why were the aristocracy interested in planning and remodelling space on different levels? This was a process that not only concerned the designed aristocratic "pleasure landscape" close to the castle, but also the "landscape of production". So to be able to establish the presence of an aristocratic spatial ideology, and to try to understand its meaning, we must broaden our study beyond the castle and also include manor houses, hamlets and villages and medieval society itself and disregard the common typological division and fragmentation of the archaeological record that usually meets us in scholarly literature.

A fragmented archaeological record

The study of aristocratic residences has always been fragmented, mainly due to the fact that aristocratic residences can be very different in size and layout. Thus, the study of aristocratic residences has been divided into different scholarly areas. An aristocratic residence can be anything from an unfortified manorial site to a large castle. In principle, the function of a castle and an unfortified manor can be the same; they were both centres in an estate and residences for noblemen. This scholarly fragmentation is very evident when one considers earlier research both in this field, but also in archaeology in general. To a very large extent archaeological research, especially in medieval archaeology, has been characterised by a large extent of fragmentation, where individual sites or specific subjects been in focus. In Britain this fragmentation can be seen in the emergence of groups specialising in various types of material culture, the Deserted Medieval Village Group, the Moated Site Research Group, the Medieval Pottery Research Group and the Castle Studies Group (Austin 1990:14, Gerrard 2003:171). Even if this specialisation has led to an increased focus and research on various topics, the specialisation that is so evident within archaeology to some extent also has led to a lack of general syntheses. This is particularly clear in medieval archaeology, where the task of writing syntheses is left to the historians.

An aristocratic residence can be regarded as being either a castle, a fortified manor, an unfortified manor or a palace. In the archaeological record these categories are often identified as castles, manorial sites and moated sites. Despite this division, which is ultimately a reflection of differences in physical appearance, the social function of these places in medieval society was more or less the same (fig. 4). A baronial castle, a fortified manor and an unfortified manor were all centres of an estate, could function as residences for a nobleman and were thereby a social focus in the landscape. Their different physical appearance should be regarded as differences in scale rather than differences in function. If we want to learn more about aristocratic behaviour in space and landscape we must start to analyse these different types of dwellings together, and disregard the archaeologist's longing for a clear typology.

The present division and fragmentation of the archaeological record in this regard is most unfortunate but clearly visible. Most scholars have only been interested in one of the above-mentioned categories. If you study castles you do not bother to consider moated sites to any great extent, and vice versa. Yet, most scholars are aware of the fact that it is very difficult to divide the material into clear categories. A castle is in most cases defined as a fortified residence in which the fortifications predominate over the domestic aspects and whose occupier controls a large territory around it. Some scholars add that the castle also was a place with administrative functions, a centre of an estate and a centre for royal or baronial administration, and that it also had a large symbolic importance as the centre of lordship (Thompson 1987:1, Pounds 1990:6, Lovén 1996:26ff, Olsen 1996:11). A moated site is often defined as an area enclosed by a ditch or moat that often was filled with water. The central platform was used for buildings and similar structures and was
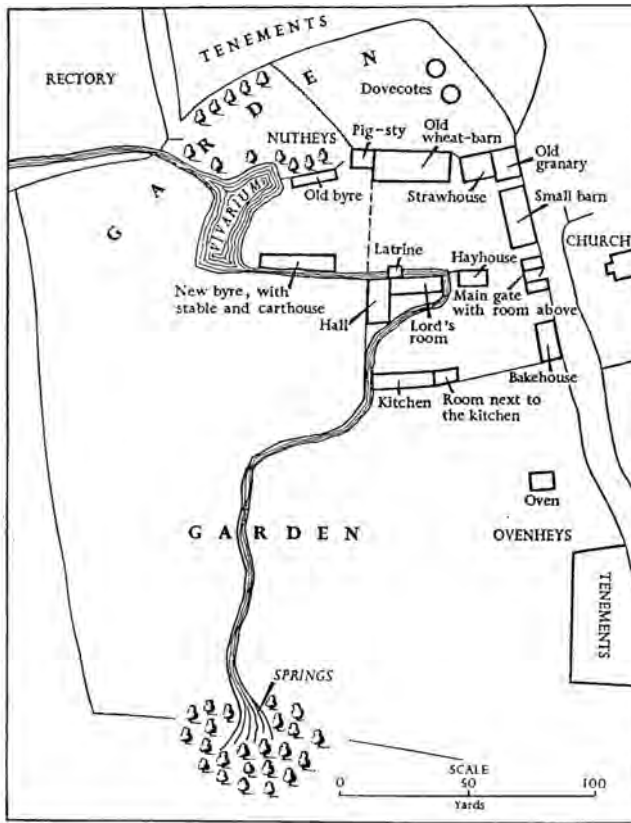
Fig. 4 The reconstructed manor at Cuxham c. 1315. From a structural point of view an unfortified manor like Cuxham has major social, administrative and economic functions in common with a fortified residence. What distinguishes Cuxham from the latter is the absence of a military function. After Harvey 1965:33.

sometimes raised above the surrounding ground (Barry 1977:1, Taylor 1978:5). Even though the interpretations of the functions of moated sites have varied, in most areas the majority of them have been seen as manorial sites, ranging from more or less defendable castles to simple manors surrounded only by a water-filled ditch (Le Patourel & Roberts 1978). These definitions often look good in print, but are more difficult to uphold when tested against the material, and most scholars are also aware of the difficulties concerning the division of aristocratic residences into different categories. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a moated site and a small motte-and-bailey castle surrounded by a moat, or between a moated site and a ringwork (Taylor 1978:5). The connection between moated manors and "unfortified" manors does not seem to have attracted any significant attention. Moated manorial sites are mainly discussed in connection with "true" castles, not as a variant of the ordinary manor. The fragmentation of the archaeological record becomes even more difficult to understand if one considers the fact that a site can develop

from an unfortified manor, which becomes fortified and then is converted into a "true" castle. There are also examples of castles that are transformed into moated late medieval manor houses (see e.g. Sapcote, Leicestershire, Middleton Stoney, Oxfordshire, Rahtz & Rowley 1984, Creighton 2002:180f).

The confusion gets even worse when you realise that places that today are regarded as moated sites during the Middle Ages were called "castle". One example is Marham in Norfolk, where a recently discovered moated site has been identified as the site of Marham or Belet's Castle, a thirteenth-century fortified manor. At first this seems to has been just another of Norfolk's numerous moated sites, but through written sources it becomes clear that in 1271 William Belet and his heirs received a licence to crenellate his house (*domus*) at Marham, which then was called *castellum*. Already in 1260 Belet had been granted a market, a fair and free warren in Marham (Leah *et al*. 1997, Coulson 2003:131f). Thanks to the grant of a licence to crenellate, the status of Belet's residence increased, which in many ways was the purpose of getting a licence, and it became known as a "castle", a common phenomenon in England (Coulson 2003:83). This example is just one of many illustrating the confusion that exists regarding these categories. Another well-known example is Stokesay Castle in Shropshire, the residence of the rich wool merchant Laurence of Ludlow, erected in the late thirteenth century. Despite being called a castle this place is categorised in the literature as a fortified manor or moated manor house or "castle of pretence rather than fortress" (Pounds 1990:104, Munby & Summerson 2002).

Much effort has also been expended to try to connect different parts of the archaeological record with those different medieval concepts which are present in contemporary documents, concepts like *motte*, *castellum*, *fortalicium*, *turris*, *bastide*, *maison-forte* and so on (Pesez 1986, Coulson 2003) without any great success. Today most scholars realise the great variations both in the archaeological record and in the contemporary terms used in various sources. A place can be called lots of different things during the Middle Ages, a variation that can both reflect the development of the site and/or the change of meaning of different concepts in medieval society through time.

These examples underline the problems scholars face when they try to divide a heterogeneous collection of material into different categories. Sometimes it has been realised that, for example, the German *Turmburgen*, and mottes had the same functions as aristocratic residences, yet their different ways of construction, (a *Turmburg* has the tower on the natural ground, the motte has the tower on an artificial mound) led the scholar to stress the differences between the two types of castle and to analyse them separately (Hinz 1981:72). If we only want to discuss castles from an architectural and constructional point of view, the distinction might be useful to uphold, but if we are interested in how these places functioned as centres for lordship in medieval society, this distinction is of less use.

Most scholars have been aware of the problems in distinguishing different residences from each other. Some have used a flexible definition of the castle to avoid the difficulty of having to define castles and non-castles, since it is obvious that

this problem of defining different sites also existed in the Middle Ages (Liddiard 2000:1, Creighton 2002:8). Yet still the normal thing is to avoid discussing, for example, late medieval tower houses, fortified manors or moated sites and continue to concentrate on "castles", even if there exists an awareness of the need for an integrated study of castles and moated sites (Creighton 2002:195).

If we are going to be able to get any further it is time to abandon this fragmented way of treating the archaeological record. If we are interested in the built environment of the aristocracy we cannot continue mainly to study large castles. Even persons from the higher nobility, who were in the possession of castles could at the same time reside in an unfortified manor. It is obvious that a much more holistic approach to the question of aristocratic residences must be considered. This can be done if the starting point is, not as today, the size and physical appearance of the residence and the categorisation of sites as castles, moated sites, fortified manors or manorial sites. The focus must lie not on the physical appearance of the manor, but on its social function. Manors and residences were most of all social centres for lordship. By emphasising the social aspect of the manor it also becomes possible to compare residences in different regions of Europe. The importance does not lie in the physical appearance of the residence, in how fortified it is, but in its significance as centre for lordship. It is necessary to start deconstructing old categories.

The book is structured in the following way. After a presentation of analytical and methodological starting points in chapter 2, the manorial structure in an area of Småland, Sweden, and one in Norfolk, England, is compared in chapter 3. As a result of this study, aristocratic spatial behaviour has been structured in six different themes which are then presented in the following six chapters. First of all the martial dimension and the role of the nobleman as warrior are briefly discussed in chapter 4. In chapter 5 the aristocracy's use of history and the memory of the place is discussed, followed by the chapter regarding how the aristocracy tried to isolate themselves in space, both in the landscape and inside the residence. In chapter 7 the aristocracy's urge for planning and ordering space is discussed. Chapter 8 concerns the religious dimension. Finally, in chapter 9 the importance of the individual agent is discussed before the book is rounded off in chapter 10.

Before starting the study some remarks regarding chronology have to be made. In a European perspective the Middle Ages starts with the dissolution of the West Roman empire in the fifth century and ends in the late fifteenth century. This period is often divided in the Early (*c*. 500–1000), High (1000–1300) and Late (1300–1500) Middle Ages. In Scandinavia the chronology is somewhat different for the earlier parts. Even in Scandinavia the Middle Ages ends *c*. 1500 but here it is seen to start with, among other things, the Christian conversion *c*. 1000. The European Early Middle Ages is in Scandinavia the Later Iron Age (*c*. 400–1000), of which the Viking Age (*c*.800–1000) is the last part. The Scandinavian Middle Ages thus concerns the period *c*. 1000–1520 and is normally divided in an early (*c*. 1000–1300) and a later (*c*. 1300–1520) period. In this study the intention has been to use the European chronology, the Early Middle Ages, *c*. 500–1000, the High Middle Ages, *c*. 1000–1300 and the Later Middle Ages, *c*. 1300–1500.

MEDIEVAL SOCIETY
– SOME STARTING POINTS

To be able to understand why the aristocracy acted in the way they did, and what implications their actions had, we must analyse their behaviour against the ideology, values and conceptions of medieval society. In other words, we need to understand medieval society, to be able to understand the behaviour of a small part of this society, the aristocracy. The aim of this chapter is to describe some general trends that are important if we are to understand the aristocracy and its spatial behaviour.

The overall ideology of medieval society was embedded in a Christian superstructure. Medieval society defined and structured itself in terms of Christian ideas. The rules of kings and emperors became legitimate against a background of Christian ideology. This became more evident from the Carolingian period onwards, when both God and Emperor were seen and reproduced as sovereigns. God was a feudal lord among others, yet the overlord of all others. Christian mentality was likewise reproduced in the way society regarded time and space (Le Goff 1990:140ff, 156ff). People acted and lived their lives in a world structured by the church. Expressions of piety and religious beliefs were common during the Middle Ages. The numerous donations of land and goods to, and foundations of, religious institutions by the laity are vivid proofs of this. That these donations were made by royalty, aristocracy and ordinary people alike shows that religious thoughts and piety were profound in medieval society. Regardless of their social position in the mundane world, the question of life after death was a reality that influenced the way people acted.

With this Christian superstructure in mind it is not surprising that the Christian ideology also became a way to legitimate and reproduce the prevailing social order. This became evident from the ninth century onwards, when various western intellectuals began to describe the world according to a system that was immediately adopted by society and became widespread. Society was seen as divided into three groups, those who prayed (*oratores*), those who fought (*bellatores*) and those who worked (*laboratores*). The groups were distinct and complementary and needed each other. While the *oratores* prayed and sustained society's divine contacts, *bellatores* defended society with weapons and *laboratores* were responsible for subsistence. Together these three groups were supposed to work in harmony and constitute a medieval society whose social order was sanctioned by God (fig. 5) (Duby 1980, Mann 1986:384, Le Goff 1990:255ff).

Fig. 5. Medieval society was based on the three orders, the bellatores, the oratores and the laboratores, Here Jean, Duc de Berry, is seen receiving the book (lower left), surrounded by the clergy (above left), the nobility (above right) and the workmen with tools (lower right). French miniature from c. 1480. Courtesy of British Library Add. 18750. c2240-06.

The idea of a society with three groups first appeared in the late ninth century in a free translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae,* made by Alfred the Great in England, where "men of prayer", "men of war" and "men at work" are present. Later, in a poem by Bishop Adalbero of Laon to the Capetian king Robert the Pious *c.* 1020 this division between people is developed and the concepts of *oratores*, *bellatores* and *laboratores* appear (Le Goff 1990:255f).

According to Duby, the concept of a tripartite society was introduced by various bishops around the year 1000, as a way of getting divine support for the

prevailing feudal order against heretics and other disturbing elements. Later this ideology was adopted by the aristocracy to help them resist demands from kings, peasants and the growing number of bourgeoisie. Finally the ideology was adopted by kings and emperors who found here a divine ideological base for their supremacy. The system of the three orders was based on principles of inequality and obedience and the need for a hierarchical society where people were divided according to function, in order to make the system work (Duby 1980:354ff).

It is interesting to note that this ideology emerged at the same time, in the ninth to eleventh centuries, as the aristocracy as a "class" was constituted and when the clergy transformed themselves into a clerical caste, as reflected in changes in liturgy and religious architecture. Both groups became more strictly defined and access to them was restricted, the latter for example seen in the emergence of enclosed chancels and cloisters. At the same time the large group of peasants became more uniform, as many formerly free men sank to a lower level of dependence. This ideology was a clear symbol of social harmony, a way of defusing class struggle, and of preserving the prevailing social order. It can thus be seen as a conservative ideology that was aiming to conserve, confirm and reproduce the social order through its divine legitimation. Trying to change society and this tripartite division was against the will of God. Social revolution became impossible (Mann 1986:384, Le Goff 1990:257ff).

A tripartite division of society, however, is not unique for the Christian world. In the poem *Rígspula*, part of the Icelandic *Edda*, a mythological explanation of society is given. Here the god Heimdall, calling himself Rig, visits three different farmsteads and begets three sons, "Thrall", the slave, "Karl", the freeman and "Jarl" the lord. Even if the poem is influenced by Christian ideology, it nevertheless gives an image of a tripartite society – consisting of a group of lords owning many and large farmsteads, a large group of freemen, owning their farmsteads and acting as producers, and a group of unfree slaves, who did the worst and heaviest work – which also existed in pre-Christian Scandinavia. The poem is considered to reflect the social structure of the Scandinavian Viking Age, even if its date is uncertain (Lindkvist 1979:131f). Although this division differs from the Christian version – there is no place for a specific religious group – it is nevertheless interesting to note the existence of this partition in a Germanic context as well. Also, an overall analysis of how the Icelandic poet Snorri Sturluson in the early thirteenth century presents Viking Age Scandinavian society shows that it had a tripartite structure with king, magnates and the people. In contrast to contemporary European sources, ordinary people are to a much greater extent present in early medieval Scandinavian literature (Bagge 1991:123f).

It is evident, however, that this Christian ideology presented a simplified image of society. A large number of people were excluded in this social ideology, most notably the emerging bourgeoisie. This was also a period of growing trade and the emergence of a vast network of cities all over Europe. The fast-growing urban population, with merchants, artisans and others, in many parts of Europe soon

became a problem for those trying to uphold a tripartite society. Another problem was the large group of *laboratores*. It was never a homogeneous group, rather the contrary, consisting of freemen, villeins and cottagers. In both economic and social ways, the division between the upper parts of the peasantry and the lower parts of the lesser nobility was sometimes difficult to distinguish. It has also been noticed that there was social mobility upwards and downwards between these two groups. Among the clergy too, a large number of priests had a peasant origin. Even when it emerged, this ideology represented a simplified view of society, and according to Duby this ideology started to dissolve during the thirteenth century, largely due to the growth of the urban population (Duby 1980).

Notwithstanding, this way of defining society was important to the aristocracy. It provided a religious legitimisation of their position and the control and power they exercised. And even if the reality behind the ideology changed, it continued to legitimise the aristocracy and was probably one of many reasons why it was so important for the aristocracy to distinguish themselves from the rest of society. If you had a divine mission to defend the rest of society, it was important that you were recognised, either through your behaviour, dress or living quarters. One can also see the presence of various systems of "licences to crenellate" and sumptuary legislation as different ways in which the ruling classes tried to maintain the status quo, and prevent social disorder. In Italy and France sumptuary laws appear from the late thirteenth century, with the aim of helping to maintain social order. These laws were most often intended to avoid excess of luxury in dress (Le Goff 1990:358f). In medieval Sweden a similar type of legislation regulated the number of soldiers different types of aristocrats were allowed to have in their retinue. In 1355 a bishop could have 30, a royal counsellor 12, a knight 6 and a squire 2 soldiers in his retinue (Rosén 1966:281). Even if this type of legislation was intended to prevent the aristocrats from "harassing" ordinary peasants with too many men, and prevent them from being a military threat to the king, it was perhaps most of all a way to regulate the internal social order within the aristocracy. The fact that sumptuary laws emerged around Europe in the late thirteenth century, at the same time as the tripartite ideology was dissolving, can thus be seen as an attempt to prevent this development.

The emergence of the tripartite ideology also more or less coincided with a transformation from a kin-based to a group-based society. These changes can also be seen as a transformation in the way power was exercised and maintained, from the early to the high Middle Ages. Several scholars have identified how medieval society underwent radical change regarding how society was constructed. There seems to be consensus that there was a shift from a kin-based society where power structures were more personal, to a group-based and territorialised society where power structures were based on social groups and the control of land. During the early Middle Ages, in the Migration Period following the collapse of the Roman Empire, western Europe was characterised by a number of more or less short-lived

state formations based on different Germanic kin groups. Power and dominion were connected to certain persons and families. This meant that political formations became unstable. When the ruler died or lost his/her position, the "state" often disintegrated. This process is very evident in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, where dominion was connected to the area where the ruler's lordship was recognised and his or her kin was living, rather than to a specific territory with fixed borders (Dodgshon 1987:130ff, Kleinschmidt 2000:36ff).

The territorial state within its fixed borders is something characteristic of the feudal state, where power and dominion became institutionalised, facilitating the survival of the state at the time of a change of ruler. The earlier kin-based societies slowly became more and more settled, not least under the influence of the church. The emergence of church buildings and cemeteries meant the introduction of nodes in the landscape. The emergence of dioceses also led to a need to define the territory that belonged to each bishop's see. The same was later true for the parishes as well. This process of connecting lordship to the landscape in western Europe began by the seventh century at the latest, with the Church as instigator (Kleinschmidt 2000:39f).

The Church was a major cause of the transformation of the kin-based society since it established control of the relations between the living and the dead, which had previously been taken care of by people themselves. This also meant a reduction of the norm-preserving, rule-enforcing systems and capabilities of the kin groups and replacing them with a Christian norm system. The Church was also interested in limiting the number of kin that were entitled to inheritance, in order to make it easier for individuals to donate land and property to religious institutions (Kleinschmidt 2000:95f).

According to Harald Kleinschmidt, medieval society can for most of the Middle Ages be seen as having been based on different groups. These groups had different origins, for example of kin, neighbourhood or contractual origin. These groups did not claim exclusive membership, a person could be member of a kin group, a neighbourhood group and a contractual group at the same time. This gave the individual some options of choice regarding which membership should be emphasised at certain times. From the tenth and eleventh centuries groups based on political and social origin became more influential. While the political group united individuals and gave them a common identity through institutions, forms of production, legal norms, values and conventions that distinguished them from other groups and to some extent gave them a "national" identity under a territorial ruler, the social group consisted of individuals distinguished as a group by law (Kleinschmidt 2000:108ff).

A typical social group was the aristocracy, as well as the other two estates of the tripartite society, the clergy and the peasants. The aristocracy regarded access to its group as limited to birthright by divine will. Access to the clergy, on the other hand, was rather based on merit, education and an urge to serve God. The social

groups were conceived as permanent, which was in keeping with the tripartite ideology (Kleinschmidt 2000:111ff). They were also embedded with a rigid order that was enforced by legal rules, norms and aesthetic values, and the application of these codes of behaviour for each group was regarded as universal and not confined to a specific place or period. An aristocrat was always an aristocrat regardless of where he/she was in the world. The same applied to the peasant. Social groups were justified and legitimised through legislation and through the divine origin of the tripartite ideology. The divine origin meant that each member not only had to accept membership in one of these groups, but also that change was unthinkable.

The aristocracy had been a social group with its own rights since it started to emerge in the tenth century. Access to this group was limited and was possible mainly, but not exclusively, through birth. The aristocracy defended its position in society and its more or less closed ranks with reference to the divine origin of the tripartite ideology. This made the aristocracy a homogeneous group, whose members behaved according to common values and norms, regardless of internal divisions of ranks and economic strength. To defend the position of the group, and gain public acceptance for it, the aristocracy had to uphold their extravagant way of life, as rural landowners, military professionals and proprietors of rights in land tenure (Kleinschmidt 2000:115).

This aristocratic view of their own group, founded on a divine base, had consequences for how aristocrats behaved, dressed, resided and organised their space. Despite the fact that membership of the group was limited, there were always those whose aristocratic origin was doubtful. Behaving in the proper manner was a way to confirm one's aristocratic status. This could also be done by dress, food, but also in the landscape.

The process by which society went from being based on kin groups to social groups can also be seen as steps towards the "emergence of the individual". The birth of the individual, the idea that people fulfilled themselves in relation to others, was something that for long time was connected with the Renaissance, especially the fifteenth century (Burckhardt 1944). More recent research, however, has realised that a sense of individualism emerged already during the twelfth and thirteenth century, even if this medieval individualism only can be understood within the context of the social groups that constituted medieval society (Gurevich 1997). However, it is also clear that this early individualism almost only can be traced within the upper strata of society, kings, the higher clergy and the upper parts of the aristocracy. Even if an analysis of the aristocracy must primarily stress its status as a group, there is also a great deal of evidence that the single nobleman in many ways acted as an individual, within the norms and values systems defined by the group.

To understand the medieval aristocracy one also has to understand the nobleman's role as a warrior. Regardless of what social position a nobleman had in

Fig. 6 The knighting and arming of Offa. Warmundus buckles the sword about Offa's waist, as two nobles fit spurs. From Matthew Paris, The Lives of Offa, English manuscript c. 1250-54. Courtesy of British Library Cotton Nero D.I 19582.

society, if he belonged to the higher or lesser nobility, the origin of his existence was his role as mounted warrior. Being a warrior was thereby the essence of being a nobleman, his *raison d'être*. The concept of war and being a distinguished and successful soldier was always present in the life of a nobleman. Many hours were spent on the training ground practising, and large parts of the life of a nobleman were dedicated to war and preparing for going to war. This military side of the aristocracy is thus something that is always present and something that cannot be disregarded when analysing the life of the nobility at large.

Bodiam Castle in East Sussex is a good example of this. The castle was built by Sir Edward Dallyngrigge in the 1380s and has recently been interpreted by Matthew Johnson as a place where the late medieval values of elite identity are expressed. These values are gendered, and in the case of Bodiam, with its first impression of a strong military fortification, they can also be seen as the symbol of the male knight (Johnson 2002:32f). But places like Bodiam, and any other aristocratic residence, must also be seen as expression of individuality, but an individuality that is constricted by the overall norms and values of the group. The fact that a sense and understanding for the individual started to emerge within the aristocracy is rather natural for a group whose main object is to distinguish themselves from the rest of society. The whole process where the aristocracy developed dress, insignia, banners and so on, was not only a process of distinguishing

themselves from peasants and others, but also distinguish the single family and its members. Against this background, the criticism against the aristocracy from the clergy, for example expressed by Saint Bernard in his *De Laude Novae Militiae*, regarding their fanciful, luxurious lifestyle, pride and the fact that the knights disregarded the religious parts of their life, can to some extent be seen as a result of a desire among the aristocracy to emphasise the individual as well (Coss 1993, Bengtsson 1999:24).

This implies that, apart from interpreting the aristocratic spatial behaviour against their contextual background as a group, one must not forget the importance of the individual, when it comes to explaining why and how an aristocratic landscape emerged in a certain way, or disappeared. The establishment of a new residence must thus be interpreted in the social-group context of the aristocracy, but at the same time realising the importance of the actions and decisions of the individual. Apart from these changes in the social base of society, there were also important transformations concerning the exercise of power and dominion, most of all the territorialisation of power and the emergence of the feudal state.

Feudalism and feudal are in many ways controversial concepts meaning different things to different scholars, and the literature on the subject is immense. The feudal system can be said to have made it easier for lords to control an agrarian society by granting land in exchange for military service. Integrated in these grants of land were royal supremacy and jurisdiction (Bloch 1967, Brunner 1992). The classical feudal structure with an intricate weave of monarchs, vassals and under-vassals, all with hereditary fiefs and strong control over their villeins, developed in northern France. This form of classical feudalism, as it has been defined by historians, existed only in small parts of western Europe. In other areas similar circumstances prevailed, but here the feudal system appeared in many versions. Different varieties of feudalism have been identified for western and eastern Europe and Scandinavia, for example, and today it rather seems as if the classical version of feudalism only is valid for that small area in northern France (Gurevich 1979, Anderson 1974). Susan Reynolds has reassessed the concept of feudalism and argued that the view that, according to historians, has characterised the Middle Ages, and thus the image of feudalism, actually is the result of studies of post-medieval sources and circumstances. According to Reynolds, the idea of medieval feudalism was rather developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Reynolds 1994).

The issue whether Scandinavia was part of the feudal world or not can be briefly exemplified with the scholarly discussion in Denmark (Christensen 1968:143ff, Gelting 1988). Most scholars during the first half of the twentieth century argued that Denmark was never a fully feudalised society, most notably since hereditary fiefs and feudal grants of jurisdiction never existed, with some exceptions. These scholars focused on the legal and administrative parts of feudal society. Others have focused on the social aspects of feudalism. According to the Danish historian

Axel E. Christensen it is evident that the aristocracy in Denmark in their struggle with the Crown in the thirteenth and fourteenth century tried to get the same jurisdiction and dominion over their villeins and vassals as the aristocracy in other parts of Europe, even if this only succeeded in short periods of time. There are also several examples of how even the common nobleman was integrated in the process of feudalisation, especially regarding the issue of which lord they should pay homage to, the king or, for example, their bishop. In practice it was possible for bishops and dukes to get vassals by granting land at the expense of the king (Christensen 1968:157, 161). One of Christensen's main points is that the whole organisation of Danish society, with an aristocracy whose privileges were founded on military service, was based on the feudal principle of tax exemption for military service. According to Christensen, the issue whether Denmark was a feudalised society or not to a large extent is a question of a definition of the concept of feudalism. Depending on how feudalism is defined, different answers regarding whether a society is feudal or not will emerge. In the end Christensen concludes that Denmark was on the borderline of becoming a "classic" feudal state. Just like many other societies, Denmark had its own version of feudalism (Christensen 1968:171ff, 177).

The concept of feudalism is nevertheless a useful concept for characterising the society that developed in western and northern Europe from the tenth century onwards. Feudal society can be defined in general terms as an agrarian society where power was based on the control of land and where certain groups were granted privileges and land in exchange for service. These privileges made it possible for certain groups, notably the kings, the Church and the aristocracy, to "confiscate" parts of the peasants' production, either as taxation, tithes or rent. Scandinavia had in many ways a special feudal character, mainly due to the existence of a large group of free peasants and the fact that hereditary fiefs with few exceptions and feudal grants of jurisdiction did not exist (Anderson 1974). George Duby distinguished three sorts of feudal lordship: "seigneurie domestique", "seigneurie foncière" and "seigneurie banale". "Seigneurie domestique" signifies the lord's dominion over the household, serfs and retinue, while "seigneurie foncière" signifies the lord's dominion in his role as great landowner and lordship over tenants and villeins. Finally, "seigneurie banale" signifies the lord's dominion as a result of royal grants to a baron, for example of jurisdiction (Duby 1992:174ff). The first two types of dominion were definitely present both in Scandinavia and elsewhere.

A society based on the control of land is characteristic of the feudal state. The emerging feudal system in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries can be seen as a process where power and dominion were institutionalised, and thus stabilised, in order to facilitate the survival of the state. This was the result of a process where income from land came to replace a system where power relations were personal and based on the giving and taking of gifts. The importance of prestige

goods seems to have been more or less universal in prehistoric and pre-feudal societies. Control of the flow of prestige goods was a way of controlling power and reproducing social and political order (Gurevich 1985: 215ff, 1992b). By supplying prestige goods, holding feasts and bestowing gifts, the ruler could reproduce his dominion and entertain the retinue. The retainers were the power base that every ruler had to satisfy. Diminishing resources meant diminishing power. In this "Germanic" society dominion was based on personal bonds and alliances between rulers and retinues and various magnate families. It was of great importance to submit to a powerful lord who could give support and protection. In this early medieval society, power relations had a personal character, founded on personal, reciprocal relations between individuals, which tied different magnate families together.

The Swedish historian Thomas Lindkvist has studied the emergence of the feudal state in Sweden. His analysis is a good example of how the transformation into a territorialised society was made, and the model can also be valid outside Scandinavia. The main theme in this process was the transformation from an external to an internal way of exploiting resources. The pre-feudal "state" was characterised by a lordship connected to single lords or rulers. The base for their dominion was their retinue, which they managed to maintain through gifts and royal protection and support. The resources needed were made available through external exploitation, through plunder and the taking of tribute from others. It is in this context that the Viking raids have to be understood. When the possibilities for external exploitation became more and more limited through the emergence of stronger feudal states in Europe, a transformation to an internal exploitation of resources became necessary. This process led to the creation of a taxation system, in Sweden in form of a combination of individual and collective taxes. The territory that had formerly supplied a certain number of warriors for the external raids now instead had to pay a certain amount in tax. The territory in itself took on a whole new meaning and importance, power was territorialised and the feudal state emerged (Lindkvist 1990). Even though for Sweden this process is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, the model applies to other parts of Europe, and for earlier periods. When opportunities for different kinds of external exploitation diminished, kings and lords had to turn their interest to their own territories, where borders and regulated space now became decisive for determining to which lord people had to pay their dues.

In many ways, the feudal state was deeply integrated in the landscape, and can to some extent be defined by its use and definition of the landscape as a regulated space. The feudal system's decentralisation of political power in many ways postulates the regulation of space in order to make the system work. The feudal system is as much a question of spatial as social relations; it is a system where specific territories were connected to specific rights and dues in the feudal hierarchy. On a macro level this facilitated the spatial integration and administration of the state;

on a micro level, it was a way of confirming the spatial relations between lord and peasant. On this level space became a regulated, defined social space that determined the amount of rent, the number of days' labour and other dues that were connected with a specific space. The whole landscape was divided into a hierarchy of regulated social spaces, from the king's grant of a "county" to a baron, to the single lord's organisation of manor and village (Dodgshon 1987:185f, Saunders 1990). This integration in the landscape also meant that the feudal society had a firm local power base. Most social relationships were extremely localised and focused on one or several power centres in the landscape: the village, the manor, the monastery, the castle, the town and so on (Mann 1986:376f).

The territorialisation of lordship and a feudal society based on different areas of regulated space also led to a hierarchy of spaces. Churches were, for example, God's house, which inevitably gave the church a certain social importance in the landscape. Different social spaces also existed inside the church, with the parishioners assembled in the nave, the lord in its western part and the priest partly performing the service secluded in the chancel. Similar different social spaces were present in monasteries, where most parts were closed to visitors, others only accessible for the monks and closed to the lay brothers. The church represented a higher divine spatial order in which the parishioners were included when they entered the church (Kleinschmidt 2000:47). Just as the internal space inside the church was divided into different social spaces, the same division and hierarchy of spaces can also be found in the landscape. A model example can be the noble castle beside its adjacent planned settlement, a village or a town, with a parish church and a priory or other religious institution. A typical example is Castle Rising in Norfolk (Liddiard 2000:53). Here we can find the aristocratic milieu inside the castle with its park, the tenants in the village, and the religious space in the priory. The whole social landscape was then reproduced in the town church, where the three orders were found in different parts of the church.

Regardless of how the exercise of how power was transformed, becoming territorialised and connected to various institutions, there still existed similarities between the feudal and pre-feudal ways of exercising power, especially on the personal level. A cornerstone in the feudal society was the oath of allegiance, *homage*, sworn by a vassal to a lord. This oath was a personal bond between lord and vassal, and can to some extent be seen as a continuation of the bond that tied pre-feudal lords and their retainers. The difference was the ritual and religious sanctions that existed during the Middle Ages, when the hands of the lord and the vassal rested on the Bible as the oath was spoken. Similar oaths also connected the vassal and tenants (Gurevich 1985:185ff, Le Goff 1990:357). There were also similarities in the way lordship was reproduced. A feudal lord was supposed to be generous with gifts and hold large feasts for tenants and retainers, just like his pre-feudal predecessor. Generosity characterised a great lord and created honour and prestige, just as before. Income and wealth were to be used to increase the

lord's social prestige (Gurevich 1985:246ff). This way of displaying and dispersing wealth also became a way of promoting the individual.

There are thus a great many similarities, but also differences, regarding how lordship was exercised and reproduced in the early and high Middle Ages. Personal bonds, generosity with food and gifts and protection was the basis for lordship in both periods. The main difference was the process of territorialisation and institutionalisation of lordship in the feudal age. This was a slow process that gradually included the whole of western Europe. Control of land became the new power base for kings and lords instead of control over people. The emergence of taxation, castles and towns, and an aristocracy exempt from tax became the foundation for the feudal state.

The elements and changes described above are of course just tiny parts of the complex subject of medieval society, but nevertheless, they are parts that are important if we are to understand the aristocracy and its actions. As has already been mentioned, many of the changes that took place had a direct spatial connection. Through the ideology of the tripartite society, the aristocracy came to regard themselves as an important and independent group. By belonging to the *bellatores*, they became one of the rulers of society. Manifesting their affiliation to this group was decisive. This could be done in many ways, through dress, food, behaviour, but also through the way in which they lived in the landscape, and the way in which they organised their landscape. The emergence of a social space that confirmed the tripartite ideology, founded in a divine context, was of great importance, probably influencing the way the aristocracy acted in the landscape. The manifestation of one's aristocratic status was an important question in a society founded on gestures and rituals (Le Goff 1990:357). The demarcation of the aristocratic group has always been a difficult matter, both for modern scholars and for medieval society.

An archaeological approach

This book is written from an archaeological point of view, since the author has his background in medieval archaeology. This probably gives the book a different emphasis from one written by a historian. The main difference is probably that equal importance has been given to material culture and written sources. Much of the discussion also relies on the former. Different types of sources are characteristic of medieval archaeology, since it concerns a period when both written and material sources are present, more or less abundant depending on regional circumstances. In Scandinavia, for example, the number of written medieval sources is far smaller than in other parts of Europe. But what is characteristic of medieval archaeology is the relationship between written sources and material culture, where the analysis is a result of the interpretation of this relationship (see Andrén 1998, Mooreland 2001). This interpretation is crucial for the

result and for our understanding of medieval society, and it is worth discussing a little more.

Written sources and material culture differ in character to some extent, but at the same time there are a number of similarities. Both are remains from the past, and the problems concerning what has been preserved and how representative the extant material might be, are in principle the same. Questions of the representativeness of, for example, a certain type of ancient monument can be compared with the same questions asked about the contents a written document, even if the type of problems with representativeness in both cases can be different in detail. A common notion is that, while written sources speak directly to us from a distant past, material culture is silent and needs to be interpreted to be understood. Therefore it becomes coloured and only speaks through its interpreter. This is a misunderstanding, a failure to realise that written sources also need interpretation to be understandable. This is especially true of medieval sources, where terms and concepts are often obscure and require interpretation in the same way as material culture. All historical sources are thus in need of an interpretation to start to "talk", but when they do so, they often speak of different things.

From a general point of view, written sources can be said to affect processes or events of a political and economic character, which have concerned individuals and/or groups of individuals, mainly from the upper strata of society. Material culture to a larger extent concerns all parts of society and can be said to illuminate structural relations rather than specific events. The relationship between written sources and material culture is more complex, however, and the important thing is not to let the analysis be guided by a single type of source material. Instead we need to use all available evidence; texts and material culture must be seen as sources of equal value, but it is important to realise that they tell different stories of the same reality. Material culture can in many ways be seen as text, just as text is a form of material culture (Hodder 1986:122ff, Shanks & Tilley 1987:96ff). What is central to this discussion is that both text and material culture must be seen as parts of the same context and discourse, but different parts of it. Material culture is not, as has too often been the case, a complement to written sources; the latter can just as well complement material culture (see Andrén 1998, Mooreland 2001).

To make a synthesis, all types of source material are thus equally important. To be able to make a meaningful synthesis of the Middle Ages, writing cultural history should be the aim, using different types of sources. In medieval archaeology there have for too long been clear trends to give texts a disproportionate value in relation to material culture. New results and new perspectives can more often be attained when various sources are confronted with each other than when, as has too often been the case, text has been given precedence (Duby 1990:26). This is something that modern man projects on a previous society (Austin 1990:11ff,

Moreland 1991:24, 2001). The Middle Ages was furthermore a period when large parts of the population were illiterate, which further undermines the old status of texts in relation to material culture.

But regardless of which type of sources you are working with, interpretations are of fundamental importance. Since the development of post-processual archaeology in the 1980s and 1990s, the importance of interpretations has been recognised, just as the fact that those interpretations that are made are coloured by the role of the scholar in modern society and his or her perception of the world at large. This means that this is a book that reflects the author's background in a small neutral state in northern Europe, and as a scholar who was taught Swedish archaeology in the 1980s and 1990s. The author is thus a person influenced by post-processual theory, hermeneutics and the importance of interpretation. For some the interpretations and analysis in this book might seem too speculative. This is probably a result both of the topic itself and also of the author's scholarly background.

Space and landscape archaeology

Spatial studies regarding how people used space and landscape, often from a social and cognitive point of view, have attracted many archaeologists during the last decade or so. Studies of how people used and created landscapes on several different levels, from purely economic to cognitive, have become a vast scholarly field in archaeology and anthropology (Bender 1993, Ingold 1993, Knapp & Ashmore 1999). These studies have concerned everything from the landscape as a whole, to single settlements and monuments (Aston 1985a, Samson 1990, Welinder 1992, Bradley 1993, Tilley 1994). Common to these studies have been an emphasis on the social importance of the landscape and the notion that space and its meanings are actively produced and reproduced by individuals. Since space and its meanings are created, space itself can become a medium for the actors, as individuals or as a group, to emphasise and strengthen their own positions in society. Space therefore reflects power structures.

The concept of space is also intimately connected to the concept of time. People create time and space through actions, and both time and space become part of the structuring of habitual actions, the routine actions of the daily life. All social processes have a spatial extent and character, and the spatial characteristics of social relations also have a temporal character (Gosden 1994:34, 78). The temporality of landscapes and monuments, for example castles, is problematic when one is analysing the structure of a castle or a deserted medieval village. The image of an archaeological site that meets the archaeologist is the layout of the site as it was when it was deserted. This layout can have been the result of a slow process whereby the site has developed over hundreds of years, with some parts being added and others removed. In a study like this, where the aristocratic

residence and its landscape are in focus, the temporality of the site is a difficult problem, especially since the analysis often concerns sites that have not been excavated. Of all the structures that can be seen at a site today, what was actually contemporary, and how long did a structure function before it was altered or removed? Questions like these are always present, especially when one is analysing castles, where in some cases more or less constant rebuilding took place. Which structural layout of the castle could then reflect the intentions of the builder? Or were the constant building programmes at large castles just as important as the final result?

Studies of the significance of monuments in the landscape are something that so far have mainly affected prehistoric monuments. Richard Bradley has emphasised how monuments create notions and ideas about the place where they are situated. Monuments thereby give special places in the landscape a special meaning, a meaning that was socially produced and reproduced. The creation of monuments was thus a way for local communities to gain prestige, but also a way of showing a new attitude towards nature (Bradley 1993:16f, 42ff).

Similar thoughts can also be applied to medieval monuments. Castles, churches, monasteries, towns and manors all gave the place where they were situated a special meaning, often of different kinds of power, in the local society. In Scandinavia, the special significance of churches and churchyards is expressed in legal form, as fines and punishment for committing a crime in the church or churchyard were significantly higher and more severe than if the same crime was committed elsewhere. Most severe, of course, was the penalty for a crime committed inside the church, worst of all by the altar (Andrén 1999). This is a direct manifestation of a social division of space caused by the emergence of churches in the landscape (Kleinschmidt 2000:46f), but the same division of space and its social meaning was of course also embedded in other medieval monuments.

Several scholars have tried to analyse the medieval conception of space. According to Dick Harrison, the spatial thinking of medieval people was twofold. On one hand there was "micro-space", the empirical space well-known to the individual, where he or she moved on a more or less regular and daily basis, in the village, in the fields, going to church and market and so on. Different individuals had different types of "micro-space" according to their social position in society. The other part of medieval people's spatial conception, "macro-space", concerned a more geographical and cosmological level, where mythological conceptions and religious faith gave space its meaning. The many "mappae mundi", maps of the world centred on the holy city of Jerusalem, that were created during the Middle Ages, were an expression of this spatial conception founded in Christian thought (fig. 7) (Harrison 1996).

A somewhat different and more complex view is adopted by Harald Kleinschmidt, who emphasises that, unlike the modern general concept of space, which sees it as a homogeneous, continuous and universal entity without visible
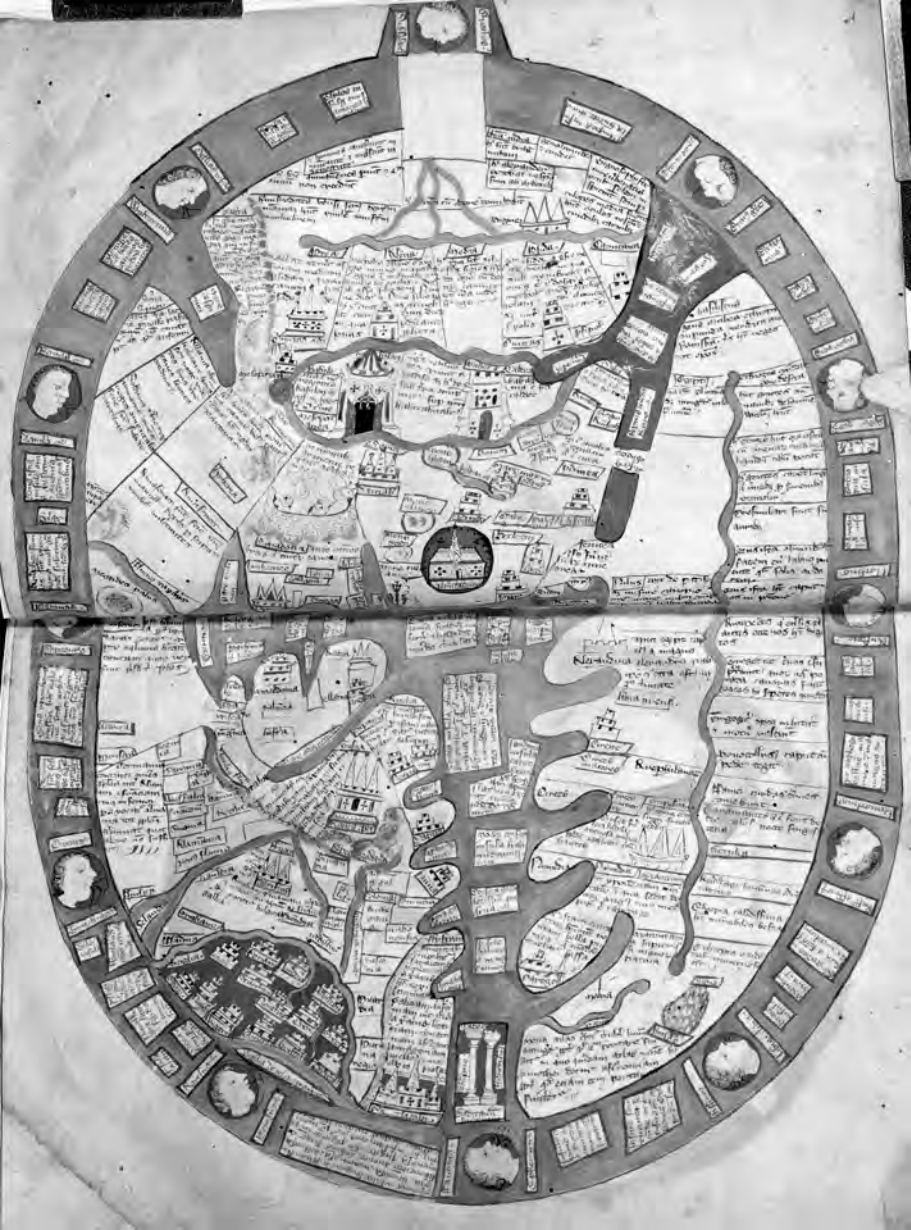
Fig. 7 The "Mappa Mundi", world map of Ranulf Higden dating from the late fourteenth century, centred on Jerusalem, the Holy city. England is located at the bottom left and covered with cities. Courtesy of British Library Royal 14C.IX 2669.

boundaries, a conception founded in the views of mathematics and physics from the seventeenth century onwards, space during the Middle Ages was regarded as heterogeneous, qualitatively different and limited. He recognises that the spatial concept was tripartite as the space of daily experience, the space of regular communications, and the world, a division that can already be found in the works of Augustine (Kleinschmidt 2000:33ff).

The space of daily experience is the space wherein an individual or group usually performs their daily activities. It should also be seen as a private space, a house, a room, a farm, where it was possible to have privacy. The space of daily experience is demarcated by boundaries, and trespassing was seen as a breach of the peace. Outside the space of daily experience, space can either be characterised as the space of daily experience of another individual or group, or as the space of regular communications, where one meets and interacts with others, friends, aliens or enemies. This is thus a much more public space than the space of daily experience, since it is not owned by anyone in particular, despite being used by everyone. This type of public space was governed by the ruler, the lord, and its boundaries are normally invisible and very often defined as various administrative spaces. Both these types of spaces are related to action by individuals or groups, which means that persons can know these spaces through their own experience. The third type of space, the world, was perceived as the universal terrestrial space, which could not be experienced by the individual, except from a theoretical point of view. The world was also embedded in myths and religious beliefs and constraints as shown in the "mappae mundi". The view of the world became profoundly changed thanks to the explorers of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

There can thus be no doubt that the concept of space during the Middle Ages was embedded in social meanings of different kinds. Different spaces had different social values, and space reproduced and projected these differences in social value to the people who used different types of space. Persons acting in the chancel of the church were clergy, *oratores*, persons residing in the castle were noblemen. This understanding is vital when we discuss the spatial behaviour of the aristocracy. Not only was space embedded with social values, this was also something that medieval people were aware of. There are, as some studies have already shown, several examples of how landscape, space and architecture were actively used to reproduce social meanings. Some of them have touched upon the aristocracy.

The starting point for this study was an analysis of the emergence of the nobility in parts of medieval Sweden that the author has previously conducted. This study concerned Småland, an area in south Sweden, which during the Middle Ages was a zone bordering on Denmark. It was also an area with a large number of noblemen, mainly belonging to the lesser nobility. Parts of the study aimed to study the many small castles and fortified manors that exist in this area. It became

evident that, in order to understand these sites which, almost without exception, were not fortified in a true military way, it was necessary to interpret them in their landscape setting (Hansson 2001a,b, see also chapter 3). The conclusion of this is that the aristocracy in this area very consciously acted in the landscape.

These ideas, however, were not unique to a Scandinavian context. A somewhat similar analysis of the Anglo-Norman castles in Norfolk by Robert Liddiard showed that the background to their construction was much more complicated for them to be viewed as just military objects. In several cases Norman castles were built on the site of earlier Saxon residences, despite the fact that these locations were not the most preferable from a military point of view. Military aspects were thus not crucial in deciding the location of the castles. Liddiard's study also showed how far the lord of the castle went in converting the nearby landscape with parks, planned settlements, communications and other features to create an aristocratic landscape. Contrary to what has previously been realised, this "aesthetic" impact on the landscape was already present in the twelfth century. The creation of aristocratic landscapes was part of the overall aristocratic way of life (Liddiard 2000).

Space and landscape, however, are not only a question of social meanings connected to the aristocracy as a group. Questions of gender can also be distinguished. In an interesting study Roberta Gilchrist discusses gender and space in the medieval English castle (Gilchrist 1999a:109ff). Castles were also the home of high-status women, and there are many examples of such women living and controlling a castle. Gilchrist shows how the female quarters of the castle in many cases were connected with private chapels and enclosed gardens, and that these quarters were to be found in the most secluded parts of the castle, furthest from the entrance. This implies the importance of the aristocratic woman as a valuable asset for transactions in the "marriage market", but the female body was also a metaphor for the castle itself, as a safe and protected place where virginity was protected. The aristocratic woman could give her admirers status and wealth. Another metaphor is connected with women and gardens, with the garden symbolising purity and growth. The walled garden of the castle, often located so that it could not be overlooked from other parts of the castle, was intimately connected with women. The rose garden was a symbol of Paradise, the rose a symbol of the Virgin Mary. Enclosed gardens could thus represent the Garden of Eden. With this perspective the aristocratic milieu becomes the place for a social drama connected not only with men, but with both sexes.

The examples above are some of many that show the prevailing interest in social space. This study is another along these lines. The landscape is no longer seen solely from an economic-functional point of view. It has become widely recognised as having far more meanings connected in a complex weave. So far this view of space has mainly been applied to the analysis of single houses, farms or settlements. An important source of inspiration for many archaeologists in the study

of the built environment has been theories and methods developed by schol-ars in architecture, social psychology and structural anthropology regarding how persons perceive buildings and spaces (see Hillier & Hanson 1984, Grøn 1991, Fairclough 1992, Parker Pearson & Richards 1994, Grenville 1997). By struc-turing and organising the landscape, social relations were maintained and repro-duced. Spatial patterns in the landscape and inside the built environment, as well as architectural symbolic, were, and still are, ways to uphold and reproduce pow-er. This is valid for single buildings, for farmsteads and for the landscape at large. It is perhaps more valid for aristocratic milieus, since, as has been shown earlier, the aristocracy were deeply involved in the display of status and the importance of their own group. By organising space and the residence, the status and intentions of the lord were emphasised and the lord's power reproduced (Hansson 2001c).

Most spatial studies, and also most studies in medieval archaeology, have con-cerned the development of single sites, regions or countries. Apart from works that concern, for instance, various artefacts, such as pottery, the number of stud-ies that discuss and compare the development in different countries is small. This is especially true of spatial studies, where the importance of the topography of the landscape and its economy within a region (see Williamson 2003) has of-ten deterred scholars from comparisons with regions in other parts of Europe. Multinational studies of landscapes are still very rare. An exception is Karin Altenberg's comparative investigation of how cultural and regional identities were created and spatially reproduced within the peasantry in three marginal regions, two in Britain and one in Scania in medieval Denmark (Altenberg 2003).

Even if comparative studies on a European level entail some problems, the ne-cessity of performing them is evident in many scholarly fields. The ties between academia and the borders of the modern nation states are even more difficult to understand, since many of the borders of today have little or no relevance at all to previous societies. The absence of comparative studies on a European level is still an obstacle to archaeological research (see Austin 1990:36). The importance of studies like that of Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier on village and house in me-dieval Europe (Chapelot & Fossier 1985) has been immense, and syntheses like this must be encouraged if medieval archaeology as a scholarly field is to become something more than a provider of props for the historians.

To conclude, the view that the landscape is a social space and mediates and re-produces social relations is fundamental to this study. The way medieval people organised their landscape was neither haphazard nor strictly economic-functional. The use of the landscape reflects economic, social, ideological and cultural concep-tions, and a study of the landscape can thus reveal these perceptions. In the case of the aristocracy, it is important to see where and in what context residences are found, and whether these relations changed during time. The topographical loca-tion of the residence can reveal aristocratic conceptions regarding themselves as a group, but also in relation to the *laboratores,* the ordinary peasants. The landscape

thus reveals how lordship was manifested and reproduced, and an analysis of the layout and display of the milieu at the residence can reveal how the spatial organisation was used to emphasise this lordship. The aristocratic architecture and landscape became a materialisation of the aristocratic ideology. The next step is to see whether there are any similarities and patterns on a European level.

