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CHAPTER 2 I

THE MEDIEVAL ARISTOCRACY AND THE SOCIAL USE OF SPACE

By MARTIN HANSSON

This article discusses how the medieval aristocracy used space and landscape as valuable assets in the struggle to maintain and reproduce lordship. The concept of medieval feudal space is discussed as part of the ongoing debate on the significance of castles as military objects or status symbols. Furthermore, this paper calls for a broader view in the study of aristocratic landscapes. Instead of focusing only on settlements belonging to the higher nobility, fortified and unfortified residences and landscapes of the lesser nobility are also considered.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to discuss how one group in medieval society, the aristocracy, used space and landscape to strengthen their position. The term aristocracy is used here in a broad sense to include members of the higher as well as lesser nobility.

There is a vast scholarly literature in archaeology and anthropology exploring how people used and created landscapes on several different levels, from purely economic to cognitive (Bender 1993; Ingold 1993; Knapp and Ashmore 1999). These studies have ranged from considering the landscape as a whole down to single settlements and monuments (Aston 1985; Samson 1990; Welinder 1992; Bradley 1993; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Tilley 1994). Common to these studies is 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 actors, individuals or a group, to emphasize and strengthen their own positions in society. Space therefore reflects power structures (Tilley 1994, 11). The archaeological concept of space that has evolved during recent decades is different from the concept of space within the natural sciences, where space is seen as a measure of objective attributes, such as area, shape, direction and distance. This concept of space does not consider that the experience of both time and space are culturally specific (Gosden 1994, 1; Altenberg 2003, 22).

Pre-modern concepts of visuality and space were arguably different from contemporary concepts. If that was the case, it questions the validity of many of the interpretations of spatial meaning that are made by archaeologist today. Such questions and their archaeological implications have been discussed by Kate Giles (Giles 2007). For the Middle Ages, ‘seeing’ was a form of perception that gave the beholder a sense of touching the object of vision. Seeing was a more embodied experience than it is today. In the same way, classical authors like Aristotle perceived space as an immobile container for human action. It was not until the late 14th century and after that the idea of space as something infinite and abstract emerged. The idea of space as a container for people, groups and objects gradually gave way to more modern notions of space as something that exists between people, groups and objects (Giles 2007, 107 and cited literature). Giles’s discussion has been widened by Pamela Graves who questions how deeply into different strata of society medieval perceptions of space actually permeated (Graves 2007, 516). Did noblemen, priests and peasants have the same spatial understanding?

Acknowledging that the Middle Ages had different concepts of seeing and of space complicates our interpretation of medieval space, and questions the methods we use. Kate Giles argues that the methods often used for analysing space, for example the access analyses of Hillier and Hanson (1984), do not take the historicity of the concepts of space and seeing into consideration (Giles 2007, 109). Today, the view that space and landscape are objective and measurable dominates. Producing plans and maps, such as surveys of landscape elements, is a common archaeological method used to analyse archaeological problems. Plans and maps are thus used as a means to describe and analyse a historical context that itself very rarely used maps in this way, nor understood or perceived space in plan and map form (see Johnson 2007).

There is no simple solution to the problems of studying time and space in earlier societies. Karin Altenberg has stated that rather than regarding space as a factor that can be measured or quantified, or as a mirror passively reflecting human behaviour, we must consider the way in which space can be perceived by the people inhabiting a place. Accordingly, we should try to interpret the social meanings of specific contexts to be able to understand how and why people acted as they did (Altenberg 2003, 25). It is important to recognize that different strata of medieval society probably had various perceptions of space. A contextual analysis of the society in question is thus needed to cover the distance between now and then, while at the same time maintaining a critical eye on theory and method.

According to Harald Kleinschmidt, space during the Middle Ages was regarded as heterogeneous, qualitatively different and limited. Kleinschmidt recognizes that the spatial concept was tripartite: the space of daily experience, the space of regular communications, and the world. The space of daily experience is that where an individual or group performs 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, where trespass was a breach of the peace. Outside the space of daily experience, space can either be characterized as the space

of daily experience of another individual or group, or as the space of regular communications, where one meets and interacts with friends, aliens or enemies. This is therefore 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, meaning 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 (Kleinschmidt 2000, 33).

