

# The Emergence of an Aristocratic Environment

## The Danish Archbishops Property at Flyinge



Elias Engdahl  
ARKM22 Master's Degree Project - Historical Archaeology  
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History  
Lund university  
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Supervisor: Martin Hansson



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## Abstract

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Northeast of the Swedish town of Lund lies Flyinge which today offers various equestrian educational programs. During the Middle Ages the Danish archdiocese, located in Lund, owned a manor with stables at this location. Besides Flyinge the archdiocese owned several other properties throughout Medieval Denmark such as the main residence of Lundagård, Hammershus on Bornholm and Åhus Castle.

While contemporary sources are sparse, Flyinge housed several horses, had a moat and graveyard present while being decorated with dams and gardens. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the manor was fortified with a curtain wall and subsequently referenced to as a castle. Why was a manor, owned by the archbishop's see, established and later transformed so close to Lund? The aim of this thesis is to analyze Flyinge as an aristocratic environment and compare this site with Lundagård to unveil similarities and differences.

The oldest map of Flyinge, dated to the middle of the eighteenth century, shows old gardens, small dams and a larger overgrown pond. In the fifteenth century, Flyinge was fortified with a curtain wall next to a previously existing moat. These elements played an important role in showcasing one's aristocratic status in medieval society. Furthermore, a graveyard, with human remains dated from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century, existed at the site. Flyinge's location enabled opportunities to design the surrounding landscape according to aristocratic demands.

By comparing the archbishop's main residence of Lundagård in Lund with Flyinge, it became possible to understand Flyinge from the perspective of a medieval aristocrat. Furthermore, Flyinge could be put in a broader viewpoint amongst other contemporary aristocratic sites owned by various members of the aristocracy. While the Danish crown seized ownership after the Protestant Reformation and handed the estate over to nobility, the aristocratic space and hippological interest never ceased to exist.

Keywords: *Archdiocese of Lund, landscape archaeology, castle studies, aristocratic landscapes, medieval Denmark, triangulation*

*Picture on the front page:* Flyinge kungsgård photographed with a drone, facing east. April, 2026.

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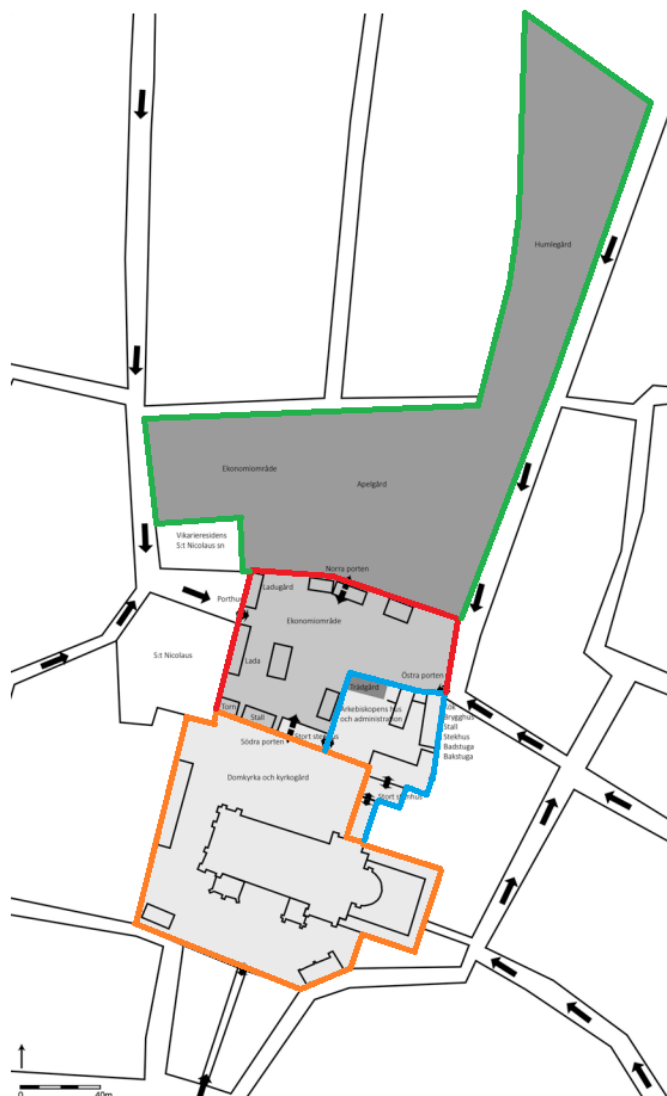
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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background to Lundagård, the archbishop's main residence

When owning a palace which meets so many demands, who could need another residence? In 1103–04 the Nordic archdiocese was established in Lund. This led to an increase in building projects in Lund with bricks as material during the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century. A material which at this time had not been common previously in Denmark. It is believed that archbishop Absalon, of the Hvide family, was one of the main promoters for this increase in building activity. The main residence of the Danish archbishops, called Lundagård, was located right next to the cathedral in Lund. Lundagård included residential buildings, an area of several economy buildings and an area dedicated to gardens (fig. 1). Both the residence and the area surrounding the cathedral was surrounded by walls during the second half of the fifteenth century, thus limiting the visibility and accessibility of those walking by this area in Lund. Due to the archdiocese's political power, the archbishops had to employ an armed retinue and also kept guards at Lundagård (Ericsson & Gardelin 2016: 45–46).



*Fig. 1. Map over Lundagård during the Middle Ages, by Gunilla Gardelin (Ericsson & Gardelin 2016: 47). Colored lines have been added to distinguish areas with different functions.*

**Orange:** Cathedral and graveyard.  
**Blue:** Archbishop residential area including a small garden in the top left corner.  
**Red:** Economy buildings owned by the archbishop.  
**Green:** Economy area to the left, apple tree garden to the east, hops garden to the north.

In the northern part of Lundagård, apple trees were cultivated and possibly other types of fruit trees. The church owned an open field north of this location and used it for agriculture until the mid thirteenth century. The field was divided in five plots and the large eastern one was kept and used as a garden for example hops and cabbage. This allowed a certain level of self-sufficiency at Lundagård. Historical sources from 1459 hint that there might have existed a small garden next to the archbishop's house where perhaps medicinal herbs were cultivated or perhaps the garden was only used for the sake of the area's appearance. Various archaeological surveys at Lundagård show that the garden areas were consistently dug up and maintained by fertilizing with household waste such as charcoal and various animal bones. Buildings related to foodstuff were closely connected to the archbishop's house, surrounding an open courtyard. The archbishops would employ many different people, both men and women, to maintain a livable status at Lundagård (Ericsson & Gardelin 2016: 46, 48; Andréasson Sjögren 2025: 36–37).

By studying Lundagård and other bishop residences in places such as Linköping, archaeologist Anna Andréasson Sjögren considers these residential sites, owned by those of high status in the church, to be inspired and influenced by the current trends in aristocratic architecture. Preserved art in churches and texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for example, prove that fruit trees were one of the most important symbols for “paradise” (Andréasson Sjögren 2025: 139–140). At certain points during the Middle Ages the Danish archdiocese established various residences close to Lund of various functions (see points 2–4 in fig. 7). Approximately 15 km northeast of Lundagård, the residence of Flyinge, as it is called in historical sources, was established (fig. 2). Why would the archbishops establish a residence so close to Lundagård?

Besides the residence building at Flyinge, the archbishops had stables for horse breeding at this location. Later in the Middle Ages, the residence was fortified with a moat and the location adopted the identity of a bishop's castle. After the Reformation, the Danish crown seized control of the estate. A royal stud farm was established when Scania became part of Sweden in 1658 and the location has since been called Flyinge *kungsgård* (Royal landed estate). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the older buildings were replaced by newer ones and thus, no remains or traces from the medieval period remain at the location. Today Flyinge kungsgård offers various educational programs for students (Fornsök L1988:7494/RAÄ Södra Sandby 81:1; Länsstyrelsen Skåne (Accessed 2025-02-09); Sundnér 1983).

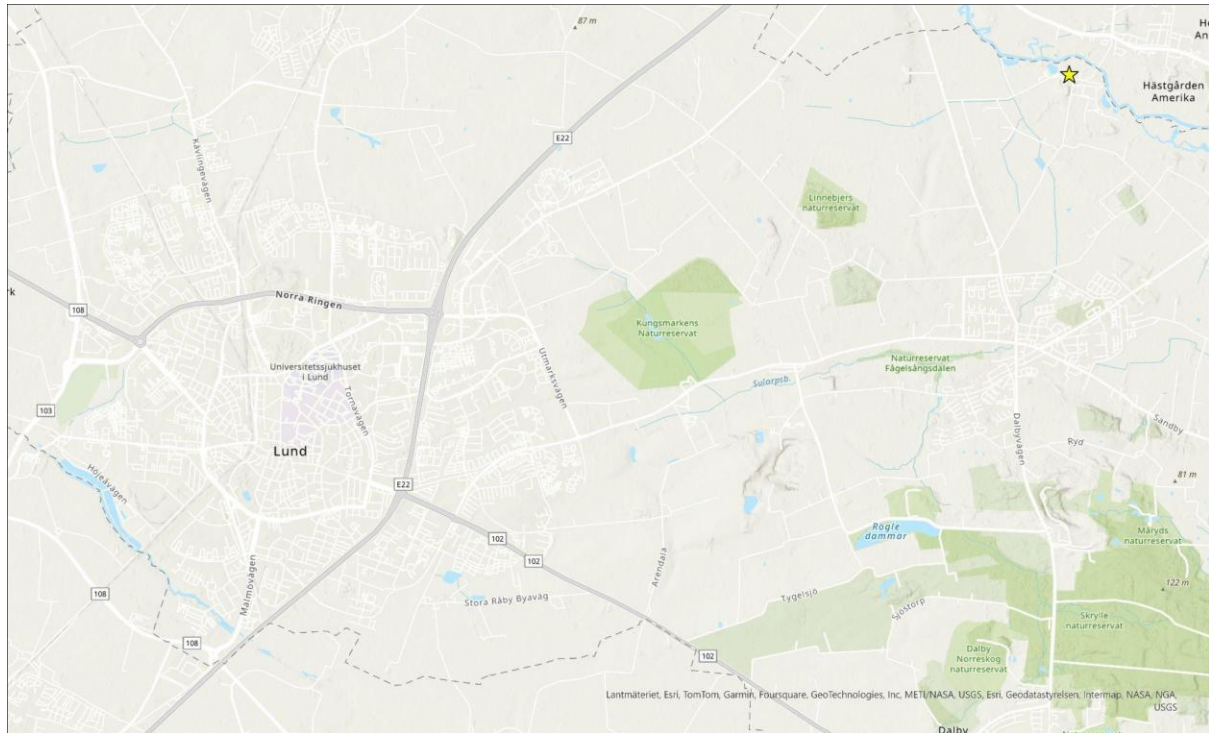
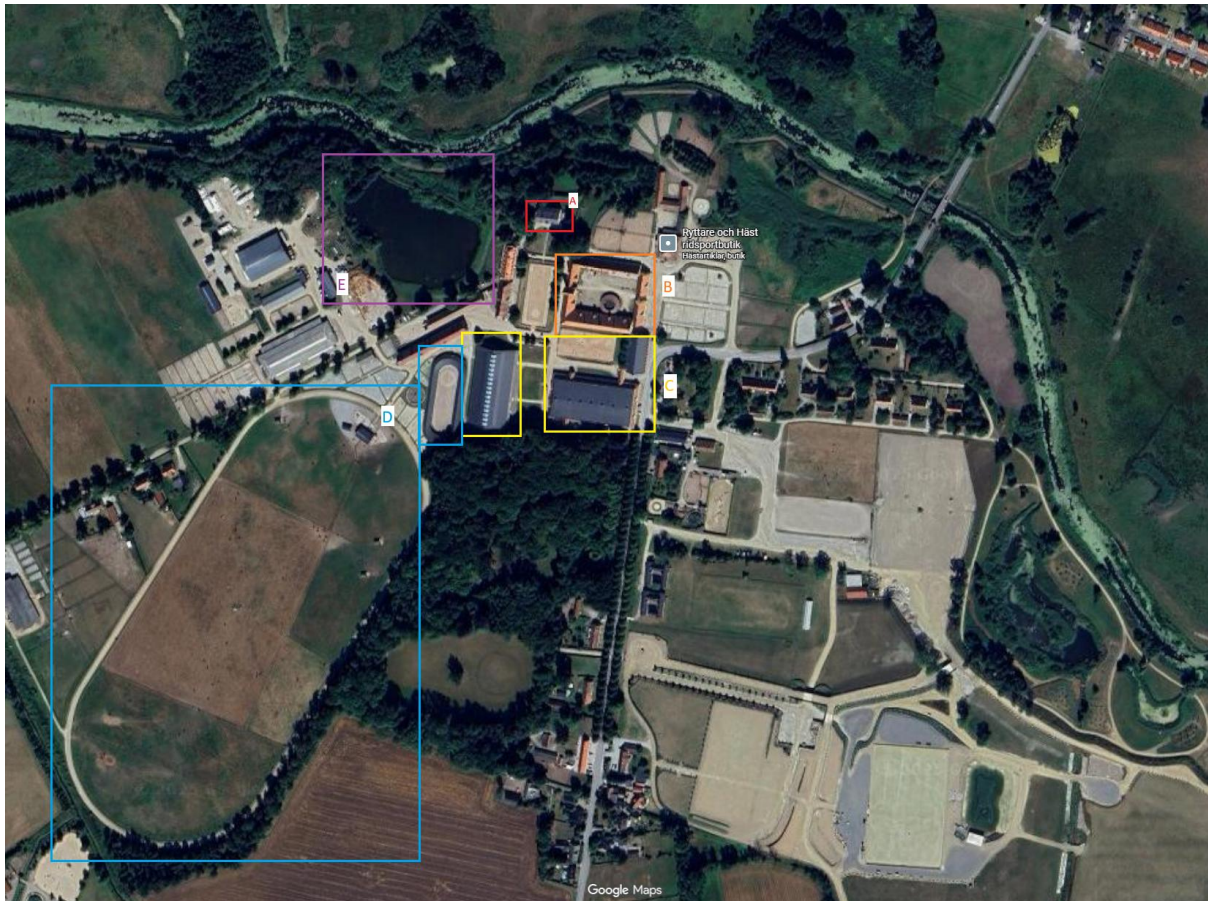


Fig. 2. Flyinge kungsgård is shown with a star and is situated approximately 15 km northeast of Lund. Map made in ArcGIS with open source data.

Modern day Flyinge kungsgård is presented on a satellite image with colored markings (fig. 3). *Chefsbostaden* (residence of the manager), marked with red, lies on a small hill which is the same one the archbishop's residence was situated on. The buildings marked with orange are the old stable buildings from the eighteenth century with an open space and a horsewalker from the early 2000s (fig. 4). The buildings marked with yellow are indoor riding tracks while the two areas marked with blue are outdoor riding tracks (fig. 5). The body of water marked with purple is a dam which has been present at the site since the Middle Ages. The wooded area south of the yellow markings is a park with several streams and also acts as a memorial site for horses that passed away. *Kävlingeån* (creek) flows past Flyinge kungsgård north of *Chefsbostaden* and the dam (fig. 6). The unmarked buildings at Flyinge kungsgård serve various purposes to the establishment such as stables and student housing.



*Fig. 3.* Satellite image of Flyinge kungsgård. **A** (red): *Chefsbostaden*. **B** (orange): Stable complex. **C** (yellow): Indoor riding halls. **D** (blue): Riding tacks of various sizes. **E** (purple): Dam. Google, n.d.



*Fig. 4.* Drone image at Flyinge kungsgård facing north. The yellow building in the centre is the *Chefsbostaden* while the parts of the stable complex is situated to the right. Kävlingeån is seen passing by behind *Chefsbostaden* while the dam is partly visible on the left side. Photo: Author, April 2026.

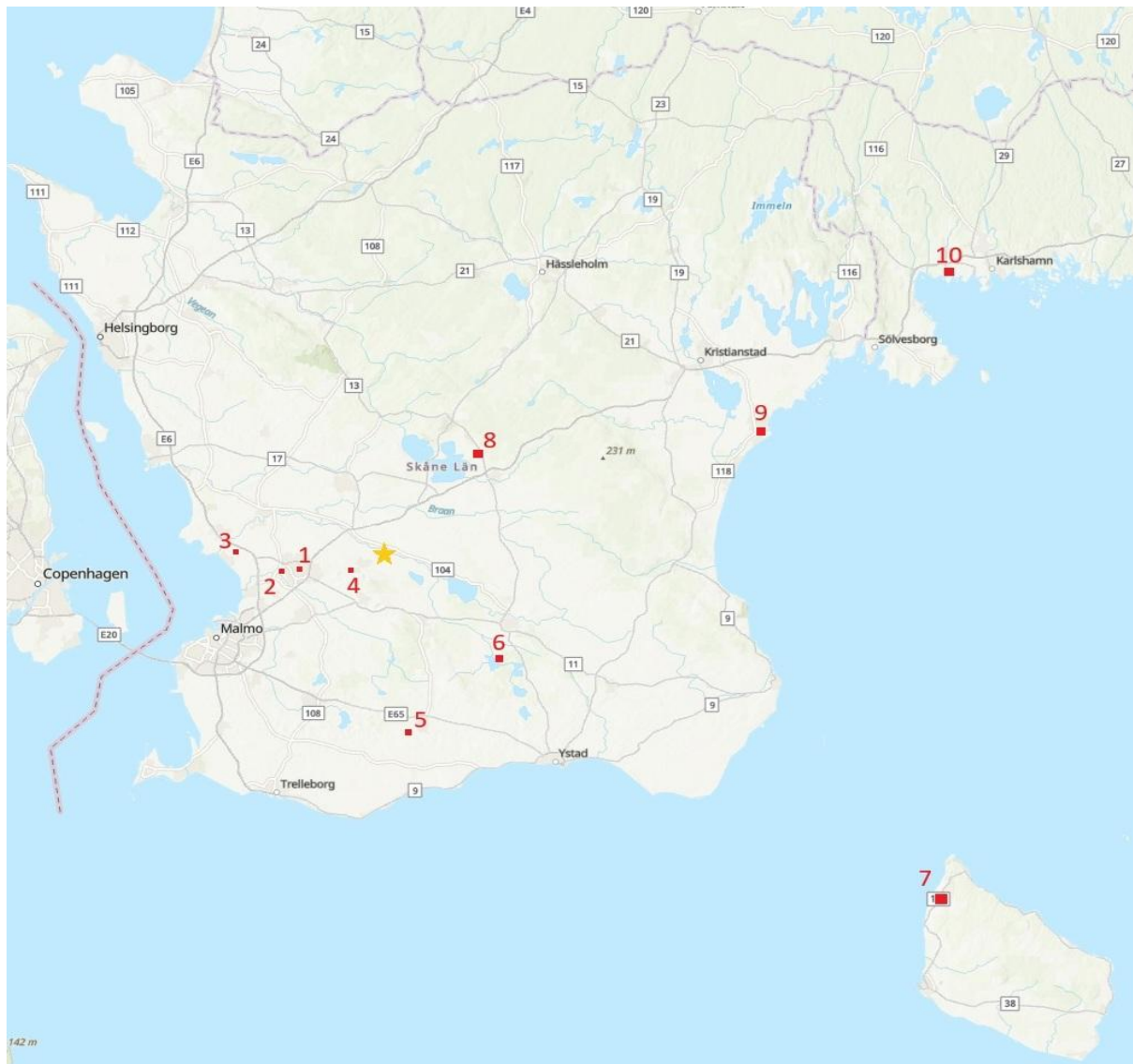


*Fig. 5. Drone image at Flyinge kungsgård facing southeast. The two indoor riding tracks are visible on the left side while the two outdoor riding tracks are visible on the bottom and partly on the bottom right. The park is visible in the middle of the image, going towards the right. Kävlingeån is slightly visible in the top left corner. Photo: Author, April 2026.*



*Fig. 6. Drone image at Flyinge kungsgård facing northeast. This image focuses on the dam and Kävlingeån in the top left. Chefsbostaden and a corner of the stable complex is also visible in the top right corner. Photo: Author, April 2026.*

The Danish archbishops controlled many properties during the Middle Ages geographically spread throughout the Danish kingdom. Some examples are Lundagård in Lund and Hammershus castle on Bornholm (fig. 7). During the Reformation the Danish king seized assets and properties from the Church. Consequently, some properties were handed over to members of the aristocracy.



*Fig. 7. Map showing select properties in Scania, Blekinge and the island of Bornholm, owned by the Danish archbishops during the Middle Ages. Flyinge is marked with a star.*  
**1:** Lundagård, Lund. **2:** Värpinge. **3:** Borgby. **4:** Glumstorp castle. **5:** Näsbyholms castle. **6:** Sövdeborgs castle. **7:** Hammershus castle, Bornholm. **8:** Fulltofta. **9:** Åhus castle. **10:** Elleholm.

## 1.2 Purpose & aim

The properties owned by the archbishop's see varied in size and function where some sites were castles and others were smaller manors. With Lundagård next to the cathedral, the main seat of power for the archbishop, and castles to flee to during times of conflict, what function could a manor at Flyinge provide for the archbishops? While Flyinge was fortified with a curtain wall later in the Middle Ages, it might have had a different function at first which either gradually or suddenly shifted for some reason. Studying the site of Flyinge is a daunting task since little scholarly work has been made centered around the location with a focus on the medieval period. Despite this there exists historical sources such as documents, maps and archaeological reports with interesting findings which could provide further knowledge of Flyinge.

It is important to note that throughout the Middle Ages almost every appointed archbishop of the Lund diocese was of an aristocratic lineage. While the role of archbishop is religious in nature, the archbishop's secular upbringings would have influenced the individuals to some degree. Were there recurring aristocratic elements present at the site of Flyinge which existed at Lundagård and other aristocratic locations?

The point in time when the location served as a residence for the archbishops of Lund during the Middle Ages will be the main focus of the thesis. Thus, the goal is to reconstruct the medieval site by critically reviewing historical sources and comparing Flyinge and Lundagård with each other to see if the two sites shared similar aristocratic elements. This is done with the aim of furthering our knowledge of not just Flyinge, during its time as a property of the archbishop's see, but also to understand the archbishops and their individual decisions. Furthermore, the comparison of aristocratic elements at Flyinge and Lundagård will lay the foundation for a possibility of situating the property of Flyinge in a broader perspective. Thus, making Flyinge relevant for studies focused on Scania, Denmark and general studies centered on the medieval aristocracy.