ARISTOCRATIC LANDSCAPES – SMÅLAND AND NORFOLK

Finding aristocratic landscapes for a comparative study can be done in many ways, for instance by choosing appropriate examples from different parts of Europe to support one's thesis. This is a common way of doing research that often applies to studies in medieval archaeology, especially if the scholar is doing a comparative study on a European level. One example is John Steane's study *The Archaeology of Power*, which gathers a great many examples from England and western Europe (Steane 2001). By choosing this approach, however, there is always the risk of getting a suitable result that lacks all kind of contextual meaning, and the outcome may be just a collection of examples of various themes whose contextual setting is hard to understand. This is partly the case with Steane's study. To avoid this risk, another method has been chosen for this study.

The starting point is an analysis of aristocratic landscapes in two regions, Småland in south Sweden and Norfolk in England (fig. 8). The result of this analysis will hopefully make it possible to detect common themes regarding how the aristocracy acted in space and landscape. If this is the case, these themes will later be discussed in separate chapters where their validity is strengthened by further examples from other parts of Europe. With this method the themes that are identified and later discussed are based on two different contextual landscape studies, which ought to increase the value of this study.

SMÅLAND – THE LAND OF THE LESSER NOBILITY

Småland is a province in southern Sweden that during the Middle Ages was a border province between Sweden and Denmark. Until 1658 the two southernmost provinces of present-day Sweden belonged to Denmark. During the Middle Ages the central inland parts of southern Småland were characterised by vast woodlands that surrounded settled areas, leaving the region quite sparsely populated. This area consisted of three districts, Värend, Finnveden and Njudung, which were united in a common jurisdictional district run by a sheriff (fig. 9). Since this jurisdictional district consisted of ten hundreds it was known under the name "Tiohärads lagsaga" ("the ten hundreds"). From an ecclesiastical point of view, Värend was a separate diocese governed by the bishop of Växjö, while Finnveden and Njudung were parts of the diocese of Linköping.
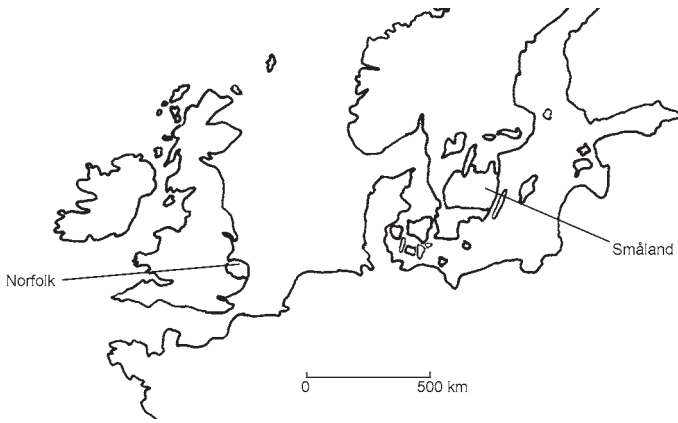
Fig. 8 North-western Europe, with the location of the two case study areas, Norfolk, England and Småland, Sweden.

The settlement pattern in this area was characterised by single farmsteads, double farmsteads and small hamlets. On rare occasions a hamlet could consist of more than ten farms. Despite being sparsely populated and having a dispersed settlement pattern, with mainly small settlements, the area was one of the regions in Sweden were the aristocracy had a significant role, controlling almost 40 per cent of the land, judging by figures that can be estimated from tax registers from the 1540s. The average proportion of land owned by the aristocracy in Sweden at this time is much lower, around 25 per cent. The significant role of the aristocracy is also reflected in the large number of aristocratic manors and residences that existed in this province during the Middle Ages (Hansson 2001a, b). Somewhere between 20 and 30 per cent of the 1,000–1,500 medieval manors that have been estimated for Sweden were situated in this province (Lovén 1996:274, 347). It is also a well-known fact that the aristocracy in this part of Sweden was dominated by the lesser nobility.

The number of noblemen was not static in this area during the Middle Ages. Estimating the number of nobility in a region in medieval Sweden, however, entails severe problems connected to the representativeness and preservation of written documents. Medieval written sources in Sweden are mainly preserved from the fourteenth century onwards. Earlier documents are rare, and those which exist are mainly concerned with the affairs of the royal family or the Church. The number of extant documents is also much larger from the fifteenth century that from the fourteenth century. Those attempts that have been made to calculate the number of noblemen in different periods have shown that there was a decline in the number of noblemen, especially regarding the lesser nobility, from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, a decline connected with the late medieval crisis and the
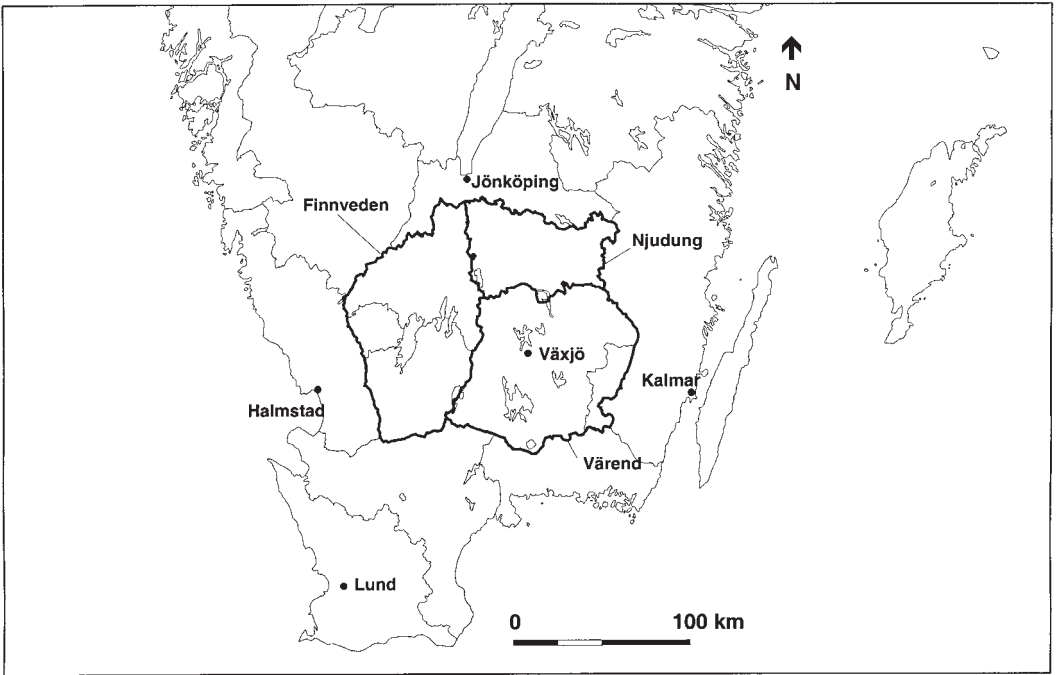
Fig. 9 The location of Tiohärad in Småland in south Sweden. After Hansson 2001:10.
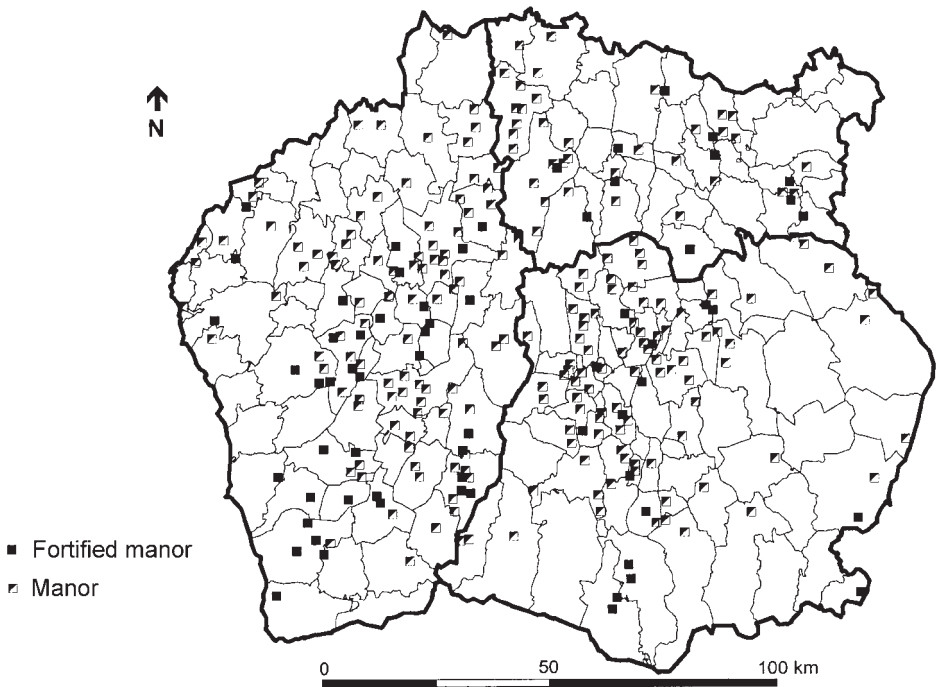
Fig. 10 Manors and fortified residences in Tiohärad.

Black Death. But this decline should not be seen as a general crisis for the no-
bility as a whole. It was rather a crisis for various families. At the same time as
a large number of families from the lesser nobility disappeared, they were re-
placed by "new" noble families from the upper part of the peasant class (Hansson
2001a:75ff).

The emergence of the medieval nobility in the three districts of Värend,
Finnveden and Njudung was the subject of a previous study by the author
(Hansson 2001a). An integral part of that study was an investigation of how the
nobility located their manors in the landscape. The result showed that at least 250
manors could be identified and in most cases also located, mostly in Finnveden
and Värend (fig. 10). In this context, a manor was seen as a farm that either was
the residence of a nobleman and/or was the centre of an estate. These manors
were identified either through historical records or as archaeological remains. The
latter had traditionally been seen as castles or fortified manors. To exemplify the
manorial structure in this part of Sweden, the manors and residences in one hun-
dred, Kinnevald, will be presented.

Lords and noblemen in Kinnevald Hundred

Kinnevald is a hundred situated in Värend. The northern half of the hundred
embraces the central parts of Värend, with rather good conditions for agricul-
ture. This is reflected in a large number of ancient monuments, spanning from
the gallery graves of the late Stone Age to late Iron Age gravefields. The south-
ern part of the hundred is characterised by more woodlands and by an absence
of prehistoric graves, especially from the Iron Age. This part of the hundred, just
like the southern part of Småland in general, is seen as area colonised during the
eleventh to fourteenth centuries. The topography of this region is characterised
by a number of lakes and watercourses running from north to south. The main
river, Mörrumsån, connects the central areas of Värend and the large lakes of
Helgasjön, Salen and Åsnen with the Baltic coast in Blekinge, a region that dur-
ing the Middle Ages belonged to Denmark. It is worth pointing out that this
river is not suitable for any large transports. Besides the watercourses, the north-
ern part of the hundred is characterised by an undulating landscape with minor
ridges running north–south and with small plains. Most of the settlements in the
area are located on these ridges and plains, often divided by woodlands and mi-
nor wetlands. The southern part of the hundred is characterised by large areas of
stony woodlands and wetlands. The place-names in this part of the hundred in-
dicate that the area was colonised during the Middle Ages.

Kinnevald Hundred consists of thirteen parishes. Växjö was the seat of the lo-
cal bishop since the 1170s. His diocese embraced Värend. Växjö eventually be-
came a medieval town during the fourteenth century, but remained a rural settle-
ment throughout the Middle Ages, despite its formal and jurisdictional status as
a town (Hansson 1997).
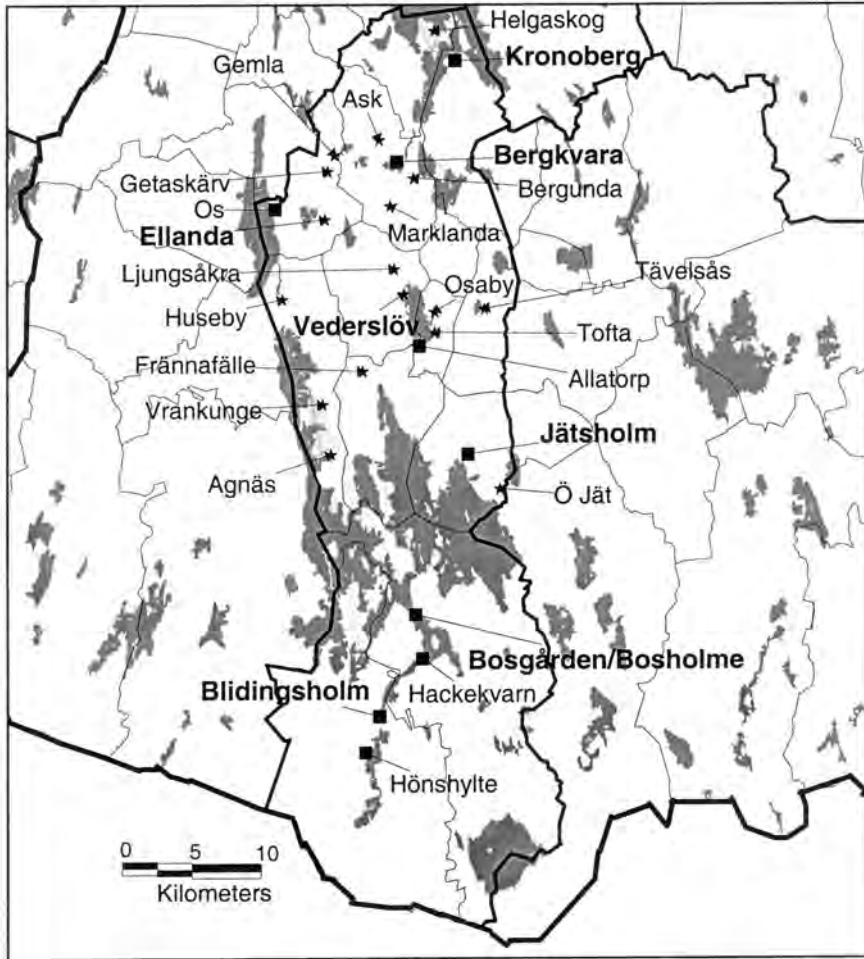
Fig. 11 Manors and residences in Kinnevald Hundred. The ones marked are discussed in the text.

Thanks to the tax registers from the 1540s, it is possible to calculate the number of administrative farms in all the parishes of the hundred. The tax registers list all farms in every parish, but in several cases a single farm was divided between different peasant families. This means that the number of administrative farms cannot be seen as an equivalent of the number of tilled farms in the hundred. In total the hundred consisted of 191 administrative farms in the 1540s, a figure that is probably a fair reflection of a late medieval situation (Larsson 1979–81:24). The settlement pattern can be characterised as mainly hamlets or small villages in the northern part and mostly single or double farmsteads in the southern part of the hundred.

Twenty-six manors/residences have been identified and in several cases the manorial seat has also been located in the landscape through a combined study of written documents, historical maps and archaeological sources (fig. 11) (Hansson

2001a). The majority of the residences in the hundred where the owner is known belonged to persons that have to be characterised as lesser nobility. Three residences, Bergkvara, Blidingsholm and Jätsholm, seem to have belonged almost constantly, from the middle of the fourteenth century when they first appear in the written documents, to families connected to the higher aristocracy. A couple of residences changed ownership between the lesser and higher nobility, and three residences in the hundred belonged to the bishop of Växjö, among them his two major residences, Kronoberg outside the town of Växjö, and Bosholme on the border with Denmark in the south.

Residences of the bishop of Växjö

Ecclesiastical power was concentrated in two places in the hundred. Since the Swedish crown lacked a central place or castle in Värend, the fortified residences of the bishop of Växjö can also be seen as the extended arm of the Swedish crown. Especially during the fourteenth century, both the bishop and the king benefited from each other's actions, and it was also during this period that the bishop's seat in Växjö was granted town privileges. The principal residence at Kronoberg was confiscated by the crown in the 1540s and rebuilt and strengthened into a modern Renaissance castle (fig. 12). It stands on a small island in the lake Helgasjön, today as a ruined castle from the sixteenth century. Before the royal rebuilding the main building of the residence had a rectangular layout, with a stone house, probably erected in at least two storeys on the north side of the site, and a round stone tower in the south-western corner. North of this tower was another stone building. The residence also consisted of several houses built of timber and placed along a timber palisade on a stone foundation that surrounded the establishment. The excavation of the residence in the 1930s and 1940s showed that its oldest phase could be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century. Kronoberg, however, is already mentioned in 1351, indicating that the residence previously had another location, perhaps close to the agricultural part of the manor, which was situated on the mainland, about 800 metres to the south (Hansson 2001a:189f).

The other residence connected with the bishop, Bosholme, was situated in the south part of the hundred in Almundsryd Parish. The residence was located on an island in a narrow strait in the southern part of the lake Åsnen, just north of the spot where the river Mörrumsån leaves the lake. The island where the residence was situated had been divided in two by a narrow moat (fig. 13). The residence was located in the eastern part of the island and had an almost square layout. The site was the subject of a minor excavation in 1966, which showed that the site was surrounded by a small stone wall, the foundation of a timber palisade. The houses had probably all been built of timber and were located along the palisade. The excavation dated the residence to the first half or middle of the fourteenth century. This dating fits well with the written evidence, where the bishop's manor *Bosgård* is mentioned in 1290. Nothing indicates that the site was used after 1400, which

Fig. 12 The former bishop's residence Kronoberg, today characterised by the sixteenth-century transformations. Photo M. Hansson.
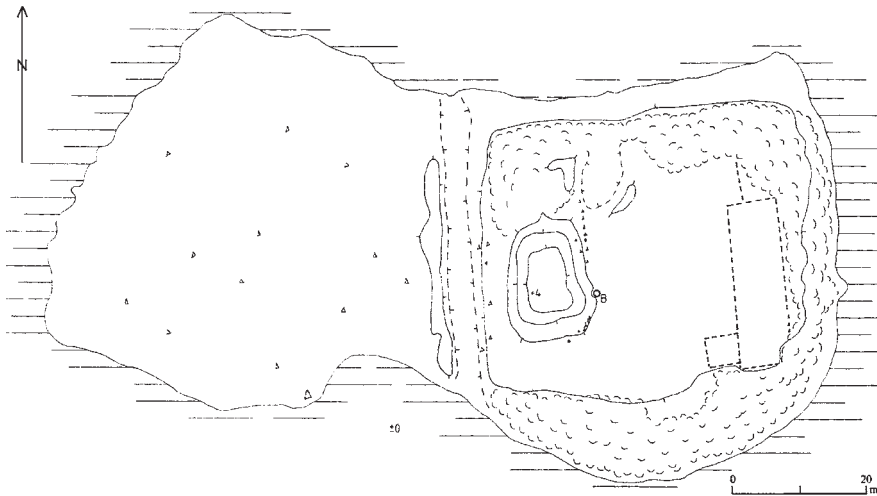
Fig. 13 The earthworks at Bosholme, Urshult Parish. After Lovén 1996:242.

supports the hypothesis that Kronoberg at this time became the principal resi-dence where all resources and efforts of the bishop were concentrated, as is visible in the erection of stone houses and a stone tower. This was most likely the first walled stone houses in the region, apart from a minority of stone churches that had been built previously (Hansson 2001a:185f, 192f).

Residences of the higher nobility

Three of the residences in Kinnevald, Bergkvara, Jätsholm and Blidingsholm belonged for most of the Middle Ages to persons and families that can be characterised as being part of the higher nobility. These individuals were often knights and/or royal counsellors and had several estates in different parts of the country. The first two were located in the northern part of the hundred, in the central parts of Värend, where more or less continuous settlement from the Iron Age into the Middle Ages can be found. Blidingsholm, in contrast, was established in an area of medieval colonisation in the southern parts of the hundred. The foremost of these was the residence at Bergkvara, where the owner's membership of the high aristocracy was clearly visible in the landscape.

The residence in Bergkvara in Småland is first mentioned in the first half of the fourteenth century (Sjögren 1944, Larsson 1964:424ff, 449ff). Around 1350 the squire Magnus Håkansson resided here. The manor was then the major farm in the adjacent hamlet, whose original size is not known. Nearby hamlets consisted of around five farms, which can be taken as the minimum number of farms also in this hamlet. In the 1380s the lord of the manor seems to have controlled all but one farm in the hamlet. When the hamlet was eventually evicted is not known, but from the middle of the fifteenth century Bergkvara became the residence of one of the wealthiest noblemen in Scandinavia, Arvid Trolle. He was also responsible for the construction of a large tower house in stone in the 1470s. The tower house was six storeys high, each floor being about 300 m^2. This residence was by this time probably one of the largest stone houses in Scandinavia (fig. 14). Arvid Trolle owned approximately 1,000 farms in different parts of Scandinavia, mainly in Småland in Sweden and Scania in Denmark, with Lillö as his principal residence. Bergkvara, however, was the central residence for all his land. The tower house is today located on a small peninsula in a lake, separated from the mainland by a moat.

Jätsholm was a residence for several members of the Bielke family. The residence is mentioned for the first time in the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Lord Chancellor Niels Turesson resided here. The residence at Jätsholm was located on a small island in the lake Åsnen, where the remains of a house, probably of medieval origin, is still visible. No archaeological excavation has been undertaken at the site. The residence was thus situated 1.5 kilometres (by land) from the adjacent hamlet of Jät. The location on the island was probably the result of the manor being moved away from the hamlet (Hansson 2001a:327).

Blidingsholm was a manor that seems to have been established during the colonisation of the southern parts of Småland, which most likely took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The late colonisation of this area is reflected in the place-names and the fact that the settlement pattern is dominated by single or double farmsteads. Blidingsholm is known as a residence for members of the higher nobility of the Hjärne family, from the middle of the fourteenth
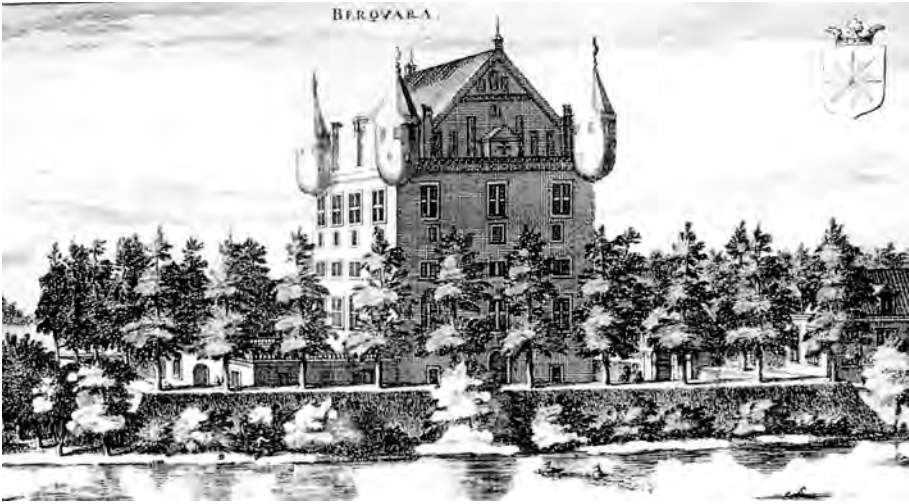
Fig. 14 The tower-house at Bergkvara in 1707 as seen by Erik Dahlberg. The tower house itself is probably correctly drawn. The surrounding houses, however, are more a product of the artist's imagination.

century onwards (Hansson 2001a:164ff). In contrast to the previous two residences, which originally were located inside or directly adjacent to a hamlet, Blidingsholm was originally established as a single unit in an area characterised by assarting. It was thus in some ways "just another single farmstead" in this area. But the aristocratic status of the place was emphasised by the fact that the main building of the residence was originally located behind a narrow moat on a small island in the river Mörrumsån. This is shown by an analysis of a historical map from 1823–24, which also shows how the agricultural unit was located on the mainland, directly on the other side of the moat. A little way north of the residence, other houses and structures on two small islands in the river could perhaps have been used for control of transports that might have been taken place on the river. An interesting feature on the map is the common use of the word *Riddar-* (Swedish for knight) for various fieldnames, for example the "knight's marsh" or the "knight's field". The location of the residence on an island can hardly be interpreted as a true military fortification, but it had probably an important social meaning.

It is interesting to conclude that the three residences that can be connected most closely with the higher aristocracy were all given physical manifestations that can still be seen in the landscape. All three were fortified, if not in a military way then definitely in a social way. There is also a tendency for these residences to become more and more isolated in the landscape, either by being moved out of their adjacent hamlet, by "swallowing" it or by being established in an isolated position from the beginning.

Residences of the lesser nobility

The majority of the noblemen in the hundred, however, belonged to the lesser nobility. At least twelve residences were inhabited by the lesser nobility. These residences are seldom manifested by any physical remains that are still visible in the landscape. There are, however, other typical features of the residences of this group that are worth mentioning. The parish of Öja can serve as an example. Three manors connected to the lesser nobility can be found in Öja Parish. A squire resided in the hamlet of Ellanda in 1402, several resident noblemen from the lesser nobility are known in the hamlet of Gemla from the fifteenth century and a residence for a nobleman is also known from 1396 to 1402 in the hamlet of Getaskärv (Hansson 2001a:329f).

Judging by the occasional mentions in the historical record of the noblemen and their manors in Öja Parish, it seems as if they only existed for fairly short periods of time. The residence in Getaskärv, for example, is only mentioned in connection with the nobleman Bose Olofsson in 1396 and 1402, implying that this residence had a short existence, perhaps for just a generation. In general, the majority of the medieval manors in Småland seem to have existed for a fairly short time, one or two generations (Hansson 2001a:74, 141f). This can partly be a consequence of insufficiencies in the historical record, but it could also reflect a real situation, where many residences actually only existed for short periods. This interpretation is strengthened by archaeological excavations, which have often shown that sites were used for a short time (Hansson 2001a:237). This can be interpreted in the following way. Someone establishes himself as a nobleman, starts doing military service with the prescribed equipment and receives a royal grant. After a while the economic base is weakened and the nobleman has problems fulfilling his military service and eventually loses his noble status. In many cases there are indications that this took place in connection with a change of generation. When the nobleman died, the heirs could not or did not want to continue as noblemen. As a consequence the noble residence disappeared.

The appearance of a large number of lesser nobility in Småland is thus a reflection of "aristocratic ambitions" within large parts of the population, especially the upper parts of the peasantry. Becoming a nobleman was a decision made by an individual as a result of internal and external influences. The large number of nobility in this part of Sweden was also a result of a deliberate policy on the part of the Swedish crown. It is obvious that the king needed a large number of noblemen in this remote area of the country, probably as a way of controlling the region by connecting regional leaders to the crown. But it is also obvious that a large number of local leaders regarded noble status as fairly important, since in the short term this probably only meant increased social status, and not better economy (Hansson 2001a:245ff). The many residences of the lesser nobility can thus be seen as reflections of ambitions and aspirations of individual agents.

In contrast to residences like the ones in Getaskärv and Ellanda, with a fairly short existence, there are other residences that seem to have been centre for local

dominion for very long periods. The foremost example of this in Kinnevald Hundred is the residence in Vederslöv. The first time the residence in Vederslöv is mentioned is in 1387, when the knight and royal counsellor Erland Knutsson had his principal residence here. Vederslöv can then be said to have been connected to a person belonging to the higher aristocracy. The residence in Vederslöv existed throughout the Middle Ages, but from the beginning of the fifteenth century the owners of the residence are better characterised as belonging to the lesser nobility. In the tax register from the 1540s the parish of Vederslöv consisted of 32 farms (Hansson 2001a:118ff, 137ff, 160f). Six of these farms could be found in the hamlet of Vederslöv, where the parish church was situated. Five of these belonged to the nobility, while the sixth farm was the rectory.

The oldest map of Vederslöv is from 1761, a map drawn in connection with "storskiftet", a land reform intended to rearrange land holdings among the farmers. The map shows the landscape before the land reform, and maps of this type are widely regarded as reflecting an earlier medieval landscape (Tollin 1991). The map reveals the earliest known position of the farms, arable fields and meadows, pasture and the division into different holdings (fig. 15). One of the farms on the map is called Bosgård. Bosgård is a Swedish name often used for manors, which implies that this is the previous manor. The manor is also called "Storegård" (the large farm) in a land register from around 1500.

The knight Erland Knutsson was the local sheriff in the hundred, and all his known male successors in the residence during the fifteenth century were also sheriffs in the hundred. At least from the late fourteenth century until *c*. 1500, Vederslöv was by tradition the seat of the local sheriff. This tradition was strong, as is shown when the esquire Magnus Nilsson sold his manor and estate to the knight Arvid Trolle in 1473. Since he still had the position of sheriff he continued to live at the manor as tenant for at least thirteen years. Yet it was never a fortified place. The residence was most probably situated where Bosgården was in 1761, which is the highest point in this relatively flat landscape. Opposite the residence, on the second highest point, stood the church.

The church is interesting since its appearance reveals that it was most likely built as a private church, probably in the thirteenth century (fig. 16). This is indicated by the church being built in stone, which is rather exclusive in an area where most churches were built of timber. It has two decorated ashlars on the outside of the chancel and mural paintings dating to the thirteenth century. The church can thus be seen as indirect evidence of the presence of a manor in Vederslöv in the thirteenth century. A late Iron Age cemetery and a runic stone in a neighbouring hamlet also indicate the presence of a Late Iron Age settlement and a local lord, who could have been the predecessor of the medieval lords of the village. Vederslöv is thus an example of a kind of structural continuity of lordship in the landscape, which in this case can be extended even further back. The name Vederslöv is composed of the male name *Vidar* and the ending *-löv*, *-lev*, meaning either "inherited property" or "granted property" (Søndergaard 1972). According

Church
Arable field
Meadow

Lake Vederslöv

A = Bergagård
B = Stommen
C = Bos- och Ringagård
D = Gategård
E = Backegård

0   500 m
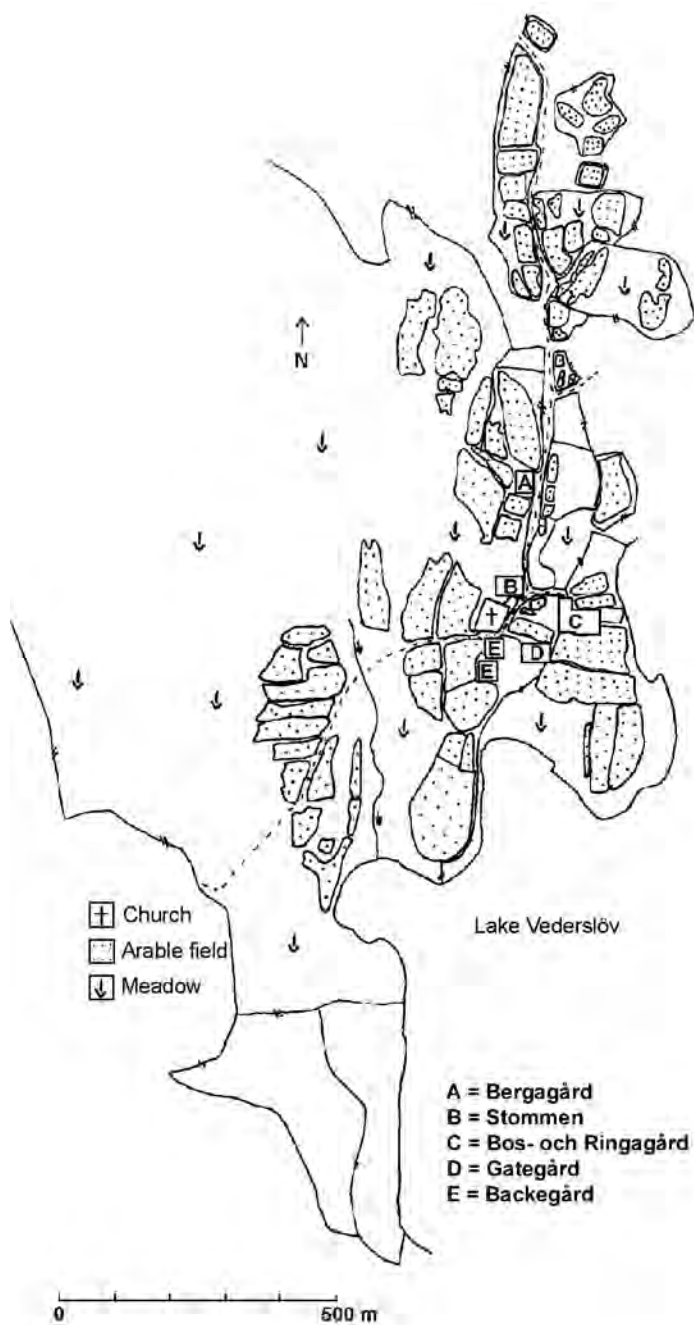
Fig. 15 Extract from the cadastral map for the agrarian reform (Sw. storskifte) of Vederslöv 1761. The relationship between the residence (C), the church and the farms in the hamlet probably reflects a medieval situation.

Fig. 16 The Romanesque stone church at Vederslöv was erected close to the medieval residence. Photo Smålands museum.

to linguists this type of name was created before the Viking Age. Vederslöv thus means "Vidar's estate" and since it also is the name of the parish, one can speculate as to whether it is this estate that eventually became the parish.

Unfortunately there have not been any archaeological excavations to test this hypothesis in Vederslöv, but it seems as if the site of "Bosgården/Storegården" was probably the site of a local residence at least since the thirteenth century, when the church was erected. Perhaps the site could have been a centre for local lordship even before the Middle Ages. Nevertheless Vederslöv is one of several examples in Sweden where it has been possible to detect this type of structural continuity, where the medieval lords used the history behind a place to strengthen their local dominion. There are, for example, several cases where Viking Age runic stones are found at medieval manors (Riddersporre 1989, Hansson 2001a:140). Whether these stones are in their original position or were moved to the manor in the Middle Ages is not clear in every case, but regardless of whether they were moved there or not, their existence at the manor shows that the medieval lords were aware of the importance of the history of the place as a means of strengthening their lordship.

Minor "castles" in the inland of southern Småland

At fifty of the approximately 250 medieval residences and manors in the inland of southern Småland, there are some kind of archaeological remains that have often

been seen as some kind of medieval castle or fortified manor (fig. 17) (Hansson 2001a:169ff). While occasional places, like the tower house at Bergkvara, resemble traditional "castles", other places of this type are much more anonymous and their architecture is sometimes more similar to the look of an ordinary peasant farm. Yet taken together these remains have a great deal in common, mainly the fact that they are situated in a remote position in the landscape, often on an island or a peninsula in a lake, river or wetland. Different kinds of structures can be seen at these places. Often several houses are visible, sometimes situated behind a more or less insignificant moat. When the moat is absent, natural barriers such as open water or wetlands had to function as a "moat". The most common form of remains at these places is a large cellar-pit (fig. 18). Sometimes these cellars are only a large pit dug into the ground, in other cases they were dug into a small hill. Normally these cellars were built without the use of mortar and bore a timber building, sometimes a tower.

Timber houses were the normal buildings at the fortified places in this area, also at the royal castles. The stone buildings seem to be extremely exclusive, known from only four places in the region. Three of these are connected with the higher nobility, while the fourth was the residence of the bishop of Växjö. The use of masonry must be seen as something very exclusive in Småland, where many churches still were built of timber at the end of the Middle Ages.

The castles in the inland of southern Småland were of different types: royal bailiff's castles, castles belonging to the bishop of Växjö, fortified residences belonging to the higher nobility, but most common and most numerous are places that either are connected with the gentry or are not mentioned at all in the historical record. The variation in appearance within the group of "fortified" residences belonging to the aristocracy is large. What unites them is the similar way they are located in the landscape. This similarity makes it possible to assume that they had similar functions. However, the difference in size shows that there were considerable differences in scale between these places. Thirty of the fifty "castles" are known from historical records. Sixteen of them are known from the fourteenth century, thirteen from the fifteenth century and one from the sixteenth century. It must be emphasised that these historical records do not necessarily refer to the fortified site itself. More often they only mention the name of the place, without saying anything as to whether if it was fortified or not. Twenty of the sites are anonymous in the written source material.

Twelve of these places have been subject to archaeological excavations, mainly in the 1920s and 1930s. Most excavations have been on a very small scale and in some cases did not yield any datable artefacts or hardly any artefacts at all. It has mostly been structures connected with either the king, the bishop of Växjö or the higher nobility that have been excavated. When datable artefacts have been found, mainly coins, it seems as if these fortified places were used during the fourteenth and in some cases also the fifteenth century.
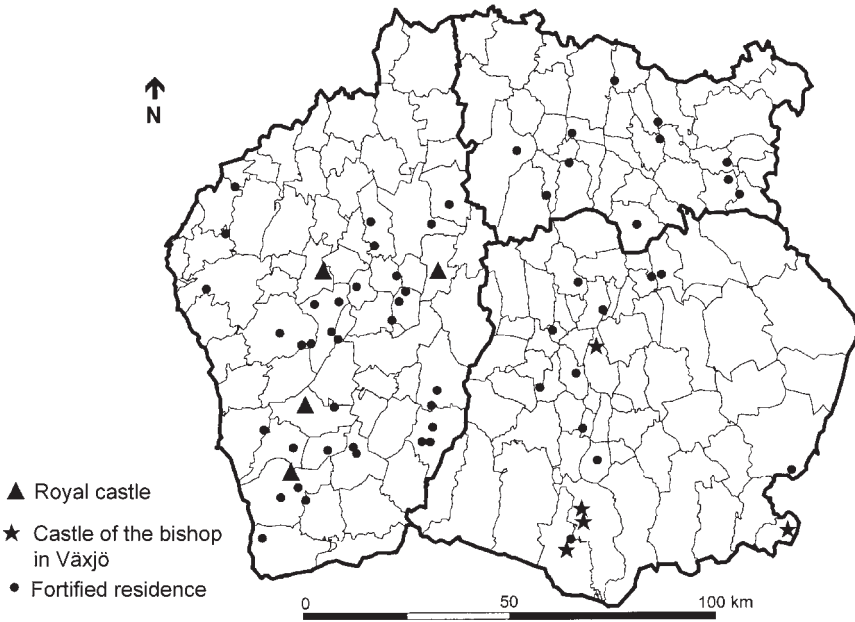
Fig. 17 Castles and fortified residences in Tiohärad.
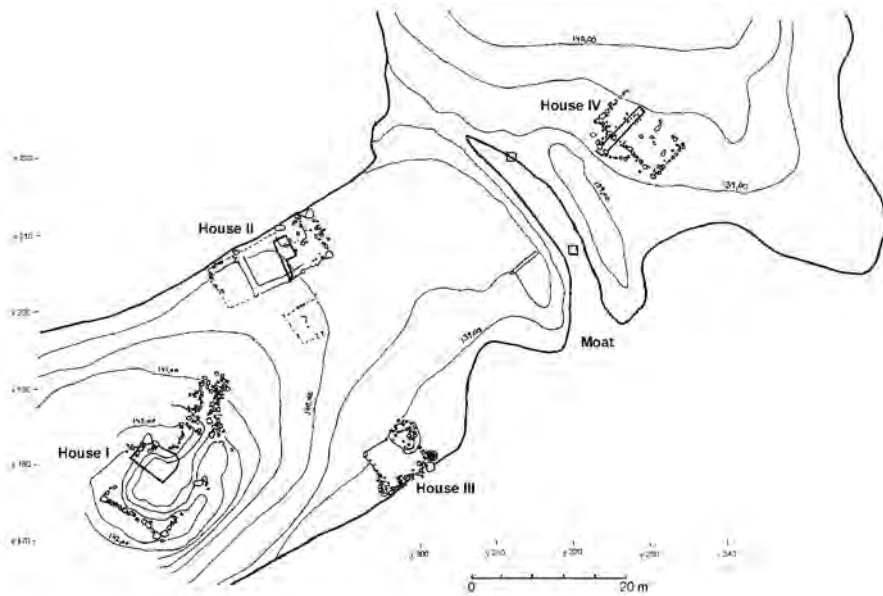
Fig. 18 The minor residence at Källarholmen, Ryssby Parish. House I was a timber tower while house II probably functioned as the main dwelling. House III was perhaps a kitchen and house IV some kind of workshop.

The majority of all fortified manors in this region are however remains of the ambitions and efforts of single noblemen. It is often difficult to determine who was responsible for the construction of a fortified residence, and sometimes the ownership alternated between the crown and private noblemen, but probably around forty of the fifty places mentioned above were erected by private noblemen. From historical records it is possible to see that twelve places can be connected with persons with titles such as "sheriff" (Sw. *häradshövding*), "squire" or "nobleman", who all probably should be regarded as belonging to the lesser nobility. Eleven places can be connected with persons who were "knights" and probably belonged to the higher nobility. There are of course great difficulties with this type of categorisation based on a person's title. There are, first of all, serious insufficiencies in the historical record, and not everybody in the higher nobility had the dignity of being a "knight", but these numbers give a hint that a majority of the fortified residences belonged to the lesser nobility. Nevertheless, these places are all united by their common topographical location, while their internal structure varied. It is obvious that it is not possible to divide this material into clear groups. They are rather fortified on a gradually falling scale, from real castles with military fortifications, to places that can rather be characterised as "social" or symbolic fortifications.

These residences are most often situated at a great distance from the nearby hamlets and arable fields. This is something that differs from the way ordinary agrarian settlements are located. Usually an agrarian settlement is located at the centre of its tilled land, with the farms located in the border zone between infields and outfields, where it was a short distance for the farmer both to work the arable fields and to let the animals graze in the outfields. Settling on a peninsula or an island is a clear sign that these settlements were not located with the intention of seeking an optimal location from an agrarian point of view. This "non-agrarian" location shows that these farms were supported by others, and accordingly could be characterised as manors. Their remote location is in itself an expression of a feudal status and thus in some way a sort of "social" fortification if not a military one.

The conclusion of this study, especially when seen in the context of space and landscape, is that some themes seem to have been important for the local aristocracy. They concern the use of history in the landscape and how the aristocracy utilised it, mainly by trying to distance themselves in the landscape. Another theme worth mentioning is how the ambitions and aspirations of individual agents can be found in the landscape through a large number of short-lived residences.

LAUNDITCH HUNDRED, NORFOLK

To use only a Scandinavian study as a starting point for an analysis of the spatial ideology of the medieval aristocracy in a European perspective might be viewed as a bit odd. Yet if this Scandinavian study is complemented with a similar study
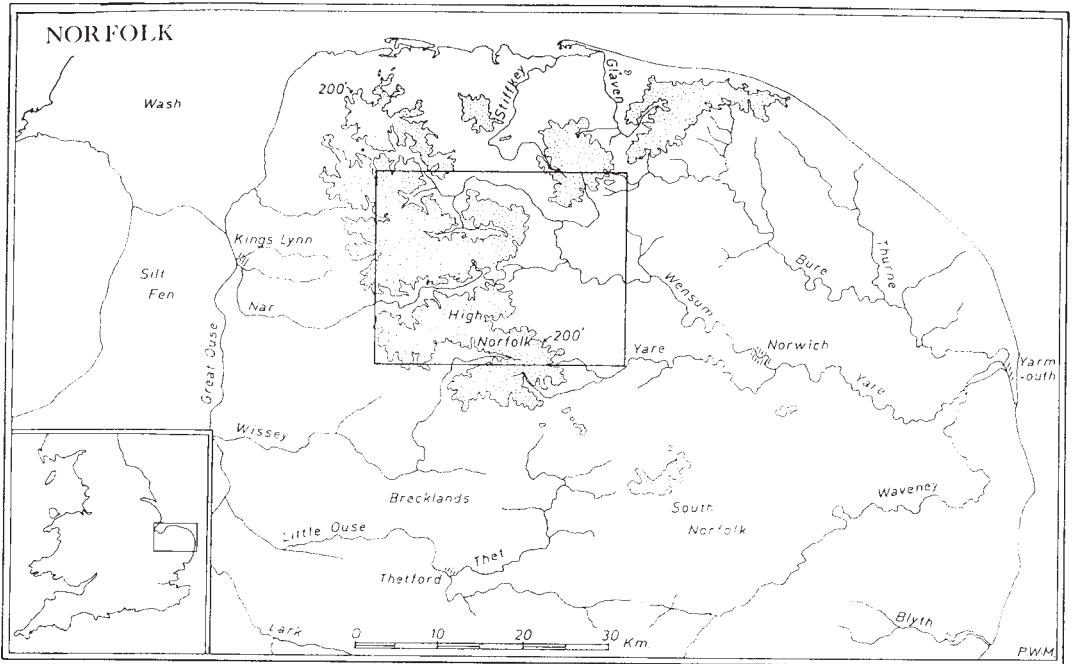
Fig. 19 The location of Launditch hundred in Norfolk. The square represents the area studied by a fieldproject in the 1970's. After Wade-Martins 1980a:9 fig 1.

from elsewhere, and if that study shows some similar results, then the validity of the analysis is strengthened. To do this, a small region in Norfolk, East Anglia, in Launditch Hundred, has been chosen (fig. 19). Here we have an example of the variation in how the aristocracy chose to organise their built environment and its surrounding landscape in a completely different part of Europe. During the Middle Ages Norfolk was among the most densely populated areas in England (Wade-Martins 1980a, Williamson 1993). The area chosen for comparison lies in the Breckland in the central parts of Norfolk. It was chosen because the area was the subject of a field project in the 1970s intended to study the emergence and development of village sites in Launditch Hundred (Wade-Martins 1980a). Thanks to this project, whose conclusions were mainly drawn from field-walking, the study of historical maps and written sources and excavations, it is also possible to discuss the connection between medieval village sites and manorial residences in the area. A large number of noble residences were identified and their spatial relationship to contemporary settlements can often broadly be established.

Launditch Hundred lies in central Norfolk, at the watershed between eastern and western Norfolk. The landscape is relatively flat and undulating, with clay soils and cut by river valleys. The settlement pattern is mainly dispersed. Scattered hamlets, isolated churches, village greens and a large number of moated sites are four distinctive features of the landscape. The high density of parish churches

can also be seen as a reflection of the dense population during the Middle Ages (Wade-Martins 1980a, Williamson 1993).

According to Domesday Book, the manorial structure was complex; most vills contained more than one manor and there were a large number of free peasants. The large element of free peasants is a common feature of Norfolk and Småland, even if the peasants in Sweden to a much larger extent managed to remain independent throughout the Middle Ages. Most manors in Norfolk had land in several vills. Altogether this led to a complex social and tenurial structure, which, in combination with a weak manorial structure, characterised Norfolk during the Middle Ages.

There seems to have been great variation in how the medieval settlements in East Anglia developed, but some common trends have been recognised. Romano-British and early Saxon farms are quite widely scattered, while Middle Saxon settlements seem to have been more concentrated and perhaps fewer in number. Field-walking has shown that there was usually a Middle Saxon settlement in every parish, most often located close to the parish church. These settlements later became the centre from which settlements grew and developed into villages, often at a relatively late date and displaying varying of degrees of nucleation (Williamson 1993:114ff, Williamson 2003:97). One of the most striking features of the settlement patterns in Norfolk is the dominance of villages and hamlets clustered around a village green, often situated in a place that leaves the village church isolated. The Launditch project demonstrated very clearly that this settlement pattern in Launditch had developed after the Conquest. In other areas of Norfolk it has been shown that this process actually started before the Conquest (Williamson 2003:98).

Lords and noblemen in Launditch

For this study the eastern part of Launditch has been used, where the manorial structure has been studied in order to establish how the local aristocracy acted in the landscape. The reason for choosing these parishes is that most of them were part of the project mentioned above. It is a significantly smaller area than the large region that was analysed in the Swedish study, but since the evidence from Launditch will be backed by other English and Continental examples, the comparison can still be made despite differences in scale. To make a study of an equally large area in England as in Sweden would also mean that the author would have to do the fieldwork himself, which would have needed a completely different timetable than the one available for this study. There is nevertheless a large problem with comparative studies. Relying on other scholars' work, no matter how thorough they are and how thoroughly one examines them, always creates problems of source criticism. The project in Launditch was not primarily intended to study the aristocratic landscape, but the material and results of that project nevertheless makes this possible as a by-product.

In this area it is possible to study the relationship between aristocratic residence and contemporary settlements. In the area we also find a clear variation in the way the aristocracy chose to act in the landscape. The studied area is concentrated in the north-west of East Dereham in the central parts of Norfolk. The sources used for the manorial history have been published records (Blomefield 1808, Carthew 1877–79, Feudal Aids, Domesday Book, see DB), supplemented with the archaeological material from the Site Monuments Register in Norfolk (Norfolk SMR) and the results of the village project in Launditch (Wade-Martins 1980a). Since the aim of this survey is to function as comparison for the previously presented Swedish study, and as starting point for further discussion, the manorial and tenurial history of the area has not been examined exhaustively.

The manorial structure and history of the area is in many ways typical of the Middle Ages in England. The Norman Conquest had a profound impact and can be seen as an act of both continuity and change. Existing and in many cases large Saxon manors were taken over by new Norman lords. At the same time, there appears to have been a common phenomenon of creating new manors from land formerly held by free men. The process of Normans creating new manors and re-organising the social hierarchy is known from other parts of England, for example west Cambridgeshire (Oosthuizen 1997). In Norfolk this process especially affected the large group of free men who now were "forced" into a manorial system (Williamson 1993:163).

The earliest picture of the manorial structure in the area can be obtained through Domesday Book. Before the Conquest, there seem to have been Saxon manors in five of the twelve studied parishes, in North Elmham, Gressenhall, Horningtoft, Mileham and Tittleshall (fig. 20). North Elmham and Mileham were both large manors belonging to bishop Aelmer and archbishop Stigand of Canterbury and both had a large number of outlying sub-manors. Especially the relationship between the manor in North Elmham and its sub-manors seems to have existed continuously throughout the Middle Ages.

Later in the High Middle Ages the area is a good example of what the process of subinfeudation and division of knight's fees did to the manorial structure (fig. 20). Most of the manors in the area seem to have been rather small. The fact that the number of residing lords diminished from the fifteenth century is also part of a general trend, reflecting the difficulties for the lesser nobility to cope during the late medieval agrarian crisis. The area is then, at least as regards the general trends, representative of the manorial history of England. Of the twelve parishes that have been studied, medieval manors and residences were present in all, and in the majority of them there was more than one manor, even if perhaps just one of those was an actual residence. It is worth noticing that even in the parishes with the largest and most prominent residences, manors for other noblemen did exist. This underlines the complex manorial structure that characterises Norfolk during the Middle Ages. The majority of the total of roughly 25 manors and residences that have been identified in the area, and in most cases located, are probably connected
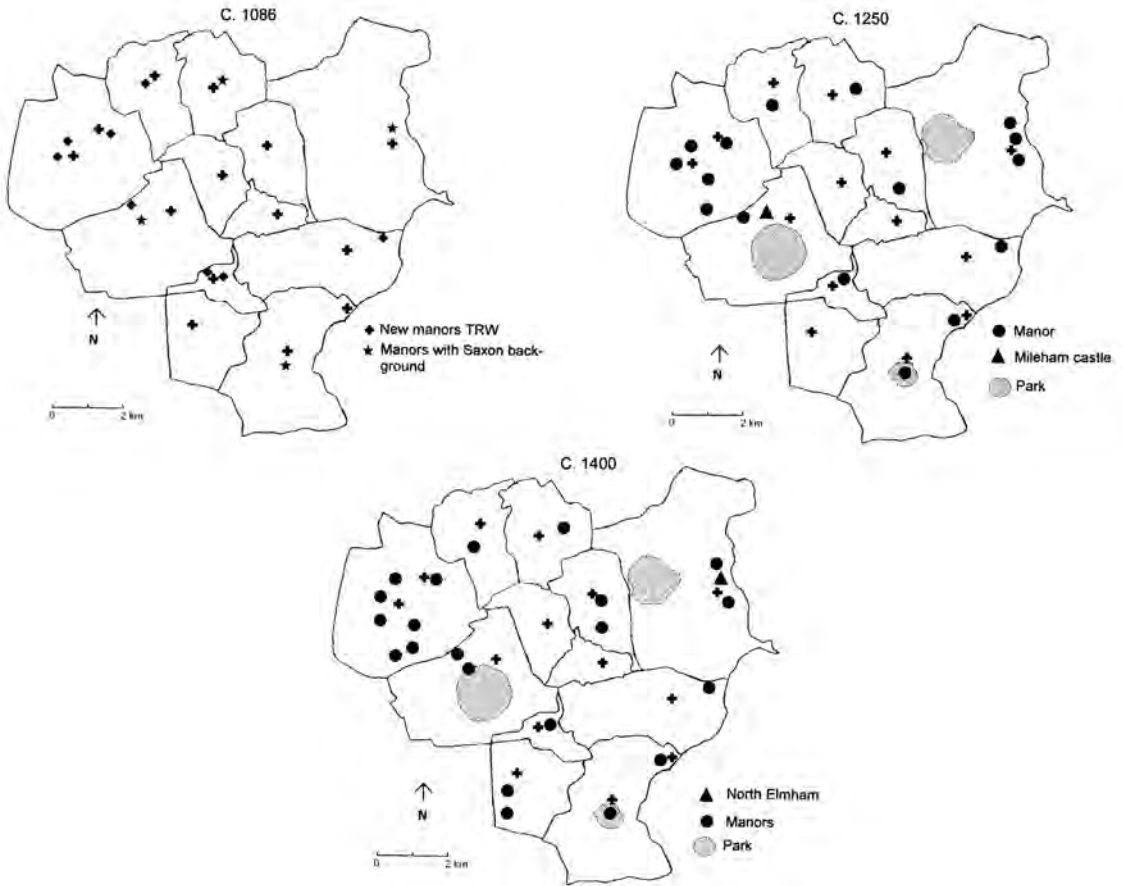
Fig. 20 Manors and residences in the test area in Launditch c. 1080, c. 1250 and c. 1400.

to persons belonging to the lesser nobility. One major residence belonged to the bishop of Norwich, while at least one or two residences should be seen as mainly belonging to families from the higher nobility, or at least an intermediate group of the noble class.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH

During the Middle Ages the bishop of Norwich had a large residence in North Elmham. This was not just an episcopal manor and country residence, it was also a former bishop's seat founded in the late seventh century (Williamson 1993:143ff). The bishops of Elmham are mentioned in 840 and in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but in 1075 the seat was moved to Thetford and then in the 1090s further to Norwich. The site with church and residence was thus a very important place in central Norfolk in Saxon times. After the bishop's seat had moved, North Elmham remained an episcopal manor throughout the Middle Ages. At North

Elmham there is a ruined cathedral probably erected in the eleventh century. The nearby parish church seems to be more or less contemporary, and the cathedral perhaps soon became a private chapel for the adjacent manor (fig. 21). In the late fourteenth century the cathedral was converted into a fortified manor house by Bishop Henry le Despenser (Rigold 1963, Wade-Martins 1980b). According to Domesday, Book the manor in North Elmham had sub-manors in Beetley, Brisley and East Bilney, and these belonged to the bishop throughout the Middle Ages.