FEUDAL SPACE

When discussing medieval space feudalism must be considered. Certain scholars argue that spatial relations were the basis for feudal society (Dodgshon 1987; Saunders 1990; 2000). The feudal system can be said to have made it easier for lords to control 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 classic feudal structure — with its intricate weave of monarchs, vassals and under-vassals, all with hereditary fiefs and strong control over their villeins — developed in northern France and 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 (Gurevich 1979; Anderson 1974). Susan Reynolds has reassessed the concept of feudalism and argued that our image of feudalism is actually the result of studies of post-medieval sources and circumstances. According to Reynolds, the idea of medieval feudalism was developed during the 18th and 19th centuries (Reynolds 1994).

The concept of feudalism is nevertheless useful for characterizing the society that developed in western and northern Europe from the 10th 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, as taxation, tithes or rent (Hansson 2006, 33).

The feudal state was deeply integrated in the landscape, and can be defined by its use and definition of the landscape as a regulated space (Dodgshon 1987). 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 organization of manor and village (Dodgshon 1987, 185, Saunders 1990). The feudal lords' creation of planned, nucleated settlements dominated by the manor and the manorial church contributed to the formation of the feudal aristocracy. The social relationship between lord and peasant became constituted within bounded space (Saunders 2000, 221). This integration in the landscape also meant that feudal society had a firm local power base. Most social relationships were extremely localized 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, 376).

The territorialization 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 performing the service partly 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 (Gilchrist 1994; 1999, 83). 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 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 DISCOVERY OF 'DESIGNED LANDSCAPES'

Since the 1980s a more social view has emerged of the castle and its importance in society and in the landscape. One of the first to acknowledge this was David Austin, who stressed the significance of the castle as a centre for military, administrative, social and symbolic power, and rejected the prevailing view of 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 organizing the use of the landscape and its resources. Austin's extensive work at Barnard castle in northern England stands out as a model of how a single castle can be studied in a wider context (Austin 1984; 1998; 2007). The importance of the castle in the landscape has also been studied by Oliver Creighton, who has shown how 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 2001; Nordin 2005).

The landscape approach to castles has led to one of the most interesting discoveries within British medieval archaeology during the last two decades: the recognition of so-called designed or ornamental landscapes surrounding castles. The existence of deer parks, orchards and gardens at castles have long been known in written sources, but not until recently have these features been identified and traced in the landscape. Thanks to extensive and careful fieldwork by the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England, a large number of designed landscapes consisting of gardens, deer parks, fishponds and artificially created lakes have been

discovered. The 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. It was visible evidence of the power of the lord, showing contemporary visitors that he truly belonged to the aristocracy. Together with the castle itself, these surroundings were intended to impress visitors and create an aristocratic setting (Everson 1996a; 1996b; 1998; Everson and Williamson 1998; Liddiard 2000; Taylor 2000; Johnson 2002, 19; Creighton 2002, 72).

Among the best-known British examples of medieval ornamental landscapes are those at Bodiam Castle in East Sussex (Figure 21.1) and at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. 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 substantial amount of labour required to create artificial lakes. 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 timeless, and under no circumstances to be questioned (Johnson 2002, 53).

So far the discussion of medieval designed landscapes has mainly been a concern of English scholars, but there can be no doubt that the same type of landscapes also existed in other parts of Europe. A study by Anders Andrén has shown the presence of deer parks in medieval Denmark and that this phenomenon was probably much



FIGURE 21.1 Bodiam Castle, Sir Edward Dallynrigge's late 14th-century castle is an excellent example of an individual putting his stamp on the landscape. It is also a castle in the centre of a scholarly debate. (Photograph: M Hansson)

more common than has previously been thought (Andrén 1997). Attempts have also been made to reconstruct designed landscapes surrounding Swedish residences (Hansson 2006, 156).