### **1.3 Questions**

This thesis will attempt to answer questions related to the layout of the medieval site and in what way an archbishop's residence could reflect general aristocratic values. In what way was the site delimited by a moat and a curtain wall? Was there a church at Flyinge during the Middle Ages? How much of the medieval layout of the site can be reconstructed? How did Flyinge change throughout the Middle Ages? What aristocratic elements were present at the site towards the end of the Middle Ages and how did the medieval layouts of Lundagård and Flyinge compare?

Comparing Flyinge with Lundagård is important to answer these questions as Lundagård is both the main residence and features aristocratic values. This comparison might aid in filling gaps concerning questions related to the existence of certain elements at Flyinge such as gardens for example. Where certain medieval elements at Lundagård might have been preserved in historical sources, those sources can make it possible to understand the same elements at Flyinge which were replaced without leaving any traces (fig. 8). Analogies will be used as an interpretive tool in order to make use of not just local comparisons between Flyinge and Lundagård, but also with other medieval sites.



Fig. 8. Drone image at Flyinge kungsgård facing south. The image shows the northern boundary of a park of early modern origin which replaced any remains of medieval gardens. Photo: Author, April 2026.

## 1.4 A theoretical approach to castle studies

Considering that Flyinge would at a later point during the middle ages become a castle, and other aristocratic environments will be mentioned and discussed, it is appropriate to study Flyinge through an aristocratic perspective. In the following sections, theoretical aspects related to medieval aristocratic environments, and what actually made a location an aristocratic one, will be presented.

### 1.4.1 Castles and residences of the elite

Aristocrats' roles as knights and warriors during the Middle Ages inspired the architecture of castles and their residences, with examples such as moats, towers and crenellations. Members of the aristocracy had many expectations to fulfill such as knowledge of warfare and how to handle weapons but also proper etiquette in court environments. The majority of courtial activities took place in castles and, therefore, rooms and the interior design had certain requirements to fulfill for both court happenings and comfort for the visitors of the castle. Throughout the Middle Ages the aristocracy kept making higher demands on the castle's ability to serve as both a comfortable residence and a strong fortress. While castles were built for defensive purposes, they would need to fulfill different requirements if kings and aristocracy were visiting these sites. For example, a king would need fitting spaces for receiving envoys and holding grandiose feasts (Hansson 2011: 69–70, 75).

It is not fully known what all the rooms in the castle were used for besides a few examples. Some that are known are the great hall for envoys and feasts, private living quarters and chambers for guards, cooking and storage. In written sources, *frustugan* (lady's chamber) is mentioned as a room where the residents of the castle could meet, converse and for example

play various games. Knights and squires could have conversations with women of the same social strata as well in this room. In large enough castles there could be both a *herrestuga* (lord's chamber) and a *frustuga*. Due to the stone material used in constructing castles, they were cold and humid which means fireplaces were used both for warmth and as a light source in the castle. The more fireplaces which were used, the more important were the lords and ladies of that castle while also implying the significance of those rooms. Priveys were also a common feature in castles and access to a private one was available to those of high status in medieval society (Hansson 2011: 77, 79).

Other details which were common in castles were painted interior walls, different furniture, window glass and sculpted ornaments. But quite little is known about what objects could be found in these aristocratic environments during the Middle Ages. However, one inventory list from Bohus castle in 1346, shed some light on what items could be found. The inventory mentions expensive textiles, objects in gold and silver, spices, gloves for handling birds of prey and a large ivory chessboard just to mention some examples. This does not mean every castle had the same inventory as Bohus since this was a royal castle. When the king traveled to other castles, the inventory would have followed him to the next destination. Just because someone was a member of the aristocracy did not mean they could live a luxurious life filled with splendor (Hansson 2011: 79–81).

A castle can be equated to a large farmstead with many employed to fulfill certain roles at the residence. The lord of the castle, their family and the executives at the castle would feast on the finest food available at the residence such as meat, spices and drinks such as imported beer and wine. Meanwhile guards, craftsmen and laborers had to make due with a simpler diet based on milk, flour and fish while drinking water or homebrewed beer. The food was a reflection of one's status in society. At castles a wide range of workers were needed, each with their own speciality. Chefs, housekeepers and maids prepared, cooked and supplied everyone with food. Those sites which had an administrative role needed someone who could write to keep track of taxation. Besides soldiers, craftsmen like lumbermen, carpenters and blacksmiths were needed for everyday duties. To withstand long sieges, a supply of food and weapons were also needed. This meant all of these people at the castle needed a place to sleep and spend time when not working (Hansson 2011: 81–82).

Medieval houses were planned with two perspectives in mind. Gardiner and Kilby have named these the reflective view and the projective view. The reflective view was aimed towards those who either passed by or visited the estate by making the house visible from afar. Sometimes houses could later be altered to appear larger and taller than they actually were in reality. The projective view was instead meant to influence one as they would look out from these houses (Gardiner & Kilby 2018: 212). Experiencing the elite landscapes of the Middle Ages required active participation of the viewers. Vistas or emerging buildings influenced the way the elite landscapes were viewed, landscapes adorned with images and symbolic meanings (Creighton 2013: 167).

#### *1.4.2 The difference between a castle and a manor*

While Flyinge could be classified as a castle before the Reformation, it was not always like that during the Middle Ages. The transformation from a manor to a castle is important for this thesis and thus it is important to mention the differences between the terminology.

Knowing what a castle is can be quite apparent due to the large defensive structures. Archaeologist Martin Hansson defines a castle as one or more buildings delimited by defensive elements such as moats or curtain walls for example. Usually, but not always, a castle would have a secluded location in the landscape and act as economic, administrative and political centres of power. Manors are, similar to castles, located in the rural landscape but the difference is the lack of any major defensive elements such as curtain walls for example (Hansson 2011: 33–34, 64).

#### *1.4.3 Horses as a symbol of status for the elite*

In 1390, a preserved document tells us about how the aristocrat Jöns Magnusson became indebted to an amount of 140 marks of silver and had to pawn two of his estates to buy a horse. At this time, 140 marks equaled to 96 cows. However, this horse was not just any horse, it was in fact a stallion intended to be used on battlefields. At the same time, horses used by the common people would have cost five marks instead. These cheaper horses would have been considered ponies when compared to the stallion purchased by Jöns Magnusson. These stallions needed to be able to carry an adult clad in armor and carrying weapons while at the same time being able to manage the duration of a medieval battle. Besides the one-time investment of purchasing a stallion, one had to consider the continuous need of feed which, for a horse of this kind, could amount to around five to six kilos of grain everyday. This meant one would need to be able to overproduce enough to cover the needs of all owned livestock. Thus, horses became an important status symbol for the aristocracy and when a member of the aristocracy would pass by, riding their horse, it would have been an impressive sight for the peasantry (Myrdal 1986: 99–103).

Livestock at Flyinge is mentioned in historical sources, which will be presented later in the thesis (see section 4.1). The existence of livestock and stables at Flyinge throughout history makes it relevant to discuss whether or not studs were bred at Flyinge during the Middle Ages.

#### *1.4.4 The landscapes of the medieval elite*

The term “landscape archaeology” encompasses a wide range of topics depending on the focus (Johnson 2002; Lihammer 2007; Anglert 2008; Chapman 2013; David & Thomas 2016). In *Designs upon the land: elite landscapes of the middle ages* Oliver Creighton (2013) discusses how landscapes were transformed and used by the elite of medieval society in England. In the conclusion, Creighton presents aspects which can be considered to have been a must in an ideal setting at a medieval residence and its surrounding landscape. Aspects of an ideal landscape were: Widespread use of gardening which went through changing appearances in the later medieval period. Use of water and moats to impact the environment.

Parks and hunting. A progressive move away from cities and instead focusing on privatizing spaces in the landscape after the middle of the thirteenth century. Attempts at social control of rituals and religion happened but were not exclusive to aristocratic sites (Creighton 2013: 213–218). Because the role of archbishop was one of high status in medieval Europe, it is important to understand the estate at Flyinge as an example of an elite landscape. With themes such as designed landscapes, gardens, water and parks, it is possible to compare how well the archbishop's residence fit Creighton's description of an ideal elite environment.

Designed landscapes were not just about the tangible such as arrangements of natural elements and buildings. It was also about the embodiment of ideas and how to communicate one's status unto others. However, the main key of designing landscapes was to take control of nature and reshape it. These types of landscapes were not designed to be experienced from a single perspective, instead the movement within these environments would have created a flexible viewpoint. Furthermore, designed landscapes were not just an exclusively elite space, but it was also a setting for day-to-day activities such as agriculture or animal exploitation, to mention a few examples (Creighton 2013: 2–3). Both medieval castles and the surrounding varied in layout and design. One example is Bodiam castle which is surrounded by an artificially created moat, a lake and also lacking a berm or ramparts. Archaeologist Matthew Johnson interprets this as a way to make the castle appear to rise up from the lake, meaning a specific environment had to be selected to achieve this result (Johnson 2002: 19–22).

## 1.5 Method

### *1.5.1 Triangulation in Historical archaeology*

The fundamentals of historical archaeology is the possibility of studying historical maps, texts and iconographical sources in combination with the results of archaeological investigations. Material, text and images enabled the possibility of a triangulating method where the credibility of the sources are pitted against each other to verify them and reach new understandings and conclusions (Nordin 2021: 57–59). The word triangulation is a borrowed metaphor in historical archaeology inspired by the method applied by geodists to calculate the positions of points in spaces by using the sides on a triangle. If two angles and a side are known, the third angle can be calculated in a similar fashion to how texts and images can explain archaeological findings and vice versa (Mogren et al. 2009: 7).

Images can be presented in various ways such as maps, art inside churches, paintings or etchings on copperplates to mention a few examples. When studying churches in Lund to see which churches remained during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, archaeologist Gunilla Gardelin studied two images from this time period. While they were not fully accurate depictions of the town, they could aid in understanding what churches still remained, or what states they were in, during the creation of the two images (Gardelin 2009: 101–102). Maps are a great tool for understanding layouts of villages or seeing divisions of agriculture in the landscape just to mention a few examples. Maps vary depending on the reason they were created and who drew them. The closer to modern time the date of their creation is, the more accurate they get. Historical maps are important for reconstructing historical landscapes

and medieval remains might be visualized on a map from the early eighteenth century (Tollin 1991: 67–68, 79–80). In Sweden, creation of maps was mainly initiated in the seventeenth century as geometrical maps showcasing homesteads. However, maps are contemporary interpretations and must be critically studied when using them (Nordin 2021: 59–63, 68).

Written sources offer a way to interpret and understand perspectives of individuals of the past. Since documents cannot last forever, only a handful of medieval documents remain today. The remaining sources related to Flyinge are therefore of high value for this thesis and need to be combined with the other source material to further our knowledge of this site. However, the written word only records a specific perspective, or the perspective which the recorder wanted to write. Archaeologist Anders Andrén argues that written sources can be helpful when studying the past but at the same time they can impede interpretations of archaeological material (Andrén 1997: 13).

While archaeological excavations at Flyinge are only a handful they provide a large amount of context and information about the site during the Middle Ages. Important as they are, the archaeological evidence is not enough on its own. This is why historical sources are crucial for this thesis. The historical, pictorial and archaeological sources will be analyzed in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Then these sources will be discussed together by applying triangulation as a method to answer questions about Flyinge.

### *1.5.2 Data collection*

Data collection was carried out in two distinct ways: a review of the source material and field excursions to Flyinge kungsgård and other relevant sites. Visiting these locations in person was crucial for developing a subjective understanding of the sites, which offered insights that could not be fully captured through visual representations alone.

The majority of historical maps in this thesis are sourced from *Lantmäteriet*, which is the Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority (alternatively: The National Land Survey). Both the Swedish and Danish national archives store medieval documents and some are also digitalized which is of great importance for this thesis. *Riksantikvarieämbetet* (The Swedish national heritage board) stores archaeological findings in a database where location and related information are displayed on a map in their feature *Fornsök* (web-link is presented in Bibliography). These historical sources were an essential part for this thesis.

GIS software was used in this thesis to georeference historical maps and to digitize important details. All digitized data from maps and archaeological reports were handled and compiled in a joint GIS project. This enabled the use of maps to pinpoint the locations of the medieval moat and ponds. Furthermore, GIS is applied in this thesis as a way to visualize archaeological findings and conceptualize interpretations in a pedagogical way.

## 1.6 Material

### 1.6.1 Contemporary literature

A wide array of scientific literature is applied in this thesis focused on themes such as castles, aristocratic environments and gardens. Research about the site of Flyinge is sparse but enough work has been made which can be used as a foundation for a thesis. Ingvar Fredricson recently published the second edition of an extensive work with a focus on the whole history of horse culture at Flyinge, from the Middle Ages to modern times (Fredricson 2023). Although it has a minor part in the book, the Middle Ages receives attention in the beginning. However, sources are not mentioned in text or listed in a bibliography which means one should critically apply the historical information discussed. Despite this, the book contains valuable information about buildings which replaced the medieval ones.

### 1.6.2 Archaeology at Flyinge kungsgård

Over the years there have been many archaeological excavations at Flyinge which have resulted in valuable finds (tab. 1). The first one dates back to 1836 and consequently did not have any antiquarian presence. “Tolv skottkärror människoben” (twelve wheelbarrows of human bones) were found in the inner yard between the current stables, known as *Askgården*, as noted by, the then executive manager, Clas Adam Ehrengrenat (RAÄ Södra Sandby 80:1/L1988:8168). A stone memorial was created in the vicinity of Chefsbostaden where the remains were deposited (RAÄ Södra Sandby 89:1/L1988:7072). Contemporary investigations at Askgården have revealed more human remains which resulted in this area to be interpreted as an abandoned gravesite (Wilhelmson 2009; Guldåker 2012).

| Source                            | Year |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| RAÄ Södra Sandby 80:1/L1998:8168* | 1836 |
| RAÄ Södra Sandby 80:1/L1998:8168* | 1960 |
| Sundnér, Barbro                   | 1983 |
| Olsson, Marie                     | 2004 |
| Wilhelmson, Helene                | 2009 |
| Guldåker, Aja                     | 2012 |
| Billström, Linda                  | 2020 |
| Guldåker, Aja                     | 2024 |

Tab. 1. Table showing all investigations at the site of Flyinge which resulted in archaeological finds. Sources marked with a \* has no published report.

### 1.6.3 Written sources

In *Riksarkivet* (the Swedish national archive), a total of eight medieval documents, all signed by archbishops, are issued from the residence at Flyinge (tab 2.). The contents of the

documents vary and revolve around things such as donations to a destroyed monastery, demanding justice for a bishop that had to withstand violence and the nomination of an official to act as a proxy for the archbishop in a town council meeting in Malmö.

| SDHK-number | Date of the document |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 3155        | 1322, October 27     |
| 3157        | 1322, October 28     |
| 4007        | 1334, May 10         |
| 7933        | 1361, March 15       |
| 13339       | 1387, August 26      |
| 24994       | 1446, August 1       |
| 25455       | 1449, January 16     |
| 27013       | 1457, June 27        |
| 41550       | 1499, November 5     |
| 45134       | 1504, November 2     |

Tab. 2. A table of letters issued by various archbishops, either issued at or mentioning Flyinge, with archive numbers and the date of the documents. *Riksarkivet, SDHK (Medeltidsbrev)*.

A comprehensive register or book, called *Decimantboken*, is preserved from 1651 and covers the diocese of Lund which at this time included Scania, Blekinge and Bornholm. Halland was no longer part of Denmark after the peace treaty of Brömsebro in 1645. The word *decima* is latin for ten which means a *decimant* would be someone who cultivated a farm and paid a tenth of their agrarian production as a tax. In this register the various farms are divided into four categories and names of farmers are also listed for those farms where names were known. Some of the farms are categorized as *øde* (or sometimes *öde/ødde/ödde*) which translates into deserted. While some *øde* farms have a named user this could be the last person to cultivate the farm right before it got deserted. Some farms do not have a named user and are noted as *øde*. However, this could mean the farm is not paying taxes while still being occupied. Therefore it is not possible to distinguish what farms were actually deserted and which were still in use in 1651 (Skansjö & Tuvestrand 2007: 9, 22–23). In this thesis, this source material is used to compile the amount of farms which were administered by the manor at Flyinge. While it is not medieval, it is the closest available source which accounts for some type of importance the manor used to have.

Swedish archives appear to have a larger quantity of preserved medieval documents than Danish counterparts. Some documents in Danish archives have already been presented in the table above (tab. 2). However, there are a few sources archived at *Rigsarkivet* (the Danish national archive), which are not found in Swedish archives. The Danish professor Per

Ingesman has already gathered and discussed these documents in his dissertation, *Ærkesædets godsadministration i senmiddelalderen* (1990), and will be analyzed in a later chapter (see sections 4.2 and 4.3). Furthermore, Ingesman interprets that Flyinge and two other similar sites owned by the archbishop's see, Borgeby and Värpinge, were administered independently from other estates and are consequently left out from certain historical sources (Ingesman 1990: 20–21).

In 1697 when a fire ravaged the old royal castle in Stockholm, a majority of historical documents stored in the national archives and the royal library were destroyed. It is therefore uncertain how many documents relating to the archbishop's residence at Flyinge have been lost. Luckily, written sources about Flyinge are not the only sources available to be studied.

#### *1.6.4 Historical and contemporary maps*

In 1680 Gerhard von Buhrman made a sketch of Flyinge and 49 other manors and castles in Scania which would many years later result in a series of etchings on copperplates (fig. 14 & Jeppsson 2015: 2–3). Furthermore, Buhrman created an impressive map of the entirety of Scania displaying cities, villages, churches, roads and much more by the order of Governor General Rutger von Aschberg (fig. 12 & Nilson 2008: 15–17). This map makes it possible to see main roads leading from Lund and how close they were to Flyinge at this point in time. However, the oldest map displaying Flyinge kungsgård in detail is from 1748 which shows the buildings at the site while a map from 1750 shows both Flyinge kungsgård and the surrounding environment. A map from 1783 is the oldest map showing when Flyinge kungsgård experienced changes with the additions of new buildings and the removal of older ones. Finally, Flyinge kungsgård has been fully transformed on a map from 1813. The sources for all historical maps are presented in the bibliography. While these five maps were made after the Middle Ages, they are important sources for this study to understand what remained after the Reformation and how Flyinge kungsgård got its modern look. Besides these historical maps, modern maps like satellite images, height maps e.t.c. will also be used in this thesis. With the source material presented, it is time to take a look at the topography at Flyinge kungsgård and historical remains in the surrounding landscape.

## **2. Topography and historical remains around Flyinge kungsgård**

### **2.1 Topography**

Flyinge kungsgård is located approximately ten kilometres northeast of the medieval town of Lund which was the main seat of power for the Danish archbishop during the Middle Ages. Just south of Flyinge kungsgård lies the small village of Flyingeby which, according to historic sources, is of medieval origin. The larger village of Flyinge, on the opposite side of Kävlingeån, has grown into an urban area in modern times. The villages of Getinge and Gårdstånga lie approximately two kilometres northwest of Flyinge kungsgård. At Getinge it

was possible to wade across the river and get access to important cities and trade locations in southwestern Scania. Fredricson believes that with a fortified estate close to this location, the archbishops soldiers could oversee who entered this side of Scania. A bridge would later be constructed at Getinge (Fredricson 2023: 10). Södra Sandby lies three kilometres south and while Holmby is located a bit more than three kilometres northeast of Flyinge kungsgård. Flyingeby, Getinge, Gårdstånga and Södra Sandby are the villages which would have been closest to Flyinge kungsgård during the Middle ages.

Flyinge was one of many settlements erected on various heights situated on both sides of Kävlingeån. Floods were common which resulted in quality arable landscaped around the settlements. Consequently, the frequent floods would create a wetland like biome which would make it more difficult to travel these areas. Sites such as Flyinge would thus be well defended (Fredricson 2023: 10). It is interesting to consider whether this reason is why this specific location was chosen to construct the residence or if a castle on a hill in this landscape would stand out. Perhaps it is a combination of the two? The amount of arable landscape would offer the archbishops an income of grain which could both suffice as a supply at Flyinge and an abundance for other properties.

Kävlingeån, in proximity to Flyinge kungsgård, is approximately 25 metres wide and the hill, where the castle once was constructed on, is approximately 65 metres away (measured from the edge of the hill to the closest point of Kävlingeån). The height difference between the hill and the surrounding area is approximately three metres. However, the relation between the height of the hill and the surrounding areas is varied and it is not known if or how the landscape has changed since the residence was constructed. Besides the physical topography, it is important to look at various historical remains close to Flyinge to understand the medieval landscape.

## **2.2 Historical remains**

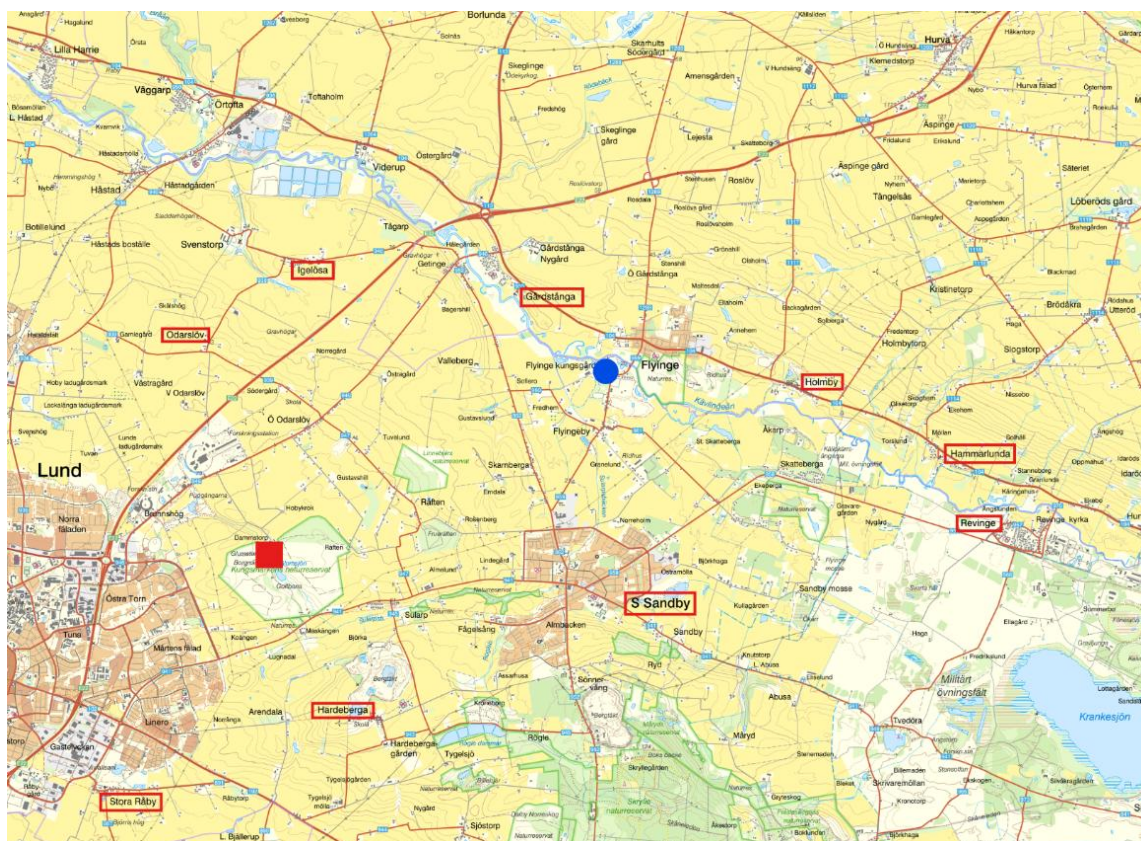
Remains of several prehistoric settlements have been discovered close to Kävlingeån and Flyinge kungsgård. Various flint tools have been picked up by farmers tending their properties which show this location has seen lots of activity before the Middle Ages (fig. 9).