In North Elmham the process of subinfeudation led to the creation of yet a further two manors, both probably created from the original manor. Around 1100 Bishop Herbert de Losinga endowed his new priory at Norwich Cathedral with a manor and lands in Elmham. This prior's or rectory manor was situated directly east of North Elmham Church and was in the hands of the dean and chapter of the cathedral until the twentieth century. The manor was leased out from the end of the fourteenth century. The other manor, Nower's manor, has a somewhat uncertain origin, but may have originated as a grant from the bishop to Simon of Noers at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its medieval history is not very well known. The manor seems, at least during the fifteenth century, to have been in the hands of various noblemen, but neither of these two minor manors seem to have been an aristocratic residence (Wade-Martins 1980b:562).

As mentioned above, the manor in North Elmham had large tracts of land and several outlying manors in the vicinity. One of these minor manors, according to Domesday Book, was located in the neighbouring parish of Beetley south of North Elmham. This episcopal manor seems to have existed until the Dissolution (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:466f). A moated site situated about 1.2 kilometres north-east of the church is thought to have been the location of this manor. The moated site is located close to Black Water, a stream that meets the river Wensum further east. The site was excavated in 1955–56 and pottery from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and a coin from the fifteenth century were found (Norfolk SMR 2785). The site was probably deserted in the seventeenth century. The present Old Hall in Beetley was built in that century and was possibly a successor to the medieval moated manor (Wade-Martins 1980a:17f).

In any case, the moated manor can be regarded as the site of the sub-manor of Elmham. It has an interesting, almost strategic location since it lies just south of the parish border with Elmham, east of the bridge over Black Water and close to the road to North Elmham from the south. The good communications of this location were perhaps the reason why the manor was moated, since it signalled that the traveller was now entering the bishop's land of Elmham. It could to some extent be seen as part of a large "aristocratic" landscape that surrounded North Elmham, where the bishop, apart from his residence close to the church in the village, had a deer park, free warren and market rights (Wade-Martins 1980b:26, 526f).

North Elmham can also be seen as an example of the use of important historic places. This was a place where the bishop had a manor/residence from the
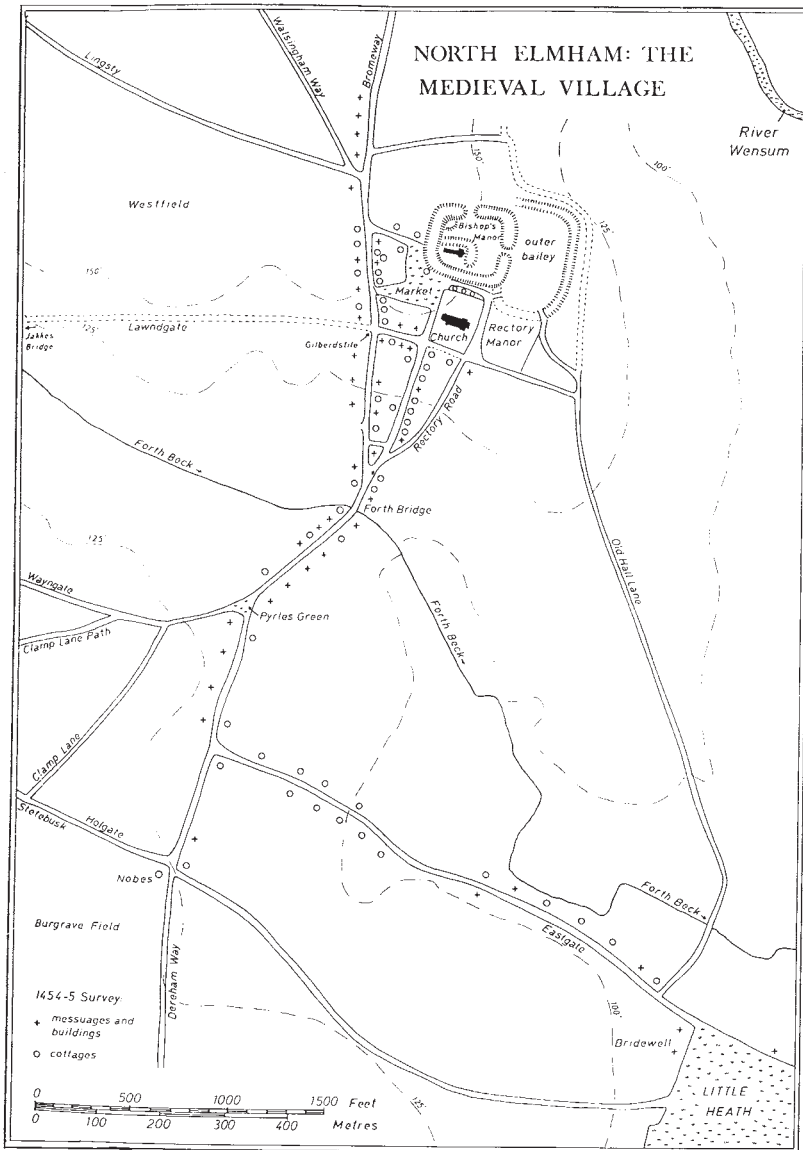
Fig. 21 The medieval village of North Elmham, with the church and the bishop's residence. After Wade-Martins 1980b:23.

ninth century throughout the Middle Ages. The historical continuity is most striking in this case, where the manorial structure and sub-manors more or less seem to have been the same in 1066 as in 1400. The fact that Elmham had been an Anglo-Saxon bishop's seat with a history stretching back a couple of hundred years before the Conquest must have contributed to giving this place a very great significance in the local community.

Residences of the higher nobility

At least two residences in the area, Mileham and Gressenhall, can for large parts of the Middle Ages be connected to persons and families characterised as belonging to the higher nobility. Both existed as fairly large estates before the Conquest.

In Mileham Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury had a manor of ten carucates of land, a mill and a church, 20 villagers, 44 smallholders and 6 slaves valued at £10. In 1086 this manor was valued at £60 and had sub-manors and land in several parishes in central Norfolk. The manor was also probably a minster site and a centre of a multiple estate in the Middle Saxon period (Liddiard 2000:79ff). After 1069 the manor was seized by the king, and Henry I later granted it to Alan, son of Flaad. Mileham then became the centre for the Fitz-Alans, the future earls of Arundel. A motte-and-bailey castle was built in the twelfth century, when Mileham became the centre for parts of the earl's land in Norfolk. The castle was probably deserted around 1300, but Mileham continued to be an important manor, but none of the earls seem to have resided here after the late thirteenth century (Blomefield 1808 vol. X:15f, Liddiard 2000:79ff).

Besides this principal manor/castle in Mileham, there seems to have been yet another lordship in the parish. According to Domesday Book count Alan, the future Earl of Richmond, had a small fee in Mileham. The fee seems previously to have been a part of the principal manor, since it had been held by two of Stigand's free men. This fee was later called *Burghwood manor*, which in the twelfth century was granted to the Caineto or Cheney family. In the late thirteenth century it was held by the de Hulmo family. In 1347 this manor was held by Richard de Burwood, who probably resided here, since he either gave his name to the place, or took his name from it. Burghwood's manor existed throughout the Middle Ages (Blomefield 1808 vol. X:21f, Carthew 1877–79 vol. I:165ff). Today *Burwood Hall* lies in the northern rectangular earthwork of the castle in Mileham, but during the Middle Ages the castle and Burwood seem to have been parts of different lordships. The present Burwood Hall was erected in the 1780s (Liddiard 2000:80).

A more likely location for the medieval Burghwood manor is perhaps "Giants Moat", a moated site situated about 600 metres north-north-west of the castle (fig. 22). The moat has not been excavated, but medieval pottery (Grimston ware) has been found at the site. When the moat was cleared in 1945, remains of the drawbridge, thirteenth-century pottery and an Anglo-Norman sword were
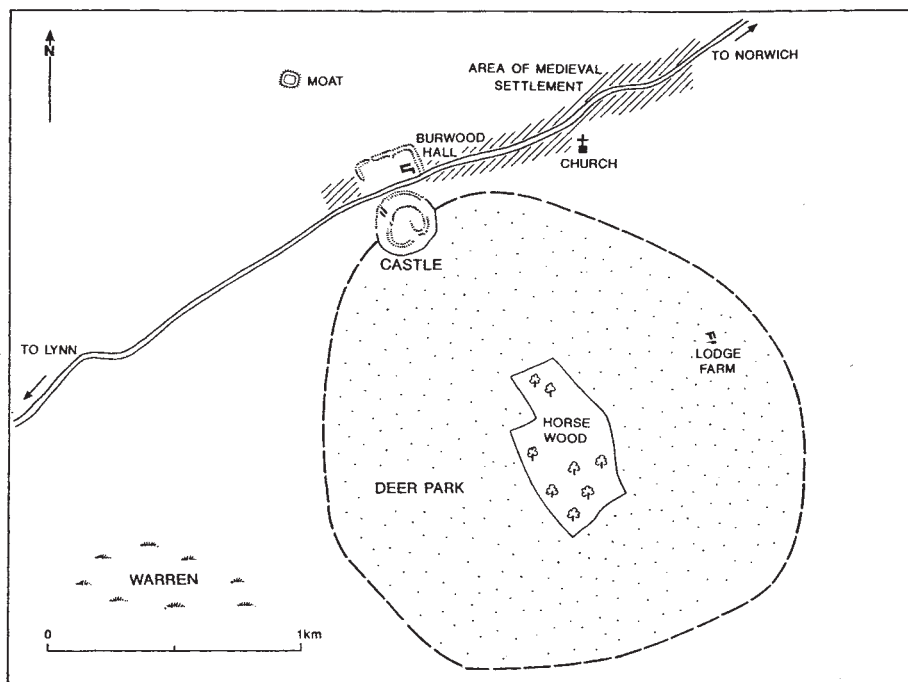
Fig. 22 The medieval landscape of Mileham, with the castle, village, church and deer park. Note the position of Burhwoods moat to the north. After Liddiard 2000:82 fig. 6:4.

found. Fragments of bricks have also been found (Norfolk SMR 7229). Although it has not been excavated, the finds of pottery indicate that the place was inhabited and not part of a designed landscape around the castle. It is interesting to note that, if this was the case, the manor was located very close to the contemporaneous motte-and-bailey castle.

Robert Liddiard has shown that Anglo-Norman castles often were located in a careful planned setting in the landscape that emphasised the owner's social grandeur. The castles were accompanied by several different aristocratic "attributes", the deer park and the monastery perhaps being among the foremost (Liddiard 2000). Some of these attributes were present at Mileham, where the lord apart from the large castle had a church, a planned settlement, a deer park, a market, warren and fisheries (Liddiard 2000:79ff). Mileham is a good example of the emergence of a planned aristocratic landscape aiming at emphasising the lordship of the residing lord. Despite the persuasive appearance of the aristocratic landscape surrounding Mileham, it is worth noting that it seems as if a residence contemporary with the castle during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to have existed at Giant's Moat just 600 metres from the castle itself. However, until the two sites are excavated this remains just a hypothesis.

A fortified residence, like the motte-and-bailey castle in Mileham, is something that is expected as residence for someone belonging to the higher nobility. But this is not always the case, as the residence in Gressenhall shows. This was another large manor with pre-Conquest roots, which perhaps should be seen as connected to families belonging to an intermediate part of the nobility. Before the Conquest this manor was in the hands of Toki, according to Domesday a free man. Since Toki appears as landowner in several parts of East Anglia he probably was a royal thegn. Toki held land valued at roughly £100 in 1066. It was most likely Toki who was responsible for the construction of the first manor house in stone at Acre, the predecessor of the later castle. Much of Toki's land in Norfolk eventually came into the hands of William de Warenne (Liddiard 2000:28ff). William Warrenne granted Gressenhall and a lot of outlying land in other parishes in the area, including Elsing, to Wimer, who was in his service at Castle Acre. Wimer's grandson took the name "de Gressenhall" after the manor and his family held the manor until the late twelfth century. Gressenhall became the centre of the honour of Gressenhall, held in favour of the lord, Warenne. In 1290 Jordan Foliot held the honour for the service of nine knights' fee. (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:510ff, Farrer 1925:395ff, Williamson 1976). Gressenhall seems to have been an aristocratic residence from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, when nearby Elsing became the new family seat. However, it is an interesting fact that Gressenhall, despite being a centre of a honour, never acquired a fortified residence. Judging by the appearance of Gressenhall on Faden's map from 1797, the residences was situated about 250 metres south of the isolated church and surrounded by the park (fig. 23). Close to the residence was a large fishpond, perhaps of medieval origin.

During the Middle Ages two other lordships were established in the parish. Both probably had their origin as parts of the principal manor. Around 1250 William de Stuteville, the then lord of the manor granted land to a new chapel, St Nicholas Chapel. The Chapel was intended to house a college of priests with a chaplain whose main duty was to pray for the soul of William, his ancestors and heirs. The Chapel was situated at Rougholm, today's Union Farm, in the northeast corner of the parish. Included in the grant to the chapel was some land that soon became separated from the principal manor as the manor of Rougholm (Davison no date, report in Norfolk SMR 2822). In the south-west part of the parish lay Hereford Manor. The origin of this manor is more obscure, but according to Blomefield it was originally also a part of the principal manor that was separated to house a branch of the Gressenhall family (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:512ff, Williamson 1976:24ff).

The landscape of Gressenhall is not known in detail, especially concerning the principal manorial centre around the residence, but otherwise the presence of a pond, the park, the church, the collegiate chapel and finally the village suggests that the landscape surrounding Gressenhall had a distinct aristocratic impression.
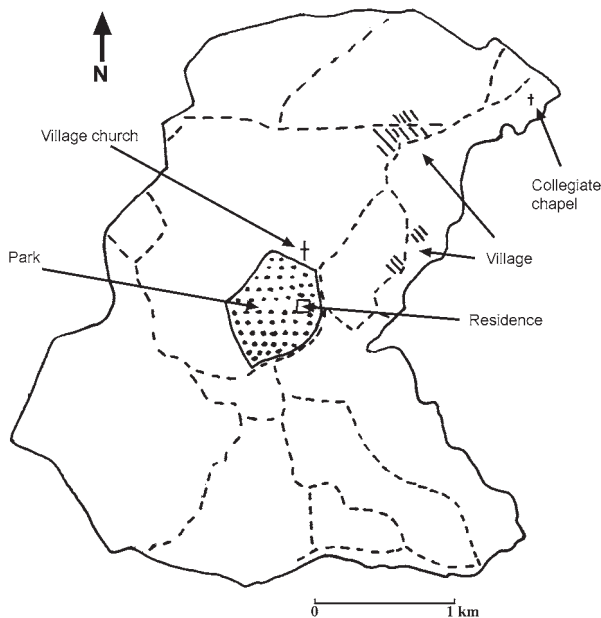
Fig. 23 The "aristocratic" landscape of Gressenhall c. 1300, based on Faden's map from 1797. The medieval residence was probably situated adjacent to the park and the church. The village was spread to the north, and furthest to the northeast, the lords of Gressenhall founded a collegiate chapel.

Other aristocratic attributes, such as the right of a market and a fair (in 1229) were also connected to the place. The question why Gressenhall never became fortified, despite it being the centre of a baronial honour, is interesting and will be discussed later (chapter 5).

Residences of the lesser nobility

Just as in Småland, the majority of the manors and residences in the area belonged to families from the lesser nobility. Two perhaps very typical examples are the ones in Horningtoft and Whissonsett.

In Horningtoft Aelfric, a free man (thegn?) held three carucates of land before the Conquest. The manor then had seven villagers, three smallholders and two slaves with woodland for 300 pigs. After the Conquest the manor was seized by the king who later granted Horningtoft to Alan, Earl of Richmond. The manor then seems to have been subinfeudated to Hamo de Burt in 1199 and remained in his family until 1290, when Sir Thomas de Burt granted the lordship including the advowson of the church to Nicholas de Castello. The de Castello family

seems to have resided in Horningtoft until the middle of the fifteenth century (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:520ff). This was the only manor in the parish. The residence was at least for some time probably located on a moated site situated about 500 metres east of the village and the church (fig. 32). This shows that the lord at some point chose to distance himself from the rest of the village.

A parallel to Horningtoft is present in the neighbouring parish of Whissonsett, where Ranulf held three carucates of land in favour of Roger Bigot as a manor. This land had previously been held by nine free men, and the manor can thus be seen as a Norman creation. According to Blomefield, a Herbert Bozun granted land in Whissonsett to the priory of Castle Acre during the reign of King Stephen. The Bozun family came to reside in Whissonsett throughout the entire Middle Ages, until the sixteenth century. At least in 1372 the family had advowson of the church in Whissonsett (Blomefield 1808 vol. X:81ff). The Bozun family consisted of knights and squires and was probably quite typical of medieval country knights. In 1306 Petrus de Bozun was among those knighted by King Edward I at the "Feasts of Swan" in London, when about 300 noblemen were knighted together with the future Edward II (Bullock-Davies 1978 Appendix). The present Whissonsett Hall, built around 1820 has been surrounded by an oval moat, even if most of its southern parts have been filled in. This is certainly the site of the medieval residence.

The residences in Horningtoft and Whissonsett are rather unusual in this area since they were both the single manor in their respective vill. A more common situation with a complex network of manors and a clear example of the process of subinfeudation can be seen in the parish of Tittleshall. Here the manorial structure became extremely complex during the Middle Ages. According to Domesday Book, there were two manors in Tittleshall in 1086, but during the Middle Ages four other minor manors were created in the parish. The manorial structure of Tittleshall is striking evidence of the far-reaching process of subinfeudation that took place during the high Middle Ages. In some cases this led to the creation of new residences, in others just of "ordinary" manors that were never intended as residences. This can to some extent be seen as the reflection of ambitions and aspirations of individual agents, and the urge to be a nobleman was perhaps one reason behind this process.

Structural similarities

Despite the fact that the two regions compared above, southern Småland in Sweden and Launditch Hundred in Norfolk in England, in many ways lack similarities in topography, economy and population density during the Middle Ages, some common structural themes can nevertheless be found regarding how the aristocracy acted in the landscape and within the built environment on their residences.

The first feature that should be emphasised is the importance of the memory of the place and its history. This theme can be found both in Småland and in Norfolk. In the latter area, what appears to have been the three most important places in Late Saxon times were in many respects still the most important places *c*. 1300. North Elmham, Mileham and Gressenhall were all Saxon places of great local or regional importance and the new Norman lords, both profane and religious, took advantage of this. In Småland the residence in Vederslöv, the traditional seat of local lordship for hundreds of years, is another example of how the aristocracy used the memory and history of a place to emphasise their own importance in the present. It seems obvious that, for the medieval aristocracy, the local history and significance of a place, its social meaning in the local and regional community, was of the utmost importance. There is clear evidence that the aristocracy in both regions deliberately used history as a way to manifest their position in society.

Another common feature that can be identified both in Småland and in Norfolk is the distinction between integrated and isolated aristocratic residences, regarding their location in the landscape in relation to contemporary settlements. In Horningtoft in Norfolk the moated residence is to be found about 500 metres east of the Anglo-Saxon village centre that lay around the church. In Småland the residence at Jätsholm, situated on an island isolated from the adjacent hamlet, is an example of a similar structural relation between residence and hamlet. In both examples the residence is somewhat isolated compared to adjacent contemporary settlements.

Another characteristic location for a manor and residence is to be integrated in the village, often adjacent to the church. This spatial arrangement is common throughout Europe. Examples of this can be found both in Småland, for example Vederslöv, and in Norfolk, such as North Elmham. The bishop's manor in North Elmham was situated in the northern part of the village, where the cathedral site and the parish church occupy the highest grounds in the village (reconstructed in Wade-Martins 1980b fig. 9). The village itself had an L-shaped form and stretched southwards from the churches. Just south of the bishop's manor and west of the parish church was the marketplace. In comparison with Horningtoft, the bishop's manor was much more integrated in the village and had a controlling position on a point higher than the rest of the village. The presence of the market place just beside the manor increased the bishop's control. The excavations in an area in the north-western part of the medieval village revealed the presence of a regular layout of boundary ditches dating from the Middle Saxon period (Wade-Martins 1980b:37ff). This indicates that the village to some extent had a planned origin, probably connected with the creation of the bishop's seat in the seventh century. It is thus obvious that the bishop's manor throughout the Middle Ages was integrated with and controlled the village in a much more direct way than can be said about the example of Horningtoft.

A similar discussion can be conducted about the residences in Vederslöv and Jätsholm, the former integrated in the hamlet, the other, in contrast, "disintegrated".

Integrated or isolated sites are two characteristic locations for medieval residences throughout Western Europe. Either the residence is located close to the parish church and integrated in the village, or it is to be found in a more isolated spot, away from the village. There is of course a lot of variation in these main features: a residence can be found on the outskirts of the village or it can be close to the church but still isolated from the village. But the main focus here is that an integrated or isolated location of a residence reflects different spatial behaviours within the aristocracy.

A question that to some extent is connected to the one regarding the move of the manor from the village concerns the fortification of the manor and the process of castle building. A less frequently discussed problem concerns the fact that some manors were never fortified. This has often been seen as clear proof of the owners' lack of resources or ability, but in some cases it becomes evident that other aspects were decisive for whether a place should be fortified or not.

In Norfolk the manor of Gressenhall is an interesting example of this aspect. As mentioned earlier, Gressenhall was a fairly large manor, already in existence before the Conquest. One can think of several reasons why the manor was fortified, but lack of economic resources was probably not one of them, since it was the centre of a baronial honour. In Småland the residence in Vederslöv is similar example. This place too was partly controlled by persons with substantial economic means, but despite this it was never fortified.

An early conclusion of the comparison of Småland and Norfolk is the apparent problems and disadvantages with the present fragmentation of castle studies. The example of Gressenhall is enlightening. Here is a place that has many of the usual aristocratic attributes, although it is not fortified. Still, to understand a place like Gressenhall it must be discussed in connection with other residences, even if they were fortified and today are viewed as castles. It is interesting, for example, to note that both the moated manors in Horningtoft and Whissonsett have an oval/circular shape, which is not very common. Most moated sites have a rectangular shape (Taylor 1978:8). Could this shape be the result of influence from the most monumental residences in the vicinity? Both Mileham Castle and the castle at Castle Acre have to a large extent a circular shape. In Castle Acre this is true for the inner part of the castle, in Mileham for the whole principal earthworks. This examples underlines the need to end the present scholarly fragmentation and to start to see aristocratic residences in a much broader sense. The same problems apply to the Swedish study, where the many minor "castles" in southern Småland are difficult to understand with a traditional military interpretation. These minor castles often lack all military elements, but are located in a similar position to "true" castles.

The question of the medieval ornamental landscape has received lot of attention in the last decade, especially in England. Once again Gressenhall can be used as an example. The landscape of Gressenhall is not known in detail, especially concerning the manorial centre around the residence, but otherwise the presence of a pond, the park, church, collegiate chapel and the village suggests that the landscape surrounding Gressenhall had a distinct aristocratic impression. The same is true of Mileham (Liddiard 2000:79ff). Also North Elmham, with a planned village, parish church and cathedral/residence, a park and a market, fulfils the criteria for an aristocratic landscape. This can be further strengthened if, as was suggested above, the moated sub-manor in Beetley is regarded as a "gatehouse" to the landscape of Elmham. It is very evident that the creation and planning of aristocratic landscapes was an important part of the spatial behaviour of the aristocracy and that more or less well-staged landscapes can be found at many aristocratic sites.

This is perhaps a theme that is difficult to support at the moment with examples from Småland. The subject has so far aroused hardly any scholarly attention at all in a Scandinavian context. This matter will be discussed later, but it is worth mentioning that the Scandinavian nobility also took a great interest in the landscape and, for example, promoted assarting on their land. At Bergkvara a complete reorganisation of the landscape surrounding the residence took place as the adjacent hamlet was evicted and its land incorporated into the demesne. The location of the large tower house of stone in its watery setting, where the water in the lake reflected the high stone walls of the house, must be seen as Scandinavian version of the watery landscape that is found surrounding many English castles (Johnson 2002:19ff, Hansson 2005, see also chapter 7).

There is also the question of the lord and the village. For a long time there has been a discussion regarding the role of the lord in planning and regulating villages and open fields. While some scholars have placed heavy emphasis on the importance of the lord in this process, others have stressed, for example, the strength and ability of a collective of peasants (Taylor 1983, Dyer 1985). In Launditch the connection between lords and villages is thought to be weak, a consequence of the weak manorial structure and the presence of a large number of free men. There are not many examples in the area of planned villages, perhaps with the exception of North Elmham. In other areas, for example in West Lindsey in Lincolnshire, the connection between manorial sites and planned settlements is much more evident (Everson et al. 1991:22). This aristocratic interest in regulating and planning villages has often been explained in economic terms. This was a step that made the administration of tax, rents and other dues easier. It was also, just like the castle, a symbol of the power of lordship and a very tangible expression of power in the landscape. But there has seldom been any discussion about why the aristocracy had an interest in regulating the landscape and what this symbolised. To explain this with economic arguments is probably to give medieval man too economic a

mind and to have too much faith in medieval manorial administration. The passion for regulating the landscape was probably a fundamental part of the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. In this context the eviction of the hamlet at Bergkvara can be seen as a Swedish example of a similar thirst for regulation, at least on a structural level.

The religious dimension of the aristocracy is also visible in the landscape. The close connection between churches and manors of different kinds has long been noticed, as has the significance of the local lord in the process of Christianisation, church building and the creation of monasteries. (Morris 1989:163, 227ff, Creighton 2002:110ff). In Launditch this connection is evident; many churches have a close spatial connection with a residence, and in several cases, as in Horningtoft, the local lord also had the advowson of the church. In Gressenhall the lord furthermore created a collegiate chapel in order to have priests pray for the souls of his family and relatives.

In Småland the close spatial relationship between residence and church in Vederslöv is a reminder that this religious dimension was also present in Scandinavia. The religious aspect of the aristocracy is most often discussed either as an expression of piety, or as a result of the economic gain that control and ownership of a church could give. Another explanation is that the church, just like the castle, was an expression of feudal lordship, and combining these features strengthened the lordship (Creighton 2002: 116). One could, however, ask why this religious dimension existed in the first place and why it was so often expressed in space.

The aristocracy was also a group in society whose members not only tried to promote and emphasise their membership in an exclusive "class". This aspiration inevitably led to the promotion of their social status as individuals, which can be seen in dress, behaviour and other aristocratic insignia. In both case studies here, the presence and importance of the individual agent and the result of his/her actions can be found. In Småland the large number of what seem to have been "short-lived" residences can be seen as a reflection of ambitions and aspirations of agents in their ambition to be noblemen. Sometimes this endeavour can also be found in the landscape, in Småland as "minor" castles, in Norfolk as moated sites, existing for short period of time. A study of an aristocratic spatial ideology is thus in the end a study of how individual agents used space and landscape to fulfil their ambitions and aspirations to belong to an aristocratic class. The importance of the agent is another thing that seems to unite the aristocracy of Småland and Launditch.

The comparison of how the aristocracy in Småland and Norfolk located their residences in the landscape has shown that, despite the profound differences in topographical conditions, economy and social structure, some common structural themes can be found, themes that can be seen as evidence of an existing aristocratic spatial ideology within the European aristocracy. The themes considered

concern how the nobility used the history of places, how they choose to distance and isolate themselves, how they had an interest in ordering and planning both ornamental and functional landscapes, and how there always seems to have been a religious dimension to this spatial ideology. A final theme concerns the importance of the agent in implementing this spatial ideology.

THE CHIVALROUS SOCIETY – A MARTIAL DIMENSION

Before the themes identified in the previous chapter are analysed, a discussion of the impact of the martial side of a nobleman's life is needed. The basis for a nobleman was his position as a warrior, and this martial side of his life naturally also affected how the aristocracy acted in space. The military side of the aristocracy is clearly present in medieval literature and chronicles. Being a prominent soldier was to some extent the essence of the chivalrous society. Many of the ideals connected to the medieval knight were grounded in his role as soldier. Being an aristocrat by definition meant being a military man. The foundation for the aristocracy, and especially the knightly class, lay in their military service, in return for which they received their privileged position in society. According to the Christian ideology with its tripartite division of society, the aristocracy, the *bellatores*, had to protect the rest of society against evil and preserve the existing social order. Much of the everyday life of a nobleman was focused on preparing himself for war by industrious practice in the use of weapons and his horse. Much of a nobleman's leisure was also spent in warlike situations. The aristocrats' predilection for hunting, jousts and tournaments, which meant practising the use of arms on horseback, can be explained by the martial dimension of the aristocracy (fig. 24).

This dimension was evident in the chivalrous literature and culture that developed during the Middle Ages. The image of the chivalrous knight has characterised much of the common view of the Middle Ages, the courageous, honourable, just, knight protecting the weak, women, children and fighting for the church as a *miles Christi*, God's knight, without any selfish thoughts about fame and wealth. This knight was also cultivated and courteous (Huizinga 1986:69ff, Bloch 1962:305ff, Keen 1984, Coss 1993, Bengtsson 1999). Much has been written about the medieval chivalrous society, about how it emerged and spread through Europe and how the ideal of the knight sometimes had nothing to do with reality. The chivalric culture was something of an ideal, but an ideal that sometimes deeply affected the way people acted. "Chivalry occupied the conceptual space between ideal and real", as Matthew Johnson writes (2002:31). This is not the place to go into a discussion regarding chivalry in any detail. An important point, however, is that the martial dimension of chivalry was very evident, as large parts of a nobleman's life were spent preparing for or taking part in military

Fig. 24 Two mounted knights, in armour and tabards, jousting with lances. Detail from Sir Thomas Holme's Book of Arms, dated before 1448. Courtesy of British Library Harley 4205 8195.

activities. This martial dimension must obviously have affected the spatial ideology of the aristocracy and how they chose to build their residences.

The military side of the nobleman's life was often evident in the residential milieu; noblemen resided in castles or fortified manors. The problems with the fragmented archaeological record regarding aristocratic residences have been discussed above, and that discussion is closely linked to the martial dimension of aristocracy. A nobleman often had a castle or fortified manor as his residence, places which are sometimes by definition characterised by how well defended they are. These places have by tradition mostly been interpreted as purely military sites, where the layout and architecture were adjusted to the military needs of creating as good defences as possible. A castle is often defined as a place where the military functions dominate over residential and economic functions, and the site is planned from a military point of view. The emergence of castles has been seen in connection with the general military development, and the influences of experiences gained in the crusades, for example, were significant (Tuulse 1958). The distinction between castles and fortified manors has also been given a military explanation. A fortified manor could look like a castle, with a moat and crenellated walls, but is distinguished from a castle by some scholars by the fact that the fortified manor often lacks the potential to give flanking fire along the walls. Towers are also rare along the walls of a fortified manor (Le Patourel 1986). The

Fig. 25 Bodiam castle, East Sussex, Sir Edward Dallyngrigge's late fourteenth-century castle showing its north front. Photo M. Hansson.

definition is based on purely military grounds. According to this view, the appearance of an aristocratic residence could be explained by a combination of the owner's economic resources and military skills.

This type of military interpretations of castles and fortified manors dominated scholarly research in this field until the last couple of decades, and it is still strong. During the last few decades, however, it has been challenged by a more social and symbolic view of castles, where other aspects of castles have been emphasised (Stocker 1992, Coulson 2003, Liddiard 2000, Mogren 1995). Castles were much more than just military bases from which a lord could hold and control his territory with military force. Even in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which during more or less its whole existence was subject to numerous wars and raids, a recent study has shown that there is a weak link between the construction of castles and those areas that were most exposed to external danger and Muslim raids. Many castles and fortified towers were built in comparatively safe areas, whereas regions that were often attacked lacked castles. During the intensive castle building in the kingdom during the twelfth century, castles were most often built in "safe" areas, and very few castles were built in exposed areas in order to secure them. Even in a region whose whole medieval history is characterised by warfare, many castles were more power symbols and functioned as fortified lordly residences and centres in agrarian settlements, rather than true military fortifications (Ellenblum 1998).

In recent literature there has been intense discussion as to whether castles should be seen as places where military or symbolic meanings dominated. The issue has become more and more complex. Depending on the scholar's own preferences, castles have been seen as either a predominantly military or social, symbolic feature. Recently Matthew Johnson has continued this discussion with Bodiam castle in East Sussex as a starting point (fig. 25). His argument is that castles must be seen as both military and symbolic; these meanings cannot be separated since they are both intimately linked to the late medieval male elite identity, to which the builder of Bodiam, Sir Edward Dalyngrigge, and other castle builders belonged (Johnson 2002:33).

Johnson's point is important, since it puts the focus on the fact that aristocratic residences were built and rebuilt by individuals and it focuses on the complexity of the issue. The persons who built castles were filled and shaped by the elite culture of chivalry and the meaning of being a nobleman. This shaped how they perceived the world, and in this world the martial dimension was of profound importance; it was the foundation of their existence. This must have affected the spatial ideology of the aristocracy, how they shaped their landscape and buildings, and therefore a martial dimension is always present in an aristocratic landscape in some way. This does not mean, however, that these buildings and landscapes should be interpreted in a military way, rather that martial features such as moats, crenellated walls, towers and gunports must be seen as both functional and symbolic. One might talk of a functional symbolism. In a society where the existence of the aristocracy was based on their military role, this role was also displayed spatially. It belonged to the concept of being a nobleman.

ARISTOCRACY AND WARFARE

The military role of the aristocracy was changing during the Middle Ages, however. Especially from the high Middle Ages onwards, several signs indicate a diminishing military role for the aristocracy. Despite their military role, however, the aristocracy were not the only ones to be armed during the high Middle Ages. Even ordinary people were supposed to have arms and be prepared to assemble when the king summoned them urgently. During the Hundred Years War the French king through the *arrière-ban*, summoned all men who were able to carry arms, regardless of their social status and worldly lord, to defend the nation in times of emergency. In England similar principles of general military obligations, meaning that all free men had to have arms and be prepared to aid the king, are known from the late twelfth century, and from 1230 non-free tenants were also integrated in this system of general military service (Contamine 1989:86ff). In Scandinavia, with its large proportion of free peasants, summons of peasants for military service, together with the nobility, are known from the late Middle Ages (cf. Larsson 1997:198ff).

During the early Middle Ages kings and princes had relied solely on the weapons and service of fief holders and their under-vassals in times of war. The number

of days the sovereign could demand from his vassals was a constant subject of discussion, as well as how long a period each year the sovereign could demand military service (Contamine 1989:77ff). In times of weak sovereigns the fief holders managed to limit their military obligations; if the sovereign was strong he managed to increase them. In accordance with a growing monetary economy in the high Middle Ages, the fief holders in both England and France started to compensate the king in cash instead of doing their military service. This meant that the sovereigns could start to employ knights and soldiers for their military needs. A development towards contract, "mercenary", armies began already in the thirteenth century, when knights got paid when they did longer military service than expected. Contracted armies flourished during the Hundred Years War between England and France and in the civil wars in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. From the third quarter of the fourteenth century the core of the English army fighting in France consisted of contracted knights and soldiers (Contamine 1989:151).

The real military importance of the feudal noble knights doing service through their fiefs was in general decline from the thirteenth century onwards. Instead paid service and mercenaries became increasingly important. Larger and larger parts of the armies consisted of mercenaries and paid knights, and from the fifteenth century the importance of well-trained infantry grew at the expense of the knights on horseback. In the same century the widespread introduction of gunpowder and firearms contributed to making the medieval knight and castles with high walls out of date. Tactical and technical development on the battlefield during the late Middle Ages also diminished the military importance of the mounted knight. Still, chivalry flourished and became more and more important. Several royal chivalric orders were founded in various countries in Europe, perhaps with the Order of the Garter, founded by the English King Edward III after his victory at Crécy in 1346, as one of the most famous. These royal knightly orders tied the high nobility to the king and made the chivalric ideal a royal ideal. To be knighted became more important, a final proof that one belonged to the highest spheres in society (Coss 1993:122f).

For the martial dimension of the aristocracy this development can be said to have worked in two ways, and the picture that emerges is quite complex. On the battlefield the importance of the feudal knights declined, and thanks to the development towards cash instead of service, it became possible for noblemen to more or less decide for themselves whether they wanted to do military service, or to pay a sum instead and stay at home. The connection between the aristocracy and their original military functions became less pronounced. On the other hand, the new possibilities of war on contract gave the opportunity for poorer noblemen to seek the spoils of war and fame on the battlefield. The Hundred Years War gave huge opportunities to collect the fortunes of war. Bodiam's builder Sir Edward Dalyngrigge can be said to have been one of the lucky ones who made his fortune on the battlefield. The royal foundations of knightly orders also gave glory to

chivalry, and especially the martial side of it, and helped to maintain the chivalric culture long after its base had eroded.

The presence of summoned armed peasants in both England and France can be seen as a challenge to the aristocracy. It was to some extent clear evidence that they had failed in their role as *bellatores*, guardians of society and sole warriors. In this context the aristocratic persistence with chivalry and their role as just and honourable knights even during the late Middle Ages can be seen as an attempt to maintain and strengthen the exclusiveness of their own class. They were the true protectors of society on whose martial skills a country depended, or should depend, and their martial skills distinguished them from other groups in society. The emphasis on the martial dimension of the aristocracy can thus be seen as a way of demarcating themselves from the rest of society. The complexity of this martial dimension is evident. It is much more complex than the simplified line of development that has been drawn here shows. It is clear, however, that the martial dimension of the aristocratic culture not only reflected the military function of the nobleman, it was also an expression of class identity.

The martial dimension in architecture and landscape

With the discussion above as a background we could continue and start to discuss how this martial dimension was expressed in architecture and landscape. Military features such as moats, crenellated walls, towers, loopholes, gunports and so on, alone or in combination, are common elements at most medieval castles and aristocratic residences. These military elements have been the subject of much scholarly research, and many attempts have been made to discuss the relative military strength of various castles. This is the case, for example, in the latest survey of castles in medieval Sweden, where the castles are often characterised as being "strong", "medium-strong" or "weak" judging from the appearance of their military elements (Lovén 1996). Similar judgements based on the appearance of a castle's military elements are common in scholarly literature throughout Europe. It is of course true that the military strength of the castles in question varied, but this type of categorisation of castles and residences is too simplified and disregards other reasons why residences look as they do. And when it comes to the question of how defendable a place is, we can never judge the most decisive factor, how determined the defenders really were to defend their stronghold. There are several examples from war in various historic periods that almost any building could be "defensible", as long as there are persons willing to fight in its defence. In England numerous buildings were reused or modified and used as strongholds during the Civil War in the seventeenth century (Liddiard 2000:6). Even the most perfect military site cannot resist an attack if the defenders are not prepared to fight.

When discussing the military role of the castle the question of sieges comes to mind. The siege of the castle in many ways embodies medieval warfare, not

least as a common theme in popular culture. And when we analyse the military strength of a castle, it is the possibilities to resist a siege we have in mind. The medieval siege was a sort of ritualised warfare with special rules. When an enemy force turned up in front of a castle, negotiations on surrender often started. In many cases an agreement was made, stating that the defenders would surrender after a specific number of days, unless they had been strengthened by a relieving force. Meanwhile the attackers blockaded the castle. If no relief came the defenders could surrender honourably and their lives could be spared. If they refused to surrender after the agreed time had elapsed, the castle could be assaulted and the garrison could not expect their lives to be spared if the castle fell (Liddiard 2000:9).

However, in England direct assaults on castles and great sieges seem to have been rather unusual. Most castles never saw any direct military action during their life-course. Of the 33 castles in Norfolk, only six were attacked during the period 1066–1200; three of those attacks were made on Norwich castle. It was also royal castles that were most often subject to siege. Private castles were seldom besieged, and the rarity of known attacks on castles in lowland England raises the question whether castle builders ever believed that it was likely that their castle would be attacked (Liddiard 2000:7ff). Sieges were, however, a constant possibility in times of unrest, and in other parts of England and on the Continent they were a more common phenomenon (fig. 26). Castles and other strongholds were natural points for attacks in warfare. More or less all regions were controlled by the one who controlled major castles and towns. During the Hundred Years War attacks and raids on castles and towns were a recurrent phenomenon. Even if the residences of the aristocracy were not of any direct military value, they nevertheless represented suitable targets for plunder.

The architecture of the residences of the aristocracy were thus filled with military connotations, martial elements which showed that the residence could be hard to get into. Yet even if the military elements of the residence were more symbolic than functional, a simple moat nevertheless indicated the presence of a nobleman skilled in martial arts. In connection with the discussion of the development of the military value of the feudal knight during the Middle Ages, it is interesting to note that the martial elements to some extent became more pronounced in late medieval residences. Places like Bodiam in England, which has been mentioned several times in this text, and Glimmingehus in Scania in medieval Denmark were all erected in the late Middle Ages and at first sight give a military impression. At Bodiam the latest research has shown that the military strength of the castle is not as great as it appears (see chapter 1). Similar observations can be made of Glimmingehus.

This castle in south-eastern Scania in medieval Denmark was built by the knight Jens Holgersen Ulfstand, Lord High Admiral of Denmark and Provincial Governor of Gotland, where he resided most of his time. According to the inscription on a stone tablet over the entrance to the castle, Jens Holgersen laid

Fig. 26 The capture of Wark Castle in Northumberland, England, by the French and Scots. Miniature from Jean Froissart's Chroniques de France et d'Angleterre Book II. Netherlands c. 1460-80. Courtesy of British Library Royal 18 E.I 8150.

the foundation stone to the castle 1499. The building is however old-fashioned for this period, even in Scandinavia (Ödman 1996, 1999). The present castle at Glimmingehus replaced an earlier stone house that was demolished before the present house was built *c.* 1500. It is built as a typical medieval castle on a platform demarcated by a moat (fig. 27). The main building is a four-storey high rectangular stone building with thick walls with loopholes and tiny windows. The entrance and the internal staircase in the house are filled with defences and nasty surprises for an intruding enemy, making it possible for the defenders to attack them at every floor level. Glimmingehus thus resembles a keep, where the defenders theoretically could withdraw higher and higher up in the building while defending themselves. Despite its thick walls and loopholes Glimmingehus has been seen by some scholars as an anachronistic chivalric dream castle for the Scandinavian knight, while others have emphasised that the defences were real and functional and must be seen as result of Jens Holgersen's experiences of warfare (Olsen 1996:111ff, Reisnert 1999).

Despite the highly developed internal defences Glimmingehus gives a rather old-fashioned impression. The tall stone building was perhaps not suitable in a context where firearms were used, which was the case in Scandinavia at this time. Even more interesting is the fact that the architect, Adam van Düren from Westphalia,

Fig. 27 Glimmingehus in Scania, the late medieval residence of the knight Jens Holgersen Ulfstand. Photo M. Hansson.

also responsible for work on the cathedral in Lund at this time, was perhaps involved in building Glimmingehus. If that was the case, he did so in a fashion that was far from corresponding to his status as a modern Renaissance architect. Glimmingehus resembles a fourteenth century castle more than a contemporary, "modern", Renaissance palace at that time. It is evident that Glimmingehus was intentionally built to remind its owner and his noble visitors of their common memorable chivalric past, when the knightly culture flourished. This interpretation is further underlined by the reused stonework in the house. Almost all the stone sculpture and other figurative stone at windows and doors are made of Gotlandic limestone. Many of the sculptures are also reused stones from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of these stones could have come from a sacral milieu in churches, even if this cannot be established with any certainty (Berggren 1999). Glimmingehus in all its medieval glory is a place where the past is presented, not only in the building's exterior, but also in the reused sculptures inside the building. In this way the martial appearance of Glimmingehus is not only something connected with how well-defended the residence was. It could resist minor peasant attacks, as it did in the 1520s and could probably also resist raids from the Baltic in this period of inter-Scandinavian wars around 1500. The whole planning and appearance of Glimmingehus, the martial defences and the reused stones, are more a reminder of the glorious chivalric culture in its prime in previous centuries, when the martial dimension of the knight was so profound.

Conclusion

Castles and fortified manors, or whatever term we choose to call them by, look martial because they sometimes had true military functions, but also because they were residences for individuals based in a martial culture. The latter definitely affected their appearance, and the presence of moats, crenellated walls, towers and gunports underlined that the owner was an aristocrat. At the same time, the military elements were both symbolic and functional and strengthened the demarcation of the aristocracy from other groups in society and stated that the owner was a member of a male elite culture in society. Since aristocratic residences also were in the hands of women, the absence of clearly military elements can perhaps in some cases be regarded as a question of gender. Further research into this issue is needed, however, before this can be clearly stated.

THE SIGNIFICANCE
OF HISTORY

The use of memory or history has probably always been important in different societies. The relationship between material culture and social and individual memory and the use of the past have been studied in sociology, anthropology, history and archaeology (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, Connerton 1989, Bradley 1987, 1993, 2002, Bradley & Williams 1998, Alcock & Van Dyke 2003). In archaeology most research on these issues has focused on prehistoric societies and has mainly concerned the understanding of past monuments in the landscape, but also how "ancient" material culture was used and perceived in later societies. When it comes to the Middle Ages this type of research has so far been less influential. There are however exceptions, which have discussed, for example, medieval perceptions and reuse of Roman buildings and artefacts, often with an ideological meaning (Eaton 2000, Eckardt & Williams 2003) and how the knowledge of the past was used as a political resource to legitimate authority (Harvey 2000).

The meaning and significance of the place and its history are features that can be connected to the aristocracy in large parts of Europe. In Launditch it can be seen in the manors of Gressenhall, Mileham and North Elmham, in Småland in the example of Vederslöv. A Saxon origin has been found at many Norman castles in Britain. In Goltho in Lincolnshire the motte-and-bailey castle was preceded by a residence of a Saxon thegn (Beresford 1987). A similar development has been found in Middleton Stoney, where a stone keep replaced a probable Saxon seigniorial site (Rahtz & Rowley 1984:156). Other well-known British examples are Sulgrave in Northamptonshire and Portchester in Hampshire. It seems as if those building castles were trying to use the past by connecting to high-status places to enforce their lordship (Creighton 2002:70f).

Using the past and history was important for the aristocracy. From written sources there are several examples of how the aristocracy employed the past as a way of establishing their status. Family history was of the utmost importance for giving a person the right place in society. Belonging to a well-known family with famous ancestors, preferably with links to royal families, was one way for the early medieval aristocracy to establish their position in society. This was one of the most important aspects for the foundation of the noble class in Macon in France, according to George Duby's influential study. To be a member of the noble class was to a large extent a question of having "great" ancestors. In this study the majority of the families in Macon that belonged to the upper part of the nobility

in the eleventh century and controlled large amounts of land and the major castles were the same families that had previously controlled the landscape (Duby 1977:64ff). In England there is evidence that some families were well aware of the importance of their ancestors and deliberately used this knowledge to improve their status. Lineage was acknowledged as something important and was counted in several ways, to ensure the "creation" of the most advantageous lineage for an individual (Crouch 2002:36). The significance of family history was not a medieval invention, however. In England and Wales this concept is clearly visible in genealogical poems even before AD 1000 (Crouch 1992:10f).

A striking example is the Paston family in Norfolk. In a dispute about the manor of Caister in 1466 they presented King Edward IV with a proclamation of their ancestry to strengthen their cause (Coss 1993:1ff). Briefly, this was an account that showed the Paston family's noble ancestry and how their first ancestor came from France with the Conqueror in 1066. This glorious ancestry, with links to many distinguished families, proved the family's noble status and thus strengthened their cause in the land dispute. To the king, it also proved the family's noble origin. However, it was all a tissue of lies; the Pastons had a much more humble origin, as judges and yeomen. Even if this is a rather late example, it nevertheless shows the importance of family history and the past and how it was important in the present for the aristocracy.

A similar concern for history can be found in Scandinavia, where the Icelandic sagas and early laws are rich in evidence of the importance of the ancestors, especially as regards having the "right" ancestors. Belonging to a mighty family with a splendid past gave glory and reputation in the present. Personal qualities from a mighty ancestor were inherited by a descendant, just as they were inherited by or embedded in his or her personal belongings. A mighty man had a mighty sword and the sword in itself had the personal qualities of the mighty person ingrained in its steel. The same was valid not just for personal belongings, but also for the places where the lord resided. The abode of a lord inherited his power, and anyone residing in such a place was of course powerful too (Gurevich 1985:48, 218f).

The overall significance of the farm cannot be underestimated. The farmstead was not only the physical home of the family and gave them their livelihood; it also placed their inhabitants in their social context. People were named after their farm; the farm gave both subsistence and meaning to the individual. The same emphasis on the past can also be found in laws connected to the right of land, especially land connected to the concept of the "odal". Odal was land in Scandinavia that had belonged to the family since "ancient times". Possession of odal land was something that characterised free men, and this type of land always belonged to the family. Odal land was not just any piece of land; it was land to which several rights were attached. To sell odal land without the consent of the rest of the family was illegal and to possess odal land was in itself proof that a person belonged to a certain family and was a free man. The right and possession of the odal land was thus important both economically and socially.

Altogether this implies a society where family history was significant and where power was connected to certain places in the landscape. Embedded in this society was a view that the past, and knowledge of the past, was something that decided the present. In Norway the right to the odal land belonged to the person who could remember and relate the story of the ancestors, for either four or six generations. In thirteenth-century Norway the right to the odal was granted to a person who could recite his or her ancestors since pagan times, which could be decisive in court (Gurevich 1985:45ff, 218f, 1992a:201ff).

Knowledge of the past was thus intimately connected with the concept of the odal. This was also something that was physically established in the landscape. Both runic stones and graves at the farm, the centre of the ancestor's life, were used to manifest the odal. The emphasis on continuity and the sense and stability of and in a place were part of this physical manifestation of the odal in the landscape (Zachrisson 1994, Varenius 1998:103ff, 130ff). A similar emphasis on the past can be seen in the inscriptions on runic stones. The majority of the runic stones in Sweden mention family members and explain family bonds, and in some cases they can be seen as displays of family history. A runic stone in Norra Sandsjö in Småland, probably erected in the eleventh century, mentions six generations of the same family by name, a clear manifestation of this family's ancient right to their land in this area. A similar stone in Malsta in Hälsingland in northern Sweden mentions seven generations (Hansson 2001a:127).

Runic stones like these and the Icelandic sagas are clear evidence that the past and the history of a place and its embedded significance were concepts that structured everyday life in Scandinavian society in the early Middle Ages. Even architecture was used in a similar way, to emphasise stability and continuity in power structures (Söderberg 2005). There is no reason to believe that concepts like these became less significant in later parts of the Middle Ages, especially since the importance of possession of land increased and land ownership became the basis for lordship. On the contrary, since land ownership was a ground for dominion, the phenomenon of using the past as a way to confirm land ownership probably meant that these ideas were strengthened. This is probably one reason why it is possible to find a historic dimension in how the aristocracy modelled the landscape over large parts of Europe.

A ROMAN CONNECTION

This historic dimension in places and architecture can also be found in the process of European estate formation, where several scholars have discussed the phenomenon of at least some form of structural continuity between early medieval estates and older Roman estates. This also leads to a discussion regarding the concept and meaning of continuity. This is a rather common concept in scholarly archaeological literature, and the discussion whether a historic process is continuous or not often depends on what meaning the scholar puts into the concept. In

this case the concept of structural continuity is used in the sense that power centres and other social centres for long time were continuously located in a place. The structural continuity that is essential in this study can be found in the archaeological record as repeated manifestations of lordship at a place. In Scandinavia it can concern places where a runic stone, a Late Iron Age gravefield, a manorial church and a fortified manor can show the presence of lordship in various periods. This does not mean that it must be the same family that exerted lordship continuously during all these hundreds of years. The continuity that emerges is more structural than personal. The centre of lordship was concentrated to the same place for centuries, and this could have been the case regardless of the existence of any personal continuity (Hansson 2001a:34). Similar thoughts regarding continuity can be applied to various historic process in different parts of Europe. The question of early medieval estate formation and a possible Roman connection is one of those processes.