The discussion regarding designed landscapes and the social meanings of the castle has been closely connected to a major and ongoing discussion regarding how we should interpret castles. Castles have formed an important subject for historical, art-historical and archaeological research since the 19th century. During most of this period castle studies were usually concentrated on single sites: the origin of the individual 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. The scholarly view of the castle as a military object and the concentration on studying single settlements, especially larger castles built in stone that could be connected to kings and the higher nobility, is found all over Europe (Thompson 1987; 1991; Stocker 1992; Liddiard 2000; Mogren 1995). In the last 20 years, however, a broader view of the castle has emerged. Castles have started to be seen as symbols of power, whose military impression to a viewer has more to do with symbolism than actual military strength. Studies have also 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 a gendered space has also been studied and the castle has even been recognized as a theatre in a metaphorical sense (Dixon 1990; Gilchrist 1999, 109; Johnson 2002, 30).

In a series of often-quoted articles, Charles Coulson initiated the ongoing debate on the meaning of castles. Coulson emphasized the essential sociological functions of castles, often connected to the licence to crenellate that was given to a lord. These licences were used as a means of social expression and the crenellations that were actually built, according to Coulson, had little to do with actual military defence (Coulson 1979; 1982; see also 2003). Were castles mainly military objects built for war, or were they something else, symbols of aristocratic power? Central to this discussion has been Bodiam Castle in Sussex (Everson 1996a; 1996b; Johnson 2002, 19).

In his inspiring book *Behind the Castle Gate*, Matthew Johnson argues that the military view of castles is not wrong, but perhaps only part of the story. Many castles played important military roles, while others hardly ever saw military action (Johnson 2002, 4). Johnson argues that castles must be understood in their context and that there is no simple answer to the question of whether the castle was a military fortress or a social symbol. Castles were both, and much more. Johnson's analysis of Bodiam shows that the castle could be seen and understood in many ways; each visitor to Bodiam would have a different experience, according to their gender and social position (Johnson 2002, 29).

But Colin Platt has recently reasserted the interpretation of castles as profoundly military features. Castles were built for defence in periods of turmoil. Once again, Bodiam is at the centre of the debate, this time as an intrinsically military fortification built against French raiders, revolting peasants and hostile aristocratic enemies (Platt 2007). Platt criticizes several scholars for their lack of source criticism and for making unsubstantiated interpretations. According to Platt, archaeological theoreticians have prioritized the surviving buildings, while extant documents are neglected, which leads

to misleading assumptions (Platt 2007, 98). Platt's article clearly highlights the differences in the two sides of this debate, a debate that perhaps to some extent is founded on different views of the value of material culture. Platt argues for a traditional archaeology dependent on written sources, while criticizing a more theoretically aware branch of medieval archaeology that relies on material culture and dares to question the value of documents.

Studies of designed landscapes have placed aristocratic culture within its landscape context. But this is only true for parts of the aristocracy, since most studies have concerned royal or baronial castles and landscapes. We lack studies regarding the spatial pattern and landscapes of the minor castles of the lesser nobility. Studies of designed landscapes often also lack a concrete connection between elements found in the landscape and a firm chronology (Creighton 2002, 83). Temporality in the landscape is neglected. The creation of designed landscapes was a process that needs to be taken into consideration. Another striking feature is that designed landscapes are often treated separately from the rest of the medieval landscape. There has been little connection between studies of how the aristocracy planned landscapes of production — villages, hamlets and fields — and the ornamental landscapes around their castles. To be able to reach a fuller understanding of how the aristocracy acted in space, these two sides of aristocratic planning and ordering of the landscape have to be integrated. Much of the debate concerning designed landscapes has neglected non-fortified residences. Focus is placed on the great castles, even if a mighty lord also had several non-fortified manors at his disposal. To study the aristocracy and the social use of space we must include other aristocratic places beside castles, from moated manor-houses to 'unfortified' manor-houses. A more holistic approach provides an alternative to the endless debate of whether castles are military forts or status symbols.