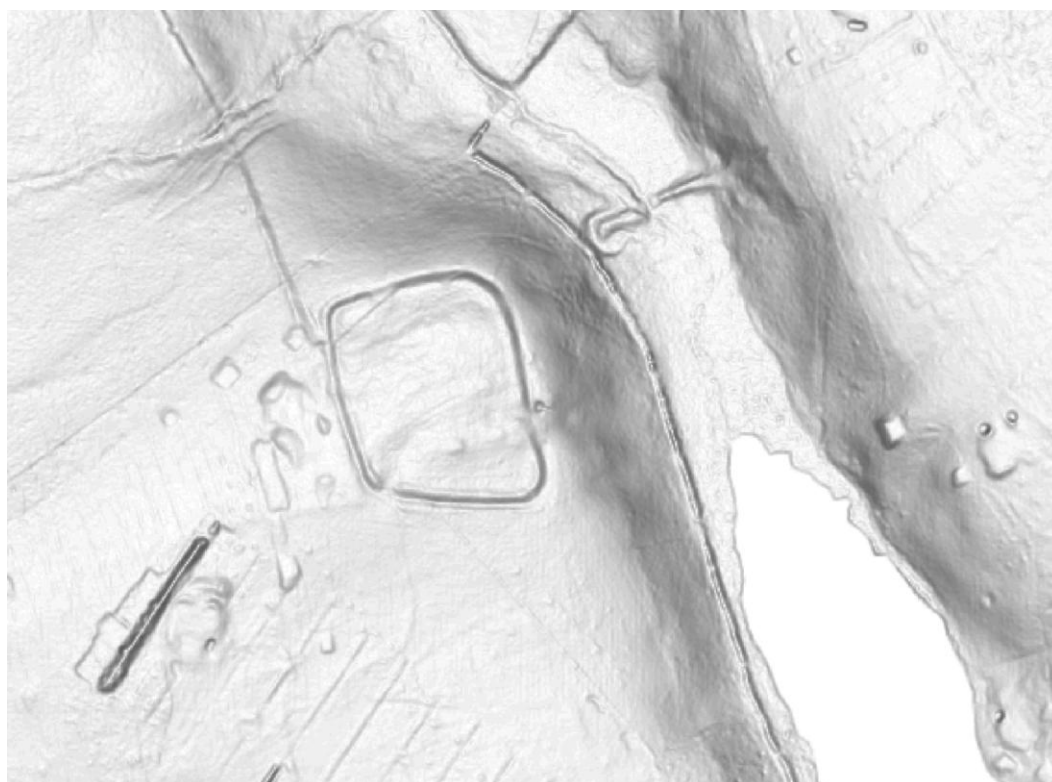
Fig. 9. Part of the Swedish national heritage board's digital database Fornsök, showing Flyinge kungsgård (middle right) and surrounding registered archaeological finds (Fornsök). Accessed 2025-10-28.

There are several parish churches around Flyinge kungsgård which are of medieval origin which can hint at locations of medieval villages and their relative distance from each other (fig. 10). The churches of Gårdstånga, Hammarlunda, Hardeberga, Holmby, Igelösa and Odarslöv were built in the twelfth century while the churches of Revinge, Stora Råby and Södra Sandby were built in the thirteenth century (Wahlöö 2014).

One site close to Flyinge worth mentioning is the remains of Glumstorp castle (marked with a red square on fig. 10). Little is known about Glumstorp but the area might have originally been owned by the Danish king. By 1222, a manor, belonging to the Danish archbishop's see, existed at Glumstorp. The only remains of the manor is a ten metre wide moat creating an approximate area of 100 x 120 metres which would have made up the inner courtyard (Ödman 2022: 80 & fig. 11). In a medieval document from 1334, livestock at Glumstorp are mentioned to have become untamed or undomesticated, perhaps due to a lack of care (SDHK: 4007). It is uncertain what happened with Glumstorp but it seems that the site was slowly abandoned. Perhaps Flyinge had grown in importance and was considered a better location for a manor when compared to the location of Glumstorp?



*Fig. 10.* Names of villages with medieval parish churches close to Flyinge kungsgård have been marked with a red rectangle. Flyinge kungsgård is marked with a blue circle and Glumstorp is marked with a red square. Lantmäteriet ©.



*Fig. 11.* Inclination map of the remains of a moat at Glumstorp, clearly visible in the middle of the images. In the bottom right is a small lake and to the immediate left is a golf course, which explains the several perforations (Fornsök). Accessed 2026-04-22.

Flyinge was stripped of its status as a parish in 1536 and the area belonging to the parish was afterwards part of the parish of Södra Sandby instead (Wahlöö 2014: 414). In a review of the history of the population registration and parishes the Swedish Tax Agency notes that the parish of Flyinge “early” became part of the parish of Södra Sandby (Skatteverket n.d.). No further information is presented and no sources are listed for this claim.

In 1651 the homestead of Flyinge belonged to the parish of (Södra) Sandby. At this time a noble named Erich Herloffsen owned 27 farms in the parish which all were administered by the manor in Flyinge. Of these 27 farms, eight are noted as øde (Skansjö & Tuvestrand 2007: 61–62). Beside the 27 farms in this parish a total of eight farms in Scania was administered by the manor in Flyinge bringing the total of farms administered by the homestead to 35 (Skansjö & Tuvestrand 2007). Interesting to note is that *Wälborne* (nobleman) Obriste von Cratzis owned a watermill which belonged to a (or specifically) Flyinge farm, rented by Asmund Pedersen (Skansjö & Tuvestrand 2007: 163). In 1684 two main roads lead from Lund in a direction towards Flyinge (fig. 12). This means it is possible to get a hint of how someone could have travelled from Lund to Flyinge during the Middle ages.



Fig. 12. A cropped image of Buhrman's map from 1684. Lund and Flyinge kungsgård have been circled. Lantmäteriet ©.

## 2.3 The road to the bishops residence

During the Middle Ages, there would have been four possible routes the archbishop would have taken when travelling between Lund and the residence at Flyinge (fig. 13). How long would it take to ride from Lundagård to the castle at Flyinge?

In *Marchetti's Constant and the Aristocratic Landscape of Lütjenberg in Holstein*, Rainer Atzbach (2025) applies Marchetti's constant on different castles and their topography to understand the movement of individuals. Marchetti's constant is an attempt at calculating the distance an individual is willing to commute to a workplace which is approximately 30 minutes for a one-way trip or 60 minutes for a journey to and back. An example is given where an individual can approximately walk at the pace of one kilometre in eight to ten minutes. This means someone could walk a distance of around two and a half kilometres to a worksite (Atzbach 2025: 168–169).

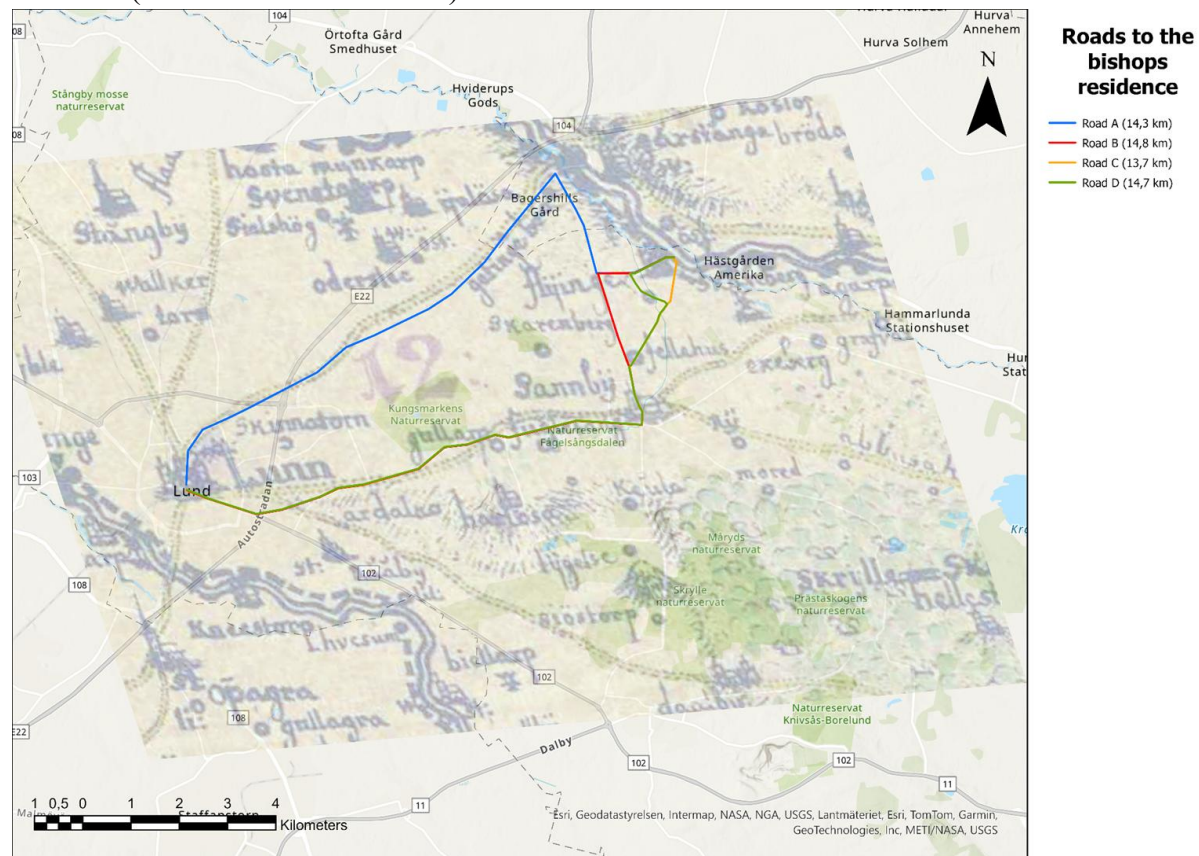


Fig. 13. Map of four different routes to get to Flyinge kungsgård from Lund. Buhrmans map from 1684 georeferenced (as good as possible) on a modern map. Roads B–D lead to Södra Sandby, then roads C–D fork off towards Flyingeby and finally split in two directions. Road C is the shortest one and one would arrive from the south. The other three roads lead one to Flyinge kungsgård from the west. The distances are rounded to one decimal.

In *The Medieval Traveller*, historian Norbert Ohler discusses the distance and pace of medieval travellers and lists different categories of travelling methods (Ohler 2009: 97–101). While the distances discussed in this book is focusing on large distances, the calculated speeds can be of use when looking into travels between Lundagård and Flyinge. According to Ohler, a traveller by foot could travel approximately 3–6 km/h or a daily total of around 24–40 km. While a galloping horse could maintain an approximate pace of 19–24 km/h (see table in Ohler 2009: 101).

Taking all this information into account, it means it would be long to commute to Flyinge from Lund on foot. However, on a galloping horse it would take less than an hour to travel.

On a rested horse it would almost take 30 minutes to gallop to Flyinge from Lundagård which means it would be possible to commute to the site during the Middle Ages. Otherwise one would need to stay overnight to rest if travelling to Flyinge from Lund. However, it is relevant to ask oneself whether or not someone possessing the high status role of archbishop would gallop between the two locations? It would instead be more fitting of slowly riding with for example a carriage together with an armed retinue. Thus, the archbishop definitely needed to stay overnight due to the time it would take to travel from and to the residence at Lundagård.

### 3. Maps and images

#### 3.1 The residence at Flyinge

One can attempt to reconstruct Flyinge during the Middle Ages by studying an etching made of the site in 1680, which is the oldest image known of the site (fig. 14). A detailed map of the site with descriptions, made in 1748, can be used in tandem with the etching to discern what structures are of medieval origin (compare fig. 14 & fig. 15 and see appendix 2 for descriptions of the map from 1748). Studying the descriptions reveal some form of inspection or examination (*husesyn*) took place at Flyinge in 1733. This inspection made it apparent that several buildings were in a bad state and some were more or less in ruins. Furthermore, a couple of buildings were built between 1733 and 1748.

The map from 1748 is made years after Buhrman's sketch of Flyinge was made and it appears many buildings were added between the period of 1680 and 1748. However, buildings depicted on the etching are also illustrated on the map which makes it possible to separate newer and older buildings. A scale is included on the map from 1748 in the old Swedish measuring unit *aln* (one *aln* is approximately 0,594 m). This makes it possible to find out approximate measurements on the 1748 map. Any measurements have been rounded off to one decimal and should not be considered fully accurate due to limitations when creating the map. Below, the images of the residence will be critically studied by focusing on specific parts or architectural elements. This will form the basis for a discussion of the appearance of the site during the period in time it was owned by the Danish archbishop's see.

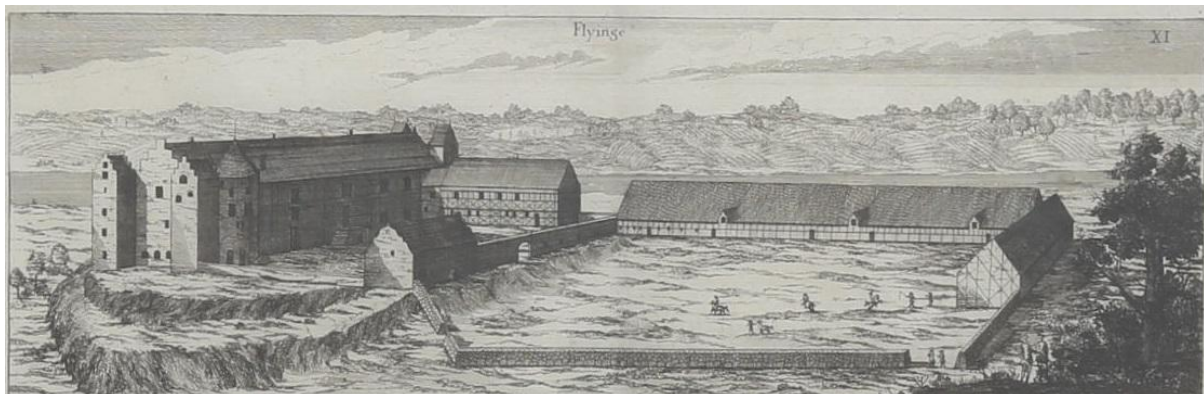


Fig. 14. Etching published in 1756 (Fischer) displaying Flyinge kungsgård, inspired by Buhrman's sketch made in 1680.

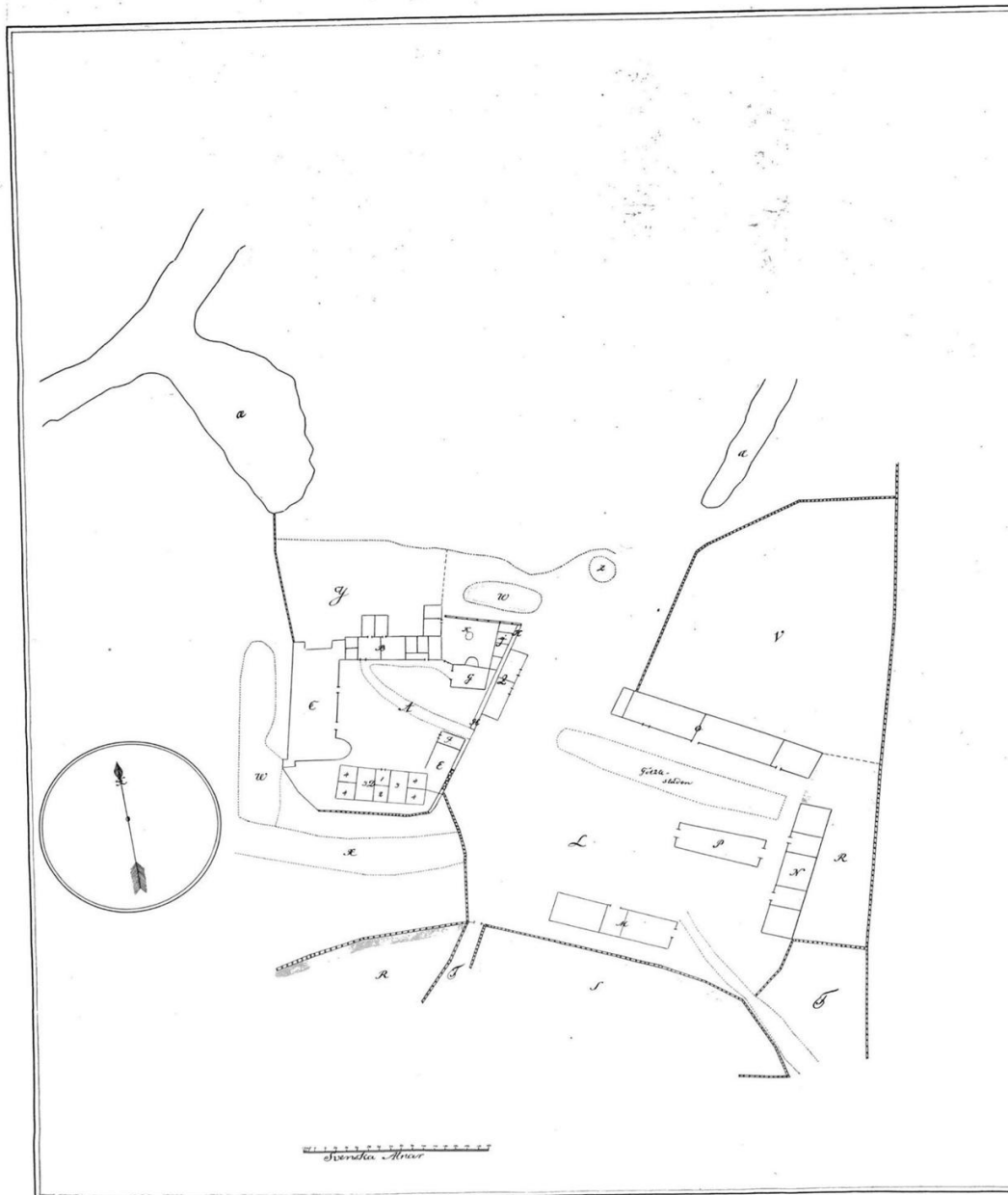


Fig. 15. Scanned image of a map over the site of Flyinge, made in 1748 by the surveyor Lars Lindblom. The letter *I* is not listed on this map or in the description (Lindblom 1748).

Certain areas in the etching need to be highlighted due to their perspectives not being correct and is probably not how the site looked like in 1680 (fig. 16). In comparison to Flyinge, some of the castles and manors in the collection of etchings do showcase gardens close to the main building. When studying the gardens in Fisher's etchings from 1756, Gert Jeppsson points out that Buhrman would have opted for a perspective which most optimally showed the grandeur of these locations (Jeppsson 2015: 3). Thus, depending on how the gardens were placed in relation to the other buildings, some did not make it into Buhrman's sketches in 1680 because of the chosen perspective, rather than never existing at all.

A similar observation has been made about another etching showing Lund from the year 1585. It would appear that whoever drew Lund for the creation of that etching did so from different views but combined the various perspectives into one image (Blomqvist 1946: 9–10). This etching is further analyzed and discussed by Kenth Hansen (2020), who argues that certain buildings of importance, such as the cathedral, have had their size enhanced in comparison to their real size in relation to surrounding buildings. Furthermore, the town itself has been compressed to allow more space to illustrate the surrounding landscape and specific elements are included. This means caution should be applied when studying the etching of Flyinge, even if it at the same time is a good source for providing a glimpse at possible ways Flyinge looked like at the end of the Middle Ages. Examples such as the placement and sizes of windows or the amount of chimneys are elements which might not be properly reflected in this image.