In those parts of Europe that had been part of the Roman Empire, a considerable number of really large estates in the seventh and eighth centuries were established on the sites of former Roman villas. In Gaul large compact estates held by the kings and old aristocratic families seem in many cases to have been successors of the *latifundia* of the ancient Roman aristocracy (Duby 1992:36ff). In Auvergne there seem to be examples of later residences that have their origin in Gallo-Roman or Merovingian estates (Fournier 1962:239f).

This was part of the Germanic transformation of the Roman world after the breakdown of the Roman Empire, when descendants of Germanic chieftains and warlords mixed and intermarried with the remnants of the Roman aristocracy and created the foundations of the medieval aristocracy. In this process the Roman heritage was of great importance, not just since there often existed a structural continuity from Roman villas to later estate centres, but also since there was a fascination with the Roman heritage among the new rulers of Western Europe, regarding architecture and lifestyle, especially among the new élite. Charlemagne's coronation as Roman emperor in 800 can be seen as the highlight of this interest in the Roman past (Collins 1999:291ff, 301ff). In Gaul, more than two hundred monasteries were founded on the site of former Roman villas during the seventh century (Duby 1992:57ff). Since the large estates that can be traced through written documents from the seventh and eighth centuries were also the basis of Carolingian and later medieval estates, one might argue that this Roman heritage and structural continuity were also present to some extent in the Middle Ages.

The emergence of the large estates in Europe is visible from the ninth century onwards, when written documents begin to emerge. The manorial system, with an estate centred on a demesne and surrounded by tenant farms, can be traced in different variants in large parts of Western Europe, in present-day France and Germany, in Italy and in England, from the ninth century (Duby 1992:88f). These were all areas that had been part of the Roman world, which together with the high status of everything Roman among the élite, makes it very likely that a

Roman heritage, existing or "created", was an important part of the foundation of the spatial ideology of the medieval aristocracy. This is a statement that is difficult to verify, but there are some examples to indicate that many medieval estates and residences rest on an ancient heritage.

In Britain several scholars have shown examples of medieval estates that seem to have Roman or even pre-Roman roots. The early estates that can be traced in pre-Conquest England were centred on a main place, whose name is normally the same as the name of the estate. Some of these main places can be seen as logical successors to Roman villas or in some cases pre-Roman hill-forts. The main place was often connected with a minster, a church with supreme ecclesiastical rights, and was surrounded by dependent settlements. One example of this type of estate where a long history of structural continuity can be traced is Brent in Somerset, where an estate was granted to Glastonbury Abbey in the late seventh century. This estate still existed in the Middle Ages as Brent Hundred. Centred in this estate were an important Roman site at Lakehouse Farm and also a pre-Roman hill-fort at Brent Knoll. The theoretical land connected to this hill-fort is to a large extent the same as the land defined in the seventh century grant to Glastonbury Abbey, which makes it possible that the estate of the hill-fort persisted through the Roman period and ended as a grant to the abbey in the seventh century (Aston 1985a:32ff).

Portchester in Hampshire is a clear example of the importance and reuse of Roman sites. Here a Roman shore fort continued to be inhabited in the post-Roman period and became the site of a Saxon settlement. Traces of substantial houses imply that a Saxon lord, a thegn, had his residence inside the former Roman fort in the tenth century, where the Roman walls are still visible. The thegn's residence was then transformed into a Norman castle which was built in one of the corners of the fort (fig. 28). To enable the castle to be built, parts of the Roman walls were demolished, and other parts of the walls were reused. In the twelfth century an Augustinian priory was established inside the fort (Hinton 1990:31, 81, 103f, 114). Several practical reasons can be found for why the Roman fort at Portchester continued to be used. The location on the coast and the possibilities for trade are two, the preserved walls and their importance for defence is another, but at the same time the standing Roman walls gave the place a special meaning, which was without doubt used by Saxon and Norman lords to strengthen their power base in the local community. Later lords could mirror themselves in a historical Roman glory.

A similar example is Rivenhall in Essex, where excavations have revealed more or less continuous occupation from a Roman villa to a medieval hall-church complex (fig. 29). Here a large villa was erected at the beginning of the second century AD. The villa was remodelled in the third century and in the fifth century the site was inhabited by persons using Anglo-Saxon pottery. In the fifth and sixth centuries a post-built hall was erected on the site. In the Middle Saxon period the nucleus of the site moved a little to the north and a burial ground was established

Fig. 28 The medieval keep in the castle at Portchester is situated in the corner of a Roman shore- fort. The castle was preceded by a lordly residence. In the opposite corner of the fort, an Augustinian abbey was founded in the twelfth century. Photo M. Hansson.

over the former villa. In the tenth century a wooden church was erected which in the late tenth or early eleventh century was replaced by a stone church. By this time Domesday Book shows that later medieval features of the landscape, such as manors, mills and churches, already existed. The principal manor of Rivenhall was most likely, according to the excavator, a descendant of the former Roman villa estate and still delineated by its old boundaries, which also became the medieval parish. During all these periods the manorial hall was intimately associated with the church (Rodwell & Rodwell 1985).

A closer examination of the Rivenhall excavation hints that the evidence of continuity from the villa period to a Saxon hall is rather scarce and relies on the absence of material and hypothesis (Millet 1987). Much of the discussion regarding places like Rivenhall also concerns the concept of continuity and how it is used by different scholars. But even if there are some doubts about the absolute continuity from Roman to Saxon time in Rivenhall, the site is nevertheless an excellent example of a place where the structural continuity of power can be localised in the same place for several hundreds of years. The history of places like Rivenhall must have had a profound meaning for medieval man, and Rivenhall is clearly not the only example of this type of structural continuity. The impact of standing Roman ruins of towns, forts and villas like Rivenhall must have been significant for a Saxon and a medieval population in many ways. In Essex especially, the frequent proximity between Roman villas and parish churches and major manorial centres has been

noticed (Williamson 2003:104). This implies that Roman sites probably attracted later focal points in the landscape.

A somewhat similar example to Rivenhall can be found at Lürken in Germany (Piepers 1981). Here excavations at a motte-and-bailey castle revealed that a Roman villa preceded the castle, and there is a great deal to support the view that the settlement in Lürken has existed since Roman times. After the villa was abandoned in the late fourth century, the site was transformed into a burial ground and churchyard in the seventh century. Unlike in Rivenhall, the excavation in this case could not find any evidence of continuous use of the site after the villa was abandoned, but only part of the villa complex was excavated. Other parts had been destroyed when the later motte-and-bailey castle was erected and the castle's moats were dug through the villa site and parts of the churchyard. Where the early medieval settlement that produced the graves was situated is not clear, probably under the later village of Lürken adjacent to the castle. At the beginning of the eleventh century the castle was built, as a motte with a wooden tower, later transformed into a stone keep with two baileys, one to the north-west where the church and manor farm was situated and one to the south-west, which was used for metalworking, mainly iron production. A church probably existed in the north-western bailey throughout the castle's existence. In the late fifteenth century the castle was abandoned, even if the estate itself still existed and in 1607 the new "Wasserburg" at Lürken was built.

Even if the case of Lürken is not as clear as Rivenhall or Portchester, one might suspect that on a structural level there was some form of continuity from the Roman villa, via a nearby early medieval residence with a church to the medieval castle and the post-medieval "Wasserburg". If this is the case, this is also a typical example of how the aristocracy remained attached to places of previous power and glory. In the case of Lürken the Roman heritage is also underlined by the fact that Roman bricks and stone from the villa were used when the stone keep was constructed. This means that the knowledge of the presence of an earlier villa on the site was evident in the twelfth century at least. It must be emphasised that the concept of continuity in these cases is not meant to refer to some kind of direct personal continuity. It is not probable that it was the direct descendant of the Roman aristocrats in Rivenhall that were still living there in the Middle Ages. The continuity in question was rather a structural continuity, and in this case the social focus in the landscape was located at the same place for hundreds of years, precisely because this was the place where power had "always" been exercised.

This Roman connection has been discussed, especially regarding the origin of the *motte*, not least since there are a large number of examples where Roman finds have been made in mottes. Several scholars have also tried to find the prototype for the motte castle in Roman architecture, especially since the European landscape must have been filled with dilapidated Roman buildings in the centuries before the emergence of mottes in the tenth century. There are also examples of Roman buildings that were converted to aristocratic residences, after a period
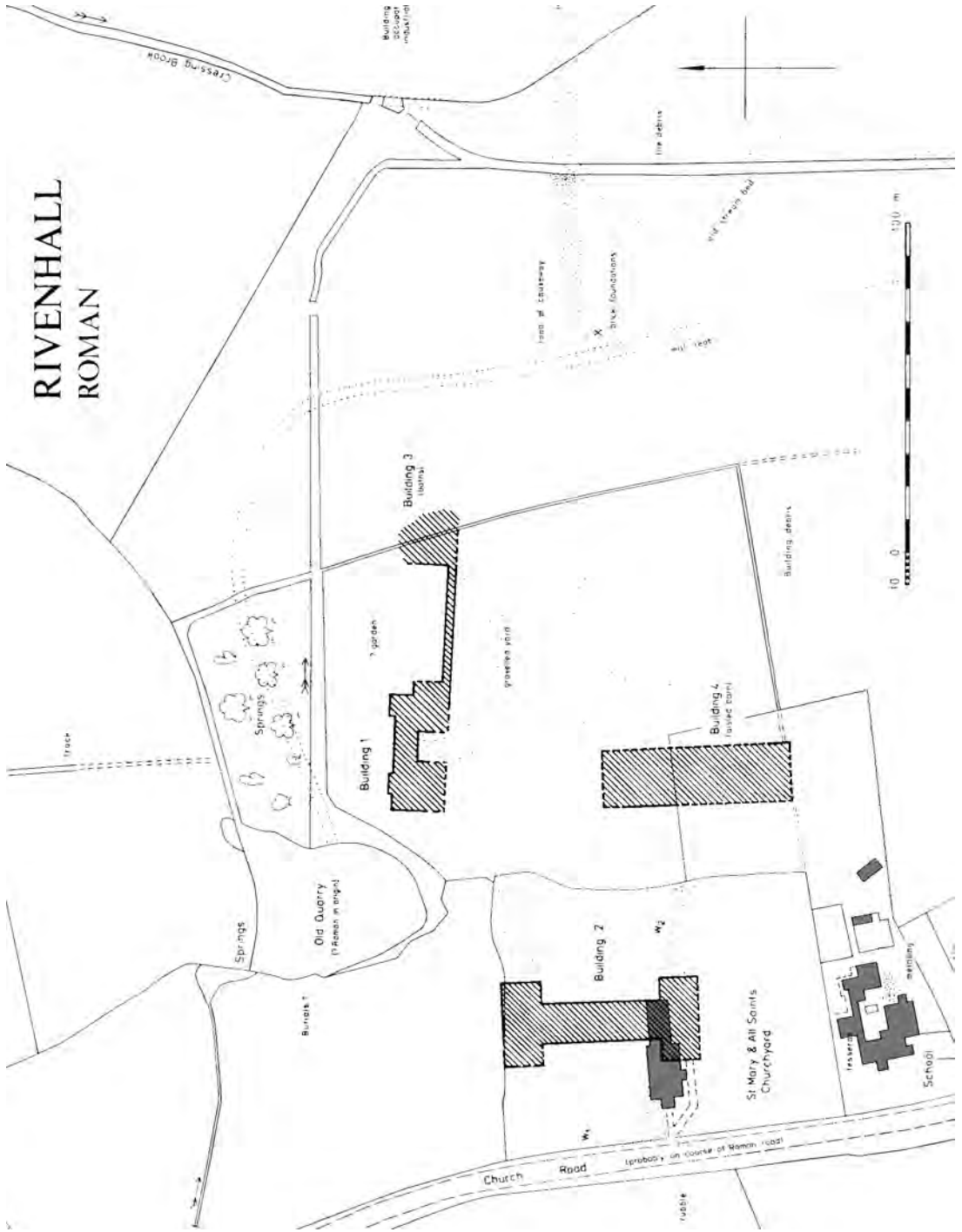
Fig. 29 The general plan of the Roman villa at Rivenhall that preceded the church and the manor. After Rodwell & Rodwell 1985: 20 fig. 15.

of desertion. In Switzerland several smaller Roman forts, "burgi", were reused and partly transformed as knightly residences in the high Middle Ages (Hinz 1981:88ff, 96, Janssen & Janssen 1985:31f). There are also several examples on the Continent of Roman sites that were reused during the early Middle Ages. In Cologne and Gellep there is at least a geographical connection between Roman architecture, in Cologne the city walls, in Gellep a Roman fort, and high-status post-Roman Germanic graves (Janssen & Janssen 1985:42). This is a good example of how parts of the new ruling élite tried to connect to the Roman heritage as a way of emphasising their local and regional dominion.

This has often been interpreted as reuse of good building material and of sites which could easily be accessed and conveniently transformed, where building materials were already present, but that this should not be seen as examples of continuity from the Roman to later periods (Hinz 1981:99). There are also several examples of where the new élite avoided old Roman sites and erected new residences without Roman predecessors (Janssen & Janssen 1985:42). But where this type of reuse took place, it could also be seen as deliberate attempts by the aristocracy to connect to a glorious Roman past. By reusing either Roman sites or material, the aristocracy tried to emphasise this historical connection and thereby legitimate their position in the present. There are also examples where Roman building material is reused in clearly visible parts of later buildings, which means that they were intended to be seen and not just used as any kind of building material. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a form of iconic reuse, which is connected with a symbolic intention of the agent to associate with the Roman past. In Britain there are examples of Roman gravestones and other decorated stones reused in churches in an attempt to Christianise the Roman past (Stocker & Everson 1990, Eaton 2000).

This reuse of Roman material can be found at places and churches connected to secular lords. One example is Barton-upon-Humber in Lincolnshire where a stone church was erected within the period *c.* 970–1030, adjacent to the enclosed residence of a lord (Rodwell & Rodwell 1982, Morris 1989:253ff). The tower of the church was partly built of reused Roman material. The reuse of Roman material in the tower can in this case be seen as a conscious attempt to symbolically increase the lordship by connecting the present lord to his Roman predecessors.

Even if much of the discussion above to some extent has been hypothetical, there are nevertheless strong indications that the Roman heritage was important both for the later estate formation process and for the location of later residences. But the "normal" medieval manor and estate was much smaller than the large estates of the Gallo-Roman and early medieval world. The development from the ninth century onwards, and the so-called feudal revolution led to the dissolution and fragmentation of earlier large estates, when rulers and lords used their land as "payment" for service and fidelity. The grant of land to members of the ruler's retinue led to the creation of a large number of new residences, not least for the knights, who now became part of the landed aristocracy. In this process of estate creation the past was also of great significance or became important, as many of

the residences that were established now later became sites with an embedded history.

If we confine ourselves to searching for structural continuity from the Carolingian and Saxon period to later parts of the Middle Ages, then the evidence is abundant. As has already been mentioned, a large number of Norman castles in England were located on the site of a high-status Saxon residence, and there are also examples of plain manors showing this type of structural continuity, as the example of Faccombe Netherton shows. A third of the manorial site at Faccombe was excavated between 1967 and 1980. The results showed that the settlement existed as a manor, from the ninth century until the beginning of the fifteenth century when the site was deserted. The archaeological dating was in accordance with the written documents, where Faccombe is mentioned for the first time in 863. It seems to have been an important manor, which in the 920s belonged to Wynflæd, a possible mother of two kings. Already in the tenth century, the manor was equipped with a stone house, a tentative "camera" or private apartment for the lord of the manor (Fairbrother 1990). This "royal" connection probably made Faccombe a significant place in the landscape and probably contributed to its preservation as a manor until *c.* 1400, and one may wonder if it was also part of the reason why this place never was fortified, a question that will be discussed later.

A large number of similar examples can also be found on the Continent, where one especially finds this continuity in the landscape from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and in some cases, like Lürken above, even later in time. In other cases there seems to be a break in spatial continuity in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. This break is discussed in the following chapter; here we will concentrate on the issue of continuity. A good example is the royal palace in Paris, which existed in the same place from Merovingian times into the high Middle Ages (Thompson 1991:28). In the county of Hainaut in the border area of present-day Belgium and France, it has been noticed how the aristocracy, when their manors were situated inside villages, reused places that were connected with earlier rulers in an attempt to exploit the embedded dominion of the place (de Waha 1986:102). A similar development has been seen in Auvergne in France, where examples like d'Ennezat, where a Carolingian residence developed into a motte-and-bailey castle, have been emphasised (Fournier 1962:373f). Perhaps the most well-known French example is Doué-la-Fontaine, where a royal Carolingian palace, documented in 830, after being continuously occupied during the ninth and tenth centuries, was transformed in the eleventh century into a motte castle with a keep (de Bouard 1974). In Zons in the Lower Rhine valley there is a form of structural continuity starting with a Merovingian central place, located a short distance from a late Roman fort, which became a manor farm with a church controlled by the Archbishop of Cologne, at the latest in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Finally, in the fourteenth century, Zons became an urban centre adjacent to the archbishop's castle (Janssen & Janssen 1985:140ff).

In Germany a place like Unterregenbach can be taken as an example (Fehring 1967). Here an unfortified residence was established in the ninth century connected to two churches, one probably a parish church, the other perhaps a private chapel for the residence. In the thirteenth century one of the churches disappeared in connection with the dissolution of the residence, which then probably became a home for someone from the lesser nobility. Other examples include the medieval moated sites of Poortugaal and Büderich in the Netherlands, which both have their origin in the Carolingian period (Hoek 1981). A well-known German example is the motte of Husterknupp, where a fortified farmstead surrounded by a ditch, palisade and probably also a rampart was erected in the late ninth century. The site was then transformed into a motte-and-bailey castle that existed until the first half of the thirteenth century (Herrnbrodt 1958).

The same type of structural continuity can also be found in Scandinavia, as can be shown by the example of Vederslöv in Småland, Sweden (see chapter 3). Vederslöv probably had a profound reputation in the local community as a power centre; lordship had "always" been situated here. This can probably explain why the sheriff Magnus Nilsson in 1473, then lord of Vederslöv, became a tenant at his former residence after selling the estate. Being sheriff he was "forced" to live at the traditional residence of the local sheriff; moving to another place would mean losing legitimacy. This embedded sense of the place and its history is probably also a reason why this place was never fortified. The kind of simple fortification that the local sheriffs could be expected to build would not have meant a great deal to improve the status of the place; its status could not be higher.

Fortified by history

The example of Vederslöv thus shows not only that the history or memory of a place was important for the aristocracy, but that this history could also affect the physical appearance of a residence, especially considering whether a site was to be fortified or not. The process of noblemen fortifying their residences will be discussed in the next chapter; this is also a process that has received much scholarly attention. But not all noblemen fortified their residence. This absence of fortification has very often been explained by a lack of economic resources or the fact that the lord already controlled a fortified site in some other part of the country, but a closer look at this problem reveals that these explanations are to simplified and that the history of a place could have had an active part in deciding whether a site would be fortified or not.

We can return to Launditch Hundred and the manor of Gressenhall, which seems to have been a rather large manor with pre-Conquest roots that became the centre of a baronial honour held in favour of the lord Warenne. Since it had belonged to a powerful thegn, it was probably a site where local power had been manifested and exercised for a long time. Just like Vederslöv, the residence in Gressenhall never seems to have been fortified, despite the fact that both

places were quite important, as a sheriff's seat and a baronial centre respectively. Normally historians and archaeologists have just discussed the question of fortification of aristocratic residences and tried to explain why some residences were fortified in some way or another. Less attention has been paid to those sites that were never fortified but continued to be used as a residence.

A typical example is a project that concerned the cultural landscape of south Scania in Sweden, where a great deal of attention was paid to those residences that, mainly during the fourteenth century, were moved from the villages to an isolated fortified location. Yet in the same area there were also a large number of residences that remained located on their old sites integrated in the villages. A typical example in this area was the manor in Stora Herrestad, which is still in its early medieval position immediately adjacent to the church (Skansjö, Riddersporre & Reisnert 1989:113ff). This manor is mentioned in written documents from the middle of the fourteenth century, but the shape of the church, with a western tower, and the presence of a runic stone, whose oldest known position was at the manor house, indicates, just as in Vederslöv, that the manor has an early medieval or Viking Age origin (fig. 30).

The residence in Stora Herrestad was situated in the same area as contemporary manors that were fortified, mainly during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. An explanation for the fortifications of the residences in the area has been that the unsettled conditions in Denmark during this period required the noblemen to fortify their residences (Callmer 1992:452). But some of these noblemen chose not to. This cannot be explained, as often has been the case, solely by a lack of economic resources.

The reasons why some noblemen chose to fortify some of their residences is a complex issue. This decision is connected with several motives. The martial motive is an obvious one, but perhaps not only connected with the question of defence, but rather with the chivalric culture and the profound martial role of the aristocracy (see chapter 4). The lack of economic resources is obviously another motive for the absence of fortifications; the nobleman in question simply did not have enough resources to fortify his residence. Another explanation could concern whether the nobleman in question, for example, had a royal castle as a grant, where he could live with his family. In that case the need for a private castle became less pronounced. Another motive could be connected to the political life of the nobleman. A study of private castles in Denmark has shown that it was mainly persons belonging to the higher nobility and those involved in politics and the struggle for power that fortified their residences (Rasmussen 1986). Most private castles in Denmark were built during the fourteenth century, a period with many internal wars and power struggles between various branches of the royal family and the aristocracy. Castle building seems to have been especially important for those who took an active part in politics in this period.

But the family history of a site and the memories connected to this place could also have been a decisive factor for whether a residence should be fortified or not.
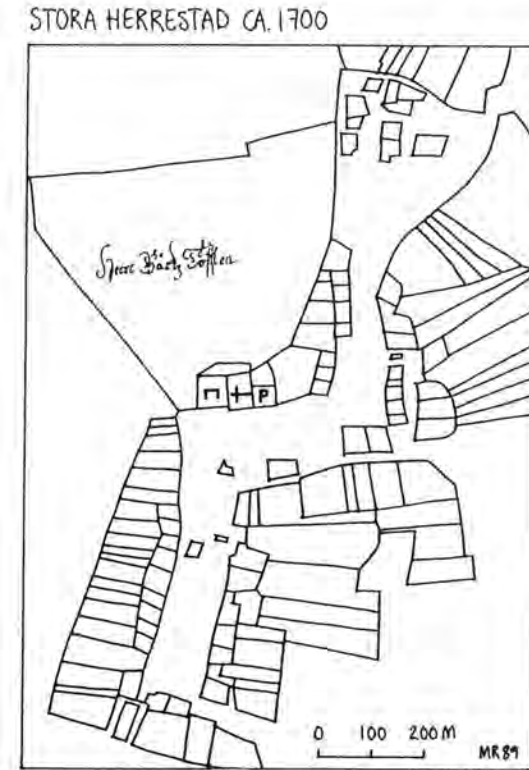
Fig. 30 The cadastral map of St Herrestad in Scania c. 1700. The residence, church and rectory (P) are located close to the large manorial "toft". Drawing Mats Riddersporre. After Skansjö, Riddersporre & Reisnert 1989:114.

The example of Epworth in Lincolnshire is illuminating. Sometime before 1108 the manor of Epworth and the Axholme lordship in north Lincolnshire were granted to Nigel d'Aubigny, a close aide of King Henry I. D'Aubigny was later granted the land of Robert de Mowbray, whose widow he married, and he was also granted the right to use the name and arms of Mowbray. When Nigel died in 1129 the Mowbray honour consisted of thirteen manors, nine in Yorkshire, two in Warwickshire, one in Leicestershire, apart from Epworth, which was then regarded as the principal and most valuable Mowbray manor. Epworth remained in the Mowbray family until the end of the Middle Ages. During this period the Mowbrays belonged to the highest nobility in the country, being knights and royal representatives in the landscape bordering on Scotland. Several men named Roger and John de Mowbray fought for the king against the Welsh, Scots and French during the late thirteenth and fourteenth century. The head of the family became Lord Mowbray in 1296 and Duke of Norfolk in 1397 (Doubleday &

Walden 1936:366ff, 601ff). There is no doubt that the Mowbrays were among the most powerful and wealthiest families in England, controlling land and castles all over the country.

The manor in Epworth was excavated in 1975–76 (Hayfield 1984). Substantial stone buildings of possible manorial character were found, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Earlier wooden structures were also found. The manor was situated just south of the parish church, a typical location for a medieval manor. The excavation only affected parts of the manorial site, therefore much of its structure is still unknown. However there does not seem to be any indication that the Mowbrays' principal manor was fortified in any way, since no traces of a curtain wall or moat were found. Even if the Mowbrays during the Middle Ages possessed several important castles from time to time, and from the fifteenth century Framlingham in Suffolk became the principal seat for the dukes of Norfolk (Emery 2000:20), it is still clear that Epworth was always an important place for the family. In 1129 Epworth was the principal manor of the family, in 1297 the dower for Roger de Mowbray's widow was dated at Epworth and in 1340 John de Mowbray (IV), the future Lord Mowbray, was born in Epworth. In 1396 Thomas de Mowbray, the future Duke of Norfolk was granted a licence to found a Carthusian house at Epworth. These events show that Epworth, regardless of its lack of fortifications, was still a very important place in the family's history. The reasons why Epworth was not fortified can be multiple, but it was not because of the owner's lack of economic resources; it was rather a deliberate choice. Examples like this show that the question why a place was or was not fortified cannot be explained by simple answers like military need for security or lack of economic resources, the answers are much more complex and concern both the history of the owners and the site itself. The identity of some places connected to the seigniorial class, due to the importance of the site in the history of the noble family in question and thus also due to its general importance as a local centre for dominion for ages in the local society, could have been so strong that these places did not need any fortification to strengthen their social significance in the landscape.

This is perhaps how the absence of fortification at Gressenhall can be explained. Here the manor, at least in the late eighteenth century, was situated some 250 metres south of the church in the eastern part of Gressenhall Park. There are no records of any fortification at this place. Immediately south of the farm is a large pond, perhaps of medieval origin. It seems as if the manor, the church and the rectory were located close to each other, while the village according to Faden's map from 1797 was partly located along the road between Dillington and Beetley, but mainly clustered south of Hoe Common, roughly 1.5 kilometres to the north (fig. 23). Today the whole village of Gressenhall is nucleated at this place. In accordance with the usual development of the villages in the area, it is possible that the village originated from the area around the manor and the church, but soon started to drift away towards the common. Gressenhall was a residence, at least from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, but in this period the owners also had residences at other

places, including for example Richard's Castle in the Marches. In 1299 when Jordan Foliot, then lord, died, he had a park in Gressenhall and a motte in nearby Elsing (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:510ff, Farrer 1925:395ff). Elsing in Eynsford Hundred, approximately 8 kilometres east of Gressenhall, had belonged to the Gressenhall estate since the eleventh century, but from the late thirteenth century it seems as if Elsing had become the main residence that also was fortified, at least in a social way, with a moat.

Why fortify Elsing? Maybe this can be explained by the history of how the estate was inherited during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Foliot family got hold of Gressenhall through marriage to a daughter of the former lord, Robert de Stuteville, who had inherited Gressenhall after her brother had died without heir. It is possible that she had already inherited Elsing as part of the inheritance from her father, and that she and her husband already resided in Elsing before they come into possession of the whole estate. Here they may have manifested their inheritance of Elsing by moating their residence. The term "motte" seems somewhat out of date in a late thirteenth-century context, and perhaps it should be seen in connection with the moated manor house that still exists in Elsing (Emery 2000:86ff).

From the Foliot family the estate came to Hugh de Hastings in 1331, thanks to his marriage in 1330 to Margery Foliot, an heir of her brother Richard who had died without issue. It is possible that Hugh and Margery already resided in Elsing before they got hold of the whole estate. The principal manor in Gressenhall had been a dower for Jordan Foliot's widow Margery from 1299 to 1330. During this period the significance of Elsing increased, although from an economic point of view it was still a much smaller manor than Gressenhall. Hugh de Hastings and his wife built the church in Elsing between 1330 and 1347, when Hugh was buried here under a famous brass set upon Purbeck marble (Hooper et al. 1987). Elsing had now definitely become the main residence of the estate.

That Elsing became the new principal residence can thus perhaps be explained by the fact that at least on two occasions it seems to have been the seat for younger daughters of the family and their husbands, who later were to inherit the whole of Gressenhall. This probably made them stay in Elsing and not move the short distance to Gressenhall. The shift of generations was thereby a decisive factor in the history of Gressenhall. We can here talk about the importance of agency (see also chapter 9). What did the new generation want? Did they have any use for the old residence they just inherited? What significance can be made of the fact that Gressenhall served as a dower for thirty years? Did this mean that the place became less significant? The question whether a place was fortified or not could then also be a question of gender, with the presence of a moat in these cases having a male connotation.

Perhaps it could also be explained by the fact that it was a site with a long history of being a place of power, at least since late Saxon times, just like Vederslöv. In the local community the manor site by the church already had so much inherited status and power that adding a fortification of some sort would not have increased
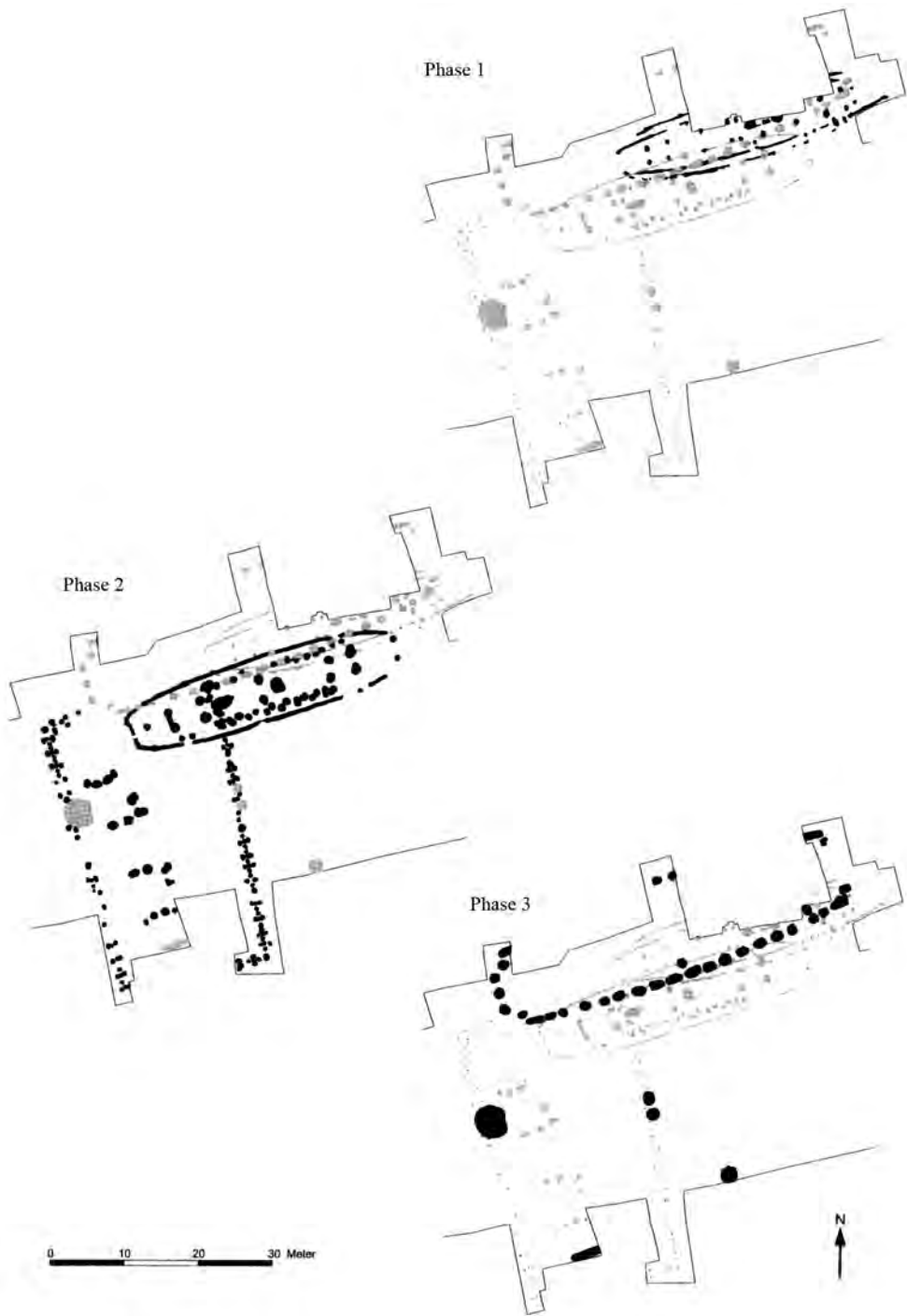
Fig. 31 The hall sequence at the residence at Järrestad, Scania, dating from the seventh to eleventh centuries. During this period the structural layout of the magnate's farm was more or less constant, and the main halls succeeded each other on the same site. After Söderberg 2005:193.

the status of the place to any great extent. The historic identity of Gressenhall was "fortification" enough, at least from a social point of view. Another fact that probably was of importance, especially in the thirteenth century, was that the lord in at least some cases controlled other fortified sites. The combination of lords having major interests elsewhere, including a fortified residence, and the historic identity of Gressenhall itself, probably led to it never being fortified. Still, a truly aristocratic landscape with residence, park, warren, market, fair, church and a collegiate chapel surrounded Gressenhall.

This emphasis on continuity and history, and thereby also on stability, on an unchangeable society, can be seen on the site of the residence. Goltho in Lincolnshire is a good example of the structural continuity of the layout of the residential site. In Goltho a late Saxon residence, a later motte-and-bailey castle and parts of the adjacent village were excavated in the 1970s (Beresford 1975, 1987). The results revealed a great difference in the layout of the village tofts compared to the manorial toft. While the layout and structure of the manorial toft were invariable – the hall and bower were more or less in the same places, from the tenth century until the motte-and-bailey castle was built in the twelfth century – the houses on the village plots changed between different phases. The houses were rarely erected in the same place as their predecessor and seldom with the same orientation. They also seem to have been built using a much more "flimsy" technique. There was clearly discontinuity within the individual toft.

Whether or not this is a general phenomenon is hard to tell, but it seems clear that high-status sites are often characterised by continuity in the structural layout. There are many cases from different parts of Europe that high-status halls were more or less constantly located on the same site for hundreds of years (fig. 31). In Britain the royal palace of Cheddar in Somerset is a good example, in Scandinavia the magnate farms in Borg in Lofoten, Lejre and Tissø in Denmark and Slöinge and Järrestad in Sweden are further cases (Lundquist 1996:42f, Rahtz 1979, Söderberg 2005). In Cheddar the royal halls were situated in the same place from the ninth century until the early thirteenth century. In the Scandinavian examples, the main buildings of the magnate farms were likewise in more or less the same position for several hundred years. In some cases the buildings themselves seem to have functioned for long periods of time. So even the structure of the aristocratic dwelling site in itself can be said to have been embedded in a sense of history, stability and continuity.

Conclusion

That knowledge of the past and the history of places was important for the aristocracy cannot be doubted. Equally true is the fact that the history and memory of a place influenced the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. To a large extent the history of a place could come to determine the location and also the duration of an aristocratic residence. Perhaps it also helped to determine its physical appearance.

But could not the examples of structural continuity in the landscape be merely an example of economy, that the places that were continuously reused were situated in areas with good arable land, where the annual yield of the fields was better than in neighbouring areas? To some extent this is certainly true, people have always tried to place their settlements in favourable locations, and one might expect that lordly dominion often controlled the most favourable agrarian sites in an area and that they chose to locate their residences in economically favourable positions. But at the same time there are many other elements that hint at the importance of history in medieval society. Nor can economic factors explain the iconic reuse of material culture that is so evident in many cases. There is no doubt that the past was used to strengthen lordship in the present, even if the actual knowledge of what the reused sites or buildings really represented probably was limited in many cases. The importance lay in the fact that these places/buildings had an important past, more or less distant and perhaps connected with mythology and traditions, not so much in the "true" knowledge of what these places actually represented.

The use of memory and history to organise and conceptualise the world is probably something that can be seen as universal and an important part of human behaviour. Social memories of distant ancestors, events and so on were narrated and transformed, became parts of traditions and myths and were used to explain and legitimise the prevailing society. Since social memories had to be connected to the landscape and to certain places, they were also embedded in the landscape and were a significant part in creating senses and meaning. It was thus part of the creation of topophilia, or the senses and emotional bonds that emerge between humans and places in the landscape and tie them together (Tuan 1990). Human relations towards a certain place, towards people living in a certain place, or towards activities occurring in a certain place, together with the memories that this creates, gives places their social meaning.

There can be no doubt that the past was important in the medieval world, and that the aristocracy used the special meaning which social memory had connected to certain places. Parts of the aristocracy's use of the past can be connected to its use of history as a way of legitimising their social dominion in the present, but it was also a result of the increasing importance of land in medieval society. As mentioned above, the Middle Ages were a period when control of land became the base for power and wealth. To legitimise this control, knowledge of the history of the land was probably decisive. Knowledge of the history of a certain piece of land facilitated control of it. When the history of the land starts to decide ownership, and thereby also controls the wealth of society, it becomes necessary for the aristocracy, as rulers of society, to use the social memory and history of the landscape to manifest their control of land and to legitimise their dominion of society.

SPATIAL DISTANCE – SOCIAL DISTANCE

The previous chapter has discussed how the medieval aristocracy used the embedded memory in the landscape to manifest their dominant position in society. This "historic theme" was important, especially in the first half of the Middle Ages. From the twelfth century, however, a new theme emerges. More and more evidence of how the aristocracy distanced themselves from the rest of society can be found. A process towards isolation or seclusion is evident, both in the landscape and within the residence itself. This process is partly, but not solely, connected to the process of castle building. The aristocracy secluded themselves by moving their residences out of the villages and settled in isolated positions where their residences were sometimes fortified, and/or by increasing their seclusion within the residence by creating more private apartments and other private spaces. This process, characteristic of the European aristocracy from the twelfth century onwards, is the subject for this chapter. Once again it is possible to use the two case areas in Norfolk and Småland to illuminate this process.

In Launditch Hundred, the example of Horningtoft is illuminating (see page 70:f). Here the moated residence is to be found about 500 metres east of the Anglo-Saxon village centre that lay around the church (fig. 32). In the Middle Ages the settlement in Horningtoft expanded mainly to the north along the road towards the common. At some point the manor on the other hand, seems to have moved eastwards, becoming spatially separated from the rest of the village. The manorial site consists of an oval/circular moat of roughly 85 metres in diameter. To the west of the moated platform are several sub-rectangular enclosures and an entrance causeway. The causeway connects to the present road from the village church. The manorial site is enclosed by a bounding bank, which to the west and north curves along the present road. This bank is probably contemporary with the moat and could have functioned as a boundary either for the manorial site or for a deer park. The site was covered with woods until 1852 (Wade-Martins 1980a:24ff, Norfolk SMR 7168). The date of the site is not known, but it is generally supposed to belong to the fourteenth century. If this is true, it should have been the residence of the Castello family who resided in Horningtoft from the late thirteenth century. It is also possible that the site was established as a result of the grant of the manor to the Castello family in 1290 and that it should be seen as a manifestation of the new lord of the village.

Nevertheless, considering the fact that most moated sites were constructed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there is much in favour of seeing
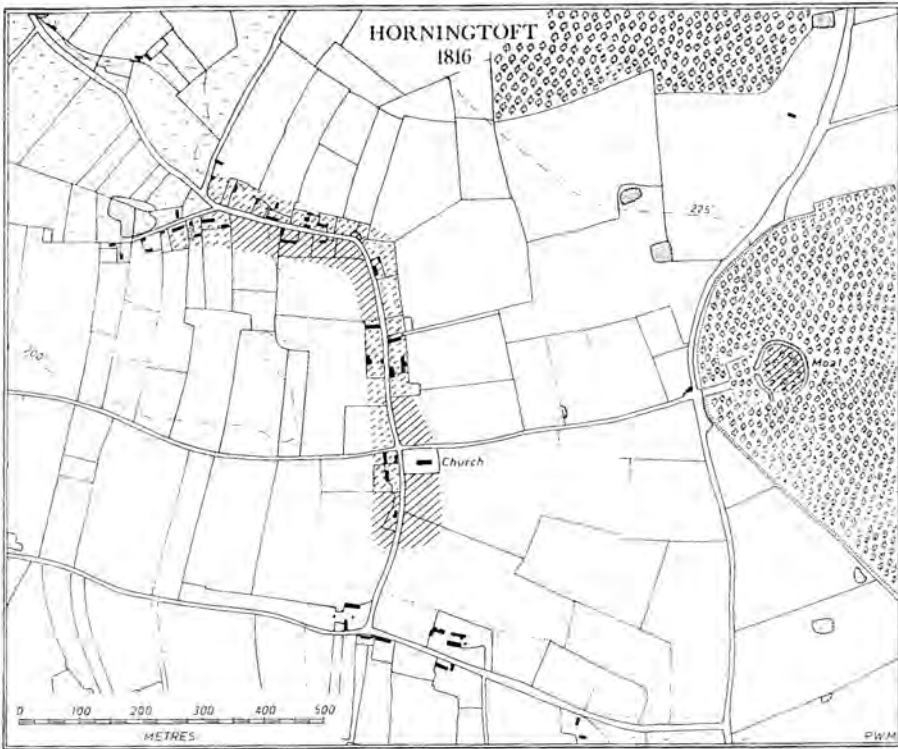
Fig. 32 Horningtoft in 1816. Shaded areas indicate medieval settlement by the church and along the road. The moated residence is located east of the village. After Wade-Martins 1980a:27 fig. 10.

this moated site as the result of a deliberate decision to move the residence from an earlier position, probably in the village and close to the church. This cannot however have been caused by an urge to find a location that is more easily fortified, since the landscape around Horningtoft is rather flat. The present moated manorial site is not in a better position for defence than a hypothetical earlier one in the village. The move must rather be seen as a search for isolation and privacy, and can be seen as an expression of social distancing. A similar process can be observed in nearby Whissonsett, where the moated Hall is situated about 500 metres south of the village church.

This isolated, secluded position is a characteristic location for a medieval manor throughout western Europe. Either the residence is located close to the parish church and integrated in the village, as discussed in the previous chapter, or it is to be found in a more isolated location, away from the village. There are of course a lot of variations on these main features, but the main point here is that the two ways of locating the residence reflect different spatial behaviours within the aristocracy.

The usual explanation as to why the aristocracy started to erect secluded residences and move them out of the villages is connected with defence. From the eleventh century onwards the aristocracy often preferred to build residences in easily defendable hilltops that were difficult to access and thereby not locations that would attract a normal farming population. This process, which started in periods of civil unrest and regional and local wars within the aristocracy, has normally been explained by an aristocratic need for more secure and defendable residences (Thompson 1991:21, Kleinschmidt 2000:48, Olsen 1996:81, Lovén 1996). The medieval castle building process was a complex matter that to a large extent can be connected to the medieval state formation process (Tuulse 1958, Pounds 1990). Castle building is also something that mainly should be connected with royal power, as a way to control, defend and administer the country, but bishops and noblemen also built castles. The construction of secluded residences by noblemen is partly connected with the process of castle building; many of the secluded residences that were built by the aristocracy can also be regarded as castles. Yet, as the example of Horningtoft shows, is it not always possible to interpret this process in terms of defence and military considerations, or even as castle building. In many cases places like Horningtoft display some similarities to castles, in this case an isolated location and a moat, but at the same time, just like the numerous medieval moated sites and moated manor houses in different parts of Europe, this is hardly a place that can be seen as a military fortification. More social and ideological explanations must be used if residences like Horningtoft are to be understood.

In Sweden the main process of castle building seems to have started in the thirteenth century, peaked in the fourteenth century and decreased in the fifteenth century (Lovén 1996). During the thirteenth century most castles were royal and can be viewed in connection with the emergence of the feudal state. Most aristocratic castle building took place in the fourteenth century. However, recent studies have shown that, already in the late thirteenth century, the aristocracy started to erect isolated residences that in many cases lacked military defences. This can, for example, be said about the royal palace in Alsnö, built *c.* 1270 as a palace which only later, in the middle of the fourteenth century, was "fortified" with a palisade. This palace was situated on an island in lake Mälaren, in a good communicative position. It has been noticed that the royal visits to Alsnö, as far as we can tell from the extant written documents, always took place during summer, which could mean that it was mainly used as a summer palace. Another convincing indication that the palace was used during summer was the absence of window glass (Thordeman 1920, Lovén 1996:105f).

Another good example connected to a private nobleman is Hultaby in Småland, a residence probably built in the late thirteenth century and mentioned in written documents in the middle and late parts of the fourteenth century. Hultaby was then residence for Erengisle Sunesson, a knight and royal counsellor, who thanks to his second marriage to Annot, the daughter and only child of the Earl
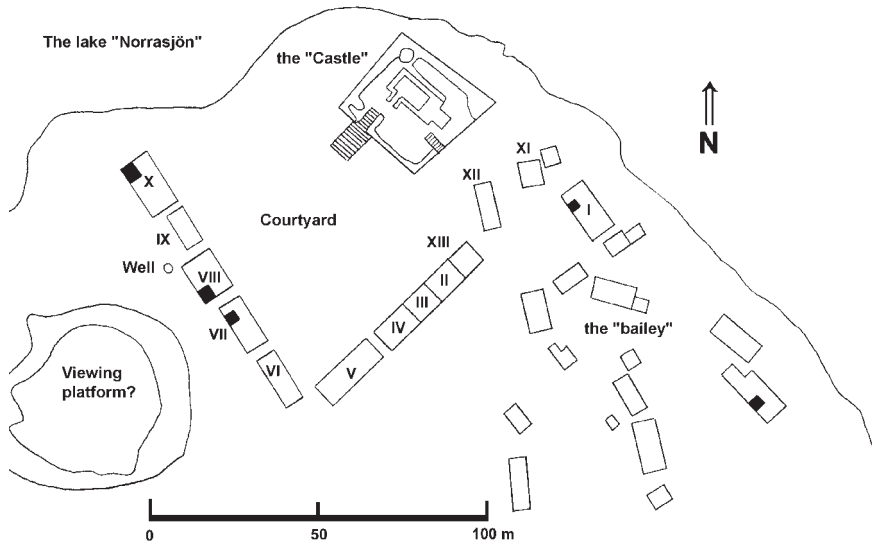
Fig. 33 The layout of the residence at Hultaby, Småland. After Hansson 2001:217.

of Orkney, Malise of Stratherne, also managed to become Earl of Orkney himself. There is no evidence, however, that he ever visited his "earldom" (Hansson 2000, 2001c). Regardless of the interesting life of the owner of Hultaby, we are here mainly concerned with the spatial layout and landscape setting of the residence. Large parts of the site were excavated in the 1930s and a minor complementary excavation was performed in 1999.

Hultaby has a strict layout, consisting of two rows of timber houses at right angles, which together with the shore of the lake delimits a large courtyard (fig. 33, 34). In the inner corner towards the lake is a built-up plateau of earth and stone around a natural cliff. This is the site of the main building, partly built of stone (fig. 34). It is probably the oldest stone-built secular house in the region, which gives it a huge symbolic importance. The only other contemporary stone buildings in the region were churches. Apart from the lord of Hultaby, only God had houses of stone in the area during the fourteenth century. The palace had a stone-built ground floor, which probably functioned as storage, and a timber-built first floor that most likely contained a hall. The house/palace is not very large, and rather peculiar. No traces of a fireplace or any other heat source were found when the house was excavated in the 1930s. This probably means that this house was not used permanently as living quarters, but only on special occasions.

The plateau that surrounded the main building was around four metres high, and had stone-built walls, but does not seem to have been surrounded by a palisade of any kind. Since there is no water on this plateau, it cannot be interpreted, as has normally been done, as a castle. This was a place intended for the display of lordship through social means, not by military force. There are also

Fig. 34 Aerial view of Hultaby where the partly walled terrace and the main building are clearly visible. Photo Leif Gustavsson. Courtesy of Jönköpings läns museum.

other features that undermine the previous traditional military interpretation of Hultaby. Outside the rows of houses surrounding the courtyard is a hill from which there is a good view into the courtyard, which, together with the fact that the well lies outside the rows of houses, is the final proof that this place was not built with defence in mind. The hill possibly functioned as some sort of "viewing platform". From this hill one has a good view of the whole display part of the complex. Even if this is a natural hill, it can be compared with the type of viewing platforms that have been found at other castles, for example Bodiam in England (Everson 1996b:81f). Hultaby is another example of how isolated residences not only can be explained by military intentions. This should rather be seen as the end of a long process aiming at socially distancing the lord and making him more and more secluded, with increased privacy.

Horningtoft and Hultaby are far from the only examples of "aristocratic isolationism" in the landscape. Similar examples can be found in different parts of Europe. Even if it is not always clear whether an isolated residence has moved away from a village, or should be seen as a new creation in an isolated location, this topographical location is very distinct and must be seen as an important part of an aristocratic spatial behaviour.

In France the village and residence of Rubercy in Normandy may serve an example. The site was excavated during four years in the 1970s and the results have been reported in various articles (Lorren 1977, 1981). The excavations dated the residence in Rubercy to the second half of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth century. It was probably built by Hugh de Wac, a Norman knight who sometimes appeared in the entourage of the Earl of Chester. He also held the

honour of Bourne in south Lincolnshire. The family's original possessions were scattered in Normandy, including the area of Rubercy, where Hugh de Wac in 1168 granted the income from his mill in Rubercy to his newly founded abbey in Longues. In 1204 Rubercy was forfeited by the French king when Hugh's grandson Baudouin sided with the English king John in the conflict regarding Normandy, probably since most of the family's land was now in England. The English loss of Normandy meant that the de Wac family lost their French possessions. This also coincides with the archaeological dating of the abandonment of the site.

The residence of Rubercy consists of a roughly rectangular platform or low mound situated in a junction between the river Tortonne and a minor brook (fig. 35). North of this platform, which was surrounded by a shallow "moat" or ditch, and delimited by the two watercourses was an outer courtyard. The excavation reports so far published unfortunately lack clear plans of the site, but the excavation showed that the history of the residence could be divided into two major phases, an earlier phase when the houses mainly were constructed of timber, and a later phase, probably dating from the 1170s, when they were replaced by stone buildings and the outer courtyard was surrounded by a wall. The main residential building was about 25 by 18.5 metres large and situated on a platform created by earth dug up from the ditch. The platform was surrounded by a rectangular wall that partly served as an exterior wall of the principal house. This principal house seems to have been directly surrounded by a moat, today a dozen metres wide and 0.5 metres deep. The entrance to the inner part of the site was in the south-eastern corner, where a drawbridge seems to have facilitated the passage of the moat.

The outer courtyard was orientated north–south and about 60 metres long by 25 metres wide. In the later phase it was surrounded by a wall. Two small ditches connected the moat around the main building with the River Tortonne to the north and the brook to the south, also leaving the outer courtyard completely surrounded by water. The courtyard was divided into two parts by the passage to the main building. The main entrance to the courtyard was by a paved ford over the River Tortonne in the middle of the courtyard. From this entrance a paved road led across the courtyard to the drawbridge to the inner part of the residence. South of the road was probably a large stable, north of it a large stone building with a decorated gable facing the entrance and passage across the courtyard. The building had an oven and other domestic spaces on the ground floor, and according to the excavator probably a hall on the first floor. The oven inside the stone building contained a large amount of reused Roman tile fragments, and the fragments of an apsidal wall preceding the timber house, led the excavator to conclude that a Roman building could have preceded the medieval residence (Lorren 1981:121). The evidence for this seems rather vague, but if this was the case, it would be another example of the reuse of historically important places in the landscape.
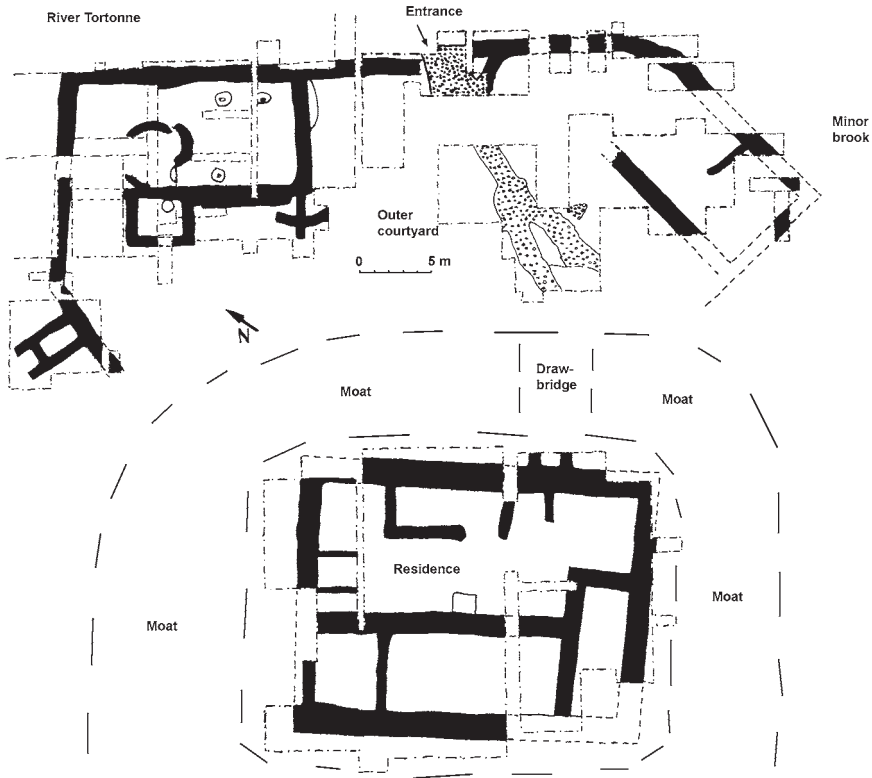
Fig. 35 The residence of Rubercy. The plan has been redrawn and interpreted by the author after Lorren 1977, 1980.