TOWARDS AN ARISTOCRATIC SPATIAL IDEOLOGY

One way forward could be to see how the aristocracy organized space and landscape on a European level. Is it possible to find any similarities in how aristocrats across western Europe organized the landscape around their residences and how they built their castles and residences? In a previous study of aristocratic residences in two different regions, I compared how residences in south Sweden and Norfolk were located in the landscape and their architectural layout (Hansson 2006). Despite the great differences in economy, social structure and so on between these two medieval societies, a significant number of common concepts or themes appear to have influenced how the aristocracy chose to organize space and landscape. Six themes were identified: War, History, Distance, Ordering, Religion, and Individuality.

War

One basic theme is connected to the nobleman's role as warrior. Being a mounted warrior was essential for a medieval aristocrat. This was the foundation for his existence and social position in society. The aristocracy were the 'bellatores', those who fought and protected society with divine sanction (Le Goff 1990, 255). Against

this background it is not surprising to find martial elements in aristocratic landscapes and architecture. Moats and crenellated walls are as obvious in aristocratic architecture as warfare was in the life of the nobleman, regardless of whether the moat or crenellated wall in question had a military function. To maintain the position of the aristocracy in society, the presence of this type of military elements was crucial. Aristocratic residences with impressive military defences were built in the late Middle Ages, when the military role of the aristocracy on the battlefield was diminishing in comparison with mercenary foot soldiers and archers (Contamine 1989). To prevent this development from threatening the social position of the aristocracy, military elements were often promoted in aristocratic space and architecture in the late Middle Ages (Hansson 2006, 77). By acknowledging the profound martial dimension in the life of a nobleman, the discussion of whether castles are military or not becomes irrelevant. To some extent martial elements are almost always present at the place where an aristocrat resided.

History

Several studies have shown the importance of history and tradition for the formation of the aristocracy (Duby 1977; Crouch 2002). We also find an aristocratic predilection for places in the landscape that possessed an ancient connection to local lordship. Since the tradition and history of the place were intimately connected to lordship and dominion, this strengthened the dominion of the place in the present (Hansson 2006, 87). In Norfolk, the Normans chose to build new castles on the sites of previous Anglo-Saxon residences (Liddiard 2000). By connecting to old power structures, newly established lordship was strengthened (Creighton 2002, 70). The history of a place could come to determine the location, the duration and also the physical appearance of a residence (Hansson 2006, 100, 103).

Distance

It is evident that the aristocracy became more and more spatially isolated, both in the landscape and inside their residences. Through the architectural development of residences and castles, the nobleman and his family perpetuated increasingly more private rooms and halls, which facilitated private life on a different scale than previously (Blair 1993; Grenville 1997, 106; Hansson 2006, 121). In the landscape many residences moved from a position connected to a village and/or a church, to a much more isolated position. In other cases, evicting a nearby village created the isolated position. This process has often been connected to castle building and the need for a fortified residence, but it is more complex and should be connected to general social changes in medieval society. By isolating themselves in the landscape, in the residence, and in the church, the aristocracy became more unattainable, beyond the horizon of ordinary people. This both strengthened their social position and also worked as a means to prevent social change (Hansson 2006, 127).

Organizing

Several scholars have emphasized the role of the aristocracy in organizing the landscape from an economic and functional point of view, for example, by planning

colonization and rearranging villages and fields (Taylor 1983; Saunders 2000). The last decade has also seen a number of studies that have focused on how the aristocracy organized a symbolic and aesthetically designed landscape surrounding their residences, as mentioned above. Studies of designed landscapes have very often concentrated exclusively on the symbolic landscape. But the functional and symbolic way of organizing the landscape should not be seen as opposites, rather as two sides of the same coin, both connected to aristocratic spatial ideology (Hansson 2006, 129). All over Europe there are examples of how the aristocracy to a greater or lesser degree, depending on local and regional circumstances, planned and organized landscapes, fields and villages. This impulse for planning had both economic-functional as well as symbolic grounds. In some cases, planning of the landscape could increase the income of a nobleman, but at the same time, rearranging the landscape was a clear expression of power, lordship and dominion over both people and nature.