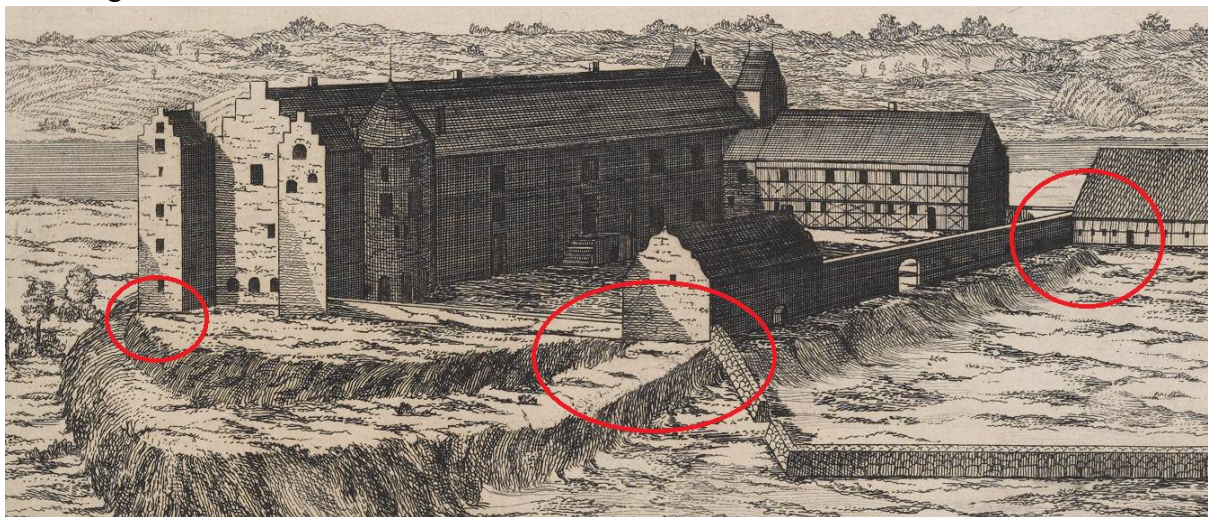


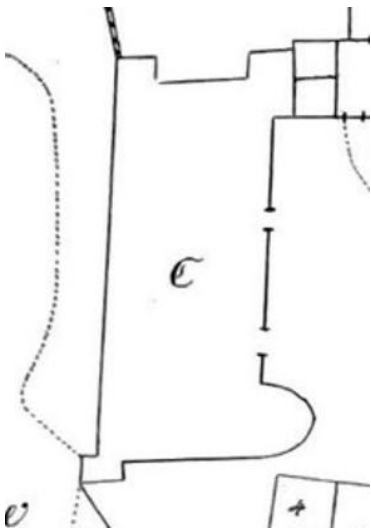
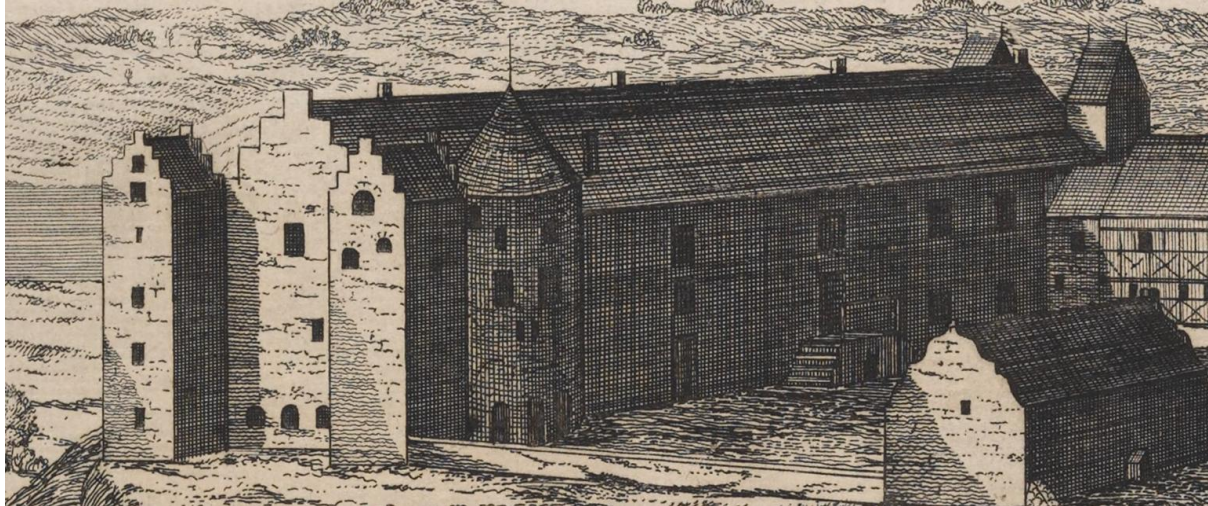
Fig. 16. The etching of Flyinge from 1756, cropped and edited. The red circles mark areas with perspectives that do not make sense due to the structure's relation to the environment which is either a hill or actually a moat or a mound (Fischer 1756).

### 3.1.1 The residence and the towers

Without including the towers, the residence (C) had a length of approximately 59,4 m and a width of 26,7 m. Taking these measurements into account however, would make this building very large for medieval standards. However, on a map from 1750, this building is pictured differently from the one on the map in 1748 (compare the residence building on fig. 17b & 22). It is clear that the building is probably pictured wider than it was in 1748. Furthermore, if this building is digitized and measured in GIS, it instead has a length of 31–33 m and a width of 10–12 m. These measurements seem more realistic and are probably closer to the real size of the building during the Middle Ages.

The material of the residence building and its towers are not mentioned because only the stone foundations remained during the making of the map from 1748. However, they were probably constructed with bricks. One door on the ground level is visible while stairs lead to another door higher up in comparison. It is not clear what floor the second door leads to due to how the windows are placed. The manor had a basement according to Lindblom which means that the bottom row of windows on the south side could be basement windows.

Including the basement and counting the levels of windows, the total number of floors are four where one floor might be a loft (fig. 17a & 17b). A total of four chimneys are visible, perhaps with a fifth one just to the right of the round tower, and the south end of the building is decorated with a stepped gable. No privies are visible and might have been located on the western and north sides. The reason that no interior walls or room divisions are depicted on the map from 1748 is that the building had almost completely collapsed. According to Lindblom, only foundations and sections of walls were still standing. A comment even points out that while it might be restored, it would be better to reuse the remaining building material for a fence for a field to the north or in new buildings.



*Fig. 17a (top) & 17b (left). Cropped images focusing on the residence building and its towers. (a) Fisher 1756 & (b) Lindblom 1748.*

On the southeast side, a rounded tower with windows is protruding while two similar towers are located on each corner on the south side and are decorated with stepped gables. However, the two towers have different designs of their window placements and the bottom right tower is missing on the map from 1748. It might have been demolished either due to being in a bad condition or to make room for a new building (*D* on fig. 18b). There are two more towers on the north side which have both different shapes and roof designs in comparison to the south towers. Another building is connected to the residence and one of the towers from the northeast. It is not specified if these two buildings were connected with a door or not. Note that none of the towers show signs of crenelations but the southwestern and the round tower

might have arrow slits. Note that the southern side of the residence building and the two south towers share gable designs while the opposite side appears to have a different design. Perhaps this could be proof that the whole southern side is an extension of the original building or vice versa?

### 3.1.2 *The inner courtyard and the surrounding buildings*

Any single letter written in italics, within parentheses, is a reference between the map from 1748 and its description of said letters (appendix 2). A path is illustrated on the courtyard (*A*) and is not paved in stone. It specifically leads from the gate to firstly the kitchen (left side of *B*) and then alongside the northern buildings which have two floors (*B*). This building was constructed as a half timbered house walled with stone and covered in bricks. In 1748 it was in such bad condition that the wooden beams were rotten and in the case of a storm, it might fall over. One chimney in the middle is visible which probably is connected to the kitchen.

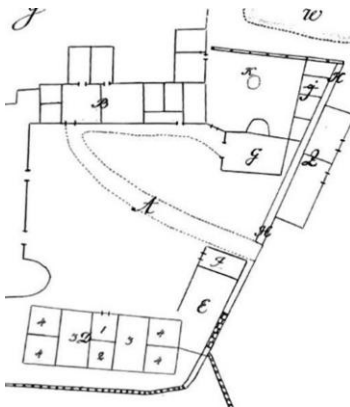
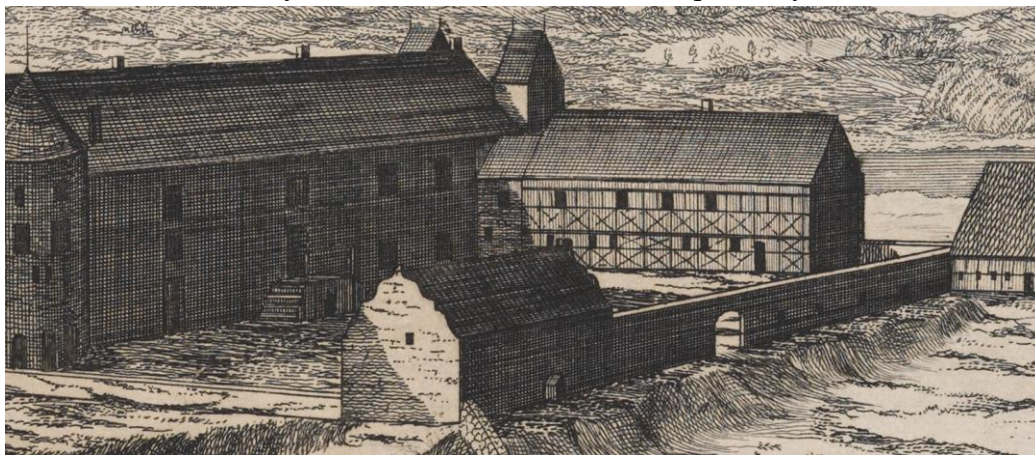


Fig. 18a (top) & 18b (left). Cropped images focusing on the courtyard and its surrounding buildings. (a) Fisher 1756 & (b) Lindblom 1748.

The last building visible on the etching (*E*) is a building built into the courtyard wall which appears to be decorated with a curved gable, has a small square window further up on its south side and is constructed in brick and granite. Lindblom interestingly suggests that this building used to be a church but at this point was in bad conditions and was without a roof. While archaeologists found graves and possible remains of a church to the east of this building, it raises the question as to why Lindblom proposed this building to have been a church. It has a north–south direction instead of the traditional east–west direction. Furthermore, no chancel is visible unless it was the same width as the nave. However, it seems unlikely and Lindblom purely guessed the building's former function without any

proof. A small shed (*F*) is connected to this building constructed with clay walls and a thatched roof. It seems this shed was added after the etching was made since it appears to be right next to the courtyard path on the 1748 map.

The southernmost building on the map from 1748 (*D*) was constructed in 1747 by the baron Carl Georg Siöblad, who was a decorated naval officer and county governor (*Landshövding*) of Scania. Building material included timber, tile roof, brick walls and chimneys. The building had a total of eight rooms on the ground floor and a loft. This building might have served as a replacement residence for the previous main residence (*C*) which had almost collapsed at this point in time.

In the northeast part of the inner courtyard are a couple of structures which are not illustrated on the etching. These buildings include an old and almost decayed brewhouse (*G*), with clay walls and a thatched roof, and a shed (*J*) which in turn is divided into four sections meant for hens, geese, turkeys and ducks. Lastly, these structures surround a well (*K*).

The last detail to discuss about the inner courtyard is the wall (*H*) which somewhat surrounds the courtyard besides the western side and part of the northern side. Assuming that the walls in the etching are not too different from how the site actually looked in 1680, it appears the walls were changed between this point in time till 1748 (fig. 19). This wall is described as being old, made of bricks and is in bad condition specifically next to the northern side of the northeasternmost building (*E*). Because of shading on the etching, it is difficult to see but it appears that small openings are visible on the western curtain wall. Perhaps these openings are arrow slits or shot-holes constructed for defensive properties of the inner courtyard? On the etching, the wall looks taller on the right and north side while being shorter on the south side. A possible reason for a shorter curtain wall on the south side could be to present the view of a fortified courtyard without hiding too much of the structures of the inner courtyard. In the case of the taller curtain wall on the eastern side, it could have been a conscious decision to limit the vision from the outer courtyard so that when one entered the inner courtyard, the residence building would appear in a grandiose view. However, the curtain wall surrounding the inner courtyard on the etching might not even be of medieval origin. The original fortification might have been disassembled and the material might have been reused in other buildings.

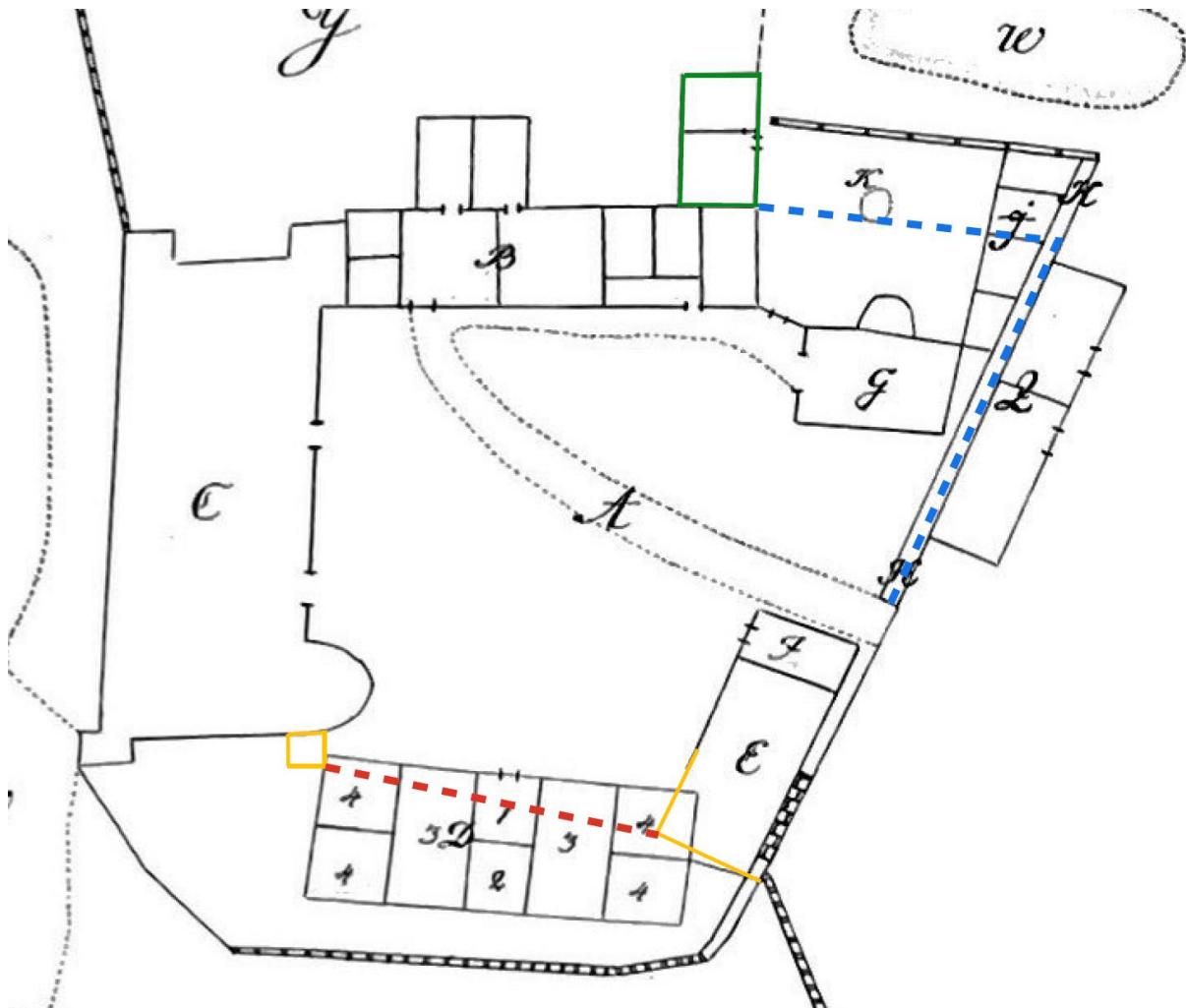


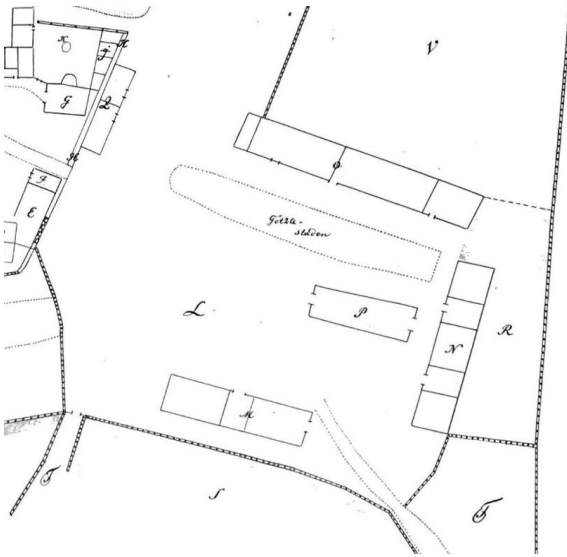
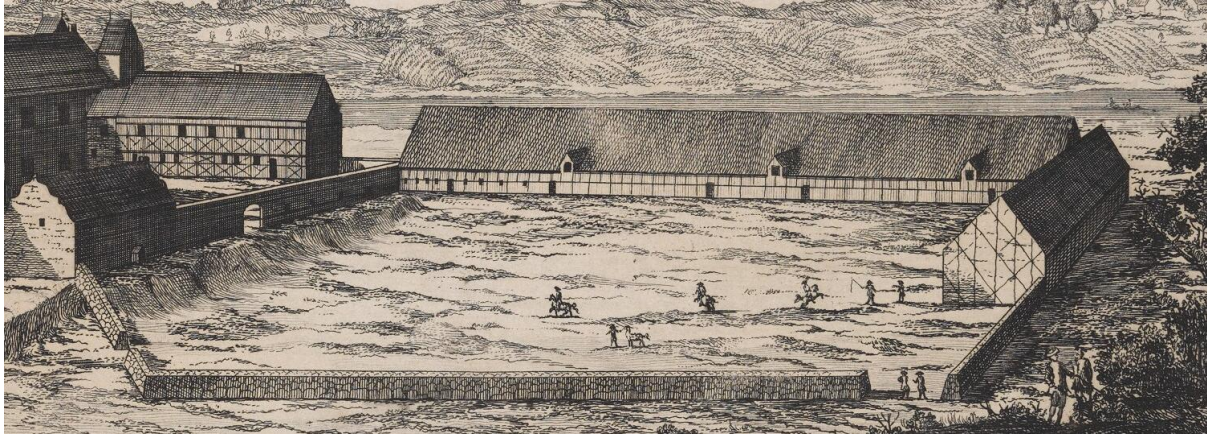
Fig. 19. Cropped and edited image of the map made in 1748 (Lindblom). The red and blue dotted lines are suggested wall placements as illustrated on the etching in 1680. The yellow lines are attempts at reconstructing the removed tower and the rectangular building (E). The building marked with a green line might be a later construction as its size is not properly reflected on the etching.

### 3.1.3 The stables and the outer courtyard

Stable buildings (N and O), together with a stone wall, frame the outer courtyard (L) which is clearly visible on the etching but the courtyard appears open on the map from 1748 (fig. 20a & 20b). One reason for this is that the northern stable (O) appears to have been shortened between 1680 and 1748, when the amount of doors on both images are counted. However, If the northern stable would have had physical connection with the wall, it would have been approximately 90 metres long when measured in GIS. If there was a moat on the eastern side of the inner courtyard, it would have to be evened out first as well. It could have been an artistic choice to lengthen the northern stable on the etching from 1756. Perhaps it was the artist's opinion that it made Flyinge appear more aesthetic? Despite this, it is not known how old this stable is and thus both the etching and the map from 1748 can be correct. While at the same time the outer courtyard looked different during the Middle Ages.

The northern stable is described as half-timbered with bricks however it was in bad condition and parts would need to be replaced. The stable had sections for foals, horses and oxen. The

easternmost building (*N*) is also half-timbered but with a mix of clay walls and bricks. Similar to the previously mentioned stable, this building was also in need of renovations. While this building is divided into several sections, it is not mentioned if livestock were housed in the building or if it had other functions instead.



*Fig. 20a (top) & fig. 20b (left). Cropped images focusing on the stables and the outer courtyard surrounded by walls. (a) Fischer 1756 & (b) Lindblom 1748.*

The southernmost building (*M*) is a barn constructed with clay walls and a thatched roof. It had different rooms meant for the storage of feed for the livestock at Flyinge and six booths. It was in need of renovations on specifically the south side. In the middle of the outer courtyard is a barn (*P*) which was constructed after 1733 by Baron Siöblad but was already in a bad condition in 1748. Lastly, a small building (*Q*) right next to the wall of the inner courtyard was used as a sheep and swine house. Similar to the previously mentioned buildings, it was in a declining state. The rectangular area just south of the northern stable is marked as the designated area for manure.

### 3.2 The remains of the moat and other elements surrounding the residence

Besides the two courtyards, even more details on these two iconographical sources can be discerned. Remains of moats and a rampart can be spotted both on the etching from 1756 and a map from 1750 (fig. 21a & 21b). On the etching, it looks like the residence and inner

courtyard appears to be located on top of a cliff or hilltop. It is possible that when translating the sketch of Flyinge as an etching, the moat and rampart were mistaken for cliffsides. While the inner courtyard might have been situated on a higher topographical area than the surrounding areas, it is not properly illustrated on the etching. Furthermore, it is unclear if a moat surrounded the whole inner courtyard in 1680 but in 1750 it is clear that there was no moat on the eastern side.

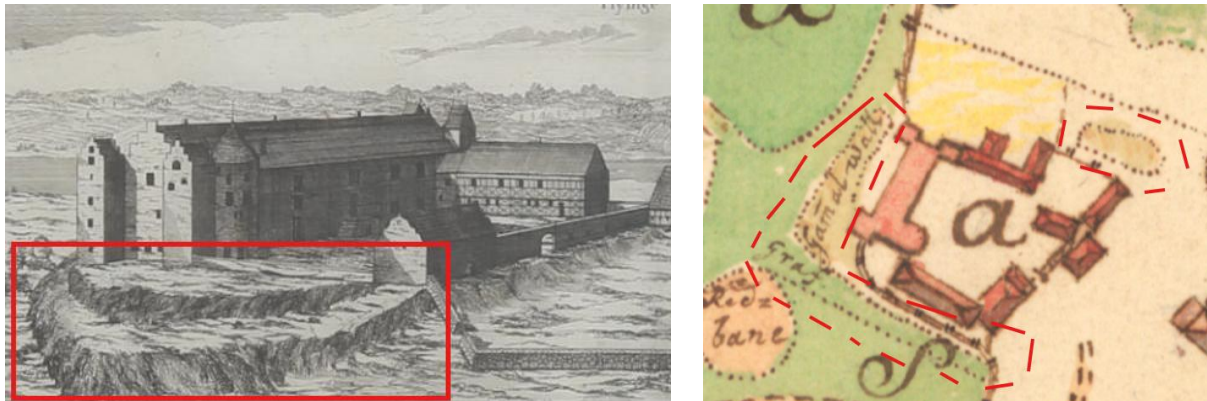


Fig. 21a (left) & 21b (right). Remains of a moat (*graf*) and ramparts (*gamal wall*) on the etching from 1756 (Fischer 1756) and a map from 1750 (Lantmäteriet ©) marked with red.