The landscape setting of the residence in Rubercy is somewhat isolated and se-cluded from the nearby village of Rubercy. The residence is situated in the valley of the Tortonne, about 200 metres south of the church. The village of Rubercy has two main foci: one group of houses is centred around the church, the "village de l'église", representing the oldest part of the village, while another foci, "vil-lage du bas" lies roughly 500 metres to the west and in the river valley. This is a more recent part of the village. Even if the exact location of the medieval village in Rubercy is not known, it is likely that the "village de l'église" represents the site of the settlement that was contemporaneous with the residence. If that is the case, the creation of the residence 200 metres south of the village must be seen as de-liberate act of social distancing of the lord from the village population. According to Lorren, the reason for this was the protection afforded by the water and its use in the moat, but at the same time he concludes that the moat, "if it cannot be de-scribed as defensive in character was at least symbolic" (Lorren 1981:105).

The moat was wide but shallow and cannot be seen as a major obstacle for any-one intending to intrude on the site. It could perhaps be seen as a defence against

angry tenants, but just as in Horningtoft the defensive explanation for the location of the residence in Rubercy is not totally valid. It would be better to seek a social explanation for this location and a desire for isolation, privacy and social distancing, perhaps in combination with an adjustment to prevailing aristocratic fashion regarding housing. This is probably a more likely explanation why Hugh de Wac chose to build his residence at this place. This decision could perhaps also have been influenced by the presence of a Roman ruin and also by his manorial mill, which probably used either the Tortonne or the smaller brook as a power source. Rubercy was not just an example of an urge for seclusion in the landscape. The structure of the site, which was divided into two spaces by the moat, also created an inner private space for the lord and his family, separated from the "public" space of the hall. Rubercy is thus an example of how the aristocracy combined seclusion in the landscape with an increased seclusion within the residence itself.

Rubercy is not the only example in France of the aristocracy seeking an isolated position in the landscape and trying to increase their social distance from the laboratores. In a study of medieval seigniorial residences in the county of Hainaut, on the border between present-day Belgium and France, Michel de Waha has found that a vast majority of the residences were situated outside the villages, with no direct connection to adjacent settlements (de Waha 1986). In many cases these residences had the same name as the adjacent villages, which indicates a social association at the same time as there was a spatial disassociation. One reason for this is probably that many residences moved out of the villages in connection with a process of colonisation. In Hainaut this process whereby residences left the villages seems to have started in the thirteenth century. No isolated residences are known before the thirteenth century. Previously aristocratic residences in this area were all situated in the villages. There was thus a connection between isolated residences and areas of medieval colonisation, and in some cases the manorial residences functioned as large farms without being economically incorporated in the village life. This process of creating isolated manorial residences started in the late twelfth century, reached its peak during the thirteenth century and ended at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

A similar result has been achieved in Lorraine, where the manorial residence is most often located on the outskirts of the villages, if not completely isolated outside the villages (Giuliato 1986:164). This is thus a common feature in France, where the majority of the medieval "maisons fortes", residences for the aristocracy, often moated, are found outside the villages, even if this residence was the home of the lord of the village (Pesez 1986:333). The lord obviously had a need for this seclusion and distanced himself from the rest of society.

The same applies to German lords. In a study of castles in south Germany, in an area north of the Bodensee, Hans-Wilhelm Heine found that while most of the "Niederungsburgen", i.e. lowland castles, were built inside or close to villages, there was also a process of building isolated castles on high positions in the landscape, so-called "Höhenburger" (Heine 1978). Heine sees this process mainly

as an expression of a need for better fortifications, where isolated positions high in the landscape were easier to defend. In this evidence, examples of residences moving out of previous locations in the villages can also be found. In Krumbach, about 500 metres west-south-west of the church, the remains of the castle of Waldsberg stand on the hilltop with this name (Heine 1978:93, Abb. 70). The ruin consists of a square tower with a bailey to the east. Between the years 1167 and 1249 the lord of Krumbach is mentioned in various documents, which implies that he resided in the village of Krumbach, but from around 1300 the lord is connected with the castle of Waldsberg, and now called the lord of Waldsberg. The castle of Waldsberg existed into the late eighteenth century.

The change of name of the lord, from the lord of Krumbach to the lord of Waldsberg, must be seen as evidence that the residence of the local lord had left the village and moved up to the hilltop. In this case there may have been some military intentions behind the move, but the change of location is nevertheless another example of the social distancing of the lord.

A study of moated sites in Flanders has revealed a similar pattern. Most of these features can be found outside the villages (Verhaeghe 1981). While the majority of moated sites across Europe should be connected with the aristocracy and can be seen as moated residences, the sheer number of moated sites in Flanders implies that in this area the tradition of surrounding one's home with a moat went further down the social ladder. Most of the moated sites in Flanders were probably ordinary farms, but at the same time some moated sites were also large manors, which means that the same kind of urge for distancing from the ordinary population existed also among the lords in Flanders.

Perhaps the best-investigated Scandinavian example of the process of distancing of the lord is Bjäresjö in southern Scania, in medieval Denmark (Callmer 1992). Here excavations during the 1980s revealed the presence of a lordly farm immediately west of the Romanesque church (fig. 36, 37). During the twelfth century a stone cellar was built, in the same technique and with the same type of stone as the church, which probably was erected at the same time as a more or less private church for the farm. The magnate's farm was established in the late Viking Age and existed in this position until the middle of the fourteenth century, when it moved about 1 kilometre to the south, where it was founded on a small island in a lake. Today this is the site of Bjersjöholm, a sixteenth-century Renaissance residence.

The investigations in Bjäresjö were part of a multidisciplinary project on the emergence of the cultural landscape in south Scania, run by scholars from the University of Lund (Berglund 1991). The project showed that the process of manorial residences leaving the villages was a common phenomenon, beginning in the late thirteenth century and peaking in the fourteenth century. The main reason for this move was seen as the need for strategic sites that were easy to fortify (Reisnert 1989:146). Examples of moves of residence site are less well known in medieval Sweden, but this is probably due to a lack of sources in many cases.
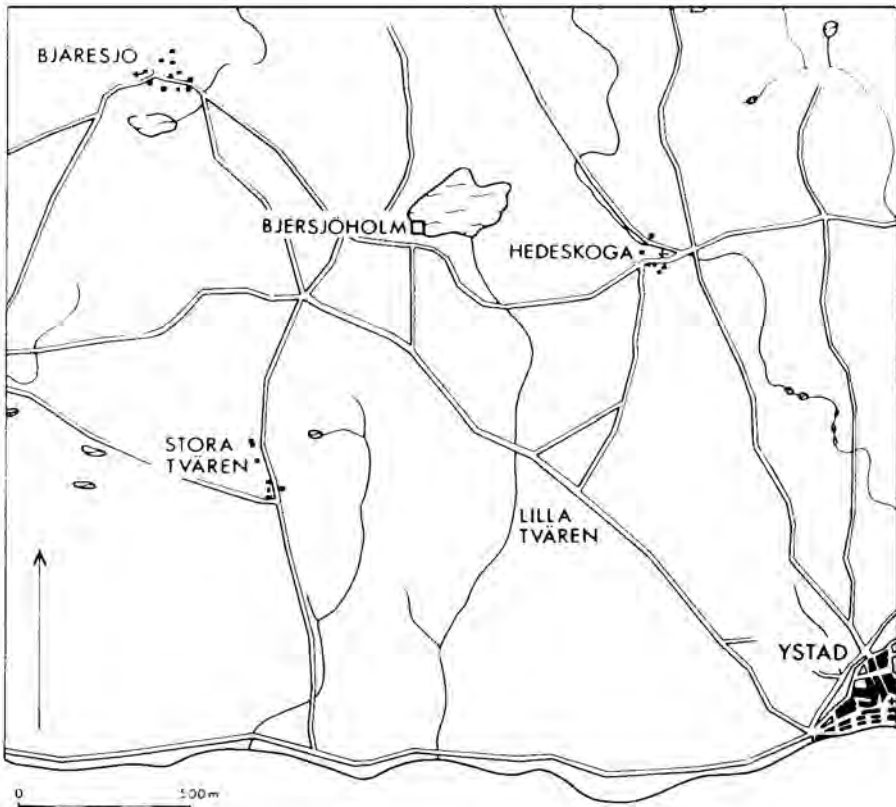
Fig. 36 Bjäresjö in Scania, where the residence from the tenth to the middle of the fourteenth century was located by the church. In the middle of the fourteenth century the residence left the village and was relocated on an island in a lake and renamed Bjersjöholm. After Callmer 1992:449.
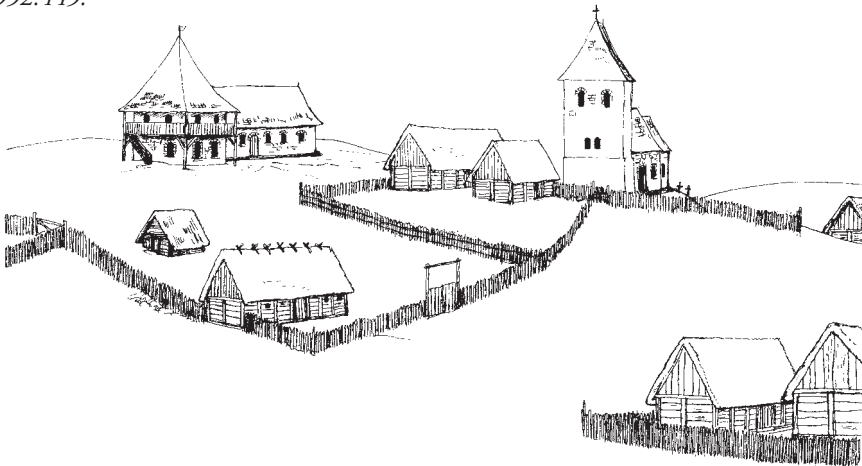
Fig. 37 The suggested appearance of the magnate's residence in Bjäresjö in the Early Middle Ages, when the Romanesque church and the residence were built in the same fashion. After Callmer 1992:440.

Yet there are examples to show that this process also existed in northern Europe (Lovén 1996:354, Rahmqvist 1996:278, 300).

Our present knowledge suggests that the majority of the fortified manors in Scandinavia were mainly used during the fourteenth century, even if some were built in the late thirteenth century. Many of them cannot be regarded as military structures, since they often lack clear signs of true military fortifications. On the other hand, many are in positions in the landscape resembling the location of true castles. This gives the localisation of the manors a social meaning which reveals the efforts of the nobility to express their feudal status. The social importance of residing in a remote location in the landscape is obvious. By settling down in these positions the owners clearly showed that they did not have to support themselves when it came to everyday life. The remote position of the farm in itself became a symbol of feudal status and thereby a kind of "social" fortification. This development, by the way, starts at the same time, in the late thirteenth century, as the Swedish nobility emerges as a special "class" in legal terms.

A site called Agundaborg is a very typical example of the layout and location of these minor Swedish residences (Hansson 1999) (see also chapter 8). It is situated on a peninsula, Brånanäset, in a small lake in the hamlet of Bråna (fig. 38). Agundaborg is not mentioned in any medieval sources, but a local tradition known from the middle of the eighteenth century talks about a "rich woman", who is said to have lived on a peninsula in the lake. No settlement existed on the peninsula according to the oldest map from 1792. It was then more of an island, separated from the mainland by wetlands. In 1792 the hamlet consisted of three farms, the same number as in the tax register from 1540s. The hamlet is mentioned for the first time in 1385, when the nobleman Karl Knutsson (Sparre), who was sheriff, inherited a farm here from his father who had his residence in the nearby hamlet of Ryd.

At Brånanäset there are visible traces of three houses (fig. 39). The so-called "castle" (house I) is oriented east–west and has a cellar under the eastern part of the building. It was probably a two-storey house, with the cellar dug into the small ridge on which the house was built. A couple of metres east of this building, but running in the same direction, stood another building in the form of a church, with a "nave" and a narrower "chancel" (house II). When the site was subject to a minor excavation it was established that the building had originally most likely been built with this church shape. The most probable interpretation is that the building actually functioned as a private chapel for the residence. South of the chapel is a third building, which ran in a north–south direction, probably a warehouse or stable.

From an architectural point of view the whole farm gives the impression of having been built at the same time. Together the three houses form a right angle facing a courtyard, and the whole design of the place seems to have been carefully planned, to make a visual impression on approaching visitors. The excavation showed that the manor was established in the second half or at the end of

Fig. 38 The cadastral map (storskifte) of the hamlet of Bråna from 1792. The residence Agunda-borg was located on a peninsula in the lake, far away from any arable fields, in contrast to ordinary farms. A-C mark the location of the three farms in the hamlet.

the thirteenth century and was used some time into the fourteenth century. The artefacts that were found mainly consisted of various domestic objects, such as nails and window and door catches. Most astonishing was the find of a small piece of glass, probably from a window. It was found in the floor layer in the cellar of house I. It seems as if this building had windows with window glass, which must be seen as very exclusive in this context.

The trench in the cellar also revealed that the cellar wall was built without the use of mortar. However, in an attempt to make the cellar wall look like a real masonry wall, it had been coated with a thin layer of mortar. As mentioned earlier,
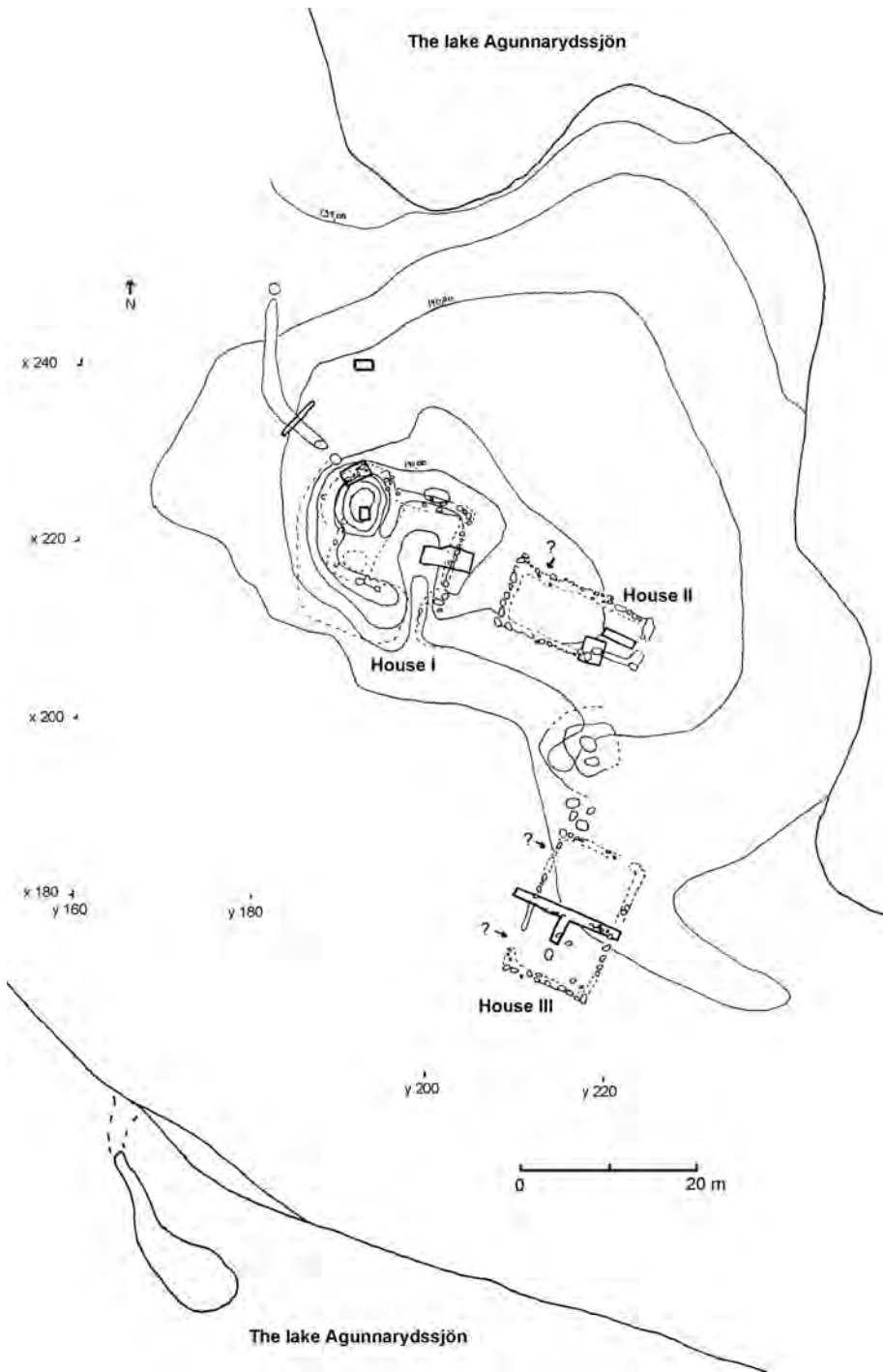
Fig. 39 The residence of Agundaborg. House I was the main building with glass windows, house II the chapel and house III a warehouse.

masonry is very unusual in the inland of Småland. The amount of mortar that had been used in the cellar cannot have been very large, and it is not likely that the knowledge of how to make mortar was spread among the population in this area during the Middle Ages. To make mortar you need limestone, which is not available in the region. In the light of this it is evident that the use of mortar was an attempt to manifest the status of the owner of the manor, to make the building look as if it was partly built with mortar. That the house also had glazed windows shows that it must have been the main building at Agundaborg, and also that the owners of the farm used the architecture to manifest their status. The nearest mortar-built building was the medieval church in Agunnaryd. It was situated a couple of hundred metres south-west of Agundaborg. It was demolished in 1870 when the present church was built. The medieval church was of Romanesque type, with a narrower chancel, but without an apse. In Småland, stone churches of this type seem to have been built before 1300. Perhaps the church and Agundaborg were built at the same time in the late thirteenth century, so the mortar could have come from the building of the church.

The "open" structure of the residence is worth noticing. There was no moat to separate the site from the mainland or protect it from intruders. Once you had reached the island where the residence was situated, you had full access to the farm itself. To protect the whole island would have required a huge number of people. This means that military intentions cannot have been behind the decision to build a farm on Brånanäset.

To understand a place like Agundaborg, its landscape setting has to be taken in account. It can first be stated that the houses on the peninsula diverge from the normal. The cellar walls in the cellar dug under a main building with glazed windows, had been coated with mortar to make it look like a true masonry wall, and the farm probably had a private chapel (see chapter 8). All this underlines the site's exclusive appearance. Together with the topographical location several hundred metres from the nearest arable fields, it indicates that this was a site that had neither been built by, nor occupied by, ordinary peasants. To a peasant this location was utterly foreign. He wanted to live close to his land to facilitate his daily work in the fields and meadows, and close to the outfield, which he also utilised. Neither of these presumptions existed in the case of Agundaborg, which inevitably leads to the conclusion that this was a residence for a local lord, who used the landscape and the architecture here to strengthen his status in society. At the same time, the location of the residence on a peninsula helped to distance the lord from ordinary peasants and increase his privacy.

The examples given so far have shown how the aristocracy chose either to move their residence from a village context, or to found a residence in a secluded position. But there are also examples to indicate that in some cases it was the peasants that had to move to leave the residence isolated in its original position. This is a development that may also have influenced the decreasing village population that can be noticed in some parts of Europe even before the beginning of the

late medieval crisis in the middle of the fourteenth century. Normally the eviction of villages by lords is something that has been connected to the transformation of arable land into pasture in the late Middle Ages. This was a process that in England mainly took place in the fifteenth century, when lords concentrated on a more labour-extensive economy based on pastoral farming and transformed their tenant land into pasture, thereby evicting many hamlets and villages (Taylor 1983:171). This process has often been explained in economic terms. After the Black Death and the subsequent crises of the fourteenth century the decreasing population led to diminishing prices for cereals. At the same time, the lack of workers for labour-intensive arable farming led to increased wages. These economic realities led many lords to transform their manorial economy into pastoral farming, which can be done by a smaller number of people. This transformation was also fuelled by the late medieval demand for wool for the textile industry (Platt 1988:130). Yet this is also a process that in many cases can lead to the isolation of the residence in the landscape, if an adjacent village disappears. To some extent this process can thus also partly be explained by social reasons, that the aristocracy chose to act in this way not only because it was advantageous from an economic point of view, but because it also fitted their spatial ideology.

At Linwood in Lincolnshire two manors were recorded in Domesday Book, one held by Alfred of Lincoln with at least 25 households and one held by Durand Malet with at least 8 households. The medieval settlement at Linwood seems to have been split in two parts, one southern part around the church and one part 500 metres to the north (Everson et al. 1991:127f). It is likely that Alfred's larger manor was connected with the earthworks close to the church and Durand's smaller one with the northern part of the settlement. Alfred's manor remained the residential manor in Linwood until the fifteenth century when it lost its residential function. The moated site of the larger manor east of Linwood church is faintly visible. The moat was filled in the 1960s. The moated site was almost square and the moat held water (fig. 40). Traces of buildings are reported to have been found. Recent ploughing has led to the discovery of a late medieval stone corbel with a carved figure. The moated site, probably the site of the residence, was surrounded by other ditches and enclosures. An outer ditched enclosure seems to have enclosed a large area, probably including the church.

North of this moated site was another rectangular moated enclosure. Aerial photographs and descriptions of this site reveal that the enclosure had contained buildings. This site can either be a predecessor or successor of the other moat, or a moated enclosure that contained the agricultural buildings belonging to the manor. A broad ploughed-out bank shown on aerial photographs may have formed the east side of the deer park. A medieval deer park lay adjacent to the moated manor by Linwood church, probably reflected in the name "Le Launde" in 1314–15 and 1340–41.

The smaller manor was probably situated in the north-western part of Linwood, where a possible manorial complex can be traced in the surviving earthworks.

Fig. 40 The moated sites and settlement remains at Linwood, Lincolnshire (a + b moated residence). After Everson et al 1991:128 fig 95. © Crown Copyright. NMR.

In the northern part of Linwood the regularity of the earthworks, and the fact that the principal layout of the village seems to have changed from an original north–south orientation to an east–west orientation, suggests that the village was replanned, probably in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. Around 1250 the smaller manor was absorbed into the larger one, even though they continued to be distinguished in legal terms. However, this must have meant that the smaller manor now lost its residential functions.

The surviving manor by the church was probably integrated in a village context, judging by the surviving earthworks that show traces of former village properties north and west of the church. A reconstruction of Linwood in the twelfth century would probably show a polyfocal village with settlements centred on each manor. The surviving earthworks can to some extent seem to indicate that the southern settlement close to the church slowly disappeared, and perhaps deliberately moved to the northern part after the two manors had been united. Former village plots may have been turned into arable fields, or been incorporated into the manorial demesne. However, the population of Linwood seems to have declined sharply even before the Black Death. In 1086 the village had all in all at least 33 households, in 1327–28 only fourteen, in 1332–33 sixteen. It is impossible to determine which parts of the village were affected by this decline, or its causes. A hypothesis could be that it was the part of the village close to the church and the manorial residence that was deliberately depopulated, to increase the seclusion of the residence from the villagers. If this was the case the lord achieved distance by depopulation, moving the villagers, not the residence. A similar development could be seen in the case of Bergkvara in Småland (see chapter 3).

There is no doubt that the aristocracy used the landscape as a social space in order to distance, seclude and isolate themselves from the rest of the population. In some cases, such as Horningtoft and Bjäresjö, this process could be seen as a deliberate move of the residence out of the village; in other cases, as at Rubercy and Agundaborg, it seems as if the noblemen right from the start chose an isolated site for their residence. In others, like Linwood, it seems as if it was the peasants that had to move. This process, or trend, seems to have been a significant part of an aristocratic spatial ideology. By isolating the residence the aristocracy became difficult to reach, almost unattainable, which probably increased their status and surrounded them with an aura of mystique. What went on at the residence? This process towards increased privacy and isolationism of the lord can not only be found in the landscape at large, however. The move of the residence is to some extent the last step in a long process of increasing the privacy of the lord that can be seen in the development of the residential centre, its layout and buildings.

Seclusion inside the residence

Today a great many medieval residences of different kinds have been investigated, not only castles, and it is possible to see a trend whereby the private area of the

lord and his family became more and more secluded. The hall was the centre of the medieval residence, the room where the lord displayed his lordship in public by feasting, manorial courts and so on. To some extent the hall was a public room and at the centre of lordship from the seventh century onwards (Thompson 1995, Grenville 1997:66ff, Herschend 1997). The hall was also a space where the social division of the manorial residence was displayed in public. This was not only an area where the lord displayed status in public, it was also a space filled with social meaning, with permanent places for different categories of people: the lord with his family and guests at the upper part and servants at the lower end of the hall. A person's seat in the hall reflected his or her social position in the household. The social importance of the hall is emphasised by the fact that the lord's table sometimes was placed on a dais, a raised platform, which gave him and those closest to him a literally elevated position in the hall. There are also examples of ground-floor halls in northern France that slowly rise uphill, from the lower end of the hall to the upper part of the hall, regardless of the ground conditions outside the hall. This deliberately created slope further underlined the high status of the lord in the upper part of the hall (Meirion-Jones et al. 1993:172).

The hall thus functioned as a microcosm of the world, with the nobleman, and perhaps the house chaplain, the *bellatores* and *oratores*, sitting in the upper part of the hall, and servants and ordinary tenants, the *laboratores*, in the lower part of the hall. The microcosm of the hall can be compared to the one in the parish church (see chapter 7). But the hall was also a kind of semi-public space, where the lords always acted in public. In Brittany there are even late medieval examples of how the hall at the "manoir" was used as a public meeting place, not only for the people of the estate, but also for neighbours and local villagers. The hall was always supposed to be open and the manor ready to greet visitors, at least if they were nobles (Meirion-Jones et al. 1993:176f). Right from the eleventh century the hall had therefore been accompanied by a chamber, a private room or apartment for the lord.

A distinct development from the twelfth century onwards, and especially after 1300, is the increasingly elaborate private apartments that can be found at residences and manors (Blair 1993, Grenville 1997:106, Thompson 1995:150ff). The household of the lord grew larger and larger, at the same time as there was a need for the lord to be able to have meetings and greet guests more privately, and distinguished guests expected to be accommodated in private chambers. The development towards private chambers and rooms can be seen at any larger medieval castle after 1200. An example is the conversion of Kenilworth Castle into more of a palace in the fourteenth century by John of Gaunt (Renn 1991).

Private chambers for the lord and family adjacent to the hall were already part of the layout of the residence from the eleventh century. The presence of private chambers both functioned as private living quarters for the lord and family, and allowed him to receive special guests in privacy. On the Continent the emergence of first- or second-floor halls, where only prominent guests were received, can
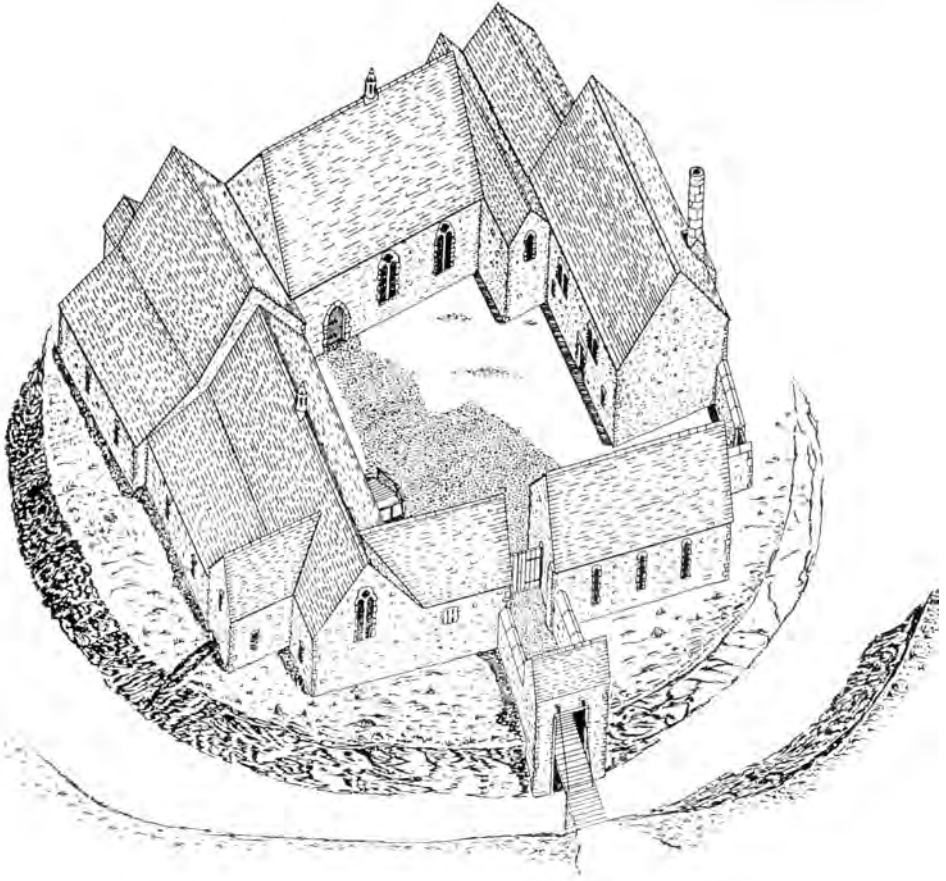
Fig. 41 A reconstruction of the moated manor house at Penhallam, Cornwall c. 1224-36. After Beresford 1974:101 fig. 26. Reproduced by kind permission of the Society for Medieval Archaeology.

also be seen as a result of this continuing process of seclusion of the lord. A substantial part of the resources of the late medieval English aristocracy was spent on improving personal living standards and accommodation (Platt 1988:174, Dyer 1989:105). Even if this development of private apartments for the lords was part of a general increase in the standard of living and comfort in housing, it was at the same time a process that increased the privacy of the lord and helped to distance him from the rest of the household.

A good example of this development is Penhallam in Cornwall, where excavations revealed how a manorial residence developed from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. During this period the residence was transformed from being a small hall within a ringwork to a sophisticated residence with both ground- and first-floor accommodation and more and more specialised functional spaces within the moated manor site (fig. 41) (Beresford 1974). This development not
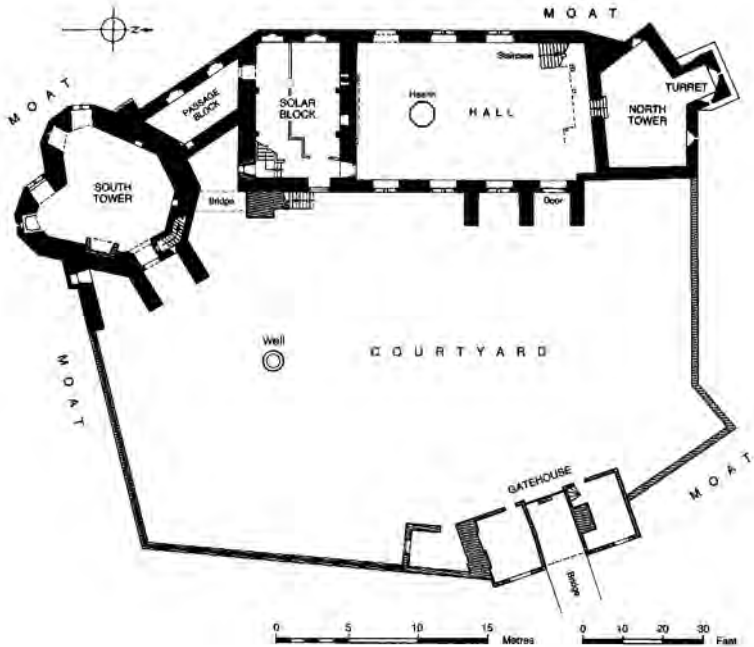
Fig. 42 Plan of Stokesay Castle. From the first floor of the solar block, the lord could supervise the hall without being seen. After Munby & Summerson 2002. © English Heritage.

only improved the standard of living of the lord, but also gave him more privacy, which thereby contributed to the social distancing from the rest of the household.

A more modest example is Faccombe Netherton in Hampshire, mentioned earlier. Just as at Penhallam, the private apartments at Faccombe became more and more elaborate during the time the residence existed. The private apartment was the first building erected in stone in the late twelfth century and first-floor accommodation was already probably used for the lord earlier in the twelfth century.

At the same time as the lord's private apartments developed, the lord still maintained control and supervision of the household. There are several examples of how the lord could supervise life in the hall from the private apartment without being seen. At Stokesay Castle, built in the 1280s, the lord's apartment was situated south of the hall, without direct access from the hall (fig. 42). An external, originally covered, staircase from the hall reached the private apartment, where the lord lived, worked and slept. To enable the lord to supervise life in the hall when he was not present, two small windows in the chamber overlooking the hall, gave the lord the opportunity to observe what was happening in the hall without being observed himself (Munby & Summerson 2002). A visitor in the hall was thereby never certain whether he or she was being watched by the lord or not, and just like the isolation of the residence in the landscape, this made the lord both present

and absent at the same time. Similar small windows where the lord could have a commanding view of the hall are known from other places, for example Great Chalfield Manor in Wiltshire, where these "spying holes" from the lord's private apartment into the hall are covered behind stone masks (Floyd 2001).

The phenomenon of spatial distancing and separation can also be found in the structural layout and development of the residence. Even if the residence is integrated with a village, a process of increased seclusion can be seen. A good example of this is Goltho, to which we briefly can return, a well-known place in British archaeology as one of few excavated places where a fortified Saxon manor seems to have developed into a Norman motte-and-bailey castle (Beresford 1987). Goltho is a somewhat controversial site, since there have been doubts raised regarding the original dating of the place and its historical context (Everson 1990, Creighton 2002:21ff). This is not the place to go into details in this discussion, just to establish that a Saxon residence in the tenth century was fortified with an enclosure consisting of a moat and a rampart. This enclosure was later enlarged and in the first half of the twelfth century replaced by a motte-and-bailey castle, which was eventually rebuilt in the second half of the twelfth century as a large hall on top of an enlarged castle mound. In the early thirteenth century, probably around 1220–35, the residence was moved to a new position, probably under the present Goltho Hall, where it became a moated residence. The new site was situated inside the deer park connected to the manorial centre (Everson 1990, Everson et al. 1991:97ff). It is not established, however, whether the deer park already existed at this point or is a later establishment. The park seems to have existed in 1381 at the latest. The new residence was truly isolated from the village, which existed until it was finally deserted in the fifteenth century. The lordship of Goltho had changed, from having been constantly present in the village, to become an isolated one. Goltho is thus a good example of the process of separation and social distancing in the landscape.

But this seclusion started even before the residence left its site in the village. The site was somewhat disturbed by later activities, especially in the area where the entrance to the enclosure had been, but it was possible to establish the position of the entrance to the manorial complex (Beresford 1975, 1987). Up until the late eleventh to early twelfth century, before the motte-and-bailey castle was built, the entrance to the residence, through the rampart and over the moat, was on the northern side of the enclosure, facing the church and the village. It was thus possible to have direct communication from the village tofts to the enclosed manor, and every time the villagers went to church they passed the entrance to the manor. Even if the manorial complex was separated from the village by a moat and a rampart, the fact that the entrance was facing the village in a symbolic way meant that the manor was closely integrated with the village and the church. Perhaps this can also be seen to some extent as a manifestation of the site as also having a communal function, the lord literally protecting his villagers in times of unrest and letting them in behind the enclosure.
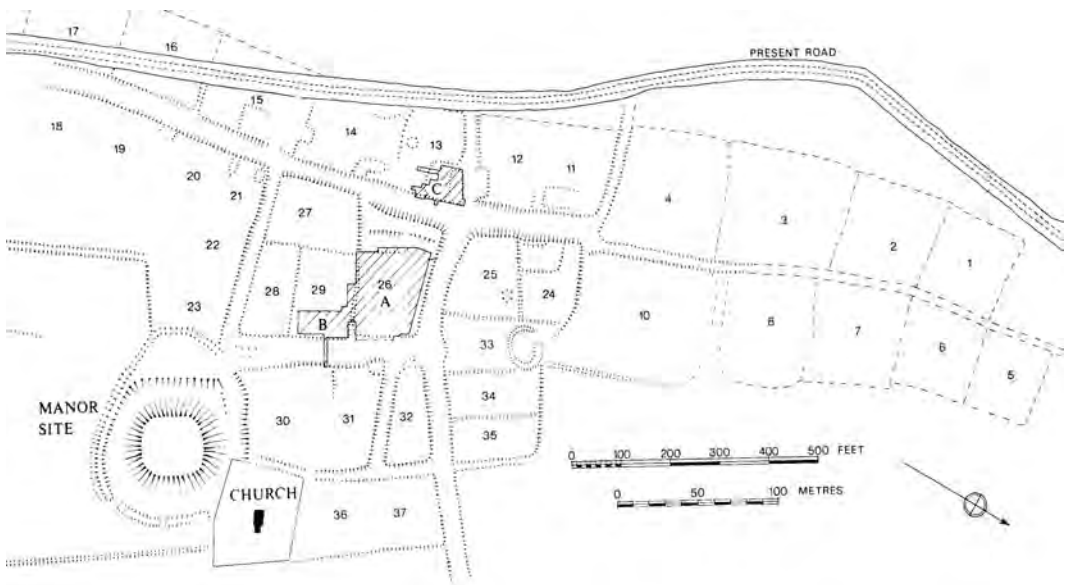
Fig. 43 The deserted medieval village of Goltho with crofts (1-37), excavated areas (A-C), the manorial site and the church. In Saxon times the entrance to the manorial site was facing the church, on the north. When the motte was built, the entrance was moved away from the village, to the south. After Beresford 1987:4 fig. 4. © English Heritage.

After the castle was built this changed; the entrance to the bailey was now almost opposite on the southern side, where a former postern had been (fig. 43). To reach the castle, the villagers were now forced to go around the castle on the south side. Even if this did not mean that they had less access than before – villagers were probably seldom allowed into the residential centre – it was nevertheless a strong symbolic change when the castle and the lord turned their backs on the village. The castle was now more a fortification against the villagers than before. This is one step in this process of separation that eventually led to the move of the residence from the village.

Another initial step in the process of seclusion of the lord can be found in Germany, in the excavated small castle of Husterknupp in the Lower Rhineland. Husterknupp is to some extent a similar example to Goltho, a place where an early medieval "fortified" site, in this case from the late tenth century, is transformed into a motte-and-bailey castle in the eleventh century (Herrnbrodt 1958). In its oldest phase Husterknupp was a fortified farmstead surrounded by a water-filled ditch and a palisade, but no rampart. Five houses were found inside the enclosure that was reached through a bridge over the ditch in the north-east. The site, according to the excavator, probably functioned as a normal farmstead in this period, located in a remote and swampy site in order to increase its defence. Its position in the landscape, however, implies that it was already a seigniorial residence. In

the second half of the tenth century the place was transformed. A new ditch was dug almost entirely across the site, dividing the space into two different parts. In the inner part of the site a raised platform was created, the "Kernmotte" where the lord resided, while domestic activities took place in the new "bailey". Already in this period is it possible to start talking about a division of different social spaces at Husterknupp. This division continued to exist when the place was further transformed and the inner part of the site became a true motte in the eleventh century, when the ditch was enlarged and completely surrounded the newly created "Hochmotte". The bailey still functioned as the place for domestic activities, while the motte was the lord's residence in times of danger. A similar inner division of the residential area into a "private" and "public" sphere could be identified in Rubercy, as mentioned before.

A social division of space is also present in all motte-and-bailey castles, and this division is especially emphasised in those cases where a large motte functioned as a permanent residence for the lord, first in a timber building and later in the many stone keeps that were erected throughout Europe. The development of the motte-and-bailey castle is something that should not only be connected with the military development and the use of the castle in the state formation process. It also emphasises the social division of space within the aristocratic residence itself, where the residential keep on the motte is partly a step towards an increasingly secluded and socially distanced lordship.

The process of increased privacy and social distancing within the aristocracy was later followed by a similar process of closure within the ordinary architecture and traditional peasant houses, as has been shown by Matthew Johnson (1993). Here closure of space within houses and in the fields is mainly seen in the seventeenth century, and especially within the leading groups in the countryside (Johnson 1993:172f). It is evident, however, that this process started already during the Middle Ages within the nobility.

Conclusion

The process towards increased privacy, seclusion and social distancing was present more or less over the whole of Europe. It was also a process that became more and more important during the Middle Ages, especially from the twelfth century onwards. The lord wanted to distance himself from the rest of the household by spending more and more time in private, both inside the residence and in the landscape, by moving the residence away from the village to a more secluded and isolated place. This spatial behaviour seems to have been quite influential. To some extent parts of the aristocracy went from putting an emphasis on the past and promoting their historical roots in the landscape and the local community, either directly or by alluding to former power structures, and instead tried to seclude and distance themselves from the rest of the community. By increasing their privacy the aristocracy became more unattainable.

This process should be seen in connection with other changes in society, changes that challenged the leading role of the aristocracy. It is interesting to note that the process of isolating the lord, both in the village and in the manor, by access control, moats and distance, seems to have intensified in the twelfth and thirteenth century, the period when the prevailing social ideology of the three feudal orders – the *oratores*, the *bellatores* and the *laboratores* –was disintegrating, mainly as a result of a growing urban population. Moated manor houses and isolated residences with private apartments can be seen as attempts to prevent this development and serve as a means to try to prevent changes in society from occurring.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ORDERING THE LANDSCAPE

On several occasions in the book the discussion regarding the role of the lord in planning villages and landscape has been touched upon. The urge to organise space and the landscape can be identified as one of the characteristics of the European aristocracy. This planning of space can be seen as a way of ordering the world. By trying to control a microcosm, the nobility tried to control the world. The ordering of space connected with the aristocracy can be seen both in connection with ordinary life and the "landscape of production", the organisation of villages and fields, and in connection with the creation of symbolic ornamental landscapes, where the dominant role of the aristocracy was manifested.

A theme that received considerable much attention during the 1990s in Britain is the discussion regarding medieval ornamental landscapes. This discussion has concerned the understanding that the medieval nobility took an interest in aesthetic values and used the landscape as means to reproduce power and social relations. Much of this discussion has concerned the presence of deer parks, watery landscapes and a kind of "pleasure landscape" where chivalrous life could be displayed and performed (Everson 1996a, Everson & Williamson 1998, Taylor 2000, Johnson 2002:33ff). The importance of water and a watery landscape seems to have been especially significant (fig. 25, 44). Huge efforts were made to create artificial lakes and moats in order to give castles a watery setting, where the castle's walls and towers were reflected. The water emphasised the magnificence of the architecture but was also a tangible expression of human's, in this case the lord's, ability and power to tame and reshape nature.

An aristocrat not only resided in an elaborate residence, preferably surrounded by a wide moat that could serve as the "watery" setting of the residence; there were a number of other features present in the landscape with aristocratic connotations. Based on the results of recent studies of ornamental medieval landscapes, some typical features of the aristocratic landscape can be identified.

An important part of the residential centre was the garden, combining the roles of being both utilitarian and aesthetic (Harvey 1981, Landsberg 2002). The garden, or gardens as there could be several, especially in an aristocratic context, was often a small, enclosed area with a lawn and herbs. Beside this small garden there was often a larger orchard with fruit trees and in some cases, especially connected with the higher nobility, a small "pleasure park" or park-like garden used for recreational purposes featuring trees, ponds and streams and wild animals. These different types of gardens were located close to the residential centre and played an important role in the daily aristocratic life. The significance of the medieval garden is seen in its role as the setting of much of the chivalric

Court Lodge

RCHM
ENGLAND

30m

15m

Octagon

NW   NE

SW   SE

Mill Pond

River Rother

Bodiam bridge

Key

Extant or former water

Suggested route of access

Original bridges

Metres
0   50   200
0   600
Feet

130
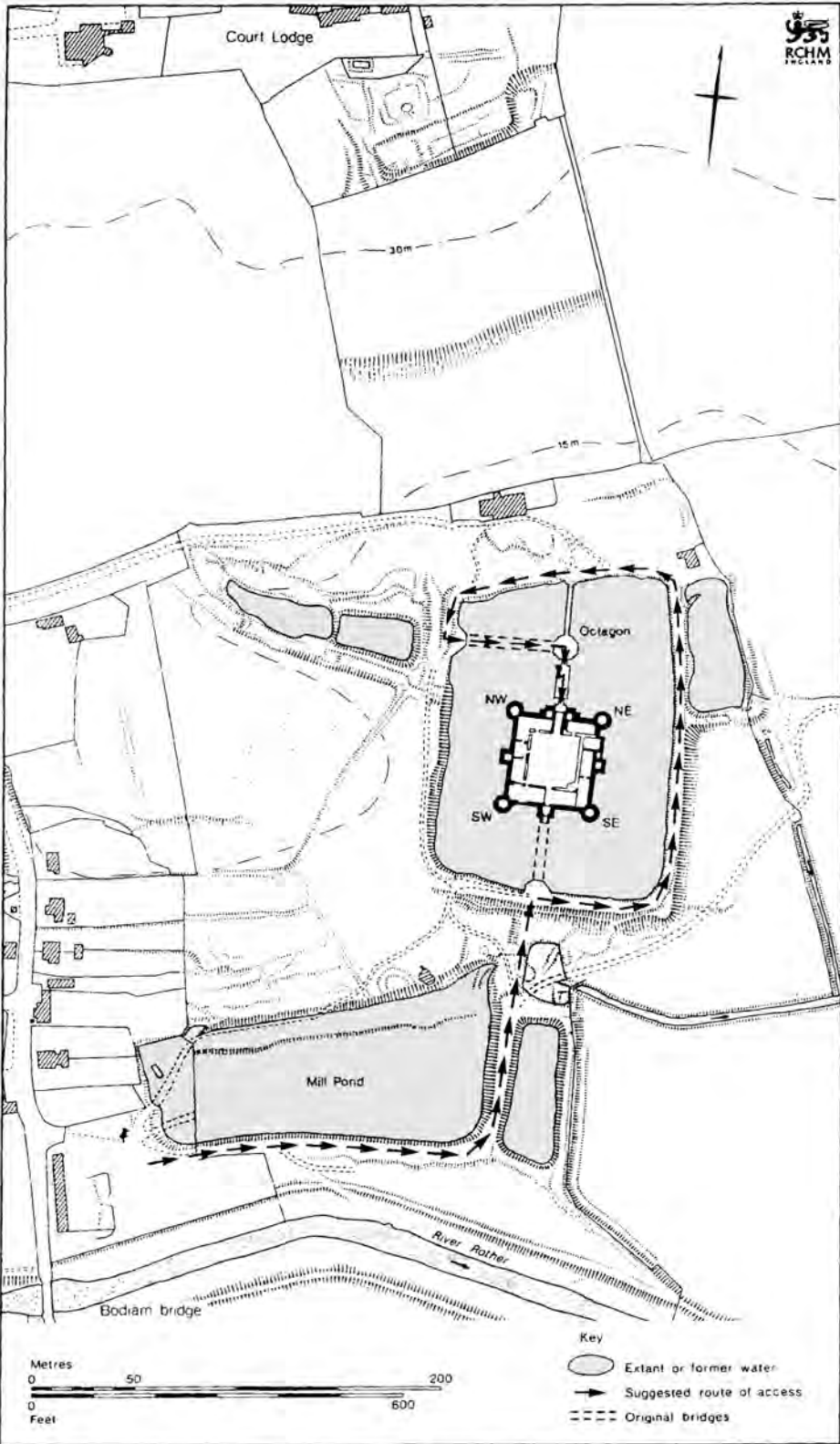
and courteous life, as it is described in poems and literature. Gardens were also gendered spaces, strongly connected with women in literature and written documents. Gardens are important in the tales of Chaucer, in Arthurian tales and in the accounts of Jean Froissart (Johnson 2002:33f). The walled garden was a place protected from view, where women could stay without being watched by men. The enclosed garden, and especially the rose garden, was also seen as a symbol of paradise and the Garden of Eden. The religious importance of the garden was intimately connected with the descriptions in the Bible of how God created the Garden of Eden and filled it with sweet herbs, plants and trees. On several occasions in the Bible, Paradise is described as a garden filled with the most lovely plants, a paradise of fresh water, milk, wine and honey. The parallel to the description of the Muslim paradise in the Koran is striking (Gilchrist 1999a:125ff, 140f, Blennow 2002:81ff). Creating and maintaining a garden thereby also became important from a religious point of view.

Other features of the residential centre giving an aristocratic impression were the dovecote and the warren. The white doves used in the dovecote, besides their function as an important part of the aristocratic menu, also had an aesthetic and symbolic meaning. A flock of white doves symbolised purity. The white dove was also the symbol of the Holy Spirit, two doves signified marriage, while a large flock of white doves symbolised Venus. All this made doves important in medieval court life and for the enactment of courtly love in the garden (Landsberg 2002:72f). The right to keep doves was restricted to those entitled to enjoy the privilege of manorial lordship, which made the dovecote a powerful symbol of the dominion of the lord. This symbolism also led to the prominent display of many dovecotes in clearly visible positions in the landscape. At Manorbier Castle in Pembrokeshire the dovecote was placed outside the castle wall, adjacent to the main road (Liddiard 2000:59). The dovecote was also an almost compulsory feature at manorial centres on the Continent (Bur 1980:5, 1981:97, Gautier-Desvaux 1993, Meirion-Jones et al. 1993:174f).

The rabbit warren was a similar feature with strong aristocratic connotations, often located close to the residence. The rabbit seems to have been introduced in Britain some time after the Norman Conquest, and the keeping of rabbits continued in post-medieval period. Rabbit warrens are recognised in the archaeological record as "pillow mounds", low, approximately rectangular earthen mounds, often of considerable length and surrounded by a shallow ditch. Often this type of remains is found in the vicinity of a manorial centre. Rabbits were kept both for the importance of the meat and for the fur. Rabbit was an important part of the aristocratic diet in the Middle Ages in Britain and, just like doves, they

Fig. 44 How to approach a castle. The example of Bodiam Castle, East Sussex. When approaching the castle, a visitor could admire the impressive walls of the castle and the wide moat. After Everson 1996b:80 fig. 1. © Crown Copyright. NMR

also had a symbolic importance. The vulnerability of rabbits to predators and their need for shepherding made them an important religious symbol related to the salvation of humankind. Rabbits were vulnerable, defenceless animals against Satan's onslaught, in the need of protection and guidance. The keeping of rabbits is well known from monastic houses, but also by secular lords, which is shown by warrens placed adjacent to medieval castles, for example in Norfolk, helping to give the landscape an aristocratic look (Williamson & Loveday 1988, Stocker & Stocker 1996, Liddiard 2000:58f). From a symbolic point of view, the breeding and keeping of rabbits, animals in the need of protection, can be seen as a metaphor for the lord "taking care" of his tenants. The presence of a rabbit warren at the manorial residence was thus a symbolic expression of how the lord took good care of his "people".

Fishponds and mills are also well-known features in the aristocratic landscape adjacent to the residential centre. Fish was an important part of the medieval diet for both noblemen and peasants, but fishponds enabled freshwater fish to be served on the nobleman's table. Recently a study of English fishponds has argued that the large-scale fishponds characteristic of the Middle Ages were primarily concerned with status. Fresh fish, either kept in a fishpond or in the moat surrounding the residence, was a luxury only to be eaten on special occasions. Fishponds and fish management are also often connected to castles and other aristocratic sites (Liddiard 2000:59 and works cited there). Often the pond used for fish could function as a millpond. Medieval water mills were key instruments to lordship and important means of income for the lord. In many cases the lord had firm jurisdictional control of the mill, obliging the tenants to use the mill and pay a due. By associating the seat of the lord with the site of the mill, the lord was further able to control and benefit from the agricultural production. The presence of the mill in the landscape became just as significant as the dovecote as a symbol of lordship (Hinton 1990:153f, Creighton 2002:181f and works cited there). The importance of the mill leat is shown by the possibility that the existence of a good mill leat could be decisive for the localisation of an aristocratic residence (Hansson 2001a:239).