Religion

A striking feature when studying aristocratic residences throughout Europe is the close spatial relationship between residence and church (Figure 21.2). There are many examples where the parish church is actually located in the courtyard of a residence. A religious dimension is almost always present in the spatial concept of the aristocracy. If a church is lacking from the vicinity of a residence, a minor chapel is often incorporated in the residence itself. Similar arrangements existed in almost all



FIGURE 21.2 Great Chalfield Manor with the church located on the partly moated platform of the residence. (Photograph: M Hansson)

castles across Europe. Regardless of economic and political status and power, the lord was always close to a place of worship (Hansson 2006, 161).

In a longer-term perspective, responsibility for religious affairs is something that was central to the concept of being lord. The lord was expected to fulfil the religious needs of the people (Sundqvist 2002). In this aspect, the connection between medieval lords and the church is a clear evolution from the time when religious cult took place inside the hall of the lord. Since churches started to be built, they have been closely linked to secular lords. It is actually possible to see the church as a specialized hall for religious purposes. In both the lordly hall and the church, space was divided into different social spheres, where access to specific areas depended on the social status of the individual. Apart from churches, the landscape surrounding aristocratic residences was filled with religious elements and institutions. Most obvious in this aspect were of course the family abbey, but also smaller features like dovecotes and gardens acted as religious symbols (Hansson 2006, 131, 170, 176).

Individuality

The Middle Ages witnessed the birth of individuality (Hansson 2006, 184). The aristocracy, as a means to strengthen the importance of their own family, promoted this individuality (Johnson 2000). By dressing in specific colours and using coats of arms it became very obvious for attendants at jousts and tournaments which nobleman was successful on the field. For the lesser nobility, the use of an aristocratic feature like the moat, was an efficient way to promote their personal position as belonging to the nobility. The moated sites so common over large parts of north-western Europe can be seen as remnants of the attempts and ambitions of single agents to establish themselves as noblemen. In this aspect the moat becomes a symbol for the owner's aristocratic ambitions. The fact that many moated sites never seem to have been in use at all, or only in use for a very short period of time, may suggest that they are remnants of the failed ambitions of single agents (Hansson 2006, 191).

Taken together, these six themes can be seen as an aristocratic spatial ideology, which was effected 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. These agents also chose which aristocratic spatial themes they wanted to adjust: did they want to connect to perceived memory in the landscape, or did they want to emphasize their social position by distancing themselves in the landscape? There is a clear trend towards increasingly secluded residences where the aristocracy distanced themselves from the rest of society, starting in the 12th century in western Europe and in the 13th century in Scandinavia. But the many examples of medieval residences that remain integrated in villages, close to the church, show that many noblemen chose not to distance themselves in the landscape, but rather continued to emphasize 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 economic and family history (Hansson 2006, 189). This discussion can be exemplified by two case studies, the first is situated in south-eastern Scania in medieval Denmark (modern Sweden), while the other can be found in Lincolnshire in England.

GLIMMINGEHUS

Glimmingehus is one example where several of the themes above can be found in both architecture and landscape (Figure 21.3). The castle was built by the knight Jens Holgersen Ulfstand, Lord High Admiral of Denmark and Provincial Governor of Gotland, a member of the higher aristocracy in Denmark (Ödman 1996; 1999; 2004). According to the inscription on a stone tablet over the entrance to the castle, Jens Holgersen laid the foundation stone to the castle in 1499. The castle replaced an earlier stone house that was demolished before the present house was built. It is a typical medieval castle on a platform demarcated by a moat, in a secluded position compared to the location of the medieval villages in the vicinity. The main building is a four-storey, rectangular stone building with thick walls with loopholes and tiny windows. The entrance and the internal staircase in the house are filled with defensive 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



FIGURE 21.3 Glimmingehus in Scania as it appears today. (Photograph: M Hansson)

theoretically could withdraw higher and higher up in the building while defending themselves (Olsen 1996, 111; Reisnert 1999).