Other elements around Flyinge have been marked on a map from 1750 (fig. 22). Marked with blue is a circular riding track with an unknown age. It is located just at the edge of the map from 1748 so either it was not included or it might have been added around 1750. Marked with red is a pit which is the remains of a collapsed underground storage or basement. Marked with orange is an area consisting of reeds and wetlands due to its location next to the creek. Lastly, two roads are seen leading into the site where one is from the left and the other from the south.

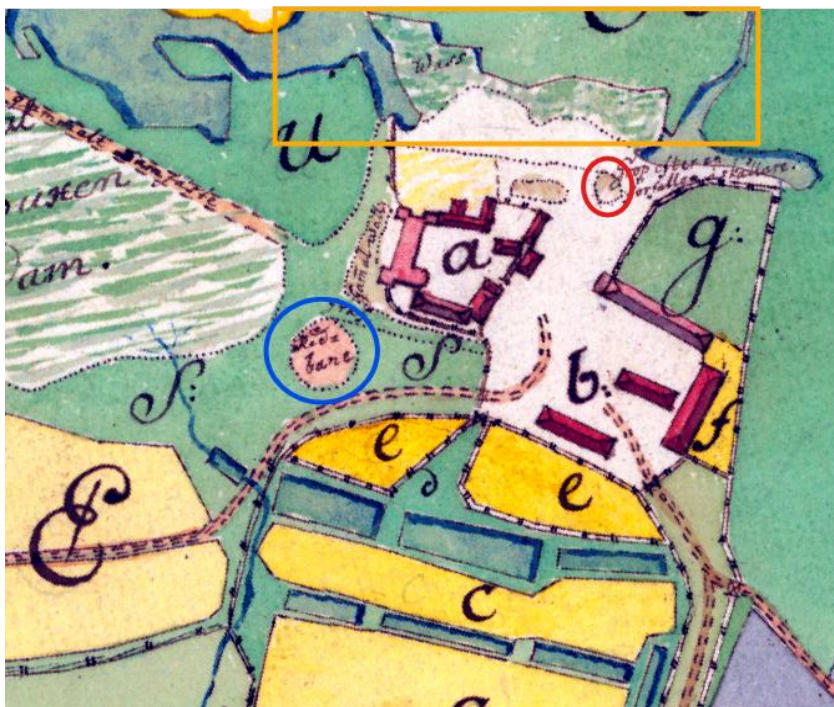


Fig. 22. On a map from 1750, several areas have been marked with colours. **Blue** = A riding track. **Red** = A collapsed underground storage pit. **Orange** = An area consisting of reeds and wetlands. Lantmäteriet ©.

### 3.3 Gardens and dams

The only evidence for gardens, to grow different foodstuffs, to have existed at Flyinge is an annotation on a map from 1750 (fig. 23). At this time, what used to be a garden had been reduced to a few fruit trees and the area surrounding them had been remade into fields and a meadow. The purpose of gardens could be multifaceted. Fruits, cabbage and root vegetables for example could have made some degree of self-sufficiency possible. This required that gardeners consistently tended to the gardens to keep it in a good condition and harvested the produce, even if the archbishop was not visiting. There are historical documents issued from Flyinge, dated to various months of the year. This shows that the archbishop visited the residence throughout the year even around winter (tab. 2).

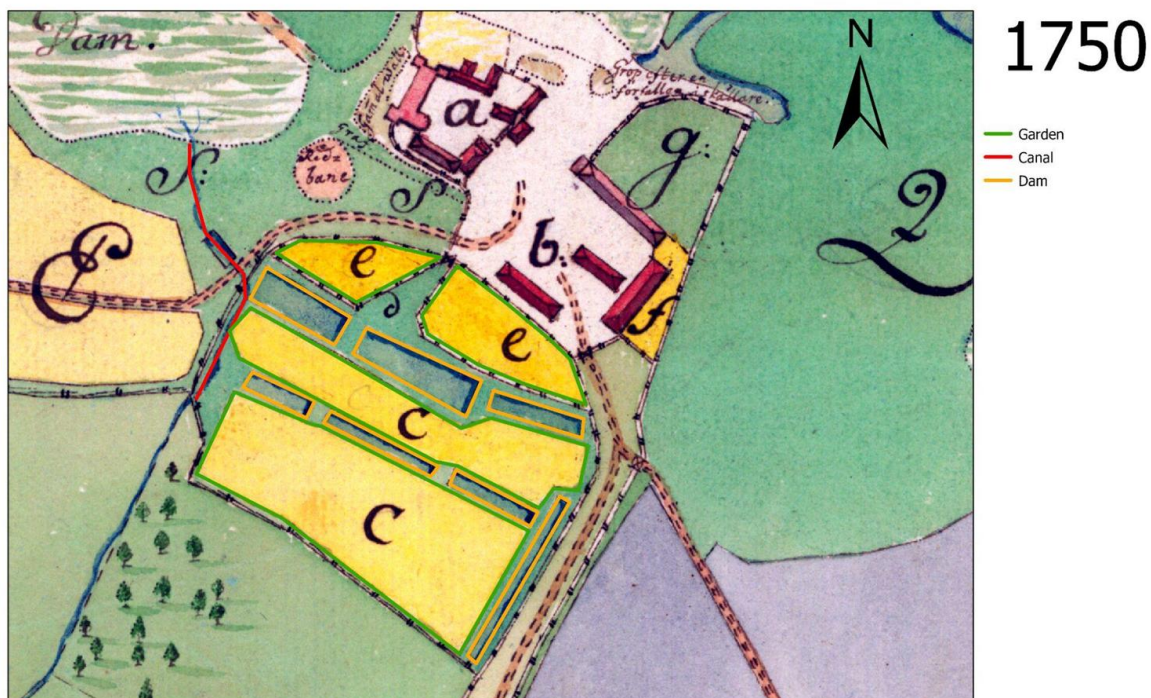


Fig. 23. Historical map of Flyinge kungsgård made in 1750. Gardens, dams and the canal from the large pond are marked with colours. “a” marks the main estate and “b” marks the stable buildings. Lantmäteriet ©.

Two of the oldest maps showing Flyinge kungsgård and its surroundings are from 1750 and 1782. These maps are vital for our understanding of the site since a large transformation took place between the making of these maps (compare fig. 23 and fig. 24). In the map from 1750 the residence from the Middle Ages (a) is still present and called “Borggården” (courtyard) in the description. In the map from 1782, the residence area has changed and the whole area is now called “Fliinge Kungsgård” (A). Gardens and dams are found to the immediate south of the building in both maps. In 1750 c is described as: “Trädgården, uti hwilken några gamla odugeliga fruktträd ännu finnas qvarstående, är upkörd til åker...” (The garden, where some old inefficient fruit trees still remain, is transformed into a field). The location was therefore used for agriculture but could have previously been a flourishing garden. The dams are not marked in this specific map but are mentioned in the following description (d) “Ibid, ängmark emellan de gamla damarne och omkring åkerjorden” (Ibid, meadows between the old dams and fields). Finally, e is described as “kåhlhagar” (cabbage patch or a general term for

kitchen garden) which appears to have been removed in 1782 when more stables were added. In 1782 the garden (65) was described as “Trädgårdsplats, brukas som åker” (Garden, cultivated as fields) and the dams were marked as 66 “Damm häruti” (dams here). At some point in time, the garden was repurposed to agricultural fields but fruit trees from the garden appear to have remained despite this. Gardens were commonly found in cities, monasteries, various manors owned by the nobility during the Middle Ages and were present at Lundagård (Hansson 2001: 315; Konsmar & Lindeblad 2012; Lindberg & Lindeblad 2013; Andréasson Sjögren 2025). It can then be assumed that it would be expected of the archbishop to cultivate similar gardens at Flyinge.

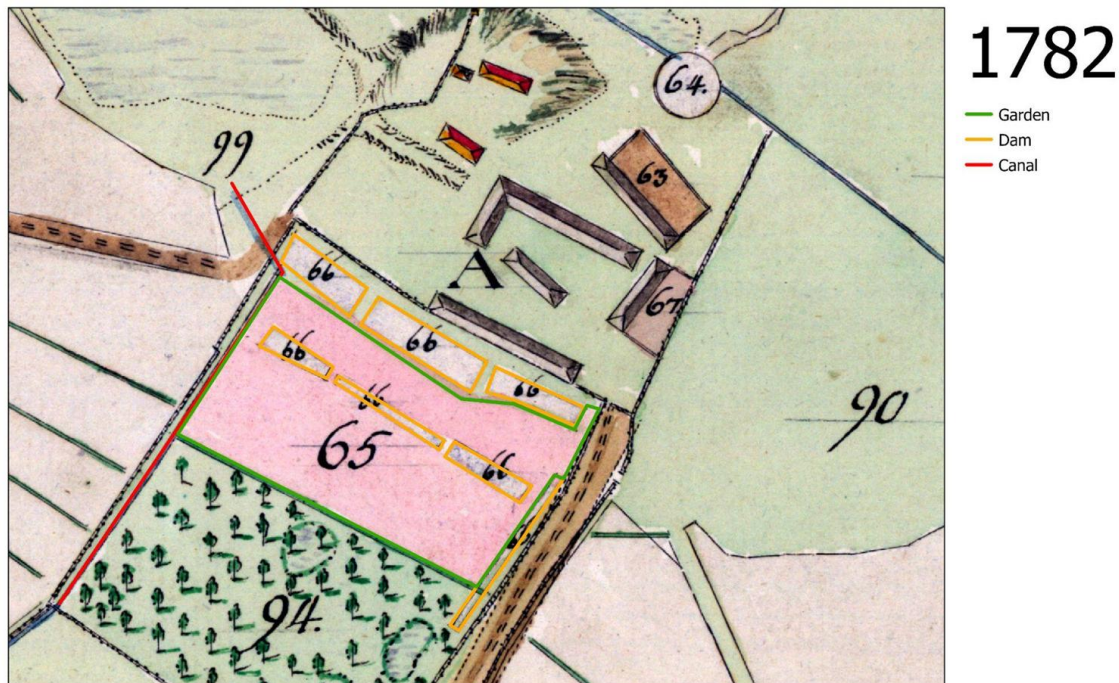


Fig. 24. Historical map of Flyinge kungsgård made in 1782. Gardens, dams and the canal from the large pond are marked with colours. “A” marks the stable building and the three buildings north of these display the newly built estate. Lantmäteriet ©.

According to historical maps, the large pond directly west of the buildings appears to have been overgrown during the eighteenth century. Today it is well maintained and many different animals gather and live in and next to the dam. While it is called *damm* (dam) in historical maps, it is not confirmed if it is a man-made dam or not. The space between this dam and Kävlingeån is illustrated as wetlands on the *skånska rekognosceringskartan*, created between 1812–1820 by the Swedish military (compare fig. 25 with fig. 26). Therefore it might be a naturally formed dam originally but that does not mean it was not modified as well. A canal was made leading water from this pond southwards towards the village of Flyinge, past the complex of dams (see red line in fig. 23 & fig. 24). While it is not made clear in the maps, it is possible that this canal also supplied the dams with water to maintain their water levels and thus their function. Dams could be both utilitarian and ornamental at the same time with different functions. *Vivarium* were larger ponds for breeding fish, like the one west of the buildings, and *servatorium* were smaller ponds where small stocks of fish could be before they would be cooked and served at the residence (Creighton 2013: 114–115).



Fig. 25. Cropped image of *skånska rekognosceringskartan* with a focus on Flyinge, made between 1812–1820. The horizontal lines marked with a red circle is an area consisting of wetlands which is the same location as the large dam (Riksarkivet, IIÖ 204).



Fig. 26. The large dam to the west in relation to Kävlingeån, photographed with a drone facing west. Photo: Author, April 2026.

Gardens are in a constant flow of change due to trees, bushes, grass and weeds which need constant maintenance to reflect whatever image which is trying to be presented by a garden owner. At the same time gardens are influenced by changing experiences and ideas of their owners. Therefore, local traditions and repetitive actions get shaped by repetitive actions related to the caretaking of gardens. Important features related to gardening include examples such as enclosures, paths, planting beds and pits, lawns, water features, fertilization, furnitures and structures (Andréasson Sjögren 2025: 24, 131–137).

## 4. Written sources

In this section, historical documents related to Flyinge will be analyzed and are presented in chronological order. The age of the preserved documents, related to Flyinge, vary throughout the Middle Ages and there is a gap of sources between 1361 and 1443.

### 4.1 Various documents, pieces of the puzzle

While there is no exact date stating when Flyinge became a property owned by the archbishop's see, there are some historical documents which aids in narrowing it down. The oldest document being issued at Flyinge is from 1322, by archbishop Esger Juul (SDHK: 3155 & 3157).

In the testament of archbishop Karl Eriksen, issued in 1334, his successor inherits untamed livestock at Flyinge (spelled as “fliking” and “flikinge” in this document). Also, a lord Olauo (sic) Parnus inherits a foal from Flyinge (SDHK: 4007). It is uncertain if the untamed livestock in the document refers to wild animals in a park or enclosure, or if the livestock at Flyinge have become ill-behaved due to a lack of proper care at the manor. This is the same document which mentioned untamed livestock at Glumstorp. It would appear around this time, the quality of animal husbandry was lacking at more than one of the archbishop's properties. Perhaps the state of the livestock reflected archbishop Eriksen's interest in animal husbandry?

Lastly, when the archdeacon in Lund, Johannes Stigsson, established his testament in 1361, various donations to churches, priests and sextons are mentioned. The priest at the church in Flyinge was to receive half a mark of silver upon his death (SDHK: 7933). This is the oldest mention of a priest, and therefore a church, at Flyinge.

In the second volume of *Scriptores minores historiae danicae medii ævi*, several Medieval documents have been compiled in latin. These documents mention that archbishop Hans Laxmand (1436–1443) and Jens Brostrup (1472–1497) passed away at the residence in Flyinge. Furthermore, Jens Brostrup constructed a wall around Flyinge and restored other castles and manors owned by the archbishop's see in 1488. During the time of Brostrup as an archbishop, Flyinge is referred to as a *curia* in several parts (Gertz 1917–22: 122, 127–128,

130). This could be interpreted as Flyinge having an important administrative role for Brostrup.

## 4.2 Before the Reformation...

Sites such as Borgeby and Flyinge were called *gård* (homestead) or *curia* in latin however with one exception that Flyinge was mentioned as a castle shortly before the Reformation. Ingesman believes that this exception in terminology was used because Flyinge was in a state of transition from a homestead to a castle. However, Ingesman points out that the terms *gård* and castle were both used in tandem when describing Flyinge kungsgård in historical sources. The designation of castle was unambiguous when attributed to the archbishops' three castles Näsbyholm, Åhus and Elleholm during the Middle Ages and finally Flyinge closer to the Reformation (Ingesman 1990: 133–134).

In most cases the archbishops' castles were administered by officials of nobility, while those in charge of the manors were from a lower social class. Jens Tygesen, from the later half of the fifteenth century, and Per Andersen, from 1507, are two known officials at Flyinge. Per Andersen was official when Birger Gunnarsen was archbishop (1497–1519) and some time after Andersen, the role of official at Flyinge was held by a cleric. Peder Pors, which appears to have been an official at Flyinge, was summoned to Lund in 1519 to defend or explain himself on the archbishops order due to “uploppet...” (the riot) at Flyinge. In the spring of 1522 the Danish king wrote to the chapter in Lund asking Peder Pors to be set free since the case appeared to have been solved already. It is known that in 1532 Peder Pors served archbishop Aage Jepsen Sparre and after the Reformation he was back in administrative charge over Flyinge as a bailiff (Ingesman 1990: 134, 136–137).

Before the Reformation, when Flyinge was mentioned as a castle and a clergyman was an official at the residence, Flyinge had become more significant for the archbishop and the administration of his various properties. In a letter from 1521 it is mentioned that the surrounding hundreds were to send their tithes to Flyinge. The fief of Kvesarum, which is known to have been administered by Flyinge in 1546–47, is mentioned to be sending labour fees to Flyinge in 1522 which is interpreted by Ingesman to signify that the fief was already under Flyinge at this point in time. Noteworthy is that no money was to be transported to Lundagård (Ingesman 1990: 137–138). An expense list from 1534–35 at Lundagård mentions how one of the chefs worked at Flyinge between St. Michael's Day and Candlemass (a period of approximately four months) just to salt pork (Ingesman 1990: 138).

## 4.3 ... and after

When the Danish king seized control of the archbishop's estate at Flyinge, an inventory list was written in August of 1536. It lists various rooms such as the archbishops chambers, rooms for the officials, a chapel, a sacristy, a kitchen and so on. Luxury objects such as clothes, textiles, silver items and gold crucifixes were stored in chests in the various rooms. In 1488 archbishop Jens Brostrup constructed a wall around the residence and the inventory

list mentions several stored weapons at Flyinge. Furthermore, the amount of livestock and foodstuff at Flyinge was listed.

In 1539 the Flyinge estate with its ten belonging homesteads were granted to a Peder Pors. However, a year later it was granted to Hans Skovgaard and his wife for lifetime. The fief of Flyinge was added to the bookkeeping of the fief of Malmøhus from 1546–47 and onwards. At this point in time 155 properties and two mills belonged to the fife of Flyinge. If these 155 properties are added together with the ten homesteads belonging to the Flyinge estate, approximately 165 properties would have existed in this area during the archbishops stewardship of Flyinge during the Middle Ages (Ingesman 1990: 21).

## 5. Archaeology at Flyinge kungsgård

In this section the results and interpretations of various excavations at Flyinge kungsgård will be presented (fig. 27). Findings made in 1836 are included even if this excavation lacked the presence of an antiquarian and no reports were published.

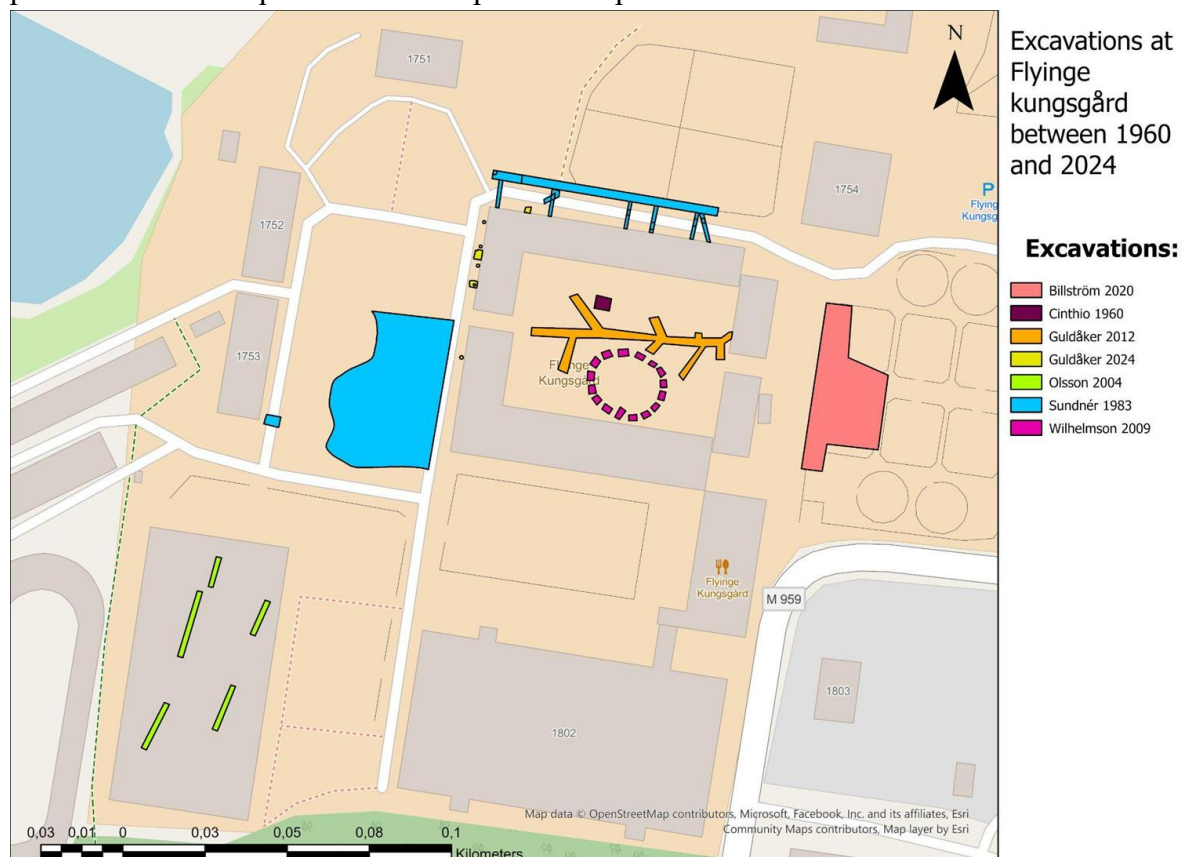


Fig. 27. A map over Flyinge kungsgård where archaeological excavations and observations have been made. Sources are presented in the bibliography.

### 5.1 Twelve wheelbarrows

In 1838, Ehrengranat made a note about “12 skottkärror” (twelve wheelbarrows) of human remains being found in 1836 in the open space between the stables and were moved to a new

location next to Chefsbostaden (RAÄ Södra Sandby 80:1). Maps made in 1813 and 1837 show that some buildings were removed in favour of new ones. By comparing these changes, Guldåker suggests that these twelve wheelbarrows of human remains came from the eastern side of the stable courtyard (fig. 28 & Guldåker 2024: 16–17). It is a convincing suggestion for the origins of the remains since further bones and graves have been found close to this area (fig. 37).