Perhaps the ultimate symbol of lordship was the deer park. Parks were kept for various reasons even if they were mainly connected with hunting (see Way 1997 for a discussion of the purpose of the park). Hunting was probably the most significant "pleasure" for a nobleman. Hunting was also a preserve of kings and aristocracy in large parts of Europe. The importance of hunting is also reflected in the large number of deer parks created in Europe from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In England the creation of parks was especially rapid during the thirteenth century, when the lords' incomes increased. By the early fourteenth century around 3,200 parks existed in England, varying in size from a few hectares to several hundred. The deer park was an enclosed area of woodland and grassland, surrounded by a ditch and a pale, an earth bank with a palisade, intended both to keep the deer and other animals within the park, but also to prevent intruders

from entering the park (Stamper 1988:140ff, Way 1997). The creation of deer parks meant that areas of arable land stopped being farmed, and that other areas were prevented from being turned into arable land. It is interesting to note that the process of imparkment in England was most lively during the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century, a period when the growth in population led to a huge need for more, not less, arable land (Way 1997:83). That the aristocracy in this situation chose to invest in deer parks, a form of social capital, instead of trying to increase their number of tenants, is another example of how the aristocracy did not react according to the modern economic theories which have often been used to analyse the Middle Ages.

The creation of a deer park also had a direct impact on the landscape setting of the residence. Most often the deer park lay adjacent to the residence. Many parks also formed stunning physical backgrounds to castles and were meant to be seen from the castle itself (Creighton 2002:65, 188ff). There are also examples of special viewing platforms, "gloriettes", at castles overlooking the adjacent park (Taylor 2000:39). However, deer parks were expensive to create and maintain, which means that large parks were mainly associated with the upper nobility. Other important features in the aristocratic landscape were various religious institutions, churches, chapels and monasteries. The religious dimension of the aristocratic spatial ideology will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The discussion of medieval ornamental landscapes has so far mainly been a concern of English scholars, if by this is meant a discussion of how these various types of aristocratic features are displayed in the landscape. So far there has not been much research to identify this type of landscapes in other parts of Europe. But the importance of hunting for the medieval aristocracy in other parts of Europe is well known (Hauck 1963, Eckardt 1976). Charlemagne created parks and hunting grounds, and after him hunting was a common aristocratic habit throughout Europe. The aristocracy gradually managed to make hunting an aristocratic privilege. There can thus be no doubt that ornamental landscapes also existed in other parts of Europe, but apart from Britain, these studies have mainly been conducted through the analysis of written sources, without a spatial context in the landscape.

There are evidences in various written sources of the importance of gardens, parks and so on. In Jean Froissart's chronicle of France in the fourteenth century, gardens play an important part (Johnson 2002:34). The deer park was also an important element in the landscape in medieval France and Germany (Andrén 1997:49 and works cited there). The best-known ornamental landscape on the Continent was perhaps the landscape that surrounded the castle of Hesdin in Burgundy. Here Count Robert of Artois enclosed a large park in 1295 and created a truly ornamental landscape, with a "House in the Marsh" with a gloriette in a great pool, approached by a bridge, an aviary and a "chapel of glass". The park was unfinished at Robert's death in 1302, but also included water engines that created surprise jets and showers and a lot of other gadgets that worked practical

jokes. The castle and the park were destroyed in 1553 and its features are only known through written documents (Harvey 1981:106). For England and France there are written documents mentioning designed landscapes at least from the twelfth century (Harvey 1981:10). These early examples are connected to royalty and bishops, but later these were followed by the aristocracy as creators of aristocratic landscapes.

The question of ornamental landscapes has hardly been considered yet in a Scandinavian context, even though some scholars have discussed hunting and deer parks in medieval Scandinavia. A still prevailing view is that deer parks and aristocratic hunting as a sport is a post-medieval phenomenon in Scandinavia (cf. Harrison 2002:328). This view is mainly based on a lack of medieval written evidence for aristocratic hunting, but also on the fact that in large parts of Scandinavia hunting was also something that involved the peasantry. Large parts of Scandinavia, especially Sweden, Norway and Finland, were covered by vast woodland where hunting was well incorporated in the local economy. Hunting the great predators, especially wolves, was also a communal responsibility, and was done in order to protect the tame animals. The presence of common peasant hunting and the Scandinavian topography with vast woodlands, where upholding an aristocratic hunting rights was impossible, can be seen as the reason behind this view.

Despite this, there actually is some occasional medieval evidence for deer parks and hunting. The peak of imparkment in Europe lies in a period when relatively few written documents in Scandinavia have been preserved. This means that aristocratic hunting can hardly be expected to be mentioned in any texts in a Scandinavian context. In contrast to this textual silence, there is archaeological evidence to demonstrate that a Scandinavian hunting culture connected to an elite can be traced back to the late Iron Age, when grave finds and pictures show that hunting with falcons and hounds took place in Denmark and Sweden. Hunting motifs were also used as symbols of lordship and representations of paradise in medieval Scandinavia, and there are indications in some Swedish laws from around 1300 of attempts to restrict hunting rights, with some animals regarded as "the king's animal" (Andrén 1997:471f). As hunting was such a significant part of the chivalrous culture that flourished in Scandinavia as early as the twelfth century (see Bengtsson 1999), it would be strange if the Scandinavian aristocracy did not take an interest in hunting. Even if hunting was also a peasant activity, being a nobleman meant that hunting *had* to be an important aristocratic occupation, regardless of whether it was also pursued by peasants. It was part of the aristocratic way of life.

A study by Anders Andrén has also shown that there were deer parks in medieval Denmark and that this phenomenon probably was much more common than has previously been thought (Andrén 1997). A reason for this is the glacial landscape of Scandinavia, with a large number of lakes and islands, where many islands could have been used as deer parks. If so, they are less traceable than deer

parks on the Continent. The need for a park pale disappears. The vast woodlands that surrounded many settled areas in Scandinavia were also used for hunting by the aristocracy. The absence of written evidence of deer parks in Scandinavia is thus not a true reflection of medieval circumstances. The existence of deer parks in Scandinavia seems likely, as is also indicated by the fact that other features of the aristocratic landscape did exist in this part of Europe. The connection between mills and manors, for example, is known in Scandinavia (Stiesdal 1981:216, Rahmqvist 1996:123, 173).

There is abundant evidence that the European aristocracy created ornamental and aristocratic landscapes surrounding their residences, even if most research so far to identify these features in the landscape has only been done in Britain. It is an important task for future research in other parts of Europe to try and identify similar landscapes. Evidence from written documents shows that this should be possible. Many of the features that prevailed in the ornamental landscape also had strong symbolic meanings, intended to strengthen the local lordship. So far the discussion regarding ornamental landscapes has mainly concerned places connected to the upper parts of the aristocracy and places that are considered to be castles. It is of the utmost importance to widen this approach and see whether this type of landscape planning can be identified within the lesser nobility as well. However, the creation of ornamental landscapes should not be seen as the only expression of an aristocratic spatial ideology. Noblemen were also involved in other aspects of landscape planning. The role of the lord in the planning of villages should also be seen as part of a spatial ideology.

Planning villages and landscape

Apart from the creation of deer parks, the role of the lord in planning and replanning villages and open fields was probably the activity that had the most profound impact on the landscape. For a long time there has been a discussion about the role of the lord in these events. Was the lord solely responsible for the planning of the landscape, or was it possible for a collective of peasants to plan the landscape? This a very large subject connected to the process of village nucleation and formation, which lies beyond the scope of this book. While some scholars have put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the lord in this respect, others have stressed other factors, such as the strength and ability of a collective of peasants.

In England Christopher Taylor has argued that the majority of the villages in England were deliberately planned in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. According to him, there is a large number of examples of villages being planned or replanned adjacent to Norman castles, showing that the lords were responsible for this development and had a large overall importance in the process of village nucleation. The planning of villages coincided with the planning of towns, which shows that both these features were created at the same time and as

part of the same process (Taylor 1983:138ff, 146f). Similarities between regular planned towns and villages have been found in Somerset, hinting at the importance of the lord in this process (Aston 1985b:85). Similar results have been obtained in Cambridgeshire too (Oosthuizen 1997).

Others have been more cautious and have warned that, even if it is tempting to see the hand of the lord as the single authority capable of planning villages, most planned villages probably date back to before a period of full documentation, to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which makes it difficult to achieve any certainty on the subject (Dyer 1985). A project regarding medieval settlements in central England did not see the lord of the village as being solely responsible for the planned villages in the area. Village planning was a complex process where various factors were involved. However, minor lords, often living in the village, seem to have taken a more direct interest in the local landscape, in both assarting and village planning, probably because they were much more bound to the local community. They had both the interest and the ability to reorganise the land and peasant holdings in detail (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox & Dyer 1997:204ff). Even if the lord had formal control and power over the village, he was still bound by local customs and could be resisted by his tenants. The power of the vill and the power of the lord varied as regards the interest and strength of the lord and whether he was resident or absent (Harvey 1989).

The role of the lord in the process of village planning has also been discussed on the Continent, in both France and Germany. Planned villages have been especially connected with Frankish and German colonisation eastwards from the Carolingian period onwards (Janssen 1965, Nitz 1983). Another factor that has been emphasised is the emergence of castles followed by adjacent planned villages. The castle or the "seigneurial cell", the manorial residence and church, created the nucleus around which villages were centred throughout Europe (Fournier 1962:393f, Chapelot & Fossier 1985:129ff, 144ff, Pesez 1992). Especially in the process of "incastellamento", the location of settlements on higher ground, on hilltops, surrounded by a ring wall and centred on a castle, the lord played a decisive role as instigator and organiser of the move of the village from an earlier position in lowlands to the new settlement. This process seems to have started in the tenth century and characterised large parts of Italy and southern France until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when many hilltop villages were deserted in favour of locations on the lowland (Démians d'Archimbaud 1987:25f, Chapelot & Fossier 1985:133, Toubert 1998).

Recently the traditional view of "incastellamento" and the village formation process in Italy has been challenged by Riccardo Francovich and Richard Hodges who, by emphasising the archaeological record, finds that many hilltop villages in Italy originated already in the sixth and seventh centuries, as new centralised form of settlements, replacing an earlier pattern of dispersed settlements. This settlement change seems to have taken place without being imposed by resident local lords, as a result of the dissolution of the last parts of the classical Roman

"villa landscape" that characterised much of the Italian countryside into the sixth century. The shift to hilltop settlements perhaps took into account the distant memory of pre-Roman settlement patterns, when settlements were often located in hilltops. It was not until a second phase, in the eighth century, that local lords settled, or emerged, in an originally egalitarian village population. The impact of the lord was often connected with a switch from timber to stone structures in the village, a strengthened curtain wall and other reorganisations of the villages, and ultimately the introduction of the manorial and religious centre, the castle and the church. In the tenth century the seigneurial class took control and reorganised the landscape, by settling in existing hilltop settlements and by creating new ones in previously unoccupied areas (Francovich & Hodges 2003). Even if the results presented by Francovich and Hodges give a new picture of the process of village formation and "incastellamento" in Italy, the importance of local lords for both villages and landscape is evident from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards. The importance of the lord is also evident when a change in lordship led to physical extension and replanning of the village. One example is when the castle of Douzens was granted to the Order of the Templars, who made Douzens their administrative centre, which transformed the layout and organisation of the village (Macé 1999).

In Scandinavia the influence of the lord in the village and the village formation process is less well studied. Since a large part of the peasantry, especially in Sweden and Norway, were free men, the lord's influence has not been seen as being as profound as in other parts of Europe, except in those cases when a nobleman owned a whole or most of a village. Nevertheless, the village formation process has been seen by some scholars in connection with the existence of an ordering power, a local or regional lord. The Scandinavian version of feudalism did not give the lord the same jurisdictional power over the tenants as in other parts of Europe, but the existence of lordly residences in many did however give the lord a strong influence, thanks to his position as the largest landowner.

In most parts of Scandinavia, regulated and clearly thought-out village plans, similar to those that exist in other parts of Europe, are not known from the Middle Ages. In large parts of Scandinavia the topography to some extent prevents the emergence of large and planned villages and promotes a more dispersed settlement with hamlets and isolated farmsteads. Regardless of this, it seems as if the lord played an important role in organising the landscape, but perhaps in a more indirect way.

In Scania in medieval Denmark, the presence of manors in many villages and hamlets shows that local lords probably to a large extent were responsible for planning and organising the villages, often in co-operation with tenants and free men (Thomasson 1998, Schmidt Sabo 2001:88f). In the village of Stora Herrestad in Scania the oldest map from 1704 hints that tenant farms of the local manor had been regulated and laid out south of the manor (fig. 30) (Riddersporre 1995:164). In Uppland in central medieval Sweden there are examples of how

the lords, in connection with the development of their estates, created villages of former demesne land when the manor changed position in the landscape (Rahmqvist 1996:196f). Another typical phenomenon connected with estate formations in medieval Sweden was the lord's interest in creating smallholdings (Swedish *torp*) in order to encourage colonisation on marginal land (Rahmqvist 1996:8ff, 31ff). The are several examples of how the medieval aristocracy encouraged and promoted colonisation in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (Larsson 1964:93ff, Wallerström 1995:49, Tollin 1999).

The role of the aristocracy in the process of colonisation in Scandinavia has often been explained in economic terms. It was a way of increasing their incomes by getting more tenants and increased production. This is probably partly true, but the process was also significant in another way, since it gave the aristocracy an ordering role in the landscape. To some extent the aristocracy came to plan the landscape at large, by deciding where and when new smallholdings should be started. The organising power of the Scandinavian aristocracy in the landscape was thus perhaps somewhat more indirect than its European colleagues, in some parts, but in others just as direct. There are several examples like Bergkvara, mentioned earlier, where the lord evicted a whole village to transform the landscape (cf. Rahmqvist 1996:186). Just as in other parts of Europe the lord was not the only organising power, but when the lord as landowner was concerned, he or she was probably influential and could persuade or enforce his will on the rest of the village. The organising power of the lord was, as elsewhere, dependent on economic and political strength, but most of all on his intentions. The local community close to a resident lord was more likely to be affected by the ordering of the landscape than those living close to a manor with a non-residing lord.

There can be no doubt that the lord in a European perspective and context played a significant role in the process of village nucleation and formation. Whether the lord was the sole decisive power is perhaps more doubtful. The influence of the lord was probably dependent on whether he or she was "interested" in a particular village. A resident lord probably took a keen interest in the affairs and daily life of the village, and was perhaps also more interested in the economy and organisation of land central and vital for income, while distant manors and land probably received less attention. This means that the lesser nobility, profoundly bound to the local community and dependent on its agriculture for survival, were more influential, relatively speaking, since they took a more active part in the organisation of the landscape than more distant and in political and economic terms more powerful lords, whose direct interest in the landscape was concentrated in special estates.

Regulating the landscape was probably a fundamental part of the spatial ideology of the aristocracy, and from this point of view the planning of villages and open fields and the creation of ornamental landscapes can be seen as two sides of the same coin. It was also something that engaged the aristocracy over large parts of Europe. Sometimes these different ways of ordering the landscape can be

found together, and there are also indications that this urge to organise and rearrange the landscape also existed among the lesser nobility, despite the fact that most research so far has been connected with the higher aristocracy. To illustrate this question, a number of case studies connected with noblemen not belonging to the higher nobility will be presented, originating from different parts of Europe. The purpose is to highlight some of the topics that have been discussed here.

Case studies

Apart from the lordly residence itself, several other features in the landscape characterised an aristocratic centre, the chapel, the church, the dovecote and the rabbit warren. These features were also of great symbolic importance, as they signified, among other things, the aristocratic status of the place. The location of these features thus gives insight into how the nobleman behind an aristocratic landscape related to an aristocratic spatial ideology.

Rand in Lincolnshire was a residence for noblemen of local importance from the late twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century. The manorial complex was situated in the north-western part of the village, north-west of the church. The preserved earthworks make it possible to visualise the extent of the manorial area in the village (fig. 45). An approximately square enclosure can be formed by a deep hollow way to the north, a hedged ditch to the east and another hollow way to the south. If this is correct, the church is included in the manorial area, and to the north of the church traces of former village plots can be seen. This implies an enlargement of the manorial area to enclose both the church and earlier village plots. This enlargement possibly took place in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, the site has not been excavated, which means that the interpretation presented by the Royal Commission is to a large extent hypothetical, even if it seems very likely in many cases (Everson et al. 1991:153ff).

The central part of the residence consists of a moated site with access from the centre of the south side, facing the village. South of the moat are four small fishponds. North-east of the moated residence is a long bank with an additional long mound at its south end and protected by a double hedgerow. This is perhaps a former rabbit warren. A linear ditch parallel with the nearby stream may have been a mill leat. South of the church is a large circular embanked site with stone foundations, perhaps the site of the dovecote. The earthworks of the village hint at a planned origin for the settlement, with regular plots lying on either side of a hollow way running east–west.

If the interpretation of the earthworks in Rand by the Royal Commission is correct, a number of typical aristocratic features were gathered close to the lordly residence. The fishponds, the rabbit warren and the dovecote are all powerful symbols of an aristocratic life, just like the moated residence itself. The topography at Rand is rather flat, but with a slight slope to the north, towards a stream.

Fig. 45 The moated residence and the village remains at Rand, Lincolnshire. a = fishponds, b = rabbit warren? c = mill leat ? d = enclosure bank e = dovecote ? After Everson et al 1991:154 fig. 112. © Crown Copyright. NMR

This means that the residence is not in a visible and dominant position, as is normal, but is almost lower than the village and the church. Against this topographical background it is interesting to note that the dovecote, a powerful aristocratic symbol, was placed in the south-eastern part of the manorial enclosure, the part most directly facing the village. The dovecote was probably, as most dovecotes are, a fairly tall round, almost tower-like stone building, distinctly visible and different from the buildings on the village plots. Placing the dovecote in a position where it had maximum visibility from the village was a clear symbolic act of manifesting the lordship of the village, a lordship that would otherwise have been less obvious, due to the somewhat secluded location of the residence on a slope (probably because of the need to water the moat), had been more vague. The lord of Rand thus used several aristocratic features to manifest his lordship and placed them in order to maximise their symbolic meaning.

A similar example is the village of Buslingthorpe, also in Lincolnshire. Here the earthworks of the now partly deserted village were surveyed by the Royal Commission in the 1980s (Everson et al. 1991:82ff). The present day Manor Farm is probably in the same place as the medieval manor, which means that the manorial centre has lost all of its original features apart from the moat (fig. 46). Manor Farm is surrounded by a moat on three sides, and it is possible to reconstruct the infilled moat on the fourth side. The manorial complex seems to have been roughly rectangular. An inner moated enclosure, the site of the residence, just east of the church, had an outer enclosure to the east, which was also moated. Today only an L-shaped pond in the north remains; the rest of this moat is covered by present-day farm buildings. The field to the east of this outer moated enclosure, probably the area for domestic buildings, also contained earthworks before it was levelled in 1969. In 1841 this field was called "Park Close", an indication that there may have been a small deer park here, or perhaps more probably a group of paddocks and orchards. The lack of finds from field-walking in the area confirms the absence of medieval settlement in this district. South of the village is another typical manorial feature, the mill with its millpond.

The remains of the village lie on three sides of the manorial complex in three distinct groups. The manor seems to have been well integrated in the village, with settlements on three sides and paddocks, orchards on the fourth. The village plan is difficult to interpret since parts of it have been destroyed by modern roads and houses, but it seems that the manorial complex was divided from the village by roads in the south and north sides and by the church and churchyard to the west side. The village was probably regulated. Despite the somewhat confused earthworks, it is still possible to hint at some sort of regularity, especially in the north part of the village. Just as in Rand, Buslingthorpe was a residence for persons that can be characterised as typical "country knights", from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

A manor existed in "Thorpe" in the time of Domesday, c. 1086. In 1115 *Buselinus* held the manor in favour of Robert de Insula and apparently changed

Fig. 46 The moated residence and the village remains of Buslingthorpe, Lincolnshire. e = mill pond. After Everson et al 1991:83 fig. 62. © Crown Copyright. NMR

the name of the settlement, giving it his own name. Perhaps this coincided with the creation of the manorial complex, the replanning and regulation of the village and the erection or rebuilding of the church (Everson et al. 1991:82).

By the late thirteenth century the manor was held by the Buslingthorpe family, who also held the advowson of the church. The Buslingthorpe family has left its mark on the village and the church. Inside the church is the brass of Sir Richard de Buslingthorpe (died *c.* 1326) and the effigy and tomb of Sir John de Buslingthorpe (dead in the 1340s), where Sir John is lying in full armour on his tomb (fig. 47). The church also has a medieval western tower. The de Buslingthorpes were sometimes local officials, Sir Richard was justiciar in Lincolnshire in 1309 and when he died in 1326 the capital messuage in Buslingthorpe consisted of 244 acres of arable, 24 acres of meadow, 55 acres of pasture, 21 acres of wood and a windmill (Cal. Inq. Post Mortem vol. VI:690, Knights of Edward I vol. I).

Looking at the landscape of Buslingthorpe, the regulated village plan, the church, the moated manorial centre, the probable park/orchard and the mill-pond can all be seen as implemented parts of an aristocratic spatial ideology. Even if the lords of Buslingthorpe probably did not have extensive resources, they tried to adjust to prevailing customs within the aristocracy. All the features mentioned above first of all made it totally clear to the local community who was in charge. Outside visitors were also able to detect the presence of a "mighty" nobleman, who had his landscape arranged according to the needs of his class. Even if it is not likely that there actually was a vast deer park in Buslingthorpe, the survey by the Royal Commission in Lincolnshire found several examples and indications of the presence of deer parks (Everson et al. 1991:53) This was perhaps more common than has previously been thought, and in many cases deer parks can be connected to manorial moated sites like Buslingthorpe. A recent study has shown that many deer parks were rather small and that deer hunting perhaps was not the main purpose of many parks (Way 1997).

Another example of the importance of emphasising the aristocratic lifestyle and aristocratic connections within the lesser nobility can be found at Faccombe Netherton in Hampshire, a site that has been discussed earlier in this book (Fairbrother 1990). Around a third of the whole manorial complex was excavated. The excavation showed that the residence was established in the middle of the ninth century adjacent to, or together with, the parish church. The excavation showed the detailed and complex development of the history of the residence that was gradually abandoned in the fourteenth century. From the late thirteenth century Faccombe became the main residence of the Punchardon family, who can be characterised as belonging to the lesser nobility. In the late thirteenth century, around 1280, the manor house was reconstructed as a large stone building in two storeys with an enclosed courtyard in front of the house. Adjacent to the lord's private apartment was a room that probably functioned as chapel. In the backyard, among various buildings, there was also a dovecote (Fairbrother 1990:73ff).

Fig. 47 The grave of Sir John of Buslingthorpe, dead 1340, in Buslingthorpe church. Photo M. Hansson.

Entrance to the residence and the hall was from a large enclosed courtyard, just north of the adjacent church, where visitors to the lord could be kept waiting, just as visitors to major castles could be kept waiting in elaborate fore-rooms, as for example has been established at Castle Rising in Norfolk (Dixon 1998). While having to wait, the visitor probably viewed the residence and then saw the tiled roof, and on the ridge both glazed tiles and tiles that were zoomorphic or anthropomorphic. Sherds of both these types of tiles were found by the excavation. Among the latter several types were identified; a horse with a rider and at least parts of eleven animals (Fairbrother 1990:202ff). These tiles are probably the remains of a hunting scene with hunters and prey, which originally embellished the tiled roof on the ridge, thus further emphasising the lord's aristocratic status as a keen hunter, one of the most noble tasks for a nobleman. This could also be seen in the animal bones that were found. A considerable amount of the animal
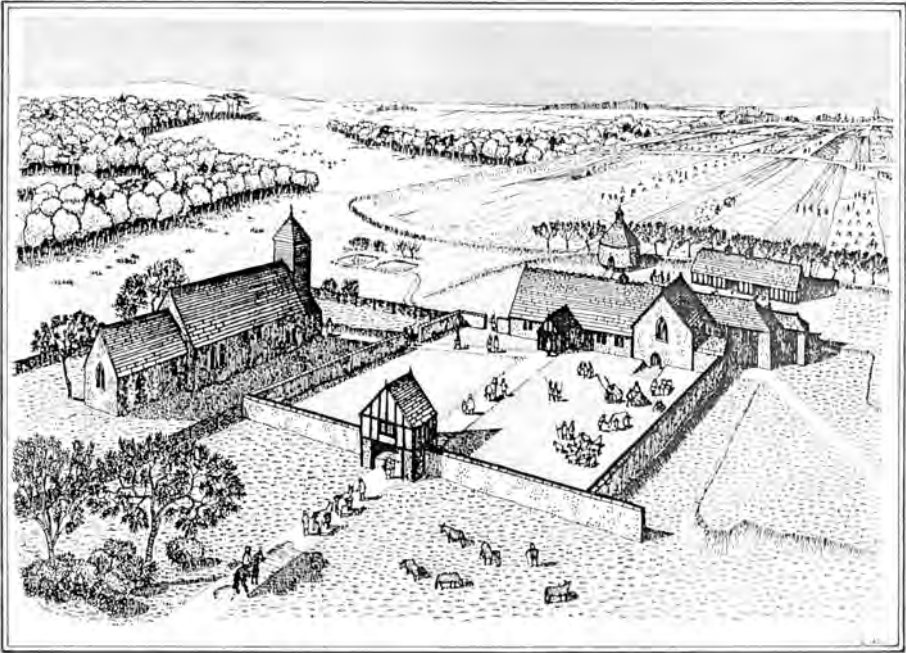
Fig. 48 A reconstruction of the residence at Faccombe Netherton c. 1280—1356. When approaching the manor house and when in the courtyard, people could clearly see the hunting scene of tile finials on the roof, expressing the lord's aristocratic status. After Fairbrother 1990:76 fig. 3:12. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

bones came from venison such as deer and roe deer (Fairbrother 1990:47f). It is evident that the lord of Faccombe Netherton, even though he probably had small resources, by decorating the residence with a hunting scene, clearly visible from the entrance path to the residence, used space and architecture to emphasise his class identity (fig. 48). The residential centre had a large number of true aristocratic attributes, a large stone house, a nearby church and a village, but also a private chapel and a dovecote. The tile finials with the hunting scene could then to some extent be seen as a replacement of the missing park. This is thus a good example of how the lesser nobility adjusted to a prevailing spatial ideology within the aristocracy.

Much of the discussion regarding ornamental landscapes, however, has focused on "watery landscapes" and the huge amount of work that has was performed to create artificial lakes. The prime examples are the lake at Kenilworth and the moats at Bodiam, where the castle walls are reflected in water (fig. 2, 25, 44). But even this type of arrangements can be found even among the lesser nobility. Ightham Mote in Kent was built in the 1340s and later became the residence of several knights and squires of local importance (Nicolson 1998). The residence lies in a valley and consists of a moated manor house, with buildings from the

Fig. 49 Ightham Mote, Kent, built in the 1340's. Copyright The National Trust.
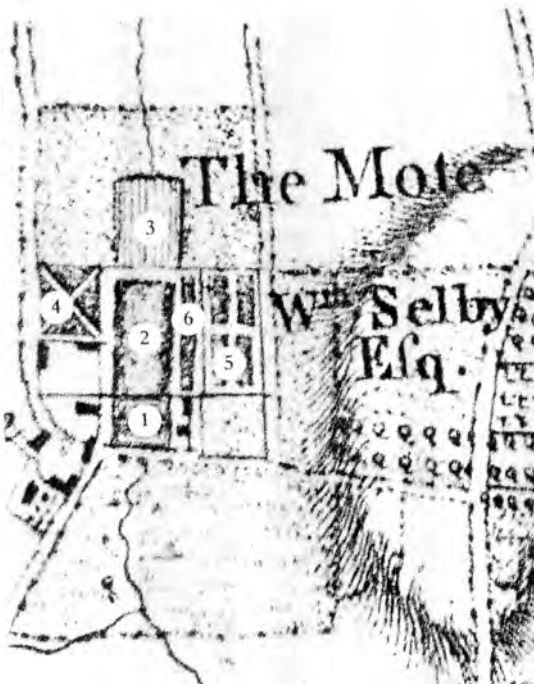

Fig. 50 The garden plan of Ightham Mote, based on a map from 1769. 1. Residence 2. Stew pond 3. Upper lake 4. Knot Garden 5. Terraced beds 6. Flower beds. After Nicolson 1998:32. Reproduced with kind permission of the National Trust.

fourteenth century onwards, with a surrounding landscape giving a nineteenth-century impression (fig. 49). However the moat must belong to the first phase of the residence, since it runs directly on to the oldest buildings. The moat is fed with water from a small stream running from the north. The stream has been dammed to create a lake above the house and later also below the house to be able to maintain a stable water level and constant flow of water in the moat. The upper lake is present on a map from 1769, the oldest map of the site, while the lower lake seems to be a later element, only present on a map from 1869 (fig. 50) (Nicolson 1998:32f). Since the moat itself is from the fourteenth century, it seems highly likely that the arrangement with the dammed streams and at least the creation of the upper lake, and perhaps also a former very large stew pond situated between the upper lake and the manor house, visible on the map from 1769, are of medieval origin. If this interpretation is correct, the residence can be said to have been situated in a watery setting, and judging by the map from 1769 also with gardens, orchard and a small "park", a woodland area north of the upper lake.

The residence is today situated in a valley covered by woodland, in an isolated, secluded position in the southernmost part of the Ightham Parish. The distance to the parish church in Ightham is about 4 kilometres. Ightham can be seen as an excellent example of how a nobleman from the lesser nobility adjusted to the prevailing spatial ideology within the aristocracy by creating a secluded residence surrounded by aristocratic elements such as a moat, large watery spaces in form of a fishpond, gardens and orchards, and perhaps a small "park". The presence of a private chapel within the residence completed the picture of an aristocratic centre.

In the example of Ightham nothing is known about the connections and interaction between the residence and adjacent villages and farmsteads. This connection is, in contrast, very clear in a place like Rougiers in Provence in southern France. Rougiers is an example of the process of "incastellamento" in the Mediterranean parts of Europe. The village, which was extensively excavated in 1961–68, was located on a hilltop close to a castle, from the late twelfth century to the beginning of fifteenth century when the settlement was gradually abandoned and relocated in the valley (Démians d'Archimbaud 1980, 1987). The castle and the village were moved up on to the hilltop in the late twelfth century after local fighting had destroyed an earlier "castrum" probably situated in the valley. The move has been seen as the result of intentions of the lord of Rougiers to increase security and defence in a time of civil wars in the area, but the move to the hilltop does not seem to have taken place until after the actual civil war had passed.

The castle of Rougiers was built on the highest point of the hilltop, making use of the natural topography for defence as much as possible. Here a donjon and residential quarters for the lord were erected within an area enclosed by a wall with towers. In the part of the castle situated furthest away from the donjon and the residential quarters, the chapel was placed in one of the towers. This chapel seems to have had some communal functions for the village population. Outside

Fig. 51 The village of Rougiers, Provence dated to the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The plan shows structures revealed by excavation. After Démians d'Archimbaud 1987.
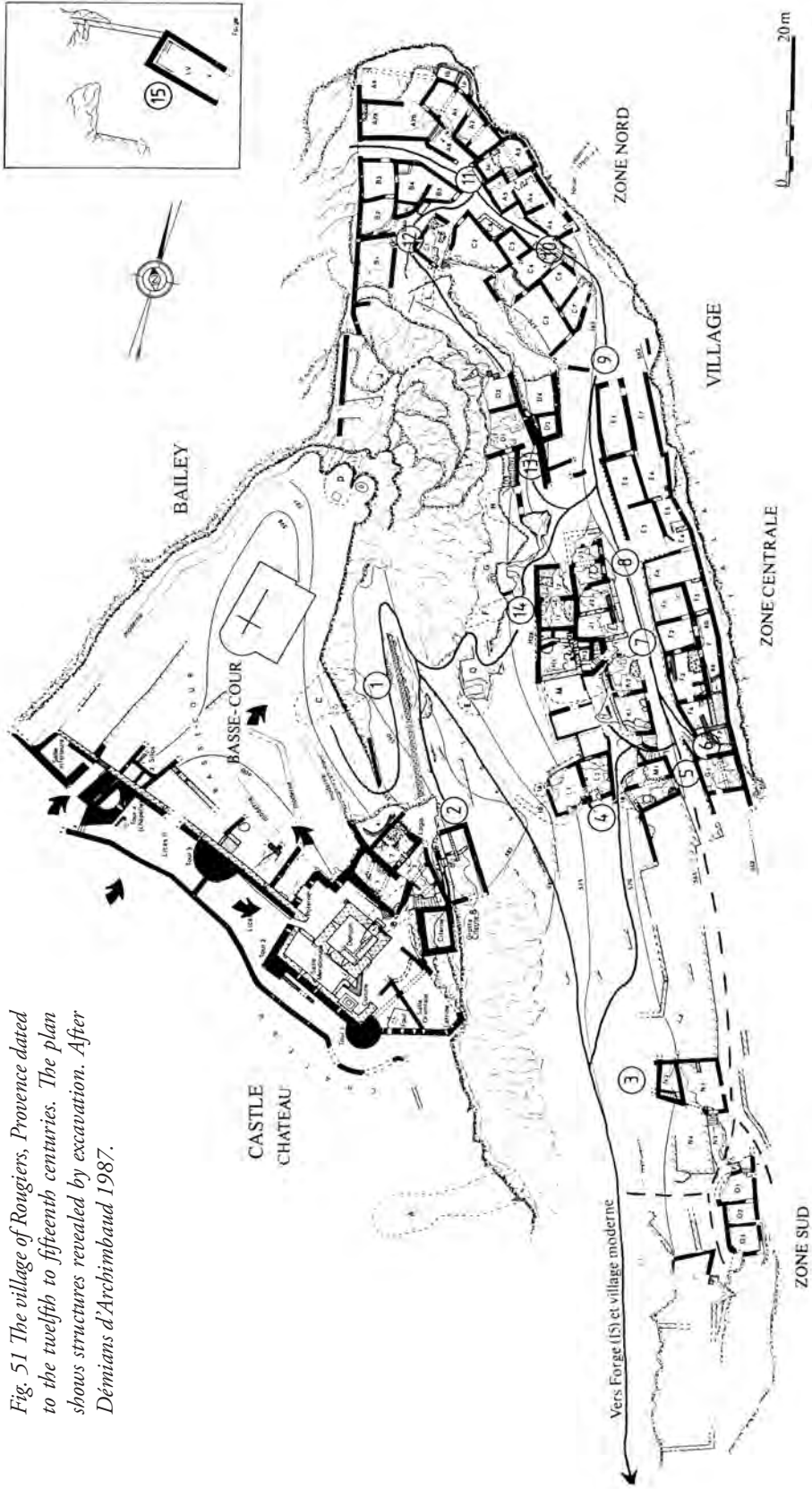
this inner part of the castle was a large outer bailey, in parts defended only by the steep natural cliff.

The village was enclosed by a wall and separated from the castle complex by the steep cliff and can be seen as another spatial unit (fig. 51). Large parts of the enclosed area were not suitable for habitation due to the topography; otherwise the area was packed with houses, and no public spaces existed. The settlement started with the construction of the castle and the curtain wall that enclosed the future village area. The village was definitely planned and the available land inside the curtain wall was divided into plots mainly along a main street. The village seems to have been established without any "free choices" for the peasants, showing the presence of an organising and planning lord. Rougiers was a typical example of a fortified village on a hilltop, where residential and agricultural areas were separated, with the tilled land in the lowland.

The location on a hilltop in a planned village directly under the castle of course meant that the lord had very direct control over his peasants. This was emphasised by the control of water in the village. Water was not naturally available on the hilltop and thus a source of permanent concern. Water was supplied mainly as rainwater. One water cistern was located inside the inner parts of the castle, close to the kitchen and the residential quarters, another communal cistern was located in a cave in the cliff just below the castle, giving the lord more or less direct control over this water supply too. This communal cistern was abandoned in the late thirteenth century and not replaced by any other, thus further increasing the lord's control over the water supply in the village. Even if Rougiers to a large extent differs from other examples discussed in this book, it is possible to detect similarities in how the lord used space to strengthen and emphasise lordship, according to an overall spatial ideology.

First of all the presence of the castle and the planned village was a very distinct reminder of the aristocratic lordship. The lord directly controlled the village and the surrounding landscape and could persuade the peasants to reside in his village despite the many disadvantages this must have meant for their daily life. The period when these "incastellamento" villages existed can thus be seen as a period not only of unrest and civil wars, but also as a period when feudal lordship was truly dominant. Despite the cramped settlement on the hilltop, it is possible to detect how the noblemen of Rougiers at the same time tried to distance themselves as much as possible from the peasants. The castle was spatially separated from the village, partly by the topography of the hill, but partly because the area closest to the castle, perfectly suitable for housing, entirely was used for a vast bailey. The only "public" part of the castle, the chapel, was also located as far away as possible from the lordly residence. In the context of the hot and dry Mediterranean climate, the lordship of water must have been most significant.

A more typical example of the lord ordering landscape and space in a north European perspective can be found at Bourcq in the Ardennes in northern France, even if the structural similarities to Rougiers are clear. In Bourcq the castle and

village are located on a ridge above the Aisne valley, with the motte-and-bailey castle in the eastern part (Bur 1980:27ff). The castle is separated from the village by a moat, and just outside the moat is the parish church of Saint Nicolas. The village is definitely planned, laid out along a main street running eastwards from the castle and church. The whole settlement was surrounded by a rampart creating a fortified village just as at Rougiers. The castle of Bourcq is probably built in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and existed until it was demolished in 1596. Bourcq is a typical example of the huge number of settlements, villages and boroughs that were planned adjacent to a castle throughout Europe as part of the common trend of urbanisation in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Most settlements founded by the aristocracy close to their castles never developed into towns, many remained villages even if they had formal status as borough with market and fair (Creighton 2002:151ff). From a structural point of view there are a lot of similarities between a place like Bourcq and a place like Buslingthorpe; both can be seen as expressions of how the aristocracy ordered and planned the landscape.

In Germany there are abundant examples of how the aristocracy organised landscape and settlement adjacent to their residences. This process of aristocratic planning is especially well documented in connection with the process of colonisation and assarting. A well-known example is Königshagen in Harz. The archaeological project regarding Königshagen is interesting in many ways, not least methodologically, since it is one of the first multi-disciplinary investigations of a medieval village site, combining archaeological, historical, palaeobotanical and onomastic studies (Janssen 1965). Königshagen is today a deserted village site centred round a moated site. Parts of the moated site and four of the thirteen house plots that were visible have been excavated. The moated site consisted of a circular platform with a stone house in the centre. In the first phase it was enclosed with a palisade inside the moat. In a later phase, when the residence and village were donated to a monastery, the stone house was converted to a church and the surrounding palisade was transformed into a circular enclosure of houses (fig. 52). Königshagen was founded as a new settlement in the 1130s or 1140s by the counts of Scharzfeld in an area of colonisation lacking older settlement. The fortified residence functioned as a centre for the counts in this area and as focus for their efforts to persuade peasants to colonise it. The village was donated to a monastery in the first half of the thirteenth century and was abandoned in the early fifteenth century.

The moated residence dominated the village, lying in its northern part. The topography did not allow a strictly planned settlement, but the village plots were mainly distributed south of the residential centre, The excavations indicate that both the manorial residence and the village were established in the middle of the twelfth century and abandoned in the early fifteenth century, in accordance with the evidence of the written documents. Despite lacking a strictly planned village layout, it is very likely that the count of Scharzfeld initiated and planned the whole settlement and not just the fortified residence. Königshagen is one of many examples of controlled colonisation in early and high Middle Ages in Europe.
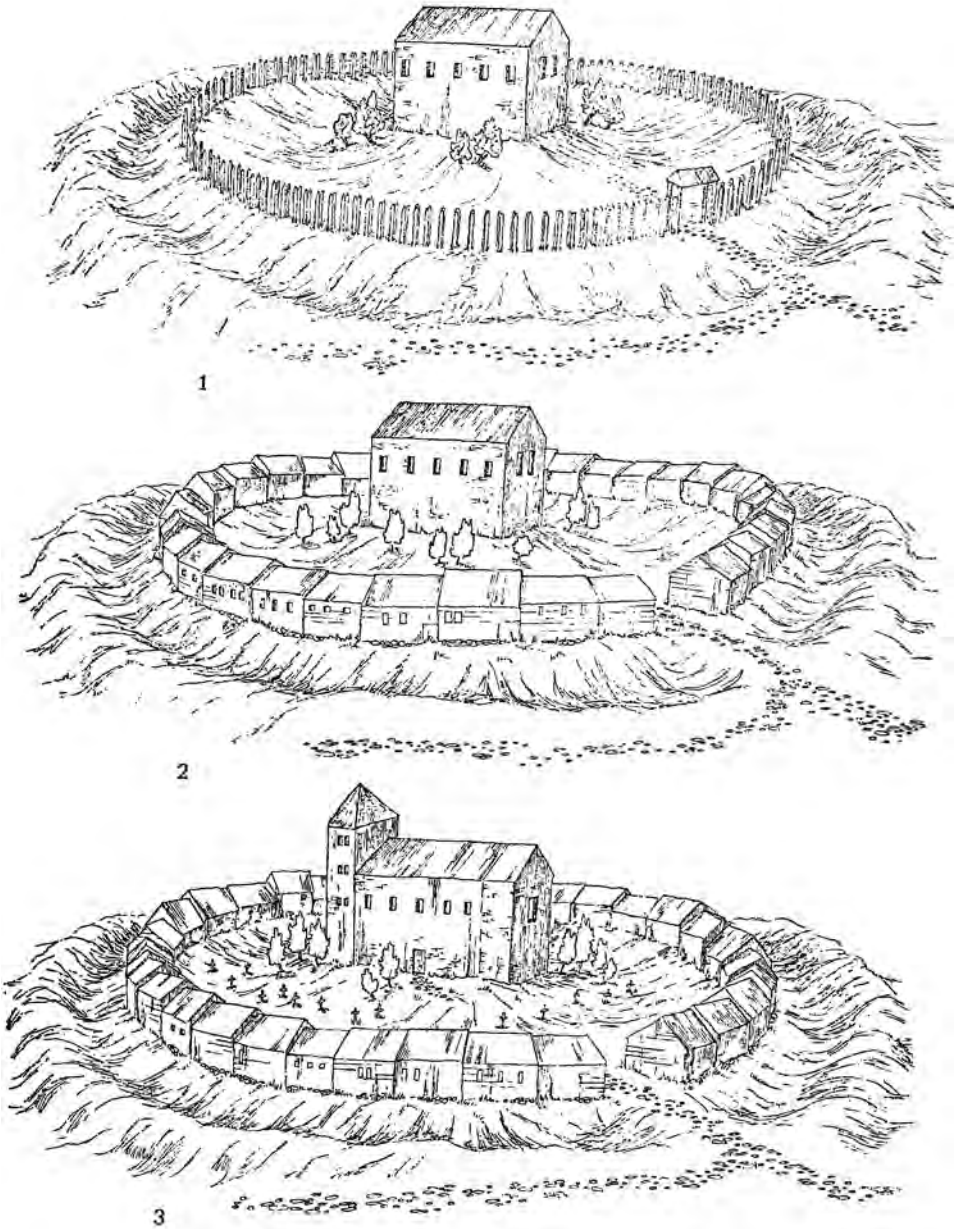
Fig. 52 A reconstruction of the residence of Königshagen. Phases 1 and 2 before 1250. Phase 3 after 1250 when the residence was converted into a church. After Janssen 1965:159 abb. 17.

Controlled colonisation in woodland areas was used already during Carolingian times, when the Frankish nobility, in co-operation with the emperors, initiated and controlled the colonisation in connection with the conquest of Saxony. In some cases, as at Lemshausen in Saxony, the village plan reveals an original

Fig. 53 The cadastral map of Lemshausen 1873/74. The inset map shows a reconstruction of the original planned village. After Nitz 1983:180 fig. 12:6.

planned and regulated village (Nitz 1983:179ff). The village plots in Lemshausen seem to have been quite equal in size, apart from the plot of the manor house, which is around three times the size of a "normal" plot (fig. 53). Connected to the manor house was the village chapel. The manor is first mentioned in 1030 when it belonged to a local nobleman, who in that year transferred it to the Bishop of Paderborn. An analysis of the village plan shows that this planned colonisation village was originally founded as a single row of houses along the street adjacent to a manorial residence. Later the village expanded and became a village with two rows of houses on either side of the street. When the village was founded is not clear, but the place-name and its location on the fringe of pre-Carolingian settlement indicate that Lemshausen must belong to an early group of Carolingian villages in Saxony. The role of the lord in this process of ordering the landscape is obvious.

In Scandinavia a similarly obvious role for the lord is not easy to distinguish for the Middle Ages, partly because a large amount of free men balanced the power of the lord in many villages. Perhaps more important is the limited number of written documents and the topography, with settlements consisting of hamlets and single farmsteads over large parts of Scandinavia, which makes the identification of regular village plans similar to those on the Continent difficult and impossible. Sometimes an analysis of written documents and most of all historical maps can provide indications of the ordering role of the lord. The village of Gamla Uppsala in Uppland in central Sweden has been shown to have originally consisted of two parts: there was a large royal manor in the western part with its demesne separated from the rest of the village, while the eastern part of the village, at least in

1640, consisted of twelve equally large farms. Already in 1540 the eastern part of the village comprised twelve farms (Rahmqvist 1986). Unfortunately there are no medieval sources mentioning this part of the village before 1540, but it is possible that the village consisted of twelve equally large farms during the Middle Ages, which could indicate that the lord, in this case the king, had planned and ordered the landscape adjacent to his manor in Gamla Uppsala. This can at first be seen as a special case in Sweden; Gamla Uppsala was the largest village in Uppland and by tradition the seat of the pre-Christian kings, but closer analysis of historical maps of hamlets can also indicate the role of the lord in ordering the landscape.

One example is the former hamlet of Vallsjö in Njudung in Småland. Today the hamlet has disappeared; it was evicted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the arable land was gathered in the present "Vallsjö Gård". In Vallsjö the decorated Romanesque stone church, some written documents and an analysis of a historical map from 1805 shows that the hamlet during the Middle Ages, probably until the fourteenth century, was dominated by a manor. The church was decorated with elaborate decorations at the south doors into the nave, and the chancel and had also a western tower (fig. 54). The importance of the site is highlighted by a document that mentions that Knut Eriksson, king of Sweden in the second half of the twelfth century, at one point stayed in Vallsjö, even if nothing suggests that this was a royal manor (Hansson 2001a:153ff).

The map from 1805 shows the village before it was evicted, with "Storegården" (the large farm), most likely the former manor, located on the highest point in the landscape, above and east of the church (fig. 55). The other four farms were gathered south of the church and the manor. The map also shows how "Storegården" had the vast majority of its arable fields concentrated close to its toft, which is characteristic of manors in Scandinavia (Rahmqvist 1986, Riddersporre 1989). This further strengthens the interpretation of Storegården as a former medieval manor. The other farms in the hamlet had their fields much less concentrated. The lord of Vallsjö cannot be proven to have planned the village, but it is very evident that the lord controlled it from the residence, dominating in the landscape located above the church and other farms. In the sixteenth century the farms in the hamlet, apart from the rectory that belonged to the church, belonged either to the nobility or the monastery in Nydala. The farm that then belonged to monastery had belonged to the nobility until 1379. The same is very probable of the rectory. It is thus very likely that the whole hamlet had originally belonged to the lord of the manor. This leads to the question whether the lord also created the hamlet and its tenant farms. The evidence from Vallsjö is tempting to use in many ways, but since the site has not been excavated, this can only be speculation. However, a place like Vallsjö clearly indicates that the Scandinavian nobility also ordered the landscape as far as it was able.

There is also archaeological evidence from various excavations in villages and hamlets, especially from medieval Denmark, including Scania in present-day Sweden, which hints at a significant role for the local lord in planning and organising the

Fig. 54 The Romanesque church of Vallsjö to the left with the site of the former medieval manor on the hill to the left. The modern farm was placed on the medieval site at the beginning of the nineteenth century, thus re-creating the old relationship between church and manor. Photo M. Hansson.

village. A scholarly key question in Scandinavia has for a long time been when and how the villages were settled in their final historically known locations. This was a process at the transition between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages that ended a habitual "behaviour", whereby settlements during the Iron Age had moved around at intervals within a certain area. The process of moving settlements has been found over large parts of Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, where large-scale excavations have revealed how hamlets moved around during the Iron Age (Hvass 1988). The Viking Age village of Vorbasse in Jutland, which has been more or less totally excavated, consisted of several farmsteads, each surrounded by its own fence. The structure of the village showed that the farms had been placed according to a regulated plan. One of the farms in the village was considerably larger than the other "ordinary" farms, both in the size of the toft and the number of houses on the toft; it has been interpreted as a magnate's farm (Hvass 1988:87ff). The presence of this magnate's farm, the regulated layout of the village, and the fact that the other farms in the village were more or less equal in size and structure, makes it possible to see Viking Age Vorbasse as a planned and ordered village, controlled by the local lord.

In the eleventh or twelfth century the village at Vorbasse moved to its present location, where a church was erected. Whether this process, whereby the villages changed location at the transition from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages, was a general phenomenon for south Scandinavia or the picture is more complex and
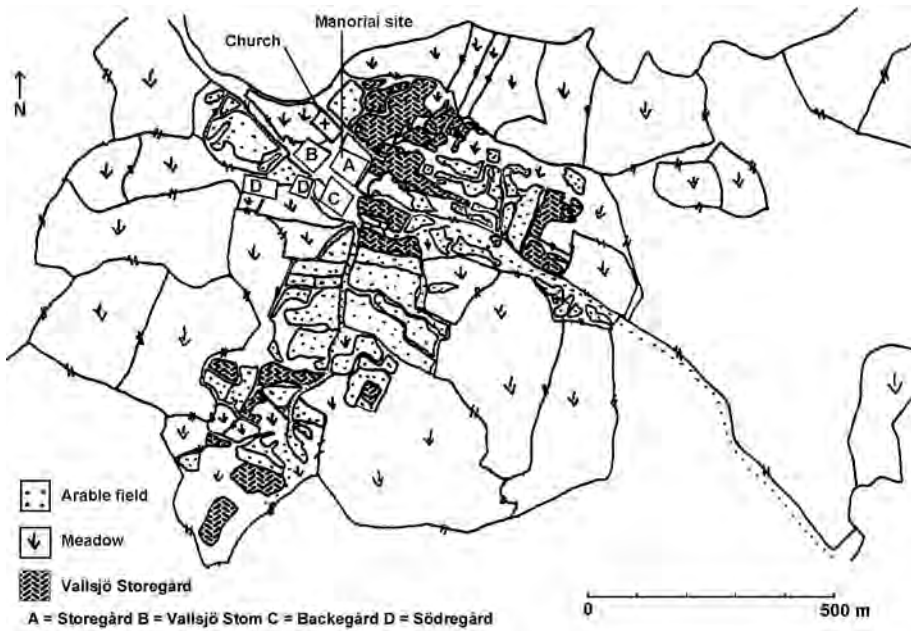
Fig. 55 Extract from the cadastral map (storskifte) of Vallsjö 1805. The map shows how the arable fields of the former manor were still concentrated in the area east of the church and the manorial toft. After Hansson 2001:155 fig. 68.

affected by regional variation, is an ongoing scholarly question in Scandinavia (Callmer 1986, Porsmose 1988:226ff, Thomasson 1998, Carelli 2001:29ff). Even if the dating of the change in settlement seems to have varied between different regions, there is no doubt that a major change in settlement location took place in many regions in Scandinavia some time between 800 and 1200. Also connected with this process was the building of stone churches. This is the time when noble residences, "heirs" of the Viking Age magnate's farm in Vorbasse, can also be traced in the villages. It is natural to assume that these local lords, who were often responsible for building or instigating the building of the church, also controlled large parts of the land in the village and thus were also responsible for ordering and planning the landscape in connection with this settlement transition.

One example is the excavation in the village of Kyrkheddinge in Scania, where a farmstead dating from the late tenth century until *c.* 1800 was studied (Schmidt Sabo 2001). From written sources, the presence of a magnate's farm in the village is known from the eleventh century. The excavated farm was loosely grouped on the toft until *c.* 1200, when the toft was regulated and the toft was demarcated by ditches. These ditches continued to be used as borders for several hundreds of years. The structure and layout of the farm was also fixed from *c.* 1200 until 1475 (Schmidt Sabo 2001:65f). The local lord was probably a driving force, both in the process of establishing the village at this location, and also in regulating the village in the thirteenth century. This process and the acting of local lords should

probably be viewed as a result of a firmer manifestation by the Danish crown in Scania at the same time. (Schmidt Sabo 2001:84).

The examples of the significance of local lords in planning and ordering the landscape can thus also be found in a Scandinavian context, but this significance is not as evident as what is found in other parts of Europe. It was perhaps not as dominant as it was on the Continent and in Britain either, due to the large number of free peasants who could balance the power of the lord (cf. Harvey 1989). But in those cases where a lord was the dominant landowner, his intentions probably came to influence the landscape, and the importance of the cases above is that one can be certain that the need for planning and ordering the landscape also existed among the Scandinavian nobility.