Despite its highly developed internal defences, Glimmingehus is an old-fashioned castle for the late 15th century. 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 its likely architect, Adam van Düren from Westphalia, was also responsible for work on the cathedral in Lund at this time (Ödman 2004, 34). If he was the architect, he employed a style that did not correspond with his status as a modern Renaissance architect. Glimmingehus resembles a 14th-century castle more than a Renaissance palace of its time. It is evident that Glimmingehus was intentionally built to remind its owner and his noble visitors of their common chivalric past, when the knightly culture flourished, an interpretation further underscored by the reused stonework in the house (Figure 21.4). Almost all the stone sculpture and other figurative stone incorporated in windows and doors is of Gotlandic limestone. Many of the sculptures are also reused stones from the 13th and 14th centuries. Some of these worked stones could have come from a sacral milieu in churches, even if this cannot be established with certainty (Berggren 1999).

Glimmingehus in all its medieval glory is a place where the past is presented, not only in the building's architecture, but also in the reused sculptures inside the building. The whole planning and appearance of Glimmingehus, the martial defences and the reused stones, are more a reminder of the glorious chivalric culture of previous centuries. The castle was a statement about its founder, about an individual agent and his social context. Glimmingehus is thus a place where the themes of war, history and individuality are clearly present.

A close examination of the surrounding landscape shows that the castle was originally situated in a watery setting. In a 17th-century picture the residence is 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 and Hansson 1997, 23). There are, however, remnants of a wall that originally made it possible to dam the water in the area and create a lake. A small-scale archaeological excavation has however dated this feature to the 17th century (Ödman 1999, 123), but the possibility cannot be excluded that the wall had an older predecessor. If that was the case, the watery setting of Glimmingehus was man-made and a Scandinavian version of the watery settings at Bodiam and Kenilworth Castles.

RAND

While Glimmingehus was a castle belonging to a person from the higher nobility, Rand in Lincolnshire, England, was a residence for noblemen of local importance from the late 12th to the middle of the 15th century. Thanks to the extensive field survey completed by the Royal Commission, an aristocratic landscape on a smaller



FIGURE 21.4 A late 13th-century doorway in the late 15th-century castle of Glimmingehus as an example of the reuse of history and the perpetuation of shared memory. (Photograph: Bengt Lundberg, Riksantikvarieämbetet)

scale can be traced (Everson *et al* 1991) (Figure 21.5). The manorial complex in Rand was situated in the north-western part of the medieval village, north-west of the church. 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, 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 (Everson *et al* 1991, 153).