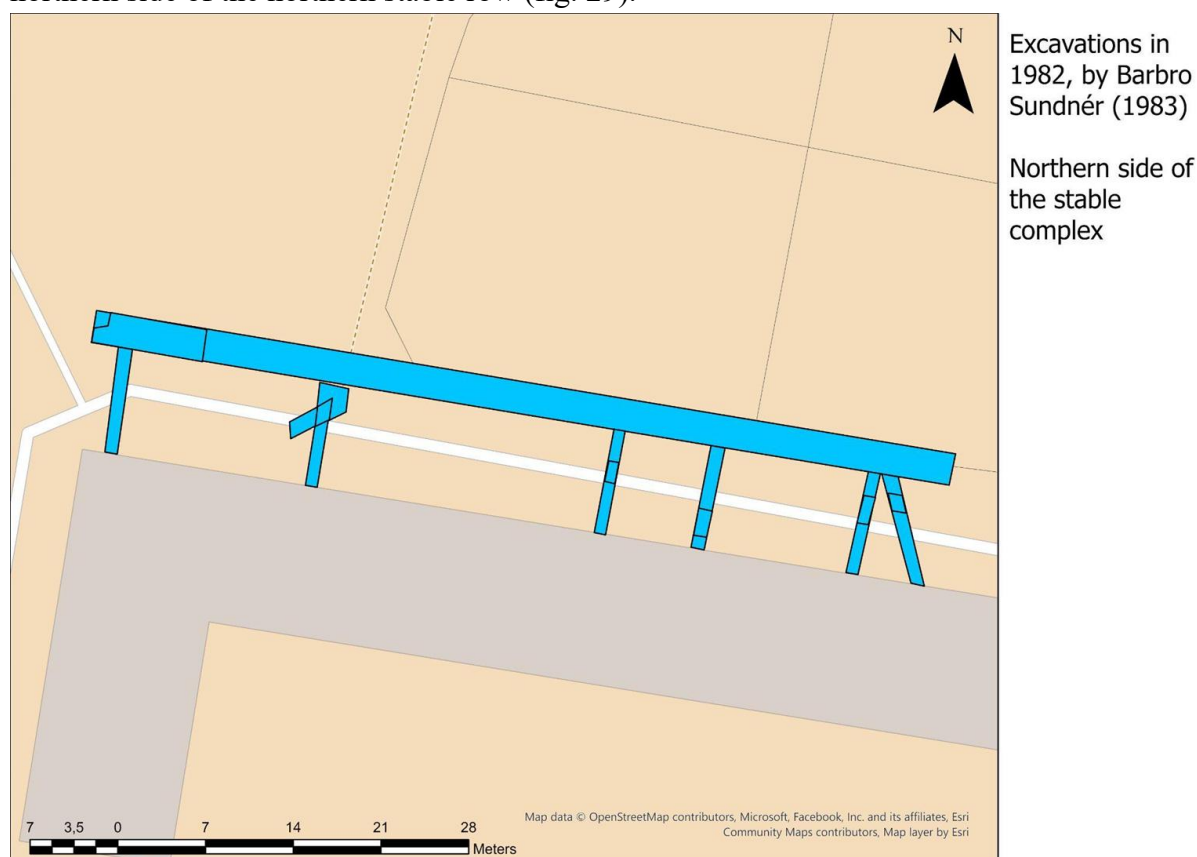
*Fig. 28. Map from 1813 on top of a modern map of Flyinge. The marked building was torn down some years after 1813 and is probably where twelve wheelbarrows of human remains were found. Lantmäteriet ©.*

## 5.2 A single grave found in 1960

In 1960, without a specified reason, an excavation took place in the open space between the stables which resulted in the discovery of a wooden coffin. Archaeologist Erik Cinthio was sent to examine the findings (see purple square on fig. 27). The remains might have been deposited at some point between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This grave shares similarities to remains found during the excavation in 2002, a bit to the south (Wilhelmson 2009: 28–29, 34).

### 5.3 The first excavation in 1982

Due to excavations related to installations of drainage systems, archaeological presence was required at Flyinge kungsgård. The majority of Barbro Sundnér's report focused on the northern side of the northern stable row (fig. 29).



*Fig. 29.* Map showing part of Barbro Sundnér's excavation at Flyinge kungsgård in 1982. One large trench and six smaller cross trenches were made alongside the northern stables.

A ditch was discovered which had been filled with several layers of large stones (fig. 30a, fig. 30b & fig. 31a & 31b). A ditch filled in a similar way was discovered to the west, south of Chefsbostaden, according to information exchanged between the excavation crew and Sundnér. However, the ditch had been filled before Sundnér arrived at the site (red circle on fig. 32). Consequently, this ditch was interpreted by Sundnér to have served as a moat which surrounded the hill. According to a map from 1782 there was a building at the same location as the current northern stable row. This means that the ditch, or a possible moat, must have been filled before that time. Furthermore, a coin from Rostock was discovered, dated to the sixteenth century, between the large stones in the ditch (Sundnér 1983: 1–2). This allows the interpretation that the ditch was filled at some point after the Reformation. It is possible that a moat was not needed anymore or it was evened out to make movement easier around the site. The stones excavated from the moat varied in size but some of them were large enough to have been part of a foundation or perhaps a curtain wall.



Fig. 30a (left) & fig. 30b (right). Photographs at Flyinge kungsgård taken by Barbro Sundnér in 1982. The left image depicts the top of what was interpreted by Sundnér as a moat filled with stones *in situ*. The right image shows stones excavated from this moat (Regionmuseet Skåne).

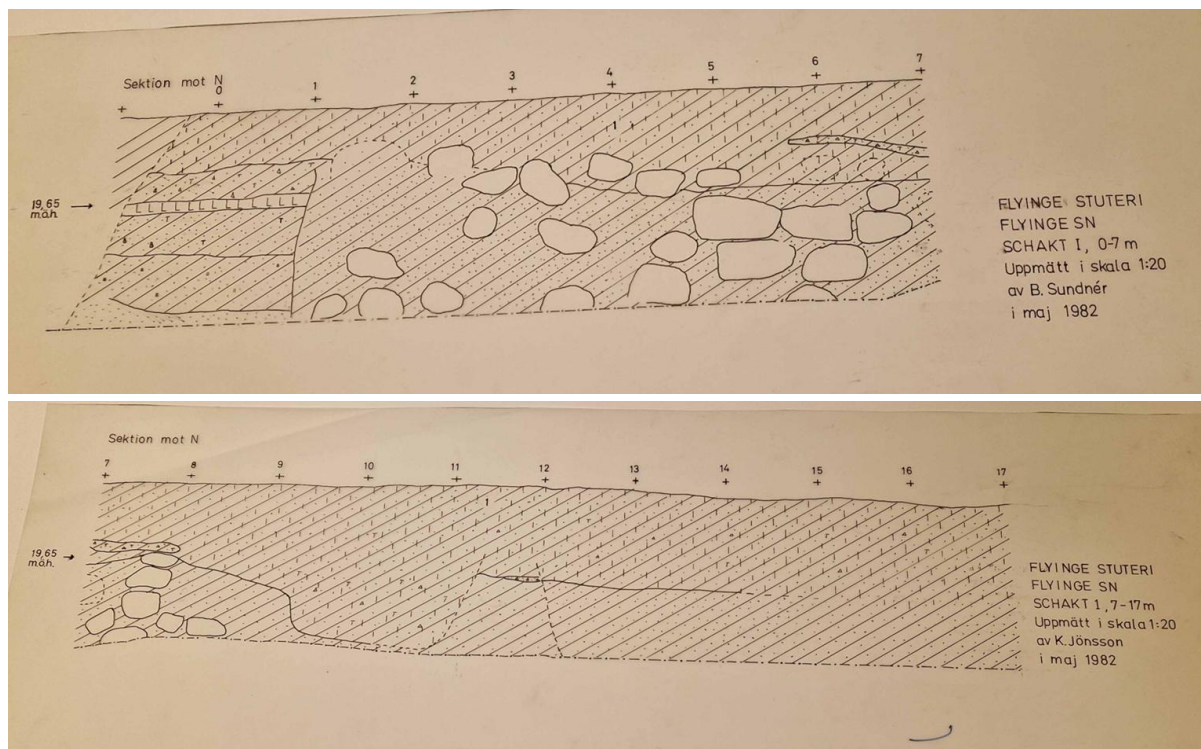
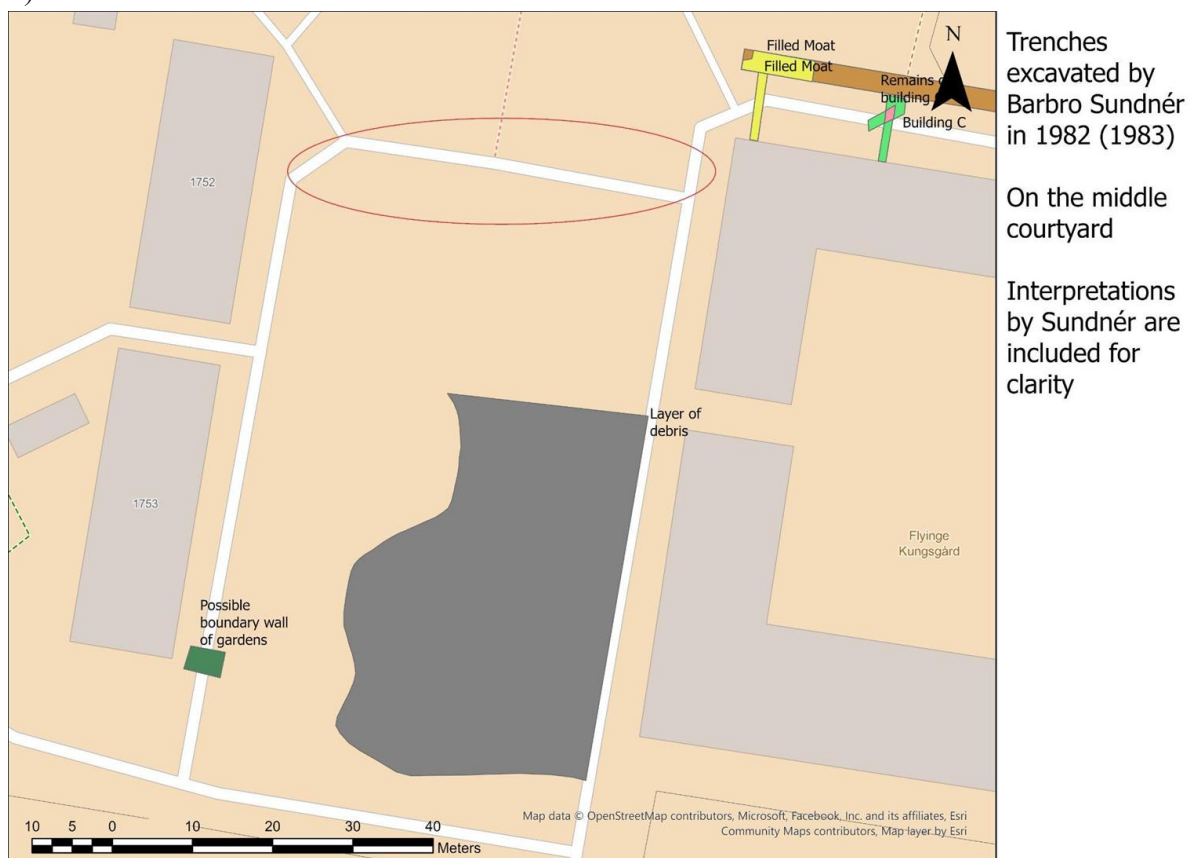


Fig. 31a (top) & 31b (bottom). Parts of the sectional drawings made of the trench excavated by Barbro Sundnér in 1982. A distinct cut is visible which has partly been filled with large stones shown in images 30a and 30b (Sundnér 1983).

Foundations for buildings were found, which partly were constructed with bricks. Sundnér interpreted these remains to have existed in three different periods and, due to layers of soot, some of the buildings might have been exposed to fire. Recovered artefacts have been dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A hearth was uncovered containing a piece of flint. Perhaps this can be interpreted as a sign of a prehistoric settlement (Sundnér 1983: 2). However, there is currently too little evidence to support such a conclusion at this specific location.

Furthermore, on the eastern side of the large open courtyard, just west of the stables, debris from a building or buildings were found (gray area on fig. 32). There once was a damm on the south side whose northern boundary may have been marked by a stone wall which partly was uncovered, according to Sundnér (green rectangle at the bottom left in fig. 32 and 1983: 2).



*Fig. 32.* Map of the large open courtyard investigated by Sundnér (1983). The large gray area marks debris from buildings. The red circle shows an area where a ditch or moat was found and filled before Sundnér arrived at Flyinge kungsgård.

## 5.4 The abandoned graveyard in 2002, part one

In 2002 there were plans of constructing a horsewalker at Flyinge kungsgård in the open space between the stables. Archaeologist Helene Wilhelmson was tasked with assisting in the excavation (Wilhelmson 2009). Plinths as foundations had to be set in the soil and thus the excavation plan resulted in a circular shape with small and square trenches (fig. 33).

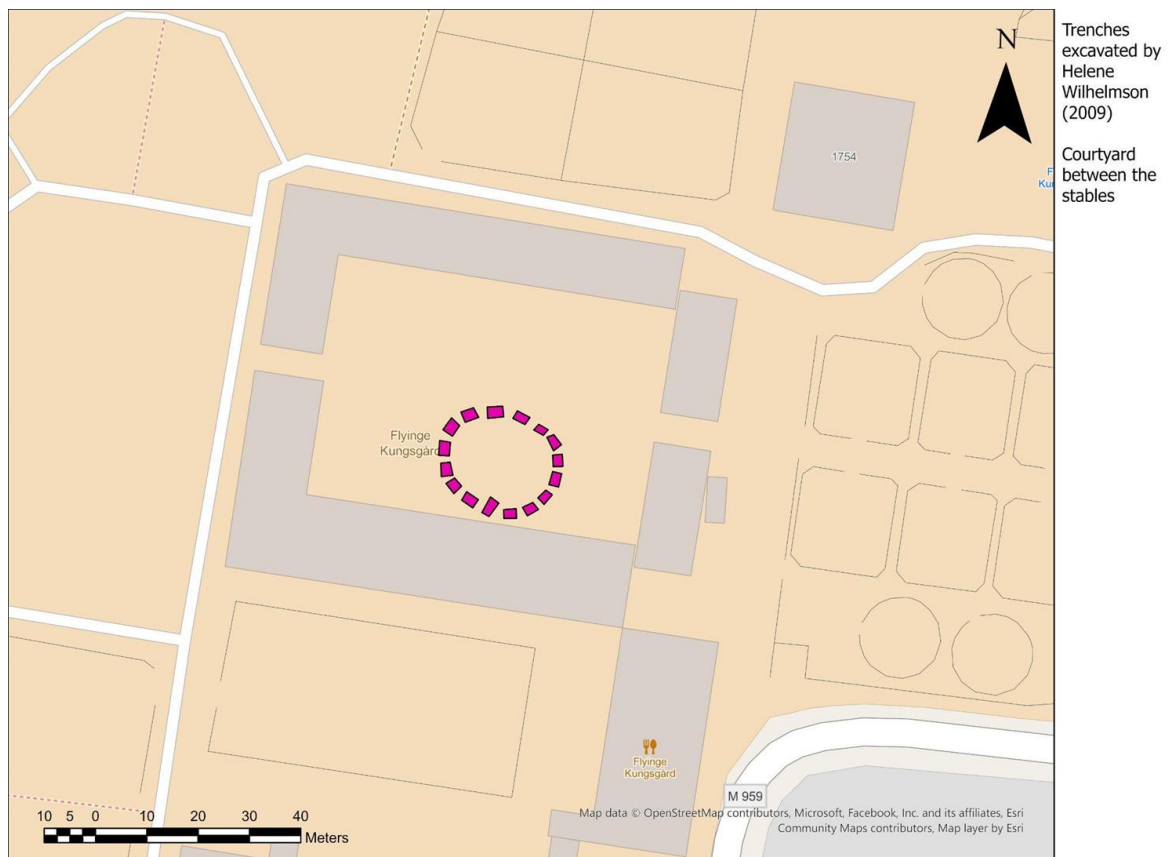
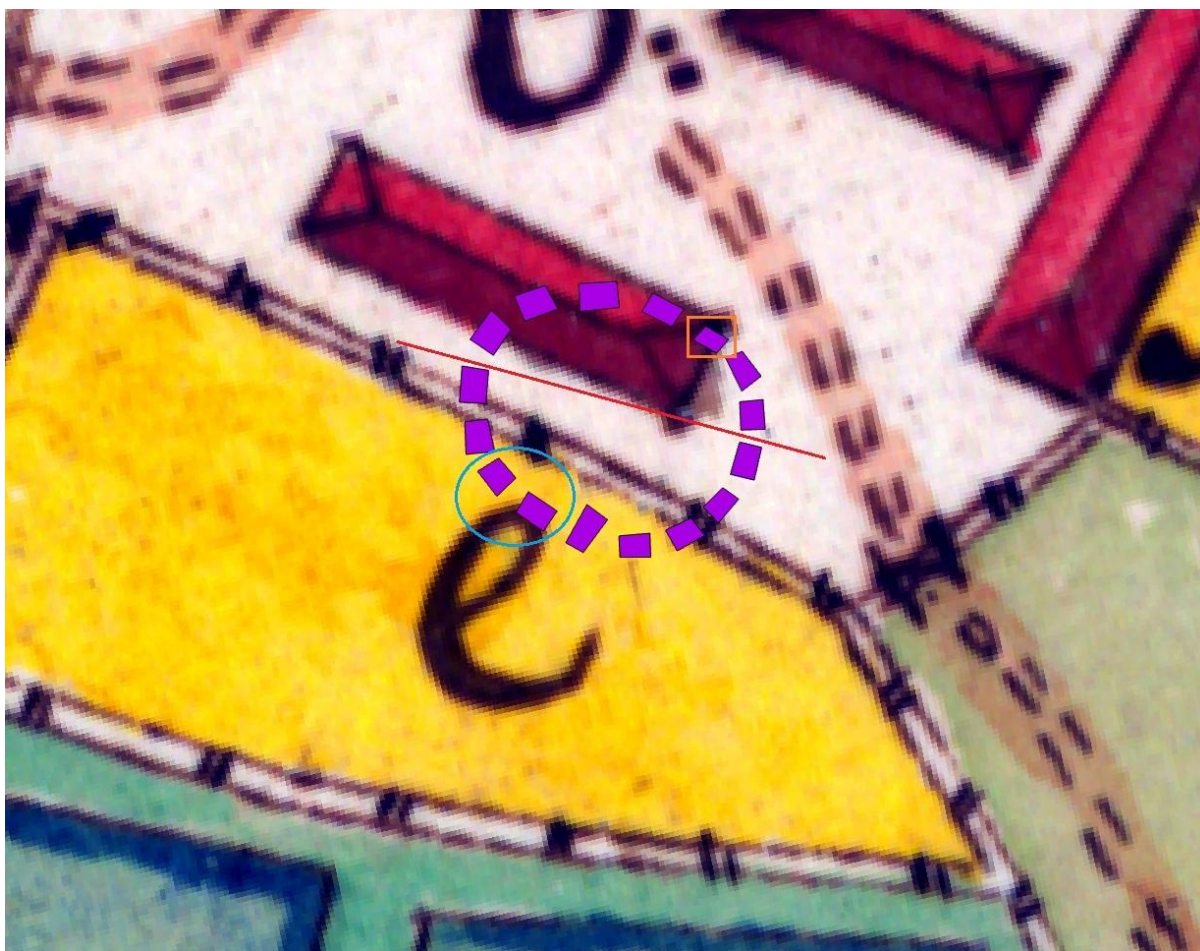


Fig. 33. The excavation plan of Wilhelmson's investigation in 2002 (2009).

The excavation resulted in the discovery of several graves with human remains either buried in layers or in repurposed graves. The dating of the human remains show that the graveyard would have been in use at least between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. However, not all graves could be dated and neither age nor biological sex was determined. Graves were found at varied depths between 0,5–0,9 metres. Seventeen remains were found in their original graves, others had been redeposited in younger graves and an estimated number of at least ten graves had been removed without an archaeologist present (Wilhelmson 2009: 10–26).

This investigation resulted in many important findings which have provided an approximate dating of the graveyard. A southern boundary of the graveyard can be established when comparing the excavated graves to one of the oldest maps of Flyinge kungsgård (red line in fig. 34). Furthermore, debris from a medieval building was found in two of the trenches just south of the gravesite (blue circle in fig. 34). However, Wilhelmson could not draw any conclusion about these remains due to the limited size of the trench. Wilhelmson believes that one of the trenches, where pieces of carved stone were found, could hint at the location of a church at the graveyard (orange square in fig. 34). Wilhelmson argues that the lack of grave remains close to the building material, south of the graves, and its orientation, in relation to the graves, does not make it a suitable candidate for the location of a church. Instead its location could have been on the northern part of the area for this archaeological investigation (Wilhelmson 2009: 27–30).



*Fig. 34.* The trenches from 2002 (Wilhelmson 2009) put on top of a Flyinge kungsgård map from 1750. All trenches above the red line contained graves. The yellow field marked with an “e” is described as a kitchen garden. Debris of a medieval building was found in the two trenches marked with a blue circle. Lantmäteriet ©.

## 5.5 The search for the dams

Plans of a new stable led to an archaeological investigation at Flyinge kungsgård in 2004. A total of five trenches were excavated in an attempt to locate dams depicted on maps from 1750 and 1782. The middle layers in three of the five trenches are believed to have been affected by water which prompted the interpretation that these trenches marked the location of a dam. The trenches had been filled with debris material such as crushed bricks (Olsson 2004: 6–7). However, when these three trenches are put on maps from 1750 and 1782, it is questionable whether or not the layers of a dam were found in this investigation (fig. 35a & 35b). The water affected layers in the trenches might instead be traces of dams which have never been depicted on maps or simply other actions taken at this location at Flyinge kungsgård.

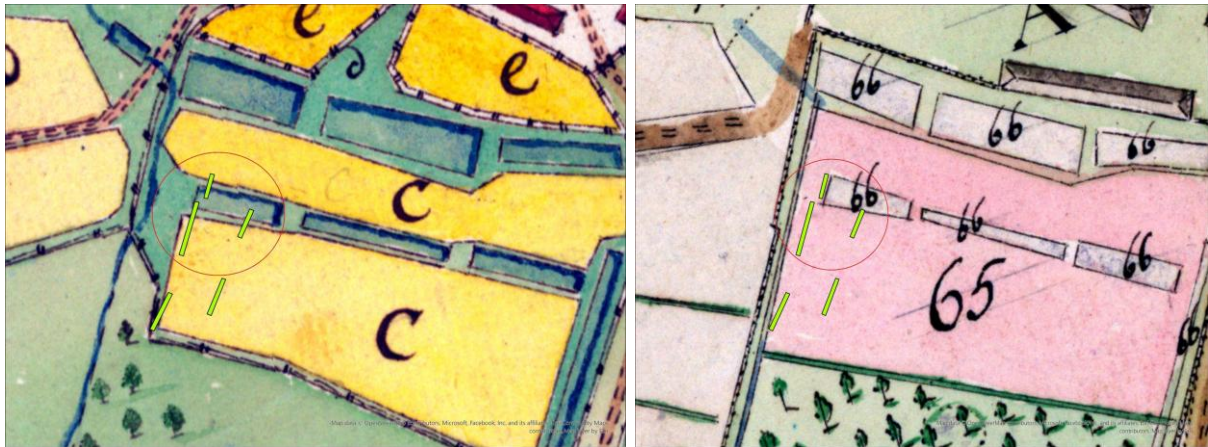


Fig. 35a (left) & 35b (right). The three trenches which are believed to mark the location of dams have been marked on both maps with a red circle. The left image is the map from 1750 and the right image is the map from 1782. Lantmäteriet ©.