The presence of ornamental landscapes has not so far been studied in Scandinavia, but it is evident that this type of landscape must have existed close to the residences of the aristocracy. One such example is Bergkvara in Småland, which was discussed in chapter 3; here the residence was rebuilt as a tower house in the 1470s (fig. 56). Judging by a detailed map of the site from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the late medieval layout of the residence can be reconstructed (Hansson 2005). The tower house was originally defended by two moats (fig. 57). In the late seventeenth century the inner one had partly been filled in and turned into a fishpond, while the outer one now more functioned as a ditch delimiting the "bailey". In this area between the outer and inner moat, a number of dwelling and service functions, for example the kitchen, were located. According to a description from the late seventeenth century, the main building of Bergkvara was now situated here as the tower house had lost its original function. Outside the outer moat lay a rather large garden delimited by a fence and with a symmetrical centre with flower beds. There was also a garden summerhouse here. North of the garden were the farm buildings and cattle houses of the residence. East of the garden, along the shoreline, two fishponds were dug. The map gives an image of the layout of Bergkvara in the early eighteenth century, but since this detailed map has the same structure as an older, less detailed map from 1674, it is likely that this structure is older, and probably is of medieval origin. Bergkvara was a residence for noblemen from the fifteenth century until the 1580s. Thereafter it functioned as a manor for absent noblemen who never resided here and seem to have visited Bergkvara very seldom. Sometimes Bergkvara was granted to various lay persons in the vicinity. These conditions make it unlikely that large efforts and resources would have been invested in changes in the layout of the residence and garden in the period between the 1580s and the early eighteenth century. If not medieval, the reconstructed structure of Bergkvara is at least from the sixteenth century, but features such as the two moats and the overall layout are definitely medieval. Several aristocratic elements, the moats, the gardens and the fishpond are present, and the mill was situated just on the other side of the lake, on the road approaching Bergkvara from the main road.

The landscape at Bergkvara is full of remains which make it possible to reconstruct an impressive approach to Bergkvara from the main medieval road. The

Fig. 56 The ruined tower house at Bergkvara.
Photo Smålands museum.

main road passes on the other side of the lake. From this main road a road to Bergkvara diverges and passes the mill-stream. The road to Bergkvara diverges from the main road at a high point from which anyone passing on the main road and/or approaching Bergkvara could see the mill-stream, the lake and the impressive tower house in the distance. The large tower house must have been a magnificent reminder of the status and social position of its owner, unattainable on the other side of the lake with its high stone walls reflected in the lake (fig. 58). Bergkvara can be seen as a Scandinavian version of an ornamental landscape.

Another Scandinavian example of a designed landscape and the significance of watery landscapes can be found at Glimmingehus in Scania. The castle at Glimmingehus was built *c.* 1500 (see chapter 4, fig. 27) and is today perhaps the best preserved private late medieval residence in Scandinavia. It was built as a typical medieval castle on a platform in a former lake demarcated by a moat on the land side. The main building is a four-storey high rectangular stone building with thick walls with loopholes and tiny windows. However, the residence seems previously to have had a much better watery setting (Ödman 1999, 2004). According to a seventeenth-century picture the residence was then situated on an island in a lake. West of the residential platform was a separate platform called *Trädgårdsholmen*, "Garden Islet". Today there are no visible traces of this former garden island and its date is unknown. Another remnant of the garden is perhaps the ornamented octagonal stone that today is mounted in a window niche. Originally the stone could have functioned as a top for a garden table (Hansson & Hansson 1997: 23). There are, however, remnants of a little wall that originally made it possible to dam the water in the area and create a lake. A small-scale archaeological excavation
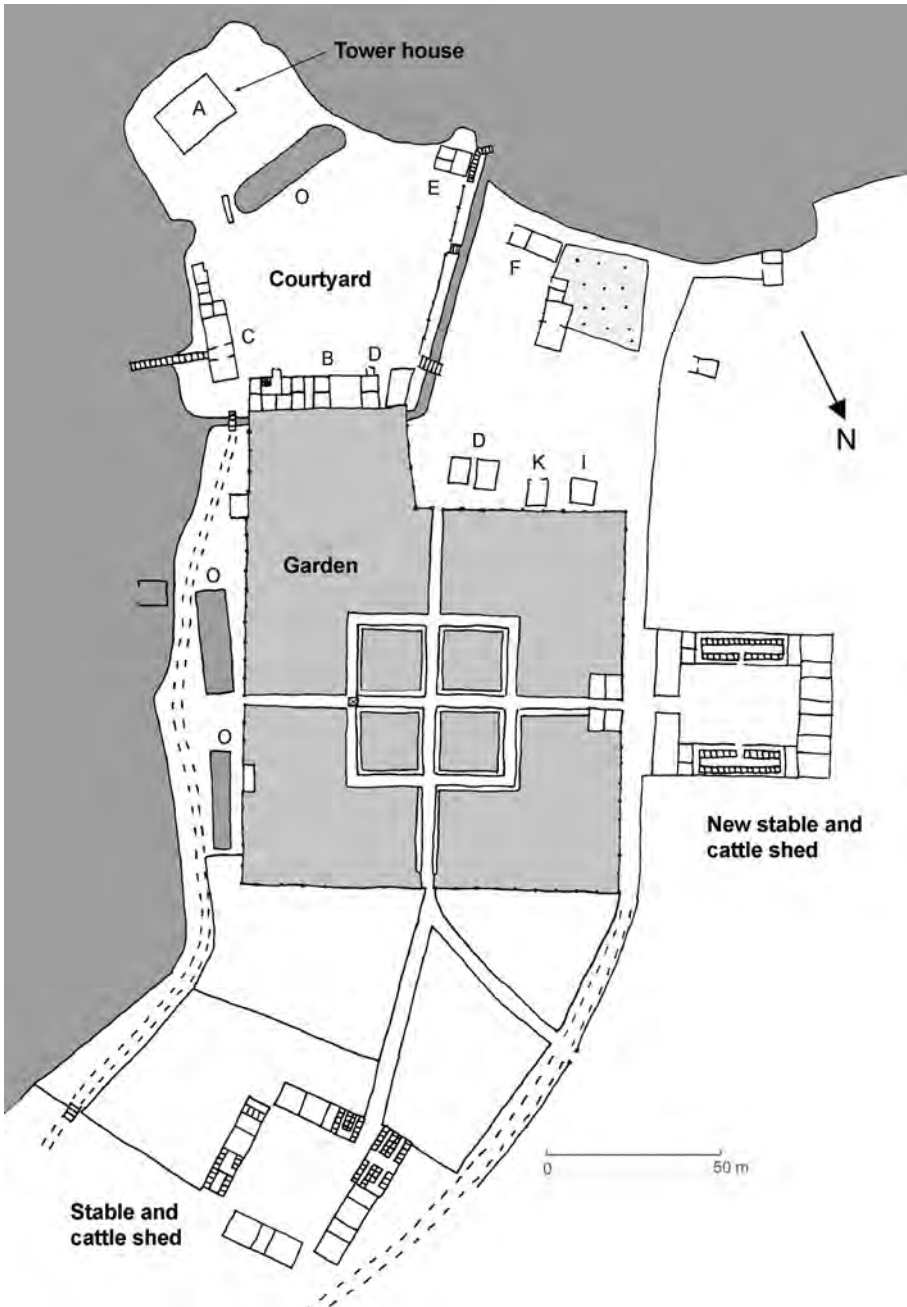
Fig. 57 The residence at Bergkvara in the beginning of the eighteenth century, probably reflecting a late medieval situation. The tower house was then situated behind two moats. A. Tower house B. Residential building C. Kitchen D, F, K, I. Sheds E. Bathhouse O. Fishponds. After Hansson 2005: 33.
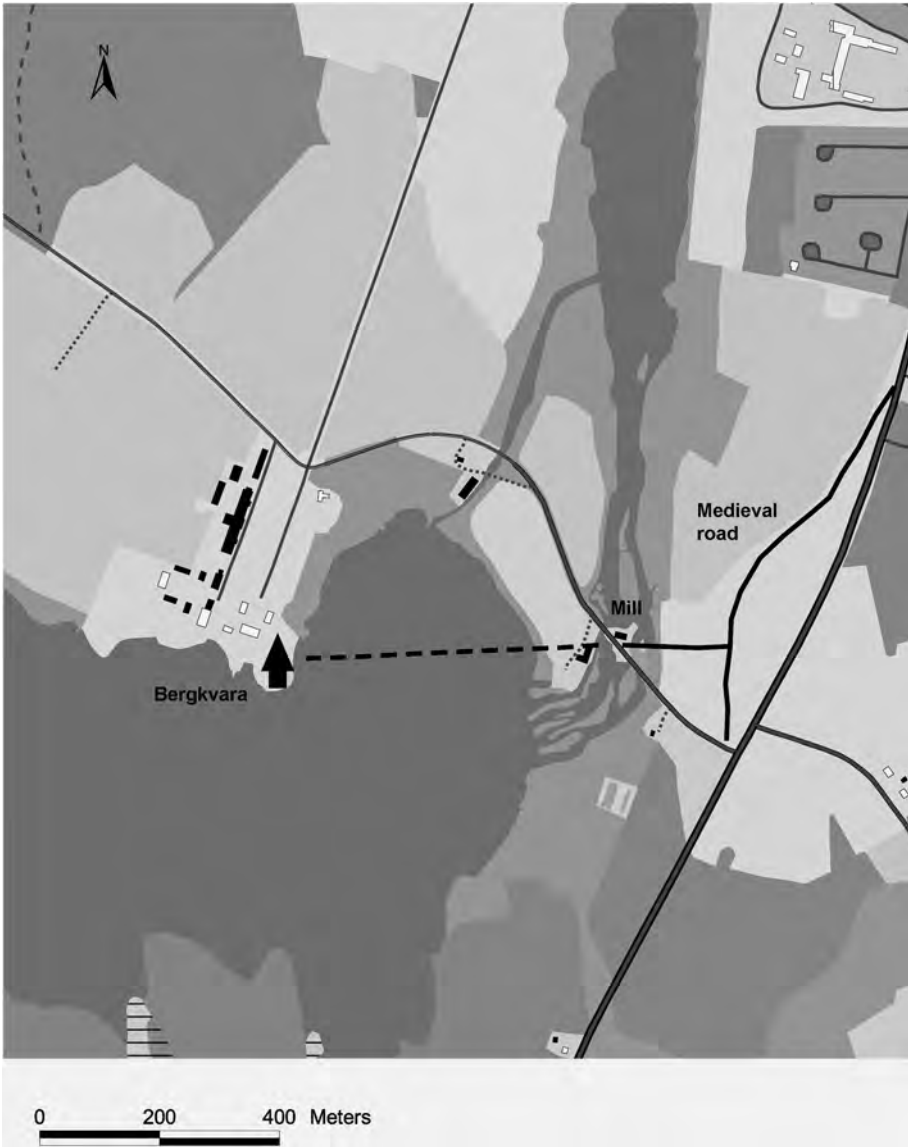
Fig. 58 An interpretation of how a visitor perceived Bergkvara. When approaching the residence, a visitor first passed the mill, but constantly had the distant tower house in focus. The tower house was also visible to travellers on the main road.

has however dated this feature to the seventeenth century, but it cannot be excluded that the wall had an older predecessor. If that was the case, the watery setting of Glimmingehus was man-made. It is likely that the landscape surrounding Glimmingehus was characterised by several aristocratic features, just like more famous European examples. Future research on designed landscapes outside Britain will probably increase the number of examples considerably.

Conclusion

It has been possible to establish that the aristocracy all over western Europe was interested in planning and ordering the landscape, both the economic-functional landscape of villages and hamlets, and also the "pleasure landscape" surrounding their residences. This aristocratic interest in regulating and planning villages has often been explained in economic terms: it was something that made administration of tax, rents and other dues easier. It was also, just like the castle, a symbol of the power of lordship and a very tangible expression of power in the landscape. But there has seldom been any discussion about why the aristocracy had an interest in regulating the landscape and what this symbolised. To explain this with economic arguments is probably to give medieval man an excessively economic mind and to have too much faith in medieval manorial administration.

It seems as if there was an urge to plan and organise the landscape within the European aristocracy. The aristocracy was not the only organising power in the landscape and they did not always do all the planning – this ability was also present among peasants – but when the aristocracy was concerned, as they were as landowners and often the largest landowner in the village, it was part of their spatial ideology to organise and plan the landscape. The same goes for the question of ornamental landscapes. Planning and organising space was embedded in the values of the aristocratic class, materialising their role as protector of society, as the ones that controlled and defended society. It is also evident that this type of landscape planning existed even among the lesser nobility. Sometimes the differences between places connected to the higher nobility and places connected to the lesser nobility is just a matter of scale. If you could not afford a deer park, a large garden and orchard had to do, or a large pond instead of an artificial lake. Together all these aristocratic features in the landscape reveal a great interest in ordering space.

Ordering the landscape was the ultimate way of manifesting power and status. The medieval landscape planning by the aristocracy was to a large extent the predecessor of the elaborate process of landscape planning found in later periods, especially the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when large palace landscapes emerge throughout Europe. Many castles from the thirteenth century onwards, for example, have a symmetrical layout, and symmetry is not something natural. Creating symmetrical spaces, whether inside the built environment, inside the residence, or in the landscape as a planned regulated village plan, thus reveals the power of the lord, the power to change and put things to order. When this power also involves the changing of nature, by creating lakes and ornamental gardens, this power is further strengthened. An ordered landscape, centred around a manorial centre, with a church, a deer park, a planned or controlled village and so on, was also a symbol of the world and can be seen as an aristocratic "microcosm". This is how they viewed the world and this is how they wanted it to stay, a world where the three orders existed side by side, but under the control of the nobleman.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A RELIGIOUS DIMENSION

An obvious feature of the spatial setting of residences and manors is their common relationship with churches and chapels. In England alone the number of manors situated close to a parish church must run into thousands. The local lord has also often been seen as being responsible for building churches (Morris 1989:163, 248). Over large parts of Europe the manor and the church are focal points in the villages and probably also functioned as nodes in the village formation process. In the case studies presented in the previous chapter the close spatial relationship between residence and church could be seen in examples from all of western Europe. In some cases the church was situated just outside a manorial enclosure, as in Buslingthorpe, in others, like Rand and Linwood, the church seems to have been incorporated within the manorial enclosure. In several cases the lord of the manor also had advowson of the local church (see Horningtoft). There are also examples, like Great Chalfield in Wiltshire, where the parish church is actually located in the courtyard of a more or less moated residence (fig. 59) (Floyd 2001).

Since the aristocracy often granted land, including whole estates, to their newly founded religious institutions, there are also examples where the noble residence itself was converted into a church. This was the case in the village of Königshagen in Harz in Germany. When the moated residence and the village were donated to the monastery in Pöhlde, the stone house of the residence was converted and extended into a church (fig. 52) (Janssen 1965). A similar development can perhaps be seen in the church in Kläckeberga in eastern Småland in Sweden. The medieval church seems to have been used for various secular activities, including residential, which might imply that the church originally was a noble residence. It was built during the thirteenth century and only later transformed into a church. There are other churches in this area where evidence of secular use of the church has been found, for example in Halltorp. Just as in Kläckeberga, the church in Halltorp was used for residential purposes (Anglert 1993:162, Åkerlund 1945).

If this close spatial relationship between church and residence does not exist, the presence of a chapel within the residence is almost compulsory. We can return to Ightham Mote, mentioned earlier, and built in the 1340s in a secluded position in Ightham Parish, roughly 4 kilometres from the parish church. One room close to the lord's private apartment, belonging to the original phase of the residence, functioned as chapel for the lord and his household (Nicolson 1998). Similar arrangements existed in almost all castles around Europe. Regardless of economic and political status and power, the lord was always close to a place of worship.

Fig. 59 Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire with the church located on the partly moated plat-form of the residence. Photo M. Hansson.

But the religious dimension of the aristocracy was not confined to building churches and chapels; the aristocracy was also responsible for the foundation of many monasteries in medieval Europe. Founding a monastery was almost part of the behaviour and lifestyle of the upper nobility, the group principally engaged in this process. A monastery or other religious institution was often included in the aristocratic landscape close to residences, reflecting status and paternalism but also personal piety on the part of the builder. Many monasteries functioned as burial place for the members of the noble family, as a place where powerful families could be remembered (Crouch 1992:311ff, Astill & Wright 1993, Liddiard 2000:56f, Creighton 2002:127f). But members of the lesser nobility also founded and donated land and gifts to various minor religious institutions. In Gressenhall in Norfolk, William de Stuteville founded a chapel in the northeastern corner of the parish about 1250, where a college of priests under a master were supposed to pray for the souls of the founder, his ancestors and heirs (Blomefield 1808 vol. IX:515f). This foundation was more modest than a true monastery, but nevertheless gave a religious impression to the aristocratic landscape created and maintained by the lords of Gressenhall.

The nobility's relationship with the Church is thus no surprise, and this is something that has been long known. The Christian ideology was the foundation of society and played an enormously important role in daily life, not only for the aristocracy. The Catholic Church and the Christian religion surrounded people and was embedded in their lives. From the cradle to the grave Christian thoughts, actions, rituals and ceremonies accompanied people, peasants as well

as kings. Religious belief and piety guiding people's actions were quite natural in the Middle Ages. The fear of Judgement Day and Purgatory was a tangible feeling that had to be dealt with in the present. This was one very obvious reason why the aristocracy founded churches, monasteries and other religious institutions, to ensure themselves of God's mercy in the afterlife and to shorten the period of time spent in Purgatory. It was never too late for remorse, as the example of Thomas de Cuckney shows. In 1153–54 Thomas founded a monastery of the Premonstratensian order at Welbeck. Included in the foundation was the church of St Mary's in Cuckney, situated in the bailey of Thomas's newly built castle in Cuckney. Thomas founded the monastery *for my soul and the souls of my father and my mother, but also for all those whom I have unjustly plundered"* (Creighton 2002:124).

Against the background of a society encompassed by Christian belief, it is thus not surprising that the aristocracy had a close relationship to religion, this was a common relationship for everyone in medieval society. Yet even if the Christian religion and ideology encompassed and structured society, this does not explain why there was such a close spatial relationship between the aristocracy and the church. It would have been possible to live a Christian life without having the parish church situated in the courtyard of your residence. It is thus evident that there existed a religious dimension to the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. The close connection between lords and the Church existed more or less since the Christian conversion in the later Roman period, which leads to the interesting question of the origin of churches.

The origin of churches – a lordly connection

The origin and emergence of the church building is a complex story which cannot be investigated in full in this context. This story is presented very briefly here. Originally the Christian rite was performed without buildings in any special architecture. In Europe Christianity was for a long time concentrated in the towns of the Roman Empire. The first Christians within the Roman Empire met in a variety of places, often in private houses where a particular room was reserved for worship and rites. When Christendom became the state religion within the Roman Empire, official places for worship, churches and cathedrals, developed, often instigated by the emperors. Much of the origin of church architecture was due to the emperor Constantine, who made Christianity the new state religion. This new position in society affected the religion, both the liturgy and the appearance of the church. Being an official religion, a more rigid and permanent liturgy developed as well as a stricter architectural norm. Previously the early churches had been incorporated in domestic buildings. Being an official religion and thereby also in some way part of the state meant that church architecture had to be differentiated and raised above the ordinary domestic architecture. When the emperors became patrons of the Church, the imperial origin of the patron

had to be expressed in the architecture of the church. The first large churches in Rome, Trier, Constantinople and Jerusalem, founded by Constantine, borrowed the plan from the secular basilica. The Roman basilica had a variety of functions, but normally it functioned as a law court and a meeting hall, and one or more basilicas could be found in most Roman cities in the Empire. When several basilicas existed in a city, their functions were often specialised, and the new Christian basilica represented just one more specialised basilica. Being an official and public building, the basilica in normal cases had a very strict ground plan, a rectangular plan with an apse at one or both ends. The same basic plan was used for imperial throne halls, where formal state ceremonies were performed. The rectangular hall provided space for the public, while the apse served as the place for the imperial throne, where the emperor at an appropriate time could show himself when a curtain concealing him was drawn back. In many ways the plan and appearance of these large cathedrals became influential for the period of church building that followed in Europe (Collins 1999:20f, 61, Cameron 1997, Krautheimer 1965:17ff).

In the beginning, Christian Europe was an urban phenomenon, bishops and cathedrals were located in the cities of the empire, and these urban Christian centres served large areas of the surrounding countryside. Christian centres grew up at places, mainly towns, where important saints were buried, or where significant bishops held office (Davis 1988:62f). Rural churches developed slowly, but they did exist, for example, from the late sixth century in Auvergne in France. The local churches in Auvergne were subject to episcopal cathedrals in nearby towns and in many cases functioned only as chapels without being fully developed parish churches. In this part of France the "normal" parish church was a development of the ninth and tenth centuries, when local landowners and lords established new churches on their land (Fournier 1968).

In England the development of churches and parishes followed a similar path. In the seventh and eighth centuries it seems as if a network of large parishes was established by acts of royal and episcopal policy. The central churches of these parishes, "minsters", served the surrounding countryside, and had also jurisdiction over the minor churches and chapels that slowly began to be established by local lords. Even some "minsters" seem to have been founded by private magnates. In the tenth and eleventh centuries this system of central churches with jurisdiction over large areas dissolved and was replaced by a system of local parish churches, often founded by local lords (Blair 1988). It is thus evident that the local lord was important in the development of the parish churches over large parts of Europe, even if this does not mean that lords, lay or ecclesiastical, were the only ones responsible for building churches.

There seems to have existed a religious Christian dimension to the household of the lord, even before he started to erect churches. There are several examples where household priests are mentioned in written sources, for example in lay wills (Blair 1988:6, 8), implying that a priest was a natural part of the retinue of greater
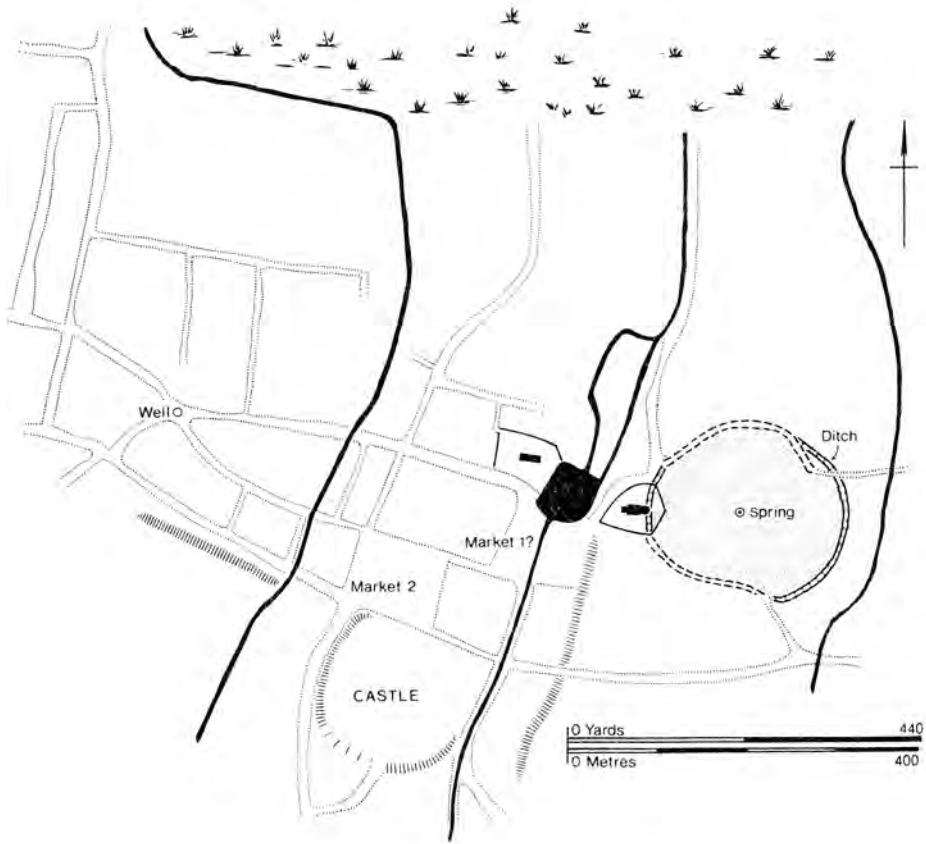
Fig. 60 Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire. Interpretation of the historic topography. The church was located partly inside a former manorial site. After Morris 1989:214 fig. 54.

lords. When this was the case it seems likely that Christian prayers and other cer-emonies took place within the household and residence of the lord. In many ways the early Church was a phenomenon connected to the rulers of society, kings and aristocracy and this was also a long-lasting relationship of mutual advantage. According to Anglo-Saxon written sources, ownership of a church and four hides of land, a "burh-geat" and doing royal service, marked thegnly status (Williams A. 2003). This further strengthens the religious role that was embedded in the concept of being a lord in the early Middle Ages. The relationship between mag-nates and churches and the influence of the lord on parish churches has also been demonstrated archaeologically.

Two of the more explicit examples in Britain are Raunds in Northamptonshire and Barton-upon-Humber in north Lincolnshire. In Barton-on-Humber a tur-riform church was erected, probably some time between the years 970 and 1030, just west of a large enclosure consisting of a curving bank and ditch (fig. 60). This enclosure surrounded what later became a manorial complex. Even if there were

some difficulties with the dating of the enclosure by the archaeological excavation, it appears as if the ditch was dug before 900. The church was built within an existing churchyard, and had thus probably had an earlier predecessor elsewhere in the immediate vicinity. The picture that emerges is thus that the church was erected just outside the manorial residence of a lord (Morris 1989:253).

A similar picture of the close connection between residence and church is seen in Raunds, where extensive excavations have revealed the development of a church and churchyard from c. 900 until c. 1200, when it ceased to exist. The church was erected close to a manor house, and when the church was abandoned c. 1200, a new manor house was built on top of the remains of the church. This manor house was finally deserted at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The close connection between lord and church is further strengthened by the fact that the surviving church in Raunds is situated about 250 yards from the former and adjacent to another manor house. Even if the dating and "prehistory" of this second church are not known, it is likely that both churches existed simultaneously. Two manors were recorded in Raunds in Domesday Book in 1086, and it is very likely that, while one was connected with the excavated church, the other was associated with the remaining church (Cadman & Foard 1984). The existence of two or more churches in a village can thus sometimes be explained by the earlier existence of more than one manor in the village.

Raunds is also interesting in another respect, since the earliest timber building identified in the late ninth century was not surrounded by burials. It was later replaced by a building that was clearly a church, surrounded by burials. This implies that the original timber building could have functioned as a "field chapel", used for service, but not yet licensed for burials (Hinton 1990:97). Since this chapel was situated close to a manorial residence, it is tempting to interpret this as the chapel where a "household priest" and member of the lord's retinue served.

Examples of this close connection between lord and parish church are well known over much of Europe. The theme of the nobleman building a private church at his residence, which later becomes the parish church, is well known, also in Scandinavia (Nyborg 1979, Anglert 1995). A particularly clear example is the excavation at Lisbjerg church in eastern Jutland in Denmark (fig. 61). Here an excavation of a farmstead immediately east of the twelfth-century church, famous for its golden altar, revealed that the church was originally erected inside the enclosed area of a magnate's farm. The farm consisted of several substantial timber buildings and was enclosed by a fence or palisade. The church was erected at a fairly central position inside the enclosure (Jeppesen & Madsen 1991). Another example is the residence and church in Bjäresjö in Scania, where it has been established that the stone cellar of the residence was built in the same technique and the same material as the church (see chapter 5).

In chapter 7 the residence of Bergkvara in Småland with its tower house was discussed as a Scandinavian example of a designed landscape. Bergkvara lies in the parish of Bergunda, about one kilometre from the church. Here the close
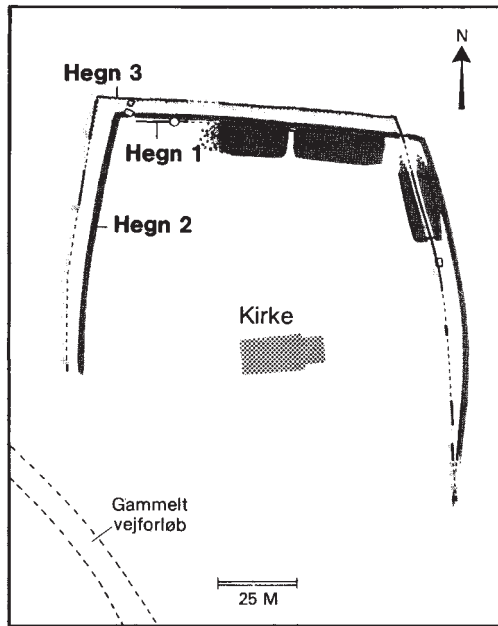
Fig. 61 The church at Lisbjerg, Jutland, erected inside a manorial enclosed site. After Jeppesen & Madsen 1991:272 fig. 5.

connection between lord and church is fully visible. Since Bergkvara is still a large estate, the church is full of items and memorabilia granted by various owners of the estate. In this context, the most interesting is the large late medieval western tower of the church. The tower was probably erected in the late fifteenth century, perhaps more or less at the same time as the great tower house was built (Liepe 1984:40ff). The tower was originally reached from inside the nave, but access to the first floor of the tower was through an exterior entrance placed seven metres above ground. The tower chamber had an original opening to the west, today into the attic above the nave. However, if the nave originally had an open ceiling, the chamber would have had direct access to the church and most likely visibility into the chancel. This chamber could have functioned as a private chamber for the patron of the church, even if this phenomenon in the late fifteenth century was a rather old-fashioned habit. The connection with the lords of Bergkvara, especially those from the Trolle family, is further strengthened by the fact that, according to a written source from the late seventeenth century, a coat of arms resembling that of the Trolle family was mounted on the south side of the tower. Hypothetically, Arvid Trolle, who built the tower house at Bergkvara, simultaneously built the western tower at the church, to strengthen his lordship by giving it a religious dimension.

There are also Scandinavian examples of chapels at the residences of the minor nobility. In chapter 5 Agundaborg was discussed as an example of how the minor

nobility choose to isolate themselves in the landscape. Agundaborg is situated on a peninsula in a small lake and consists of the remains of three visible houses (fig. 38, 39). One of those has the characteristic plan of a Romanesque church with a nave and a narrow chancel. The site is dated to the late thirteenth and/or early fourteenth century, and the church-like building most likely functioned as a private chapel for the residence (Hansson 2001:225). The religious dimension must be said to be important at Agundaborg; the residence is located less than a kilometre from the parish church, but despite this location in the vicinity of the parish church, the lord of Agundaborg needed a private chapel for his religious needs.

Religious structural continuity

The combination of lord and church is truly a characteristic feature of the medieval world. On a structural level, however, this connection between secular and religious power is nothing unique for the medieval aristocracy. Religious practice and being an active participant in religious actions has always been a significant mission for high-status leaders. In pre-Christian Scandinavia there is both archaeological and written evidence to show that much of the cult took place inside the hall of the lord and was performed by him. To protect, oversee and accomplish the cult was part of the role of being lord. This was where and when contacts were established between the living and the dead (Herschend 1997, 1998).

To some extent the role of the lord in the cult in Scandinavia developed in the middle of the Scandinavian Iron Age, *c*. AD 400–600. At this time the previous habit of large sacrificial deposits and religious cult taking place outdoors at lakes and bogs began to change, and cult and sacrifices were held nearby or inside the large halls of chieftains and lords. The aristocracy managed to institutionalise and take control of the religious cult (Fabech 1991).

The religious dimension was thus a significant part of the image of the lord. The kings in this pre-Christian Scandinavian society were responsible for the well-being of their people, to ensure them a peaceful, prosperous world and to be a successful war leader in times of war. Enabling this communication with gods and other supernatural powers was essential, ensuring that the king also had an important function in the cult. For example, several leaders in Viking Age Scandinavia appear as custodians of sacred sites in various poems and runic inscriptions. If the king or other leader did not fulfil his role in the religious cult he could be deposed and driven out of the country. The role of the leaders as protectors of cult, cult sites and also peace is very evident in Viking Age Scandinavia, which can probably be associated with the power and prestige of the leader, perhaps also his ownership of the hall or cult site (Ström 1967:80ff, Sundqvist 2002:180ff, 196ff). This role in the cult was a part of the "concept of being lord". To provide for the "religious welfare" of the people was just as integral a part of the leaders role as ensuring military protection.

The connection between the lord and the religious sphere has been clearly shown in the last few decades by a number of excavations of aristocratic residences in southern Scandinavia. In a number of cases cultic activities could be found inside or near very large halls that functioned as aristocratic residences. In at least one of these cases, Tissø in Denmark, a pagan cult was replaced by a possible church (Lundqvist 1996:14ff, Jørgensen 2001, Larsson & Lenntorp 2004, Söderberg 2005).

A similar combination of political and religious leadership existed within the Roman Empire, where public cult was a responsibility for the elite. Senators and aristocrats functioned as high priests in the public cult. The foremost representatives of this unification of religious and secular power were the Roman emperors, who, apart from being deities and worshipped themselves, had also held the office of *pontifex maximus* since the time of Augustus, the most prestigious priestly office in Rome, being head of one of several priestly colleges. In the Roman period the normal private cult took place within the home, at house altars. Even if everyone could say a prayer and make offerings, the lord of the household had an important part in this private cult, especially regarding offerings. By taking control of the religious cult and the offerings, the elite tried to conserve and reproduce the prevailing order (Gordon 1990, Beard et al. 1998:, 49, 186ff, Rives 2000). Small temples are also something that often existed in the vicinity of Roman villa complexes, country homes of the Roman aristocracy (Dark & Dark 1997:48f). In the Roman world too, it is evident that religion played a significant role for the public image of the lord.

Against this background it seems as if one of the main tasks of the elite has always been connected with religion. The lord could perform, protect or control the cult, which was often spatially located at or close to the residence of the lord. Predecessors of the medieval village lord and his village priest can be found. The close spatial medieval relationship between lord and church is an expression of a structural continuity of the significance of religion in lordship, which further underlines the importance of history and structural continuity within the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. For Scandinavia, Charlotte Fabech has emphasised the religious continuity from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages despite Christianisation, since the aristocracy continued to control or instigate religious cult. According to Fabech, the religious break in Scandinavia is not the Christianisation, but rather the change in religious customs that can be seen in the middle of the Scandinavian Iron Age, *c*. AD 400–600 (Fabech 1991).

The reasons behind the process of aristocratic church building have been viewed as a combination of economy and status as well as an expression of religious piety. The church was a source of income, since peasants in the vicinity had to pay various fees to be allowed to use the church for the necessary religious ceremonies that surrounded their lives, baptism, burial and so on. The church was also a symbol of status and prestige. It was a sign of the wealth of the lord who was able to build and maintain a church and a priest. It was also evidence of the

lord's noble status, following the path of the king. Sovereigns and members of the royal family were the foremost church builders together with the bishops in the early Middle Ages (Morris 1989:132f).

But if one uses a historical perspective and emphasises the structural aspects of religious cult and lordship, in accordance with Fabech's view, building a church and providing for the cult was part of the "concept" of the lord and thus quite natural in the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. This was something that local lords had always done; religious cult had always taken place in the vicinity of the residence of the lord. There are also other significant symbolic features that connect lordly residences and churches. One of the most interesting is the structural similarity between the lordly hall and the church. As mentioned above, the origin of the church plan, the Roman basilica, also functioned as a ground plan for imperial throne halls, clearly emphasising the symbolic connection between the new Christian religion and secular power. The Roman heritage is one clue to the later structural similarities between church and hall, especially in the way both were divided into different social spaces.

Religious and secular spaces

The use and significance of the lordly hall have been discussed above. In pre-Christian times the hall was used for religious cult, as a place where the lord manifested and reproduced lordship through sacrifices and ritual feasting. In the Middle Ages the hall was the place where the lord displayed lordship in public by feasting, receptions and manorial courts. At the same time the space in the hall was socially divided. The lordly table and seat was in the upper part of the hall, sometimes on a raised platform. The seating of the individual in the hall reflected his or her social position in the household.

The same is true for the church with its different architectural spaces for different categories of people. This division became more and more elaborate during the Middle Ages. The parishioners occupied the nave, the western part of the church, while the priest was in the chancel in the eastern part of the church. The chancel was reserved solely for liturgical use. In England the junction between these two zones, between secular and sacred space, especially from the thirteenth century onwards, was bounded by a decorated screen supporting the rood, preventing the laity from having direct visual access to the chancel and the events that took place in this area during mass, contributing to mystifying the priest and the liturgy (Platt 1981:135, Gilchrist 1999a:83). Just as the aristocracy became socially distanced in the landscape, there was also a contemporaneous process that secluded and distanced the laity from the deity and the mystery of the cult inside the churches.

Apart from this spatial division into a sacred and secular part of the church, there were also social divisions of space inside the church, especially according to gender, with women to the north and men to the south. The human life-course

was also symbolised in the iconography and the spatial ordering of the church. The newborn infant was baptised in the western part of the church, while the crucifix on the rood screen and the imagery of the chancel arch and the high altar itself symbolised the distinction between earth and heaven, and thus life after death (Andrén 1999, Gilchrist 1999a:83ff).

Space inside churches was also divided according to social status. The lord had a special place in the church normally connected to the western part of the nave. There are numerous examples throughout Europe where the western part of the church, and especially the western tower, have been connected with secular lordship. The lordly interest in the western part of the churches can be found in the special architecture, towers and other rooms that were inserted in major churches and cathedral from Carolingian times onwards (Anglert 1995:78). There are also many examples throughout Europe of "foundation graves" in the western part of the churches, especially in the floors of towers. In the province of Scania in medieval Denmark there are several examples of graves being found in the floor of the tower. These graves are often made with special care and of the same material as the church itself – of sandstone in the stone church of Hammarlunda, of brick in the brick church in Maglarp – implying that the persons buried in the tower were the founders of the church (Holmberg 1990:32, Andrén 1999, Wienberg 1993:145ff).

The lord could sit on a raised platform in the western part of the church, or, in a more elaborate church, in a private chamber in the tower overlooking the church, and often also the screen, giving the lord visual access to the high altar that was denied to the peasantry (Wienberg 1993:145ff, Andrén 1999:389f). The aristocracy was thus present in an elevated position, above the peasantry, and thus literally closer to Heaven than the rest of the parishioners, emphasising their divine legitimisation. It is worth stressing the similarities between how the lord sat in the church and how the lord sat in the hall, on a raised platform at the upper end of the hall, and in some cases also could view the hall in privacy from a private chamber.

The medieval church in many ways materialised the concept of social space and can be seen as a microcosm reflecting the social ideology of the three orders and of society as a whole. On the whole Christianity created several milieus where the social division of space according to age, gender, social status was part of the concept, not least in monasteries and other religious institutions. The ordering of space in monasteries was arranged to ensure the division of different social groups, monks from lay brothers, canons from nuns and all religious individuals from secular, non-monastic visitors. Within the monastic chancel and refectory seating was carefully ordered according to age and status within the community (Gilchrist 1999b:240).

The close connection between the religious and secular world is especially visible in the spatial ordering of the preceptories of the military orders compared to the ordering of an "ordinary" aristocratic manor. The military orders, such as the

Templars, were established after the first crusade in 1099, with the primary intention of protecting pilgrims, but they soon assumed an increasingly military role in defending the Holy Land and defeating the enemies of Christianity in various parts of Europe. The military orders were structured according to medieval codes of honour and warfare in the same way as the aristocracy as a whole, and most of the members of the military orders were also recruited from this group. But at the same time the members of the military orders were monks, following a monastic rule, and recruits underwent a period of novitiate before taking monastic wows. The military orders founded their activities in the Holy Land on income from land, in many cases originally land granted by royalty and aristocrats (Gilchrist 1995:62ff).

Just like the aristocracy, the military orders depended on income from lands, and just like the aristocracy the military orders ran their holdings by dividing them into separate units, in the case of the Templars regional units known as provinces. The holdings of each province were divided into administrative areas known as bailiwicks, which could comprise a region, shire or group of villages. The central administrative manor in a bailiwick was known as a preceptory (Gilchrist 1995:65). This organisation was similar to the one used by the aristocracy to administer its land holdings, with holdings in various regions or areas being centred around a major manor, which sometimes also had residential functions. This organisational similarity is no surprise; this was the normal way all major landowners administered their holdings, but there could also be a more direct link between the aristocracy and the military orders, and monasteries. Since most of the land donated to the military orders, and to monasteries, came from aristocratic sources, and since many prominent members were of aristocratic origin, the similarities in how secular and religious institutions organised their holdings can also be seen as an expression of the amalgamation of these two sectors of society.

This is expressed in the similarities in the spatial organisation of the aristocratic manor and the preceptory of the military orders. This can be exemplified by the excavation of the Templar preceptory of South Witham in Lincolnshire, which was excavated in the 1960s (Gilchrist 1995:81ff, Mayes 2002). The Templars acquired land in South Witham some time between 1137 and 1185. The preceptory was probably not fully developed until its second phase at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the site consisted of a large number of buildings suited for domestic or agricultural uses, grouped loosely round an extended courtyard (fig. 62). The site then included a great and a lesser hall, a chapel, a kitchen and dairy or brew-house, forming the domestic core of the central court in the southeastern part of the site. The agricultural part of the preceptory was located to the north and west and had considerable provision for agricultural storage, reflecting the preceptory's function as a reception place for agricultural products from surrounding holdings. The agricultural part of the site also included a workshop area, including a forge and a water-mill. The preceptory was located immediately west
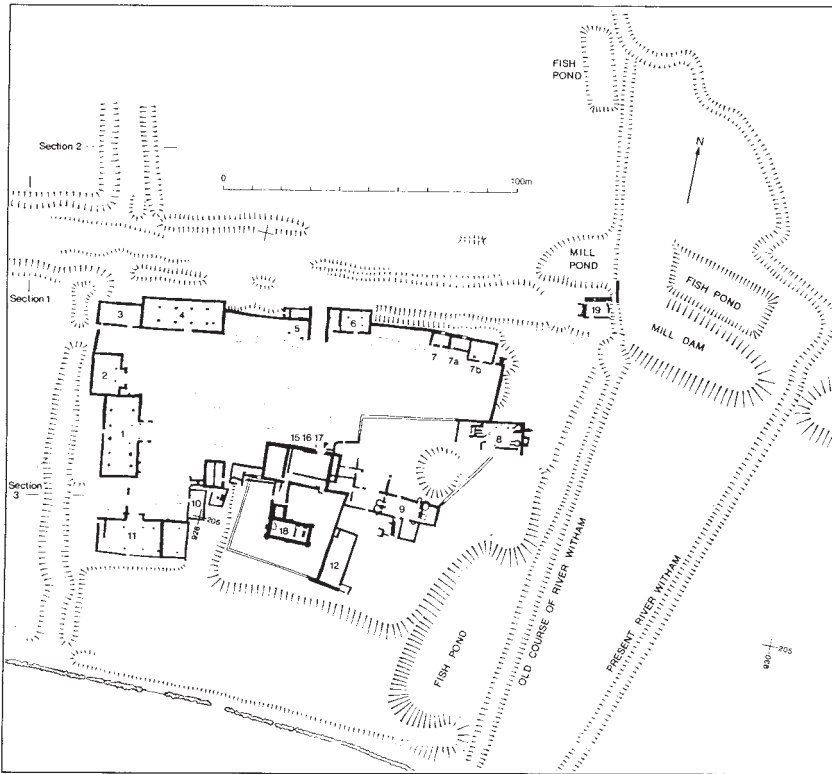
Fig. 62 General site plan of the Templar preceptory at South Witham, showing all the buildings of phases 2 and 3. After Mayes 2002:4 fig. 1.3. © English Heritage/Society for Medieval Archaeology.

of the river Witham, 1.5 km north of the village of South Witham in rolling countryside. The site seems only to have been partly surrounded by moats, ditches and embankments, or an enclosure wall. There were, however, gatehouses to the north and east. In the third phase in the late thirteenth century a boundary wall was built around the preceptory and a minor wall was built to enclose the chapel court.

The spatial division of the preceptory was clear, with a domestic living area in the south-eastern corner and the agricultural area north and west of this centre, suggesting that a spatial division between various social groups existed just as in ordinary monasteries. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the chapel had two storeys, and the gallery of the nave is likely to have been reserved for the preceptor and brethren, while the ground floor was used by the agricultural labourers and servants of the preceptory. A similar internal spatial division is present in the second phase, when the great hall probably was reserved for the brethren while the lesser hall was used by servants (Gilchrist 1995:85). In many ways the spatial division between monks and lay-brothers that characterised monasteries can also be found in the preceptory at South Witham.
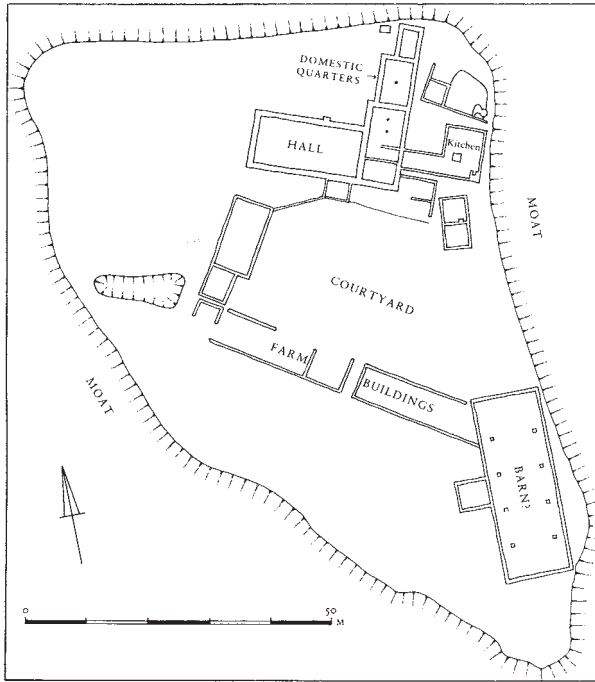
Fig. 63 The site plan of the moated residence Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. The structural similarities with the plan of South Witham is evident. Reproduced by kind permission of the Society for Medieval Archaeology. Medieval Archaeology 1979:271.

But there are a number of features and circumstances present that can also be found in an aristocratic milieu, thus emphasising the closeness between the medieval secular and religious spheres. Several of the features in South Witham could just as easily have been found at an aristocratic manor. Features in the landscape such as a hall, a chapel, a mill, fishponds and moats and embankments can also be found at a manor with residential functions. The same goes for the presence of large storage capacity. And just as in South Witham it is possible to find a similar spatial division between the domestic and agricultural parts of the manor. A clear parallel is the moated site in Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, which was almost totally excavated in the 1970s. Here the moated platform contained a large number of buildings dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries (fig. 63). Once the moat was dug the structural layout of the place was settled and the domestic quarters with hall and kitchen were located to the north-eastern corner of the moated island with a barn and other farm buildings to the south (Clarke 1986:59f).

The spatial arrangement at Chalgrove is almost a copy of the one at South Witham, with the exception that the religious element is much more elaborate in South Witham, where the chapel had a central function. In Chalgrove this

religious element was perhaps only present as a private chapel in one of the many rooms in the domestic area of the manor. The similar layout of the secular manor of Chalgrove (and many others like it) and the religious manor at South Witham underlines first of all the importance of spatial arrangements and their social significance, but also the close relationship between the secular and religious world during the Middle Ages. Christianity was not only part of everyday life in society; Christian values and the Christian ideology affected how space was organised, not only in specific religious milieus. Thanks to the close connection between lay aristocracy and the higher clergy, a common spatial language developed, where social division and organisation of space were the prime motive. Once again it is possible to detect how the two leading groups or classes in society were united in the way they acted in space in order to control society. This unification can probably be explained by the fact that the individuals controlling the clergy came from the aristocracy and thus shared similar aristocratic values, but also that the aristocracy were affected by religion, since being "a religious man" was part of the image of lordship.

Church and hall

Previously the structural similarities between the lordly hall and the church were discussed; both were divided into social spaces and functioned as microcosm of the world. Considering that parts of the cult in a pre-Christian or early Christian era took place inside the hall or in the home of a patron, the church can to some extent be seen as a specialised "hall" for cult purposes. In the church, just as in the hall, the lord performed and displayed his lordship in public. In the church lordship was displayed through rituals and ceremonies performed by the lord's priest and by the building itself, by its architecture and possible decorations and paintings, some perhaps staging the lord in a divine context. Just as the lord in the residence could oversee the hall from a private chamber, he could overhear mass in private in the church, if he had a private chamber in the tower, without being seen or having to mix with the peasantry.

From a structural point of view the church can actually be seen as an alternative hall, where the religious functions of the lordly hall were specialised. The process whereby the Christian cult left the lordly hall was probably a gradual one and a result of the growing importance of the Church as an institution, as both a religious and a secular power. It was also as an effect of the process of the building of parish churches, which in many parts of western Europe seems to have started in the ninth and tenth centuries. How churches developed in the countryside in the early Middle Ages is to a large extent unknown. Most written documents concern the affairs of bishops and monasteries located in urban centres, and not much is known about this process in the countryside, where the overwhelming majority of the European population lived at this time.

The centuries after the dissolution of the Roman Empire in western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries were to some extent a period of civil and religious

unrest, of Christian missionaries and pagan resistance. In this process the Christian religion was probably far from being as uniform as it later emerged as a result of the reform movement in the eleventh century. There are several examples of the importance of secular leaders for the spread of Christianity, for example by the Frankish royal rulers (Morris 1989:132, Collins 1999:250). In this period we have to assume that the local lord had a strong influence on which religious cult was performed in the local community. We can also assume that this cult in many cases was located in the residence of the lord or nearby, even if the lord was now Christian. The numerous household priests present in early medieval sources indicate that Christian cult was performed within the lordly household.

In this context it would be rather natural to regard the church as a lordly hall with specialised functions in the religious field. The archaeological knowledge of the layout and appearance of early churches is largely unknown, and to determine whether an excavated building is a church or not can be very problematic, especially in the case of timber buildings. The interpretation of a building as a church often relies on its location, the presence of a graveyard and the building's liturgical-morphological characteristics (Stoepker 1990:202, Stoepker 2002). A structure found on the site of a later church is often interpreted as a predecessor of the church. The same interpretation is made if a building is surrounded by graves. It is, however, a well-known fact that not all church buildings (in a broad sense) were surrounded by graveyards, and it is just as likely that a church could be built on the site of a former domestic structure.

As mentioned earlier in the book, there are numerous examples of churches that were built as part of a manorial residence. On liturgical-morphological grounds a medieval western European church can be defined as a building meant for religious cult, with sufficient spaces for an altar, for the priest and for the community. This means that a spatial division between the space for the priest, the chancel, and the space for the community, the nave, often, but not always, can be archaeologically observed. In the later part of the Middle Ages, for instance in Scandinavia, there are numerous examples of churches built without a visible division between the nave and the chancel, an influence from the churches of the mendicant orders (Wienberg 1993:80). There are thus a number of problems connected with the interpretation of an excavated building as a church.

It has been noticed in the Netherlands that there is a strong resemblance between the ground plans of churches and the ground plans of excavated houses (fig. 64). The similarity is sometimes so great that it can be impossible to deduce from the ground plan of the excavated building whether it is a secular or a religious building. It seems as if people used the ground plan of the houses they were living in, the halls, when constructing a house for religious worship. Another possibility is that it was the ground plan of the barn that provided the prototype for early churches (Stoepker 1990:203). The similarities in appearance between the published ground plans of some early churches in the Netherlands and the ground plan of an ordinary hall is also striking, which further strengthens the
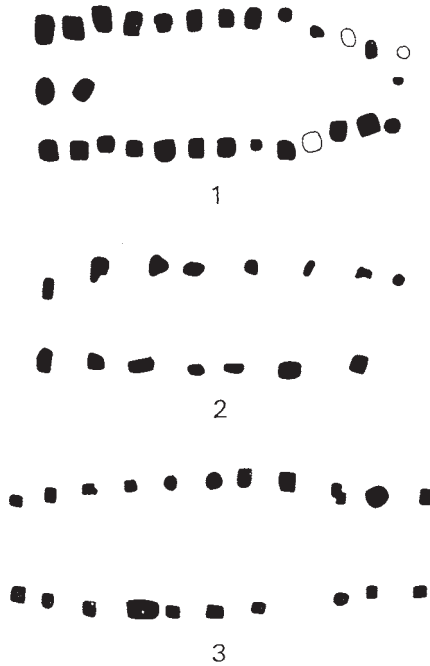
Fig. 64 Church or hall? The similarities of ground plans of churches and secular buildings is sometimes so striking that it is difficult to determine what is what. 1: ground plan of wooden church at Norg c. 1000. 2 and 3: ground plan of barns at Gasselte, eleventh/ twelfth century. All examples from the Netherlands. After Stoepker 1990:203 fig. 2.

structural similarities between the lordly hall and the church. This connection is further underlined by the similarities that have been seen in the Netherlands between the architecture of timber churches and high-status residences. In both cases the three-aisled building type that was used both for churches and residences facilitated the construction of high buildings with considerable interior space. The only difference between these buildings is that a chancel was added to the east of the churches, to house the altar (Stoepker 2002:381).

To conclude, ever since the Roman emperors erected the first official churches and used the ground plan of the basilica and of the imperial throne hall, there was a strong connection between the secular and religious spheres. This connection was further strengthened by the fact that controlling the religious cult in some way was an integral part of the concept of the lord. This cult took place inside the hall of the lord, an inheritance from the pagan period. It is thus natural that

the hall, besides being the place where secular lordship was executed, was also the place for religious lordship.