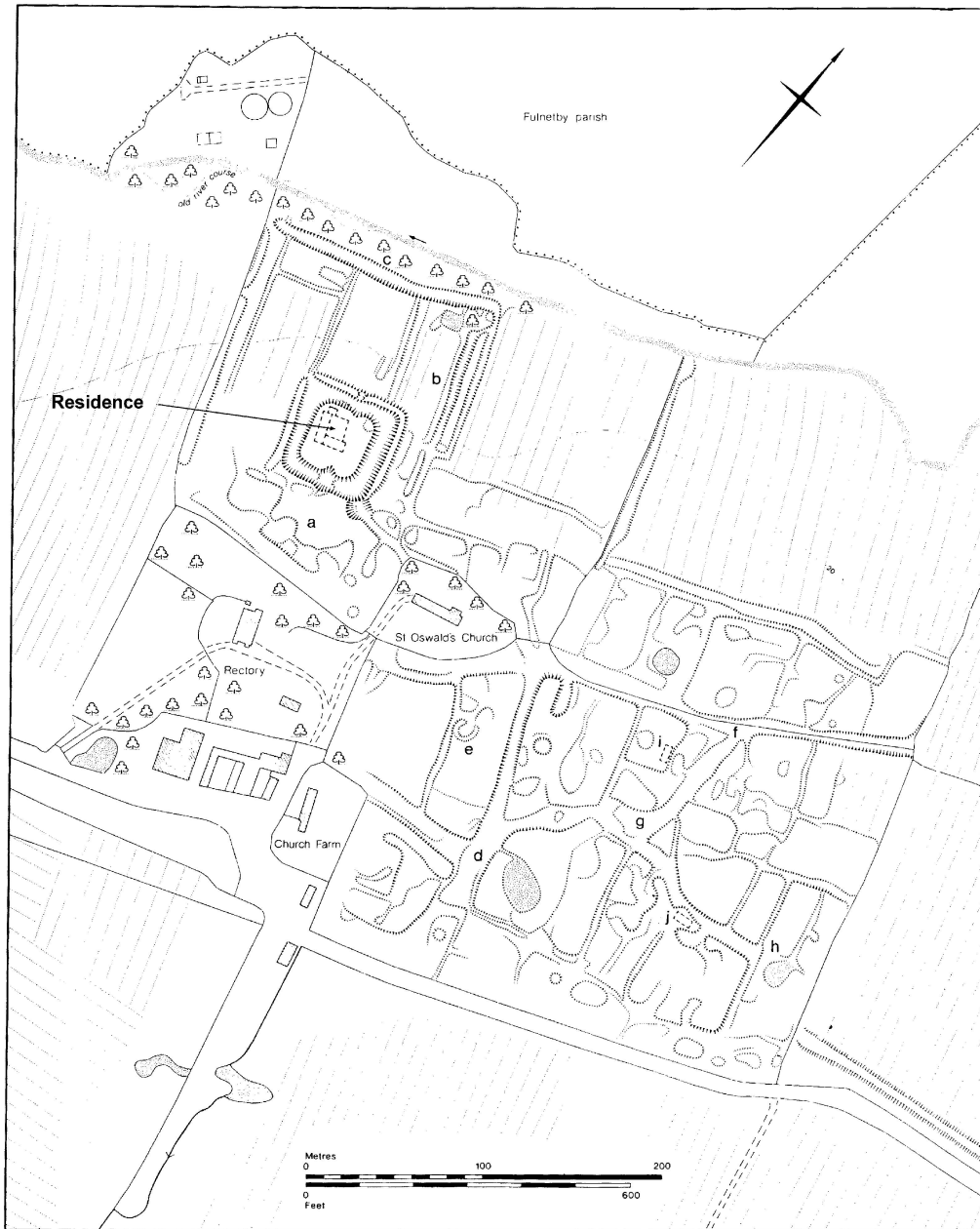


FIGURE 21.5 The moated residence and the village remains at Rand, Lincolnshire. a = fishpond, b = rabbit warren, c = mill leat, d = enclosure bank, e = dovecote (after Everson *et al* 1991, 154 fig 112). (Crown Copyright. NMR)

A number of typical aristocratic features were gathered close to the lordly residence. The fishponds, the rabbit warren and the dovecote can all be seen as symbols of an aristocratic life, just like the moated residence itself (Liddiard 2000, 58). The topography at Rand is rather flat, but with a slight slope to the north, towards a stream. Consequently, the residence is not in the usual visible and dominant position, but is lower than the village and the church. Against this topographical background, it is interesting to note that the dovecote was placed in the south-eastern part of the manorial enclosure, the part directly facing the village. The dovecote is likely to have been 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. The lord of Rand thus used several aristocratic features to manifest his lordship and placed them in order to maximize their symbolic meaning.

As mentioned above, previous research has shown this type of designed landscape mainly connected to sites belonging to royalty or the upper nobility. But the example of Rand shows that designed landscapes on a smaller scale can also be found at residences belonging to the lesser nobility, and integrated with the landscape of production (Hansson 2006, 156).

CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that the concept of space during the Middle Ages was embedded in social meanings. For the aristocracy space was a valuable asset in the struggle to maintain and reproduce lordship. The European aristocracy shared a common ideology about what it meant to be a nobleman and they used the landscape to strengthen their dominion. The ideology and the culture of the medieval European aristocracy can to some extent be equated with the chivalric culture that permeated the ruling classes during the Middle Ages. A nobleman balanced the role of the chivalric knight with the expectations of being a nobleman: by the way he dressed, behaved, acted, both in his daily routine and in exceptional circumstances (Duby 1977; Bengtsson 1999).

Another way to fulfil the aristocratic ideology was to recreate aristocratic culture in space and the landscape. By filling the space of daily routine with aristocratic elements, status was further underlined and could not be questioned. By controlling the landscape, the village and its people, the church and the priest, the aristocracy controlled the world.

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