## 5.6 The abandoned graveyard in 2012, part two

The graveyard was yet again investigated in 2012 when pipes were to be placed in the ground of the space between the stables (fig. 36). Several trenches in different directions were excavated and human remains were found in the eastern half of the trenches. A total of six graves were found on a varied depth of 0,4–1 metre. Some remains had been redeposited in other graves and the remains had been mixed and were not laying in original positions. While most graves were found in the southeastern trenches, graves in other parts might have been destroyed from previous drainage excavations (Guldåker 2012). A map was created combining finds of human remains in this investigation and the one made in 2002 (fig. 37).

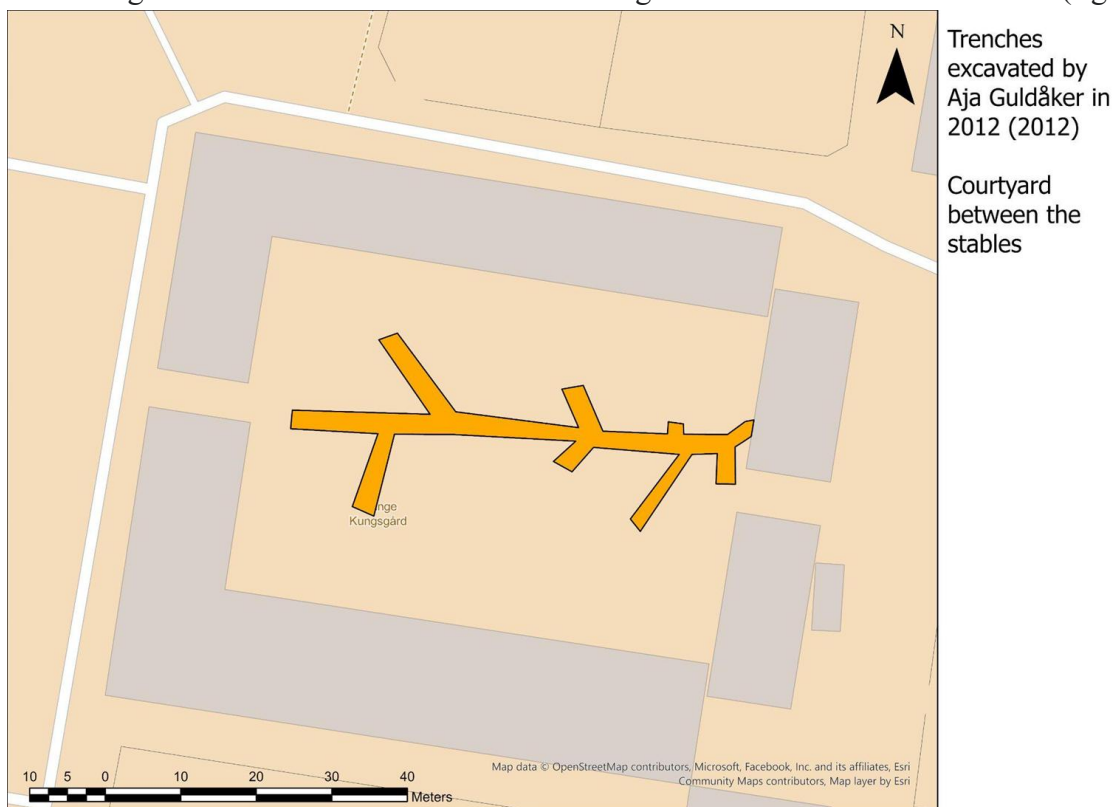


Fig. 36. Map of the trenches on the courtyard inside the stable complex, excavated in 2012.

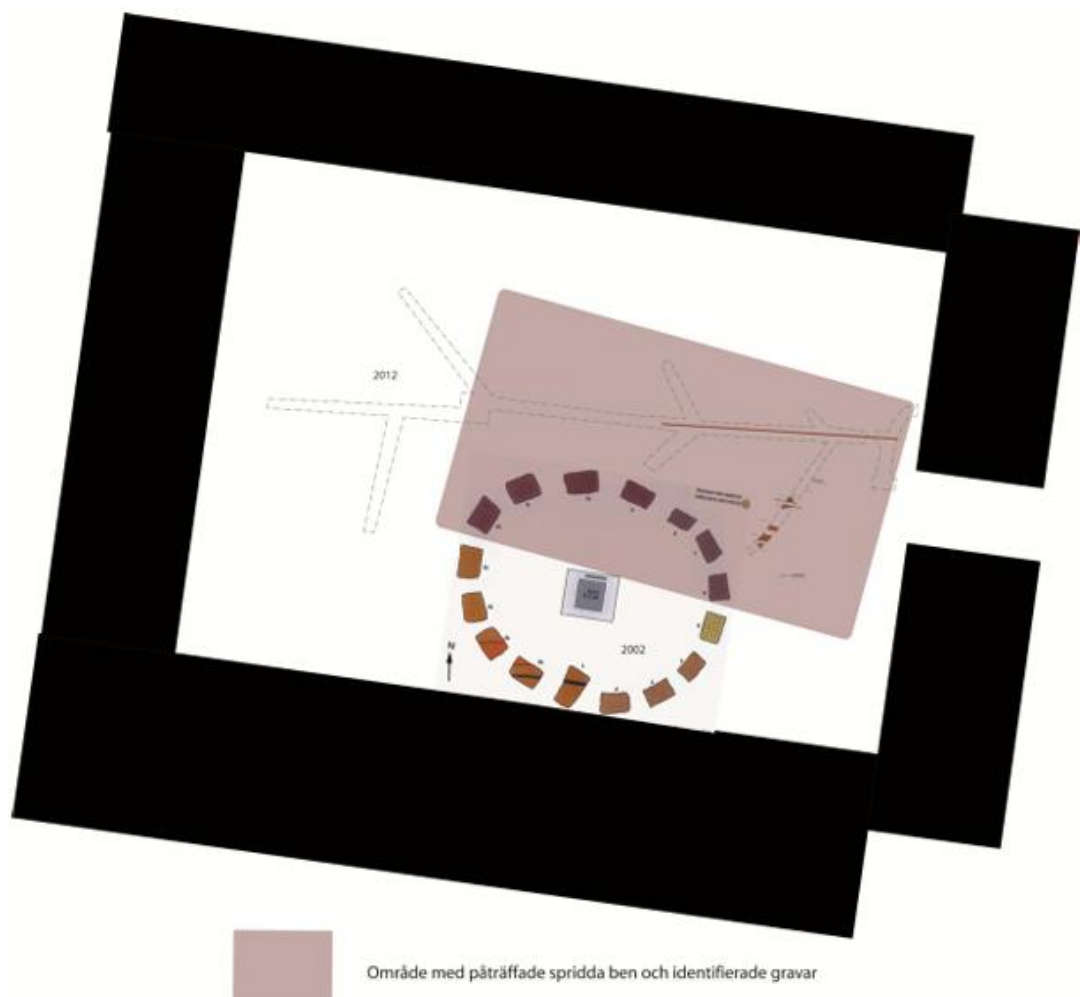


Fig. 37. Map made by Guldåker combining finds of human remains in 2012 and 2002 (Guldåker 2012: 16).

## 5.7 Excavation in 2020

Drainage pipes leading to the stables were in need of replacement which led to excavations with an archaeologist present (fig. 38). Since only between 0,1–0,3 meters of ground needed to be excavated, only modern findings were observed. Fence posts had to be moved for this excavation and the holes from these were measured with GPS in case of future excavations close to these posts (Billström 2020: 3–5).

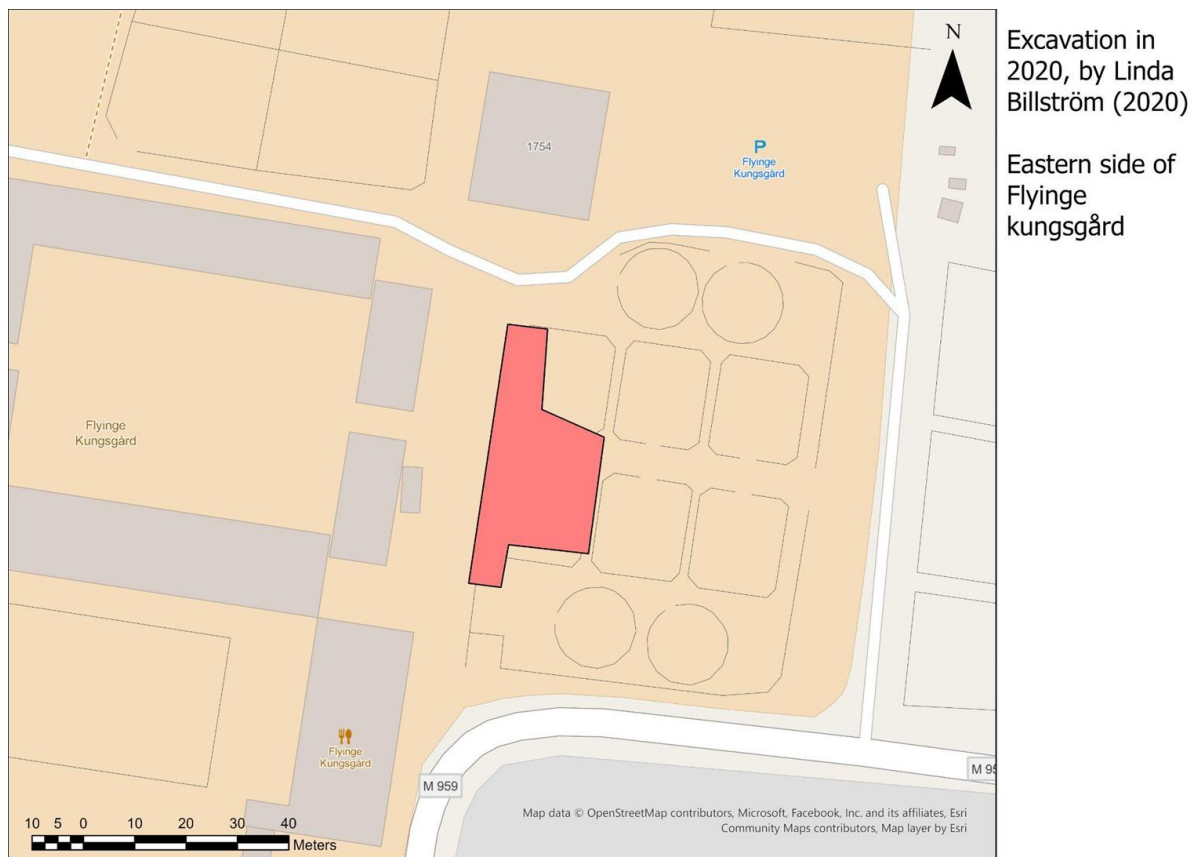
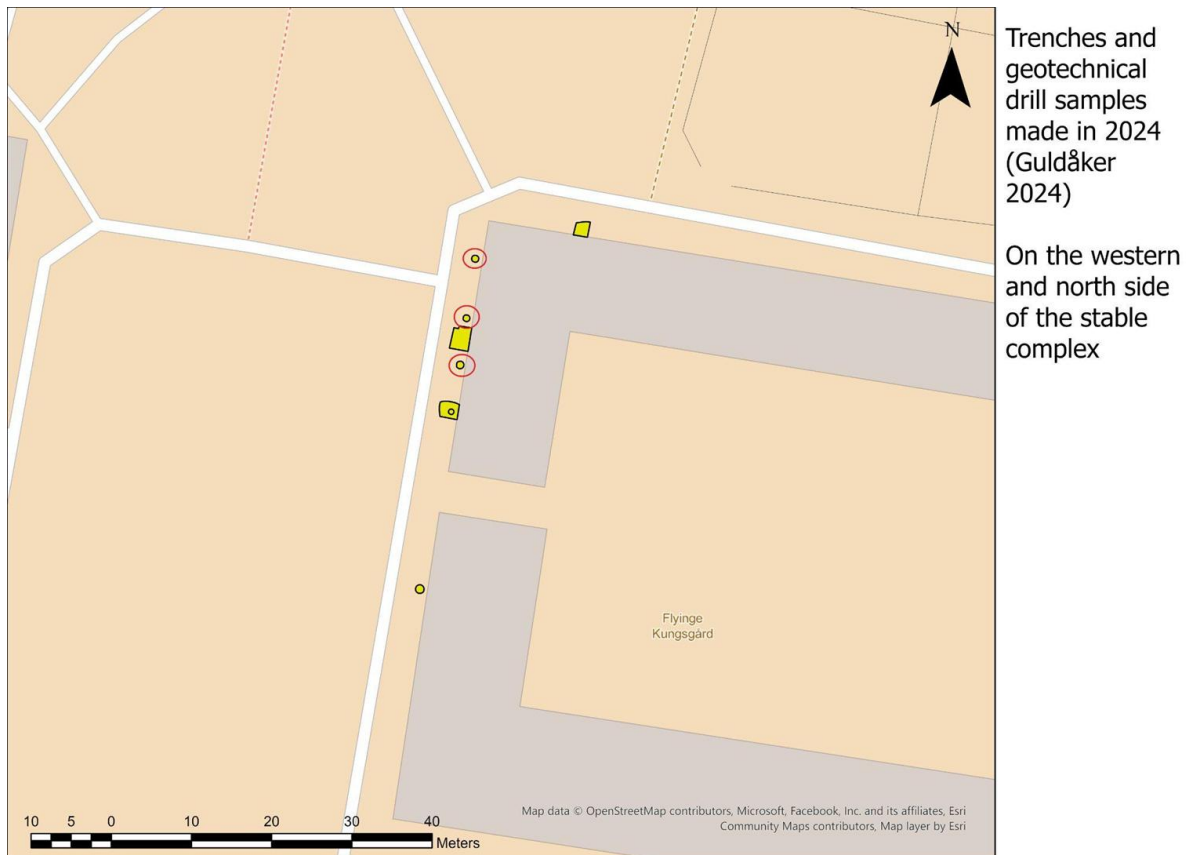


Fig. 38. Map of the investigation in 2020.

## 5.8 The ditch, or moat, rediscovered in 2024

Due to a large crack appearing and growing in the interior of the stables, close to the northwestern corner of the stable complex, a geotechnical investigation was prompted with archaeologists present. Five drill samples were made alongside the western exterior of the stables and three trenches were excavated alongside the western and northern exterior (fig. 39). The drill samples closest to the northwestern stable corner uncovered cultural layers to a depth of 2,20–2,60 metres (red circles in fig. 39), while the cultural layers in the drill samples further away had a depth of 0,6–1,10 metres instead. It is a possibility that the drill samples with the largest depth show the continuation of the ditch which was found by Sundnér in 1982. Debris material was used when filling the ditch on the western side of the stables.



*Fig. 39.* Drill samples and trenches investigated in 2024. The drill samples marked with a red circle had cultural layers to a depth of 2,20–2,60 metres.

The cultural layers found in the various trenches indicated several layers of activities which had been cut when constructing the stone foundations for the stables. Inclusions such as charcoal, crushed bricks, mortar and soot were recurring in some of the cultural layers (Guldåker 2024: 34–38). Lastly, near the bottom of one of the trenches interpreted as the location of a moat, a coin, minted by the king Erik of Pomerania approximately between 1420–1435, was found (Guldåker 2024: 39). It is difficult to draw any conclusions about this coin and what it means for the dating of the possible moat. It could have been dug around the time of the minting of this coin or dropped into the moat which might have existed for a long time at this point.

After analyzing the source material related to Flyinge, it is clear that there is a lot to aid us in understanding the medieval site of Flyinge. However, on their own, the individual sources are sometimes unclear or leave open-ended questions. This is why triangulation as a method is key in this thesis. The material itself serves as ingredients while triangulation acts as the recipe. The following discussion will therefore utilize this method by combining all the presented material to create new understanding of the site.

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 Archaeology combined with the historical sources, towards a new understanding

In the previous chapter, historical images, written sources and archaeology were analyzed separately from each other to give insight into Flyinge during different points in time. However, to create a new understanding of this site and make it possible to reconstruct the medieval layout, the methodological approach of triangulation needs to be applied. The first step in this approach is to georeference the oldest map of Flyinge, a map from 1783 and all digitized archaeology which has been done at Flyinge onto the same image (fig. 40). These maps were chosen to compare how Flyinge changed in 1783, a layout which is close to how Flyinge kungsgård looks like today. The archaeological findings have been included to show their relation to structures at Flyinge which existed at different periods in time.



Fig. 40. Georeferenced map from 1748 (Lindblom) over the map from 1783 (Lantmäteriet ©) including archaeological findings. Billström (2020) and Olsson (2004) are left out since they are outside the map from 1748.

#### 6.1.1 The old and the new

In previous chapters, the etching from 1756 and a map from 1748, were compared to separate older and newer buildings. This information has been translated to a map to clarify (fig. 41). On the map from 1748, two buildings were mentioned to have been constructed after 1733 and thus have not been included on this map.

Two buildings, one being a brewhouse, and a well in the inner courtyard were visible on the map 1748 but not showcased on the etching from 1756. However, both a well and a brewhouse would have been important for a site of Flyinge. It is also fitting to have a well so close to the residence and kitchen. There is a possibility that the buildings in the northeastern corner of the inner courtyard were not included on the etching due to either a mistake or maybe by choice. However, this is impossible to be sure of with the current available evidence.

On the outer courtyard, only one building is not visible on the etching. It is possible to argue that it was deliberately left out of the etching because it would cover up parts of the northern stable and not adding it created a better image of Flyinge. On the other hand, it is not impossible that it was added after the etching was made. It had the function of a barn and could have been added at any point when it was needed and also torn down if it was left empty for a longer time. A further discussion of the age of this building follows when discussing the abandoned graveyard (see section 6.1.2).

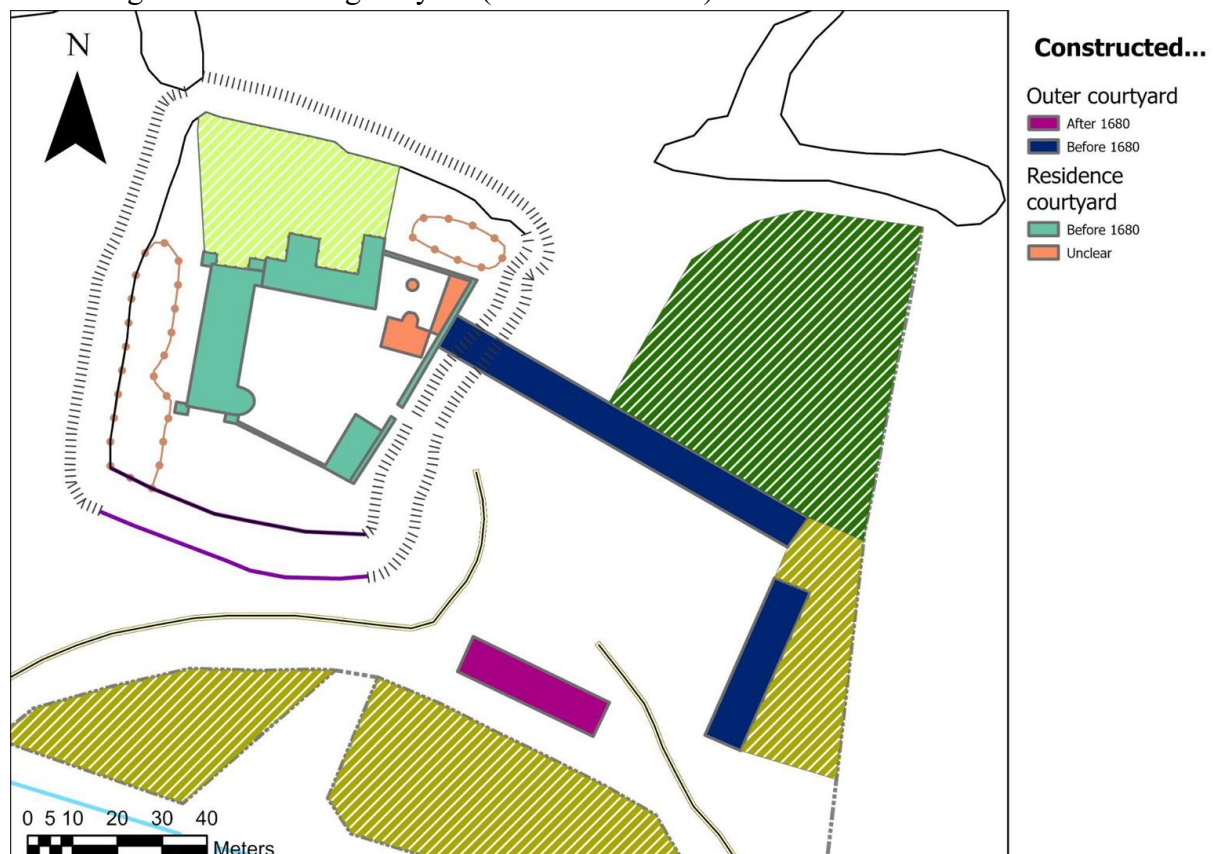


Fig. 41. Buildings at Flyinge categorized whether they were constructed before or after the creation of the etching from 1756. The inner and outer courtyard are categorized separately. The areas of various shades of green alongside the edges of this image are gardens and pastures.

### 6.1.2 The moat and ramparts surrounding the inner courtyard

An empty space is present to the immediate south of the structure on the inner courtyard and north of the moat. It is most likely that a rampart occupied this space which was connected to the earthwork to the west (fig. 42). It is unclear if the moat ramparts were fully surrounding the inner courtyard due to limited evidence. A herbal garden is present on the northernmost

side of the inner courtyard on the oldest maps of Flyinge. This garden could have been smaller during the Middle Ages and thus, the rampart could have circled the inner courtyard.