When the cult eventually left the lordly hall and acquired a specialised building, the religious hall, the church was erected adjacent to the residence, still emphasising the close relationship between the lord and the church. Churches with evidence of secular domestic activities, such as Kläckeberga and Halltorp in eastern Småland in Sweden, can also be seen as reminders of this transitional phase, before the religious and secular spheres were separated. The close spatial relationship that is still present between manorial residence and church in many villages throughout Europe can be seen as evidence of structural continuity from this early period of Christianity. It was partly a result of the fact that promoting religious cult was an important task for the lords, especially during the first half of the Middle Ages. But the combination of residence, church and village was also significant in maintaining lordship and dominion on the local level. As mentioned before this combination was a microcosm of society, with the three orders being represented in different spaces in the landscape. Since the lord of the village often also had advowson of the church, and his family perhaps had also been responsible for building the church and were buried there, the lord also often controlled the priest.

The secular control of the Church, whereby kings and lords appointed bishops, parish priests and abbots, was a major cause of conflict between the Catholic Church and the lay elite during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Le Goff 1990:96ff, Vauchez 1993:42f). This secular control meant that the secular lord on the local level also was lord of, and owned, the church, and thereby the *bellator* ruled not only the peasants, the *laboratores*, but also the priest, the *orator*. In this respect the close spatial relation between residence and church emphasised and reproduced the fact that the aristocracy were the indisputable lords. From the nobleman's point of view this was a result of divine order, since being part of the aristocracy, being born into this group, occurred with divine approval (Kleinschmidt 2000:115). Social life in the medieval parish was then, if a lord happened to reside in it, organised by the lord, and not by the church as some scholars have stated (Le Goff 1990:313). This was more likely the case if the parish lacked a resident lord.

Since the local church or another religious institution founded by an aristocratic family often functioned as a family burial place, the church was also a place for remembrance of dead family members (Williams H. 2003). This could be seen in Buslingthorpe, discussed in the previous chapter, where the local noble family used the church to manifest the memory of themselves (fig. 47). The church contributed to enforcing and reproducing lordship in the local community while also taking care of the necessary religious life.

Having the church close to the residence was not only a practical thing, however; it also had great symbolic significance on many levels, showing the religious piety of the lord and the divine sanction of the social position of the lord

in society. As mentioned in chapter 6, several other features in the landscape surrounding the residence had religious connotations: the garden symbolising paradise, the dovecote with white doves, the symbol of the Holy Spirit and the rabbit warren with the defenceless rabbits, taken care of and protected by the "good shepherd", the lord. The whole space surrounding a nobleman's residence was thus filled with religious symbolism. The lord in the village became a symbol of the good shepherd taking care of the sheep, in this case the people of the village. This entire religious symbolism, visually present at the residential centre, was further strengthened by the concept of the knight as being "God's warrior" (see Duby 1977:123ff).

Personal faith – private spaces

The close connection between the aristocracy and the church was diminishing from the twelfth century onwards, as a consequence of the reform movement within the Church. Still many manors and residences were located close to the church, but the control of the church was to some extent taken over by the parishioners, in connection with the emergence of the parish organisation (Morris 1989:286ff, Brink 1990). But since the lord of the village still was the major landowner, the church continued to function as a reproduction of local lordship. This was especially the case if the lord also held the advowson of the church, being its patron with rights to present a priest.

To some extent the process of isolating the lord in the landscape led to a changed spatial relationship between residence and lord, since the lord now lost his direct access to the church. This often led to the emergence of residential chapels close to the private chambers inside the residence. This development is clearly visible in many castles (Creighton 2002:126), but private chapels can also be found, as in the example of Ightham in Kent and Agundaborg in Småland show, at residences connected to the lesser nobility (see chapters 6, 7). The proximity in the landscape between the residence and the lord was in many cases replaced by an increased personal closeness between the lord and his private chapel. Most chapels at various types of residences were rather small, which also meant changes in the religious life of the lord. Just as the isolationism of the residence in the landscape led to increased privacy and social distancing of the lord, similar aspects affected the religious life, which now normally was conducted in seclusion in the private chapel. These changes did not reflect diminished piety or religious belief, rather that religion had now become part of a more personal and private sphere. Hearing mass and praying was now done in a secluded milieu, and the lord had no longer any role in public in religious affairs.

A similar process of privatisation or personalisation of space can also be found in various religious milieus. Many parish churches in England were transformed during the thirteenth century, when chancels were rebuilt in more elongated form, which increased the distance between the altar and the nave, and thus the

community, making the altar and thereby the deity more private and unattainable. The same effect was obtained by the timber or stone screens that were erected, also from the thirteenth century onwards, at the transition between nave and chancel, preventing the laity from having direct visible access to the altar (Platt 1981:135, Gilchrist 1999b:242).

Another process of privatising the communal space in the church can be seen in the aisles that were sometimes added to parish churches in England from the twelfth century onwards, either on the north or south side of the nave. Aisles can be seen as a reflection of a growing population and the need for more space in the church, but is more likely a result of the change of use of space in the churches. Aisles were often used to house separate chapels, or to house fraternities and guilds. Especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries private family chapels and family tombs became a common feature in the space of the aisles. This can be seen as an effect of the belief in chantry masses that became popular in the late Middle Ages. Chantry masses, prayers for dead, were often founded by the aristocracy in order to facilitate and hasten the passage of the souls of dead family members through Purgatory (Gilchrist 1999b:243). A privatisation of space took also place in monasteries, where previously communal dormitories and infirmaries were partitioned and changed into private cells (Gilchrist 1995:213). It is also during the later Middle Ages that the private gentry pew starts to emerge in the parish churches (Duffy 2003:60).

Together these changes in the use of space in the parish churches and monasteries can be seen as part of a general process towards a more personal and private use of space from the thirteenth century onwards. The more personal aspect of medieval religious life is also reflected in the increased use of private "books of hours", prayer books, that became especially popular during the later Middle Ages among the aristocracy and emerging "bourgeoisie". These books contained prayers that the individual could read and say in private, often in his or her private chapel. The book of hours provided the laity with a simplified version of a clerical or monastic breviary and thus enabled them to share the official prayer of the church (Duffy 2003:60). But the popularity of the book of hours can also be seen as a manifestation of a more private and personal religion, which can be seen as one of the most important developments in the later medieval religion (Richmond 1984). This is probably a reflection of changes in the Christian religion that put more emphasis on the life and behaviour of the individual.

A well-known feature of late medieval Christianity is the increased belief in Purgatory. The crisis of the late Middle Ages, the Black Death and in England and France also the Hundred Years War and all death and destruction that followed in its path, seriously affected the religious belief of laypeople. Questions about death and the Last Judgement became leading preoccupations of Christians. One effect was the increased importance of Purgatory, which was seen as an intermediate place between Heaven and Hell where the dead were required to finish expiating their sins. The belief in Purgatory offered new perspectives on redemption

since the intercession of relatives and friends, through prayers and good works, could shorten one's trials (Vauchez 1993:23ff). This change in religious belief is reflected in the emergence of chantries, but also in a more personal, individual Christianity, where individual prayers had an important role. It was through prayers and a righteous life that a person could ensure a shortened period in Purgatory, both for oneself and for one's relatives.

The general development in the late Middle Ages favoured a more private and personal religion, which also came to affect space in religious buildings, both churches and monasteries. But this process also came to affect the religious dimension of the aristocratic ideology of space. The close spatial relationship between manorial residence and church, a structural inheritance from a pagan era, was partly replaced with a more private religious sphere for the aristocracy, either in a private chapel inside the residence or in a private chapel in the church, where the lord could say his prayers in private. These changes in the religious dimension of the aristocratic spatial ideology were contemporary with the process of distancing the lord in the landscape and increasing his privacy inside the residence. Just as the lord increasingly withdrew from the hall, in the same way the lord withdrew from the parish church, or was forced to withdraw by the emerging parish organisation.

Conclusions

It is possible to find an important religious dimension of the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. This religious dimension was not only a result of the piety of the lord, but also used as means to emphasise and reproduce lordship. In the early Middle Ages this was done by means of a close spatial relationship between residence and church, to promote the status of the lord and also to function as a remembrance of earlier periods, when the cult partly took place inside the hall under the lord's supervision. Just as in the landscape, there is a strong structural element of historical importance in this. Being part of or supervising the cult was a significant part of the concept of the lord. The church near the residence functioned as a public space where local lordship was strengthened and displayed. The church also completed the landscape of religious symbols that existed around the residence and gave the lord a divine legitimisation. Since this spatial closeness in the local community also gave the lord control of the church, with the lord being the patron of the church, it also gave the lord complete control of a local microcosm of the world, where the *bellatores* controlled the *oratores* and the *laboratores*.

From the twelfth century onwards the process of liberating the church from control of the laity and the process of isolating the lord in the landscape sometimes meant that a previously close spatial relationship between church and residence disappeared when the residence left the church and the village. Instead the lord heard mass in private in a residential chapel. For the lord religion had

become more personal and private, and was not used to the same extent as before to promote lordship in public. This development was connected with the emergence of a parish organisation that challenged the lordly control of the church, but also by the general development of Christianity in the late Middle Ages, with more emphasis on the behaviour of the individual.

CHAPTER NINE
THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE LANDSCAPE

One result of the analysis that has been performed so far can be said to show a gradual shift towards a more private and individual spatial behaviour among the aristocracy. The residence became a private, secluded world in the landscape, a world where the lord and his family acquired increasingly private and secluded rooms for their daily life. A similar process of "privatisation", as was shown in the previous chapter, can be found in the religious sphere of aristocratic life, where private prayer in the private chapel became a normal way for a noble family to fulfil their Christian obligations. This general development also indicates the importance of the individual agent in history. The Middle Ages was a period when the individual agent became more and more important. This is evident not least within the aristocracy. Aristocratic residences were built by individuals and inhabited by them, and the aristocratic residence can thus be seen as a reflection of the cultural identity and ambitions of individual agents.

By tradition, however, archaeology has mainly studied social structures. Prehistoric and historic societies have often been viewed, especially during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, as consisting of interacting systems rather than interacting people. The people of the past were always part of a collective or a system. This systems approach can be found in medieval archaeology. Two good examples of this approach to analysing historic societies are Klaus Randsborg's study of the Viking Age in Denmark and Richard Hodges' study of the origin of towns and trade in north-west Europe (Randsborg 1980, Hodges 1982; for a further discussion of the theoretical development of medieval archaeology see Gerrard 2003). Both these books are concerned with the processes of state formation and use a systems approach to analyse economy, subsistence and politics in early medieval Europe. One of the main criticisms against this processual archaeology has been the lack of understanding the past as being inhabited by individuals. Archaeologists have been accused of having lost the individual behind the system (Hodder 1986, Shanks & Tilley 1987). This criticism has led to an increased awareness of the importance of the individual agent as an active party for historical change.

As a consequence the 1990s saw an increasing number of archaeological studies with the emphasis on various aspects of agency, for example gender studies and studies of how, and whether, variations in material culture are connected to the acting individual's social context and situation. Other studies have concerned the relationship between the actor's subjectivities within a constructed environment and the connection between structure and agent. Another line of research is concerned with studies of inequality and how the strategic pursuit of prestige

and power can lead to large-scale social change (Dobres & Robb 2000:7f). This theoretical path has without doubt contributed to a sharpened discussion and a widened area of research. It has also led to insight into the need to study the "concept of the individual agent" in prehistoric and historic societies and not, as has often been the case, just to study the life-course of a named individual.

Even if the importance of agency has been acknowledged, the archaeological study of agency is hedged with many difficulties. An obvious one is the coarse methods of archaeological dating, for example giving a date bracket for a single phase of occupation that embraces more time than an individual's lifetime. There is also the ever-present theoretical problem regarding the relationship between the individual agent and the structure in explaining historical change. Historical archaeology is to some extent lucky to have written sources enabling the scholar to obtain biographical information about the individuals concerned. When this is the case, however, it is important to study the agent within his or her historical and social context if we are to be able to understand his or her actions and not limit ourselves to a study of a named individual (Johnson 2000).

By combining historical and archaeological sources it is possible to study the individual agent and how he or she is expressed in material culture and how the material culture reflects the agent. However most archaeological studies of the Middle Ages, have failed to incorporate the concept of the individual agent into the interpretation of the material record. In this respect this study has so far also been a failure, having rather traditionally discussed the aristocracy as a collective. There has not been any discussion so far of the significance of the individual agent for the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. This chapter will therefore discuss the significance of acting individuals for the accomplishment of an aristocratic spatial ideology.

THE BIRTH OF INDIVIDUALITY

The Middle Ages is particularly interesting in connection with studies of individual agents, since this is the period many scholars see as the period when the western form of individualism was rooted. The birth of individuality has traditionally been seen as a consequence of the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century, ever since Jacob Burckhardt's influential study was published in the middle of the nineteenth century (Burckhardt 1944). Burckhardt argued that the Renaissance was the period when individuals became aware of themselves as single objects, partly as a consequence of the revival of Antiquity. This new individualism was expressed in art, literature and architecture. Burckhardt's study has been immensely important and the Renaissance is still regarded as a significant period in the development of modern individualism, even if the perspective has been broadened since Burckhardt's time (Johnson 2000:215). However, several later studies have emphasised that the birth of individualism was something that started much earlier. These scholars argue that, already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during the "twelfth-century renaissance", is it possible to detect

clear signs that people realised their individuality (Haskins 1927, Ullmann 1966, Morris 1972, Macfarlane 1978). In a recent study of cultural changes in twelfth-century Denmark, Peter Carelli has shown how this was a period when several cultural changes regarding individualisation and privatisation took place, as parts of the beginning of the process towards capitalism (Carelli 2001).

During the twelfth-century renaissance a first rediscovery of Antiquity and its scholarly tradition led to an intellectual and cultural boom, increasing the interest in history and science. This was also a period when the first autobiographies started to be written. In a more recent study Gurevich has argued that, even if the sources for this period are rather fragmented and mainly concern people from the upper strata of society, it is nevertheless justified to talk about the birth of individuality in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This early individualism, according to Gurevich, can only be understood in the historical and social context of the individual agent, and it was only within the social group that this individuality was expressed (Gurevich 1997). Medieval individuality was thus different from the individuality that characterises the modern western world. It is important to stress that medieval individuality was confined within one's own social group. A knight could only express his individuality within his own social group, just as it was socially impossible for a peasant to act and express himself as anything other than a peasant (cf. Kleinschmidt 2000:113).

One of the social groups that showed the clearest individualistic tendencies was the aristocracy, whose lifestyle and attitudes, expressed in chivalrous poems and heroic values, had to lead to individualistic tendencies (Gurevich 1997:185ff). The image of aristocracy, where heraldry and clothing in special colours for example was used to distinguish different noble families and their retinue, on the battle-field and at the tournament, was not only a way of differentiate between various noble families, but also to promote the head of that family and emphasise his person. These individualistic tendencies within the aristocracy were to some extent restrained by the moral superiority of the Church, as pride was one of the seven mortal sins. But the abundant examples where churchmen and others complained about the pride and vanity of the nobility, who instead of being good Christian warriors focused on fancy dress, a luxurious lifestyle and for example heraldry, imposing memorial brasses and effigies, implies that this moral superiority was disregarded (Coss 1993:94ff, 148ff). The aristocratic lifestyle can be said to have had embedded tendencies towards individualism, since fulfilling the standards of the group also meant promoting one's own person. This individualism within the aristocracy was also a significant aspect that affected the landscape and decisions as to where, how and when an aristocratic residence should be built.

THE INDIVIDUAL AGENT AND THE LANDSCAPE

The aristocratic spatial ideology in western Europe was without doubt the result of individual agents acting according to values and attitudes of the class. As a

consequence the actions of individual agents affected the landscape and the built environment in various ways. In some cases the significance of agency and the life-course of the individual is particularly visible, regardless of whether the name and biography of the agent is known or not. The landscape is full of archaeological remains that can be seen as the result of ambitions of individuals, ambitions that in some cases were never fulfilled. In a similar way, individual ambitions are expressed in architecture. But also the life-course of the noble family itself and the transition of generation or the change of ownership of a residence could affect the ordering of the landscape.

The importance of the individual agent as an acting, decisive force is clearly visible in connection with the transition of generation, or with the change of ownership of a residence. In both these cases several options could affect the aristocratic landscape. The new owner/generation could manifest this change with alterations in the landscape or in the architecture of the site, or leave things unchanged. There is also a possibility that the new owner chooses to abandon the residence and run the place as a manor without residential function. All these alternatives can be found, even if it often is difficult to connect changes in the landscape or layout of a site directly with the change of ownership or other changes in the life-course of an individual or his/her family. But sometimes hypotheses regarding different sites make it possible to discuss the connection between individuals and the development of a site.

The residence in Horningtoft, Norfolk, has been discussed on several occasions (fig. 32). The residence seems to have moved from the village and been moated some time during the Middle Ages. Since the moated site has not been excavated, its date is not known. The residence of Horningtoft belonged to various noblemen of local importance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was granted to Nicholas de Castello in 1290. The de Castello family then resided in Horningtoft until the middle of the fifteenth century. Since the date of the moated site is unknown, it is of course impossible to describe the development of the residential site in Horningtoft with any certainty, but since most moated sites in England date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is at least quite possible to see the moated residence as the result of the change in ownership that took place 1290. The new owners manifested their lordship by changing the site and perhaps also the appearance of the residence. The family name de Castello implies that Nicholas de Castello came from a family used to living in a castle. A new moated residence could perhaps be the equivalent of a castle in this case. It gave the family a suitable home with aristocratic connotations, visually strengthening the local lordship since the previous residence in Horningtoft was probably not moated. From a methodological point of view is it also interesting to note that a family with the name de Castello resided in a place that today is regarded as a moated site. Perhaps it was viewed as a castle in the Middle Ages? If this hypothetical discussion about Horningtoft is correct, it is one example of the impact of an individual agent, in this case from the lesser nobility, on the aristocratic

landscape. It also shows that this new family chose to uphold their lordship in a more distant and impersonal way than previous lords, perhaps as a result of their probably being strangers to the local community, lacking earlier historical bonds to people and places in the landscape.

The effects of the transition of generations were also discussed in the case of Gressenhall in chapter 5. Here it was proposed that one explanation why this place was never fortified could be found in the process of how the estate was inherited, in two cases by younger daughters who presumably already resided in nearby Elsing. Another reason that can also be connected to the "life-course" of Gressenhall and its owner is the fact that the residence for thirty years was a dower for the widow of the former lord. Did this mean that Gressenhall was neglected because the next generation lost interest in the main manor of the honour of Gressenhall, and concentrated their efforts on their own residences? The questions regarding Gressenhall are numerous but the answers are few, but it is nevertheless clear that the life-course of a residence is closely connected to the biography of its owner.

In the study of the medieval aristocracy in Småland the importance of the transition of generations could be hinted at (Hansson 2001a:73f). Here the majority of the medieval manors mentioned in the written sources were recorded only once or twice, or could only be connected with a single individual. These manors seem to have existed during a short period of time and mainly connected to a single generation of noblemen. The manorial residences of the lesser nobility in this area were thus short-lived, existed for a generation, and were shut down by the next generation. The majority of the manorial residences in this area can be seen as the result of ambitions of single agents, who established themselves as noblemen.

According to Swedish medieval law, anyone whose weaponry, warhorse and ability with this equipment was approved at annual regional meetings was considered to be a nobleman and thereby also exempt from tax. Anyone with the economic prerequisites, the right equipment and the skills could become a nobleman if the king needed his service in the region. The decision to become nobleman was thus partly a matter for the individual. Apart from the basic economic necessities there also had to be a desire to be a nobleman, but at the same time the king must have needed a nobleman in the area (Hansson 2001a:245ff). In Småland, with its huge number of lesser nobility, the desire to become a nobleman must have been strong among the upper strata of the peasantry, and the status as nobleman was probably employed in the struggle for status and domination in the local community. In this area, those agents who chose to become noblemen used the landscape to underline their ambitions. Normally their minor residences are not mentioned in any historical documents, but sometimes they can be traced in the landscape.

A typical example is Göshult in south-western Småland (Hansson 2001a:240ff). This single farmstead is not mentioned in any medieval written sources. It was
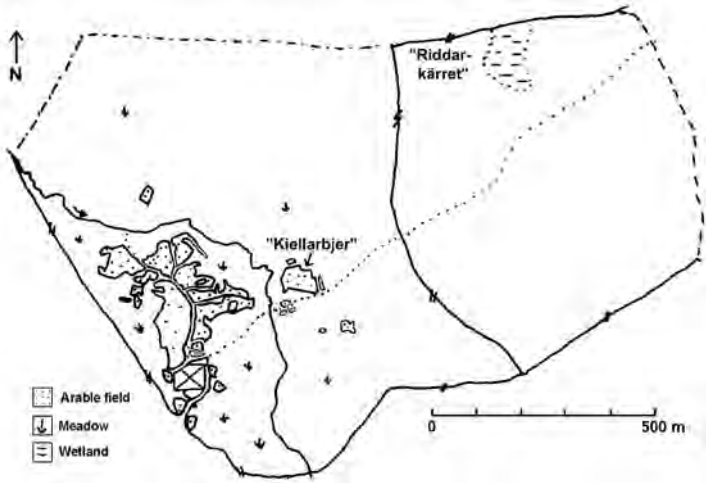
Fig. 65 Extract from the cadastral map (storskifte) of Göshult, Småland, 1804. The site of a medieval residence was found on an arable field called "Kiellarbier". This field lies on a hill, partly surrounded by wetlands, and to people approaching the site, especially from west, it resembles a castle mound. However, it is not artificial. The place-name "Riddarkärret" ("the knight's marsh") also points to the presence of a medieval residence. After Hansson 2001:240.

first recorded in 1538 when a free peasant lived here. In 1922 some medieval artefacts were found in a field in Göshult. The artefacts, which included a stirrup and three coins dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, were found in a cellar. No archaeological excavation was ever made on the site that lies on a high hill partly surrounded by wetlands and somewhat secluded from the main arable fields of the farmstead. From a distance this hill looks like a castle mound, but it is not artificial. A historical map of Göshult from 1804 gives further clues to the context of the finds (fig. 65). The map shows that a nearby bog was called *Riddarkärret*, "the knight's bog". Field-names with aristocratic connotations are known from other medieval residences in the region. Together the secluded site in a "castle-like" location, the stirrup and the field-name, indicate that there existed a minor residence for an unknown nobleman in Göshult in the middle of the fourteenth century. This nobleman most likely belonged to the lower stratum of the lesser nobility and probably had much in common with the local peasants in the area. A hypothetical interpretation of the place could be to view Göshult as the residence of an "entrepreneur", someone who wanted to display his status as nobleman, or aspirations to become a nobleman. This was done by moving the house to a site resembling those occupied by "real" noblemen. We do not know whether or not this "nobleman" actually was acknowledged as a nobleman in the local community or by the king, but the way he chose to locate the residence shows the aspirations of the individual agent to become one. Since the place seems to have disappeared almost as quickly as it was established, it is likely that

it existed for just a shorter period, perhaps a generation. A place like Göshult is thus a reproduction of the ambitions of an individual agent, a form of individualism expressed within the restrictions of the group.

This individualism was expressed in both landscape and architecture. In his analysis of Bodiam Castle in East Sussex, Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire (fig. 66) and Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire, Matthew Johnson has shown how these sites can be seen as the expression of the male elite culture of which their builders were part (Johnson 2000, 2002:19ff). Bodiam Castle was a manifestation of the masculine elite culture to which its builder, Sir Edward Dallyngrigge, belonged. At Bodiam an elite visitor was greeted by a processional route that took him or her slowly towards the castle, where twists and turns led the visitor to encounter numerous visible signs of Sir Edwards's greatness, manifested by the castle itself and Sir Edwards's coat of arms on the gatehouse. The castle was a statement about its founder, about an individual agent and his social context (fig. 25, 44).

Examples like Bodiam show that the spatial ideology of the aristocracy was affected by individual agents. They chose where, how and when a residence was to be built or transformed and what type of aristocratic landscapes should be displayed. They also chose which part of this ideology they wanted to adjust to, did they want to connect to the memory in the landscape or did they want to emphasise their social position by distancing themselves in the landscape? It must be stressed that – even if there is a clear trend towards an increasing emphasis on secluded residences, where the aristocracy distanced themselves from the rest of society, starting in the twelfth century in western Europe, in the thirteenth century in Scandinavia – the many examples of medieval residences integrated in the villages close to the church that still exists clearly show that many noblemen chose not to distance themselves in the landscape, but rather continued to emphasis the historical integration of the nobility in society. In both cases the nobleman adjusted to an overall aristocratic spatial ideology, but acted differently, perhaps due to different backgrounds and assumptions in economy and family history.

The spatial ideology of the aristocracy is thus constituted by individual agents choosing to act on the basis of a restricted number of alternatives that were all recognised as acceptable by the group. It consisted of an infinite number of individual projects that reproduced the aristocratic view of the world. This means that aristocratic landscapes are very suitable for discussing the significance of the individual aristocratic agent. If we apply a more individualistic approach, and by doing so realise that these individuals were bound by what was acceptable for the group, it becomes possible to discuss the remains of aristocratic landscape in connection with the social biography of its founders.

Aristocratic landscapes are not just fulfilled visions of a spatial ideology, there are also abundant evidences of interrupted individual projects, sometimes still visible in the landscape as the remains of projects that were never fulfilled. These unfinished projects can often distract the interpretation of the landscape. Their

Fig. 66 The main tower at Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, built in the fifteenth century by Ralph, Lord Cromwell. Photo M. Hansson.

presupposed permanence and sometimes size can lead the scholar to wrongly give them a significant role in history, even if these places never actually functioned as intended. The landscape is thus full of failed ambitions and aspirations, originally intended to clarify the social position of the individual agent. This was especially important for the aristocracy, since membership of the group, even if it was formally clear on paper, was often diffuse in reality. Just as it is difficult today to divide the medieval aristocracy into clear groupings and to distinguish the lesser nobility from the upper parts of the peasantry, the same problem existed during

the Middle Ages. The landscape setting of one's residence and its accompanying attributes could be one way of clarifying a person's status as a nobleman (or ambitions to become a nobleman) for himself and others.

Moated sites revisited

A typical aristocratic feature is the moat. A moat probably surrounded the vast majority of the noble residences that existed in western Europe, both castles and manor houses. The function of the moat can be seen as both military and social. A moat improved the defence of the site, deterring attackers, but it was also a social delimitation, separating and distancing the nobleman from the rest of society. The moat was thereby a form of social fortification for a nobleman. An interesting type of monument that can often be connected to the lesser nobility is the moated site. This type of monument is also interesting to discuss in connection with the importance of the individual agent, since the moated site can be seen as the result of the ambitions and aspirations of agents.

Moated sites are one of the most common medieval features in the landscape in much of western Europe (fig. 35, 63, 67, 68). Moated sites, as the name implies, consist of an enclosed platform of variable size surrounded on all, or some, sides by a moat of variable width and depth. The phenomenon of moated sites has attracted much scholarly attention, mainly during the 1960s and 1970s, when many were excavated (Emery 1962, Taylor 1972, Aberg 1978, Aberg & Brown 1981, Clarke 1986:47ff). A lot of attention was focused on the dating and function of the moated sites and the results were somewhat disparate. The vast majority of moated sites are medieval, and even if some post-medieval sites have been found, most seem to have been constructed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The function of moated sites has perhaps been seen as even more disparate, but almost all moated sites indicate medieval settlements in some form. The study of moated sites has so far, and to some extent still is, been conducted in a fairly traditional archaeological way, by trying to classify the material in various groups regarding size, form and number of platforms, while the dispersion of moated sites has been partly explained by settlement pattern, topography and geology (Taylor 1978, Verhaeghe 1981, Lewis 2000:103ff). Several scholars, however, are aware of the fact that the classification of moated sites according to form, size and the number of platforms is only a means of description and that it seldom helps the interpretation (Verhaeghe 1981:103, Clarke 1986:53).

Moated sites have been interpreted as manorial sites, farmsteads for ordinary peasants, monastic granges, fishponds, gardens and orchards and enclosures for cattle. The variety of interpretations is due to the fact that, while some platforms have been shown to have contained buildings of considerable size and complexity, others seem to have just had ordinary farm buildings, while yet others were empty without any traces of activity. The moat in itself has been seen as functioning as a defensive fortification, as a drain for the settlement it surrounded, as a
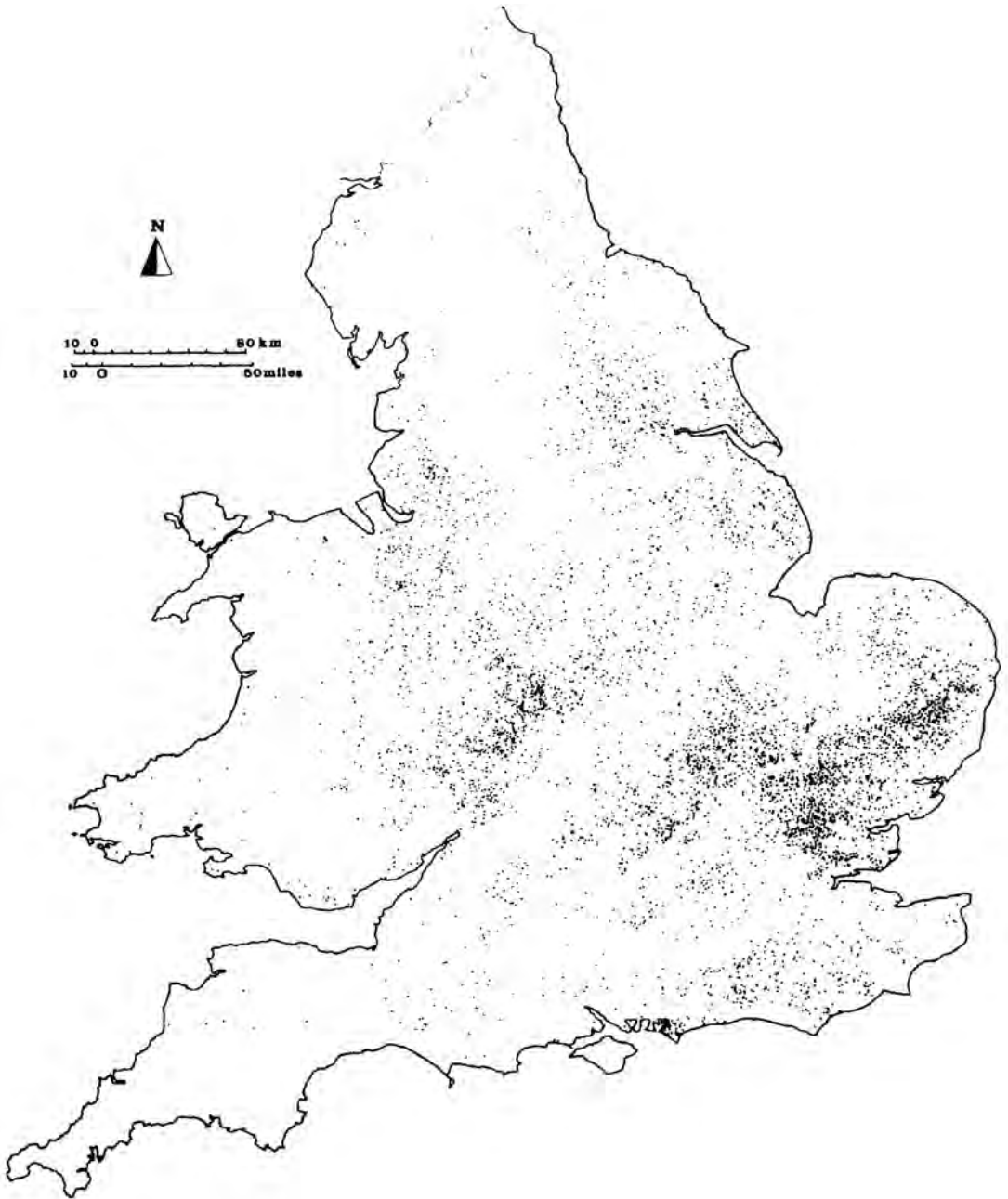
Fig. 67 Moated sites in England and Wales. After Aberg 1978:2 fig. 1.

Fig. 68 The moated site at Bleasby, Lincolnshire, the residence of the Bleasby family from the mid twelfth century to the mid seventeenth century (Everson et al. 1991:119). Photo M. Hansson.

water cistern, as fire-breaks in wooded countryside, as enclosures for cattle or as fishponds and/or millponds.

Apart from these functional interpretations, several scholars have also seen the moat as a status symbol for wealthier members of society, especially in view of the fact that a considerable proportion of moated sites over large parts of western Europe can be connected with aristocratic manors and residences, as has also been seen in several examples presented in this study. The moat symbolised the aristocratic status of the place and of its owner. The moat was not intended to only be a military fortification; its function was also social. To a large extent moated sites represented manorial residences for people belonging to the aristocracy, ranging from sites more or less regarded as castles, to sites serving as homes for people belonging to the lesser nobility. The emergence of several moated sites in a small area has been seen as the result of junior members of noble families creating new residences for themselves (Taylor 1972, Le Patourel & Roberts 1978:48, Clarke 1986:57ff, Lewis 2000:100). The exception is Flanders, where the sheer number of moated sites in some areas is so high that it is impossible that they can all represent manorial sites. In Flanders it seems as if the habit of having moats surrounding the home farm went further down the social scale (Verhaeghe 1981:114). The significance of the moat and its connection to aristocratic status

was the result of the presence of moats at the residences of kings and the higher aristocracy, and the spread of the use of the moat can be seen as an example of diffusion of cultural patterns down the social ladder. The moated residence was a miniature of the royal castle (Duby 1977:174).

Returning to the question of the individual agent and the moated site, it can first of all be established that the moat must be seen as an aristocratic symbol. Despite its various functional uses, the moat originated in an aristocratic and military milieu, at castles and strongholds, thus giving it a strong symbolic value just as many scholars have acknowledged. When a moat appears surrounding a residential complex, regardless of whether the site is known in the historical record as a manor or not, the presence of the moat in most parts of Europe indicates the "aristocratic ambitions" of the agent behind the moat. For the lesser nobility the moat was a clear signal of their noble status, which was probably significant since the line dividing the lesser nobility from the upper strata of the peasants was seldom distinct. This must also have meant that persons aspiring to become noblemen by surrounding their house with a moat strengthened their pretensions. The moat became an active way of promoting the social claims of an individual.

A considerable amount of moated sites have been found in areas characterised by medieval assarting, for example the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire, where the moated sites have been connected with wealthier freemen involved in colonisation of wasteland during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In these areas the moated sites can be connected to small estates, established by persons belonging to a social group between the knights and the ordinary peasants (Roberts 1965, Roberts & Wrathmell 2002:58). A somewhat similar development has been found in Lorraine in France, where a large number of new residences, mainly moated, were established to control newly colonised areas in the thirteenth century (Giuliato 1986). It is thus possible to connect moats not only to true noblemen, but also to persons just below the nobility. The fact that these freemen also start to surround their homestead farms with moats can to some extent be interpreted as "aristocratic pretensions", to show that they were of the same economic and social importance as the lesser nobility in the vicinity. The moat was part of a struggle for social control and competition in the local community between the lesser nobility and an emerging self-conscious group and economically strong group of freemen. That the freemen started to moat their farms does not necessarily indicate that they actually wanted to become part of the nobility, only that they marked their social position against the lesser nobility and within their own social group.

The emergence of the yeoman was an important part of the transformation of English peasant society that started in the fourteenth century. The yeomen emerged as a social group in the upper strata of the peasantry, a group consisting of those peasants that managed to take advantage of the transformation of the agricultural system after the late medieval crisis, when it became possible to

accumulate more land and start to take part in the market (Platt 1988:131ff). This new class of wealthy and socially conscious peasants adopted some previous solely aristocratic features: apart from the moat the use of grave effigies as well. In Much Marcle Church in Herefordshire lies the wooden effigy of the yeoman Walter de Heylon, dating from *c.* 1360, showing Walter displayed like a knight and with a lion at his feet. The effigy of Walter de Heylon is a good example of how the yeomen adapted aristocratic customs to increase their own status, possibly mainly within their own social group. Compared to other noble effigies in the church, made of stone and much more elaborate, Walter's effigy is modest (Platt 1988:132).

Even if the use of moats and moated sites during the Middle Ages was complex, a significant part of the understanding of this feature must lie in the aristocratic connotation of the moat. The moat was used by individual agents, within both the nobility and the peasantry, to promote and manifest their social status. For the lesser nobility it was a delimiting symbol towards the peasants, for the yeomen it was an attempt to fill the gap towards the lesser nobility and to promote the social aspirations of an emerging social group, in a new position in society. Moats then reflect ambitions and aspirations of individual agents, and this can also explain why many moated sites hardly seem to have been used at all. Apart from being parts of moated manorial complexes and having functioned as moated gardens, these "unused" moated sites can also be seen as the remains of failed aspirations, places where the attempt to build a moated residence was aborted for some reason. That many moated sites also seem to have been used for a fairly short period of time can also be seen as reflecting the moated site as an individual project, perhaps just functioning for a generation.

There are thus many similarities between the moated sites in western Europe and minor "residences" like Göshult in the Scandinavian woodlands; both can be seen as reflecting the ambitions and aspirations of individual agents. But it is also important to remember that this type of individualism mirrored in the residences of the aristocracy, just as Gurevich pointed out, has to be understood within the social group of the aristocracy. Being an individual also meant adapting to prevailing customs within the group.

Conclusion

The Middle Ages is a significant period in the emergence of individuality in western Europe. The individual noble agent was also significant for the spatial ideology of the aristocracy. The agents were responsible for realising the spatial thoughts and values that emerged within the aristocracy. Even if there is a general trend for the aristocracy to become more and more isolated in the landscape, this trend was not irresistible. A large number of residences never became isolated in the landscape. These deviations from the general trend further emphasise the importance

of the individual agent and the choices he or she made. The spatial ideology of the aristocracy was not an imperative ideology, it was rather something that gave the agent different choices, choices that were all related to and fully acceptable to the overall ideology, and that all reflected and reproduced the common values of the group.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SPATIAL IDEOLOGY OF THE ARISTOCRACY

There can be no doubt that the concept of space during the Middle Ages was embedded in social meanings of different sorts. Different spaces had different social values, and space reproduced and projected these differences in social value. Not only was space imbued with social values, this was also something that people were aware of. For the aristocracy space was a valuable asset in the struggle to maintain and reproduce lordship. This study has shown that regardless of the variable social and economic circumstances of the aristocracy in different parts of Europe, their relationship to space and the landscape shows great similarities. It is evident that the European aristocracy shared a common ideology about what it meant to be a nobleman and what demands this made upon them. A number of examples from England, France, Germany and Scandinavia have all shown how the aristocracy used the landscape to strengthen their dominion over society. This was done in several ways, by using the public memory of places, by separating themselves, both inside their residences and in the landscape, by manifesting their power by planning and ordering the landscape and by using the controlling power of religion. But even if the aristocracy was embraced by a common spatial ideology, the importance of the individual agent was also significant.

There is a risk that this study can be seen as "non-historic", since it jumps rather freely through time and space. It is always easy to find good examples for one's thesis when using such a large area for investigation as has been the case here. But it is my firm belief that this is not a non-historic study, since the starting point for the analysis is a detailed contextual analysis of two independent areas, one in Småland, Sweden, and one in Norfolk, England. The results of these studies form the basis for the subsequent analysis, thereby hopefully preventing it from becoming a trivial enumeration and description of residences in various parts of Europe. Some might argue that comparative studies on a European level in this subject are not possible, because the differences within the European aristocracy were too large. It is true that differences existed, but there are at the same time several circumstances that make it possible to talk about a common European medieval culture.

One is the religious hegemony of the Catholic Church whose network of dioceses, cathedrals, churches and monasteries covered Europe. The Church created a common religious Christian superstructure that profoundly affected societies

in both southern and northern Europe. The cultural role of the Church in creating a common base of values and ideas cannot be exaggerated. Another factor, especially important for the aristocracy, was the emergence of the chivalric culture that came to affect the ruling classes all over Europe. The Christian ideology and the chivalric culture together created a common European elite culture. The regional cultural variations that can be seen in various parts of Europe must be seen as regional adaptations to regional circumstances, variations on a theme, rather than regional cultures. The Scandinavian aristocracy expressed the same ideas and values as their French brothers in arms, but partly in a way adapted to regional conditions.

Six different themes have been discussed, themes that all affected how the aristocracy acted in space. All themes were important for how the aristocracy behaved during the whole studied period, but the relative emphasis on the themes varied with time. Chronological questions have not been given much attention in this study. To give a chronologically clear description of the development of the spatial ideology of the aristocracy in Europe is rather complicated, since it proceeded at different rates in different parts of Europe. At the same time it must be said that the development in general cultural terms, from the twelfth and especially thirteenth centuries onwards, was rather homogeneous in Europe. By now also northern Europe were firmly integrated in the world of the Catholic.

Returning to the themes in this study, some general chronological trends regarding their relative significance have been noticed. While the significance of the "historic" theme seems to have diminished in relative terms, the aristocracy found it increasingly important to separate and distance themselves. An important shift seems to take place in the twelfth and especially the thirteenth century, when the separating trend grew stronger. Another theme that becomes more significant in the same period was the importance of the individual. In a fashion previously unknown, more and more noblemen used space and landscape to promote their individual status within the group. Other features, such as the martial theme, were important throughout the studied period, but also in this case the "show castles" of the late Middle Ages, can reveal that the martial dimension became stronger, probably as an attempt by the nobility to survive the diminishing military role of the knight on the battlefield. The aristocracy's planning and organising of the landscape was significant during the whole studied period, as was the need for a religious dimension. In both these cases, however, the way to perform these themes in space changed over time. Religion became more and more private, and instead of displays of status in the parish church, religious prayer more often took place in private chapels. When organising the landscape, aristocrats shifted the emphasis from planning villages and fields, to evicting villages in order create pasture and to increase their seclusion in the landscape.

It must however be emphasised that the themes discussed in this study cannot be understood on their own. They were interwoven in a complex fabric and

functioned together. The changes in religion, towards a more private faith, must be seen as a consequence of the emerging importance of individuality, just as the way the nobleman organised his landscape and residence was connected with and affected of his background as a warrior. This study has been an attempt to highlight some ideas and values that affected how the aristocracy acted in the landscape, themes that are tangible when the aristocracy is analysed on a European level. A more detailed study in a single area could perhaps arrive at a more detailed result, but that must be a question for future research.

The observant reader has probably noticed that the expression "*the spatial ideology of the aristocracy*" has been mentioned on numerous occasions in the text. The same observant reader has probably also noticed that this expression has never been fully defined, even if the subject has been touched upon. Ideology is an ambiguous concept that in general terms is often used in the sense of how someone perceives society and the world. An ideology is a set of culturally bound ideas and values that are common for a group of people. These ideas and values consists of thoughts regarding how reality is perceived and looked upon, but also values regarding how people should act. A group of people following a special ideology share and support its fundamental values, which have to function as guidelines for their actions. In a Marxist's view the ideology is the set of values and perceptions that is used by the ruling classes to preserve the social order.

The ideology and the culture of the medieval European aristocracy have been discussed on several occasions in the text. To some extent it can be equated with the chivalric culture that permeated the ruling classes during the Middle Ages. A nobleman should try fill the role of the chivalric knight to correspond to the expectations of being a nobleman. This was done in several ways, by the way they dressed, behaved, acted, both in the daily routine and in exceptional circumstances. Another way to fulfil one's aristocratic ideology was to recreate the aristocratic culture in space and the landscape. By filling one's space of daily routine with aristocratic elements, one's aristocratic status was further underlined and could not be questioned. The spatial ideology of the aristocracy is a concrete implementation of the aristocratic culture in space, of how common values and ideas among the aristocracy were manifested and practised in space. It could be seen as a form of materialised ideology in architecture and landscape. This spatial ideology consists of a series of actions and themes that all correspond to various parts of the meaning of being a nobleman, and that emphasise common values and perceptions of the group. By choosing to emphasise different parts, or themes, of this spatial ideology, the individual noble could influence how he or she was received when he or she performed as aristocrat.

The spatial ideology of the aristocracy was important for the single nobleman, since it contributed to presenting himself as a full-blown aristocrat. At the same time it functioned as a way to strengthen and emphasise the interests of the group. Since spatial manifestations are often very visible, the spatial ideology of

the aristocracy was a clear and evident statement of the importance and status of the group. There is no doubt that the way noblemen acted in space and landscape contributed to creating a profound sense of class identity. In space the aristocracy, which otherwise was engaged in an elaborate internal division of noblemen with different titles, seems to have been more united in the way they acted. Both the higher and lesser nobility acted in a similar way; the differences that emerge regarding the appearance of different residences are perhaps more a question of scale than of form. In the landscape the aristocracy seems to have emphasised the social distancing from other groups in society, compared to their internal division.

In this respect the present study gives a somewhat different result from a traditional historical study of the aristocracy. Most historians who have studied the medieval aristocracy have been interested in the internal rank of the group. The aristocracy was "imbued with a profound sense of rank" (Coss 2002:67). Numerous historical studies of the European aristocracy have tried to divide it into different groups, either according to the titles of the noblemen, or the size of their estates (Kosminsky 1956:96ff, Dahlerup 1971). This internal ranking of the aristocracy is a profound part of historic studies of this topic, and many studies have been made regarding whether the knights originally were nobles or not (cf. Duby 1977:59ff). Several other studies have been made of the emergence of the gentry or the lesser nobility and its effects on the internal ranking of the aristocracy (Contamine 1986, Coss 2003). Common for all these studies is the emphasis that is put on the aristocracy as a group where rank was significant.

This view of the aristocracy is to some extent contradicted by the present study. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that material culture gives a coarser image than written sources, especially regarding the life-course of individuals. Another reason could be that this study has concerned residences over large parts of Europe, which has led to a too general analysis, that has overlooked the differences between residences belonging to noblemen of different rank. But this is probably not the answer. Judging by how the aristocracy organised space their foremost interest was in demarcating their class against other groups in society, the peasants and the bourgeoisie, rather than stressing their internal distinctions. There were of course great differences between a residence like Kenilworth or Bodiam on the one hand and residences like Ightham or Horningtoft on the other, and these differences reflected among other things, differences in status and rank between the lords in question. But many of the concepts regarding the basic structure of how to organise space and landscape were the same and on a more structural level it seems as if the European aristocracy, in the concrete way they organised landscape, chose to emphasise their common ideology as noblemen, rather than their internal rank. The question of rank was probably more important within the group, and thereby not so important to manifest to others. It therefore did not need to be manifested in the landscape. This is perhaps

why the question of titles is important in written documents. To conclude, the aristocracy chose different forms of material culture to promote different parts of their culture. The manifest and tangible elements of the landscape were primarily intended to promote the aristocracy's relationship to other groups in society. More intangible and perhaps subtle materials were chosen for the question of rank, which perhaps was more important within the group. Space and landscape were thus of profound importance for promoting the social importance of the aristocracy in relation to other parts of society and can be seen as a basic mean for dominion. This further underlines the well-known fact that different source materials gives different perspectives and different results, all depending on what the scholar chooses to emphasise.

The overall aim of the aristocratic spatial ideology that can be traced in various parts of Europe was to control and order the world. In many ways the aristocracy created a "microcosm" with the church and the village close to their residence. By controlling the landscape, the village and its people, and the church and the priest, the aristocracy also controlled the world. The typical example of the manor close to the church in the planned settlement, with an adjacent aristocratic landscape with park, warren, dovecote and so on, is a direct reproduction of the divine social order, the tripartite ideology of a society divided between those who fought, those who prayed and those who worked, materialised in the landscape. The process of isolating the lord, both in the village and in the manor, by access control, moats, distance, seems to have gained momentum in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was a period when the ideology of the three orders began to lose its validity, mainly as a result of the emerging towns. Moated manor houses and isolated residences can be seen as an attempt to prevent this development, to freeze a social order where the aristocracy were the unrestricted lords. The aristocratic spatial ideology was thus embedded in medieval society, and served as a reflection and reproduction of it. It also served as a means to try to prevent changes in society to occur.

But it must be emphasised that this spatial ideology was broad and gave the nobleman many options regarding how he could act in the individual case, especially from the twelfth century onwards. Before this the residence was almost always an integrated part of the local community, situated in the village or hamlet beside the church. Very often this place had long continuity as a local centre for lordship, and the history of this place was used to reproduce this lordship. The lord was, at least in a symbolic way, directly present among the villeins, and had probably a more "personal" relation with them. Integrated in the village, the residence manifested the status of the lord, but also of the aristocracy as a whole. The close connection between residence and church was also a direct reflection of the close bond between *oratores* and *bellatores*, the two groups that together controlled society. This close connection was mutually valuable for the Church and the aristocracy, strengthening their common dominion over the *laboratores*.

But when the ideology of the three orders was challenged by a new reality, the aristocracy tried to prevent changes, by trying to fortify and legitimise their leading position in society even further. This could be done in several ways, for example by increasing the seclusion of the lord, either inside the residence by adding an upper hall or more private rooms and apartments where the lord and his family could retire from the public life in the great hall, or by moving the residence from the village to a more isolated site, often moated. This place then served as a symbolic fortification of the supremacy of the lord and his high status. This was further underlined by the creation of designed landscapes, park, ponds and so on, places where the meaning of aristocratic life could be fulfilled. There seems to be a tendency for this process of aristocratic separation to be more common from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, probably as a response to changes in society, which made the aristocracy feel vulnerable. This process also meant that the former importance of history somewhat diminished. It can also be seen as an adoption of a much more territorialised way of performing lordship and control, for which the direct presence of the lord was not needed inside the local community. Perhaps this separation can also be seen as an expression of individuality, since these isolated residences were often meant to glorify the individual nobleman and his family. At the same time, however, many residences still remained integrated in the local community. The single nobleman thus had different options for acting in the landscape, but regardless of what he chose, the overall aim was not just to manifest his status as nobleman within the group and/or against the peasants; it was rather to create and control a microcosm of the world and thereby manifest and legitimise the supremacy of the aristocracy.

Finally, one has to consider how the aristocratic culture spread through Europe, how values and ideas wandered from residence to residence. Who were the messengers? This is a complex question that cannot be answered briefly; it is of course connected with a general question of the flow of cultural ideas in society. That the Church had an important role as creator and controller of the religious ideology is obvious. The Church was the only true international institution during the Middle Ages. This created a need for travel, for church leaders, monks and minor clerks alike, thus maintaining a constant flow of ideas between various parts of Europe alongside the trivial movement of people. The aristocracy itself was partly a travelling group, especially those taking part in warfare abroad. The crusades not only functioned as a way to conquer the Holy Land, they were also responsible for increasing contacts between aristocrats from different European regions. In a similar way, large tournaments functioned as meeting place for the aristocracy, where ideas and values of the chivalric culture were visualised and spread.

Recent research in several parts of Europe have put the emphasis on the significance of networks that bound the political elite together. It has been shown, for example, how the ruling families and magnates of twelfth-century Denmark were bound together by alliances that were cemented by marriages and friendship

between persons involved (Hermanson 2000). In the power struggles between various factions in Denmark, it was essential to have a network of alliances not only to back one's own ambitions, but also to tie potential competitors to one's own camp. In this society people's political and social status was partly dependent on the status of the people with whom they were allied. In some respect power and dominion in twelfth-century Denmark still relied on the personal bonds of the ruler, even if a process to create a territorialised kingdom had started. Power was still partly exercised by a collective, the king had to have his decisions acknowledged by other elite magnates. The significance of this type of "network society" has also been recognised in other parts of Europe in recent research. A combination of alliances, personal and genealogical bonds and friendship among the elite is emphasised as significant for the political formation of the medieval kingdoms (Hermanson 2000:29ff and cited references, cf. Mann 1986).

The political implications were perhaps most profound within the families of the greatest magnates, but more interesting in the context of this study are the consequences the network society had for the diffusion of cultural ideas and attitudes. The different political networks and alliances did not only affect the political elite; persons of the lesser nobility were also involved, as a consequence of the patron–client relations that permeated the nobility of the Middle Ages. Apart from the political aspect, these networks could have ramifications over large areas and thus bound the aristocracy in various regions together. A Scandinavian example is the "border aristocracy" that evolved in the border zone between Denmark and Sweden. Through marriages and business agreements this aristocracy had a political interest in maintaining the Nordic union between Sweden and Denmark during the fifteenth century. The Norman aristocracy in Angevin England, with estates and alliances in both England and Normandy, is another example of how the interests of the aristocracy were interregional. This interregionality meant of necessity that noblemen from various regions met regularly. This was one way that aristocratic values and ideas spread.

Another way of diffusion was through the culture that evolved at the royal courts. Through their feudal service many noblemen had to do service at royal or princely castles, where they were influenced by the chivalric court culture. The existence of a special aristocratic spatial ideology is therefore nothing peculiar in this context. In a society that to such large extent was subject to interregional contacts among the ruling elite, of which the aristocracy was the foremost group, the diffusion of spatial ideas, values and attitudes was quite natural.

This has been a study "from above", from the perspective of the aristocracy. It is their view of the world that has been analysed. It would of course have been interesting to compare the spatial ideology of the aristocracy with that of the peasantry. It would also have been interesting to study whether the attempts by the aristocracy to control the world by controlling a microcosm actually worked, and to what extent the peasants tried to prevent and resist it. This would, however,

have demanded a much larger study and would also have needed much more fieldwork, since the spatial world of the medieval peasant up to now is a less well studied, almost neglected, topic. Here lies a huge task for future work, since it is very obvious that space and landscape were of the utmost significance for medieval society.

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