*Fig. 42.* Proposed reconstruction of the moat and ramparts surrounding the inner courtyard at Flyinge. Purple is the moat, visible on the oldest maps of the site, while the connected stretched lines mark the possible continuation of the moat. The brown lines with dots are the ramparts visible on the oldest maps of the site while the connected black lines with dots mark the possible continuation of the ramparts.

### *6.1.3 The stables on the outer courtyard*

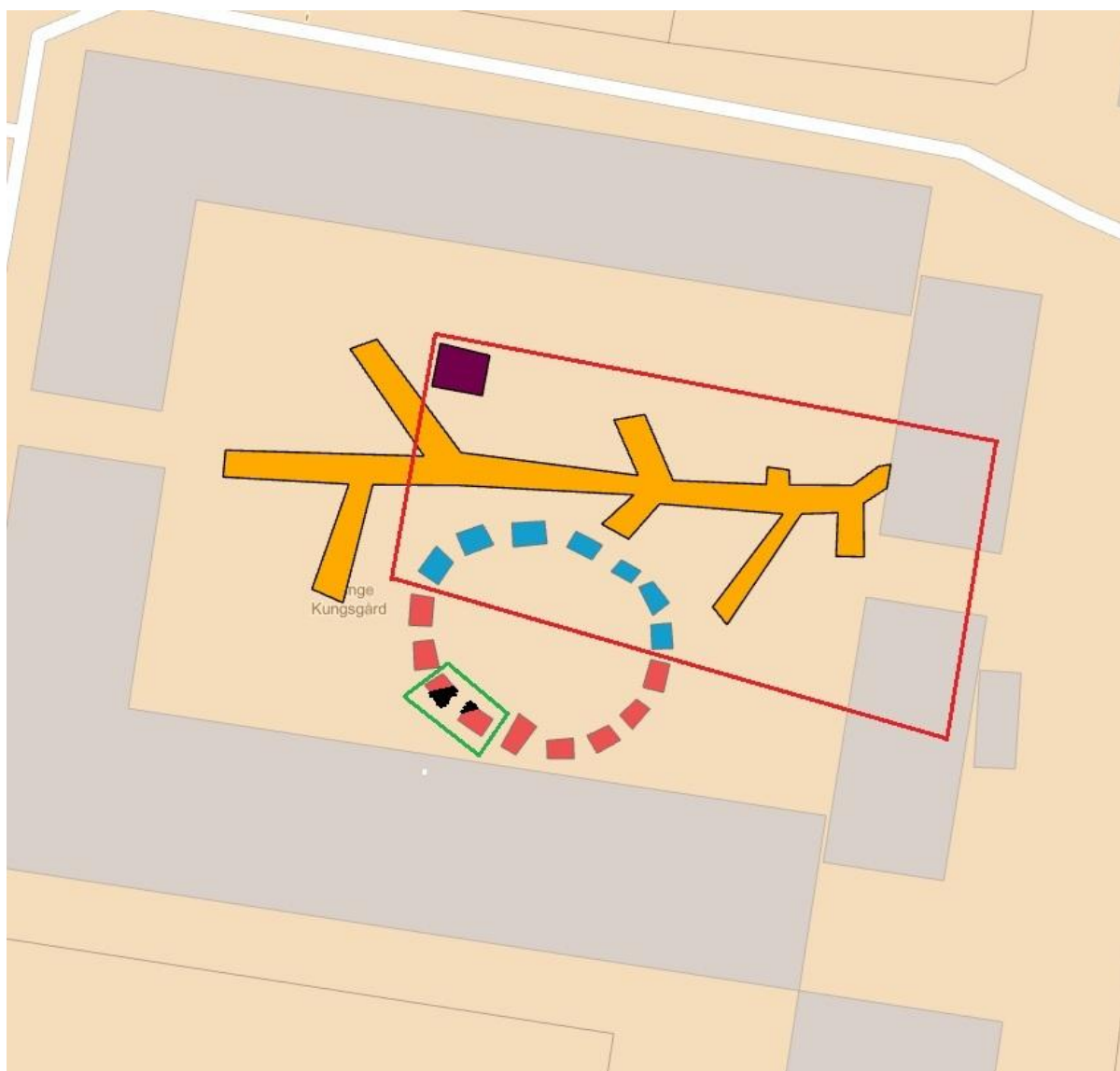
On the outer courtyard, two rectangular stables were visible both on the etching from 1756 and the oldest map of Flyinge from 1748. While they appear to have had the same location, the northern stable appears to go all the way to the boundary of the inner courtyard which is why it was digitized like so in the image above (compare the northern stable on fig. 14 and fig. 42). However, this would make the stable quite long, approximately 90–92 metres. Due to issues with perspectives during the creation of the etching, as previously mentioned, the northern stable was probably a bit shorter (fig. 43). It could be two different stables visible on the etching and on the oldest map of Flyinge but built in the same location. It could also be the same building but remade over time. Due to it partly being constructed in timber, it is not likely that the same building has been preserved since the Middle Ages. It could be argued that these two stable buildings were added at some point after the Middle Ages.



Fig. 43. Proposed reconstruction of Flyinge where the northern stable (dark blue) on the outer courtyard is shorter than what it is on the etching from 1756.

#### 6.1.4 The graveyard, and perhaps a church?

Archaeology at the inner courtyard of the modern stables resulted in the findings of several graves and human remains. Connecting excavated areas containing human remains, including the area where twelve wheelbarrows of human remains were found, creates a hypothetical graveyard (red rectangle in fig. 44). The measurements of this estimated boundary are approximately 48 m and 28 m with a total area of 1344 m<sup>2</sup>. While the majority of the stables courtyard has not been investigated, it is possible that the southern and western boundaries of the medieval graveyard can be determined due to the lack of human remains towards those sides. The northern boundary is most likely limited by the building remains found during Sundnér's investigation in 1982. However, the eastern boundary is the most unclear one at this moment due to the lack of archaeological evidence from that side. The twelve wheelbarrows of human remains found in the 1800's are supposedly from the eastern side and were discovered when a building was erected. The supposed extent of the graveyard has taken this into account and has been increased a bit to the east to reflect this. However, this is only an hypothetical estimation as is not supported by archaeological evidence at the moment.



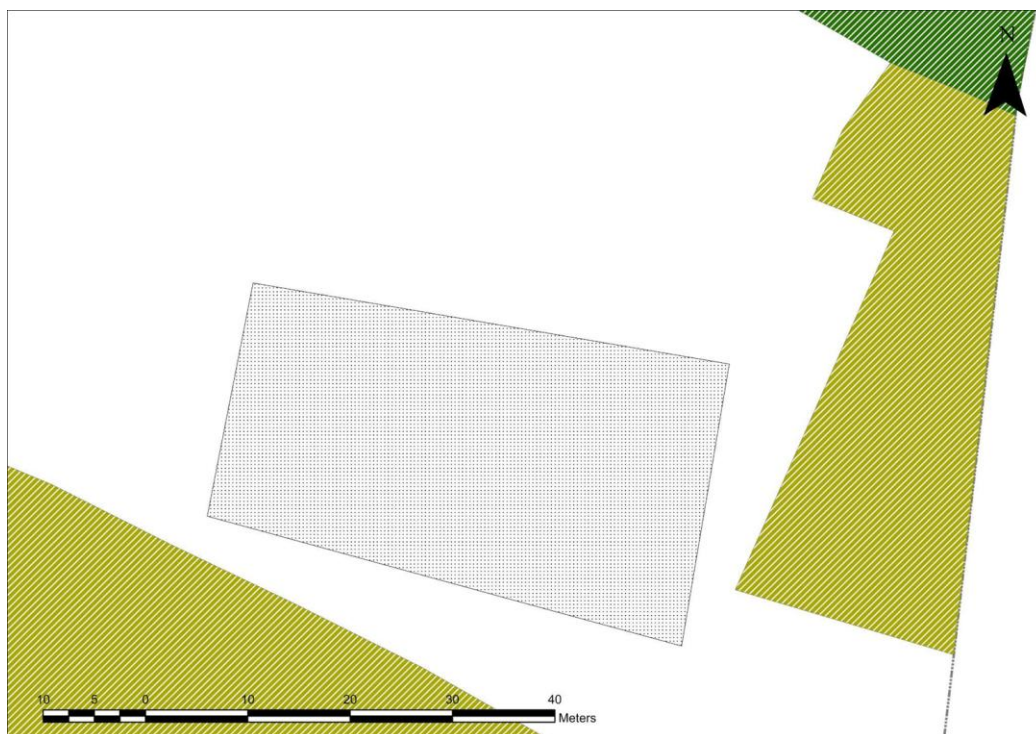
*Fig. 44.* Possible graveyard marked with red. The plinth trenches in blue contained graves while the ones in red had debris material with fragmented bricks instead. The two red trenches marked with green contained several whole bricks which were found in the areas marked with black.

Amongst the found graves, some had been used once while others had been reused. This, included with the varying ages of the buried individuals and what points in time they were deposited shows that the graveyard was used for a long time during the Middle Ages. In pace with that the graveyard's size increased, it could at some point have prompted a reorganization of the outer courtyard. By adding the estimated area of the medieval graveyard on an image showing buildings on the map from 1748, the age of a few buildings can be narrowed down (fig. 45). The barn on the southern side of the outer courtyard was most likely constructed at some point after the Middle Ages. It is also possible that the eastern stable was built after the fifteenth century as parts of it clashes with the boundary of the graveyard. Seeing as the eastern part of the graveyard could not be narrowed down with archaeological evidence, it might have been smaller which could mean the eastern stable is contemporary to the graveyard. Therefore, no conclusion can be made about the age of the eastern stable. However, both the northern and eastern stables were constructed in the same way with the

same material, which partly was timber. It is therefore possible to argue that these stables probably have not been preserved since the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the road visible on some older maps of Flyinge goes straight through the proposed area of the medieval graveyard and must also be an addition after the end of the Middle Ages. Taking this into account, a proposal for a reconstruction can be made (fig. 46).



*Fig. 45.* The estimated area of the graveyard, from fig. 33, has been marked with a dotted area and combined with fig. 32.

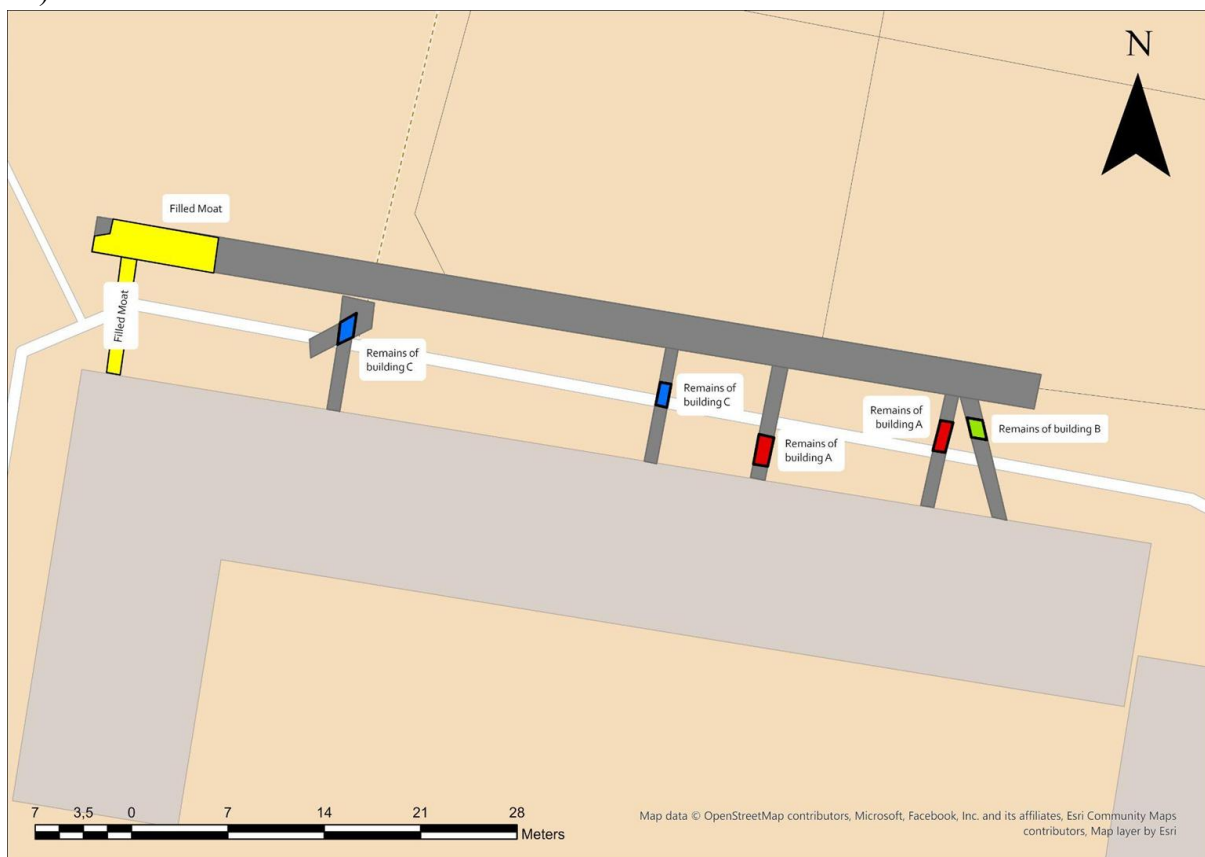


*Fig. 46.* A proposed reconstruction of the medieval outer courtyards where the dotted area marks a proposed boundary of the medieval graveyard.

The discovered building remains south of the graveyard are difficult to interpret besides the fact that it is most likely remains of a medieval building (black markings within green square in fig. 44). While these remains could be parts of a church there is simply too little evidence which supports this claim, for example the remains could be traces of an old stable. Furthermore, due to the uncertain dating of the building remains, it is not possible to know if it was contemporary with the graveyard or perhaps preceded it instead. What is known is that in 1748, the area where the building remains were found had been turned into kitchen gardens for vegetables.

#### *6.1.5 Remains of unknown buildings on the northern side of the outer courtyard*

Looking at the archaeological findings on these two maps show that the building remains found by Sundnér (red trenches to the north in fig. 40) are structures which are older than 1748. However, it is not impossible that these are remains of buildings constructed after 1680 since they cannot be properly dated (compare Sundnér's findings with fig. 14). To further complicate these remains, due to the dating of the objects found in the vicinity of the remains, these buildings could even be dated between the Reformation and were removed or destroyed before 1680. It is therefore not possible to determine whether or not these are remains of medieval buildings from when Flyinge was a property of the archbishop's see in Lund (fig. 47).



*Fig. 47. Findings and interpretation by Sundnér (1983) just north of the stables. The dark grey areas mark the trenches.*

No matter the age of these remains, digitizing them makes it possible to somewhat propose a reconstruction of these buildings (fig. 48). Since the remains of only one portion of building

B were uncovered, its length cannot be decided. Several interpretations can be about these remains such as which buildings were contemporary and what their specific functions were. They could have been precursors to the stables visible on the etching from 1756. The roads leading to Flyinge and into the inner courtyard would have been influenced by which buildings existed at specific times. Furthermore, the cultivated areas to the east of these building remains are of uncertain dates as well and could possibly have not existed during the Middle Ages. While only speculations can be made with the current evidence, it shows how Flyinge would have had different layouts than what is preserved in the oldest images of this site.

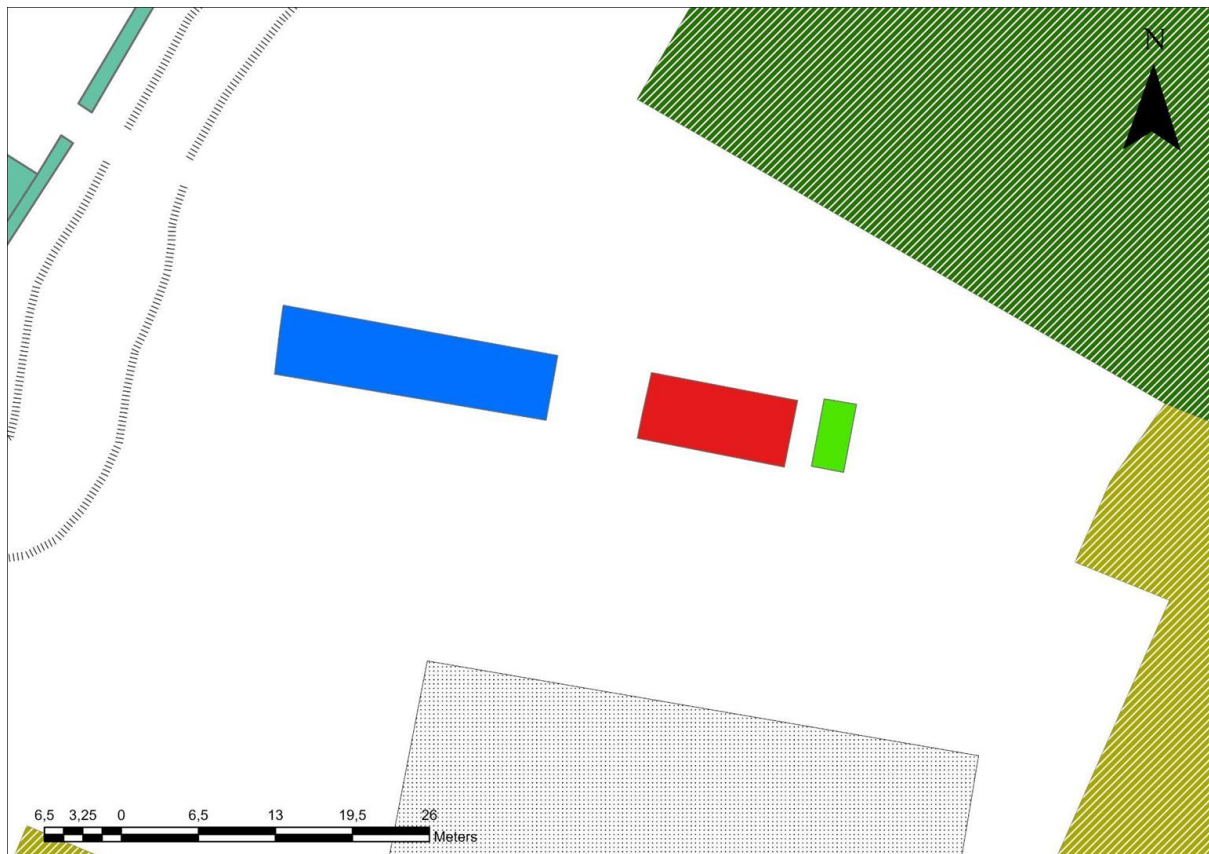
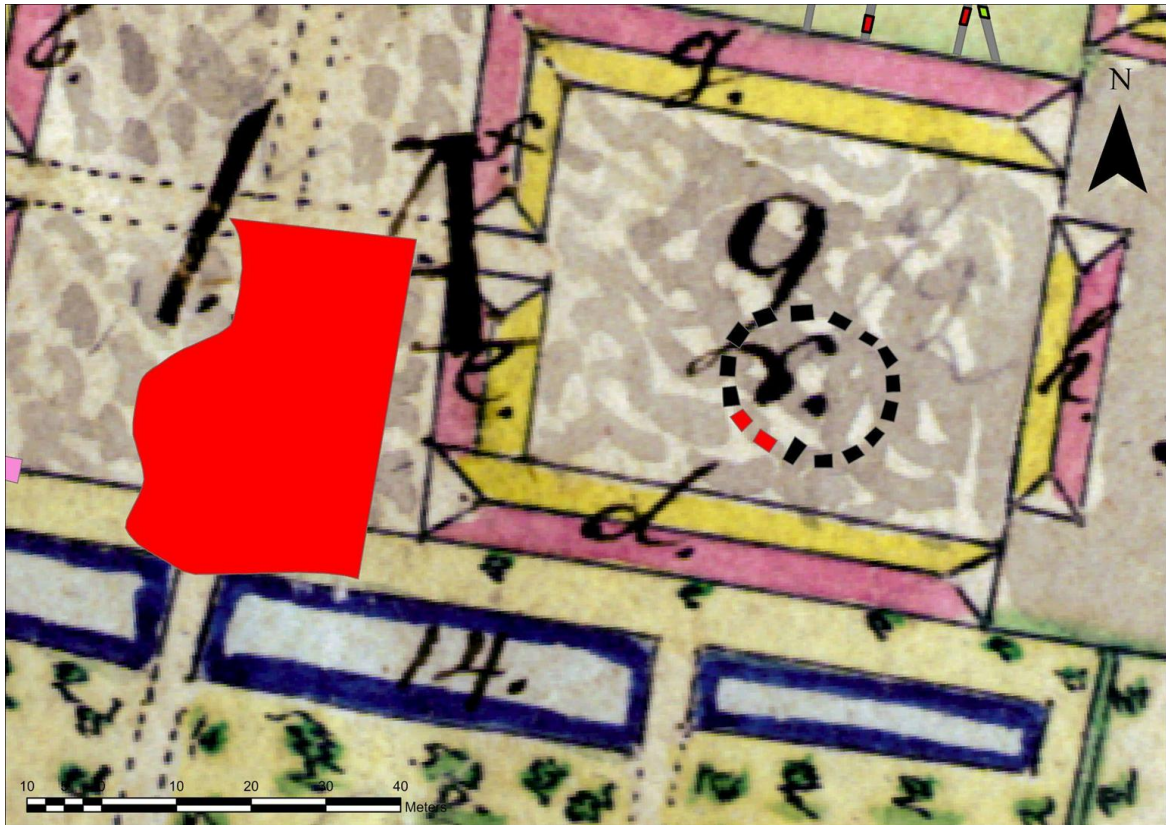


Fig. 48. Proposed reconstruction of the three building remains found by Sundnér (1983). Blue is building C, red is building A and green is building B. Only one part was found of building B and the digitization adheres to this fact.

#### 6.1.6 Remains of a building between the gardens and the outer courtyard

The last structural remains to discuss were discovered by both Sundnér (1983) and Wilhelmson (2009) and can help to visualize the boundary of a building (fig. 49). These remains could point at a building being positioned at the south stable row (marked with *d* and *e* on fig. 49). Furthermore, on one of the oldest maps of Flyinge, two kitchen gardens are placed on a similar location as the building remains (fig. 50). These kitchen gardens could therefore have been added at some point after the Reformation since the building remains have been dated to the Middle Ages. However, it is not possible to narrow down the date of these kitchen gardens.

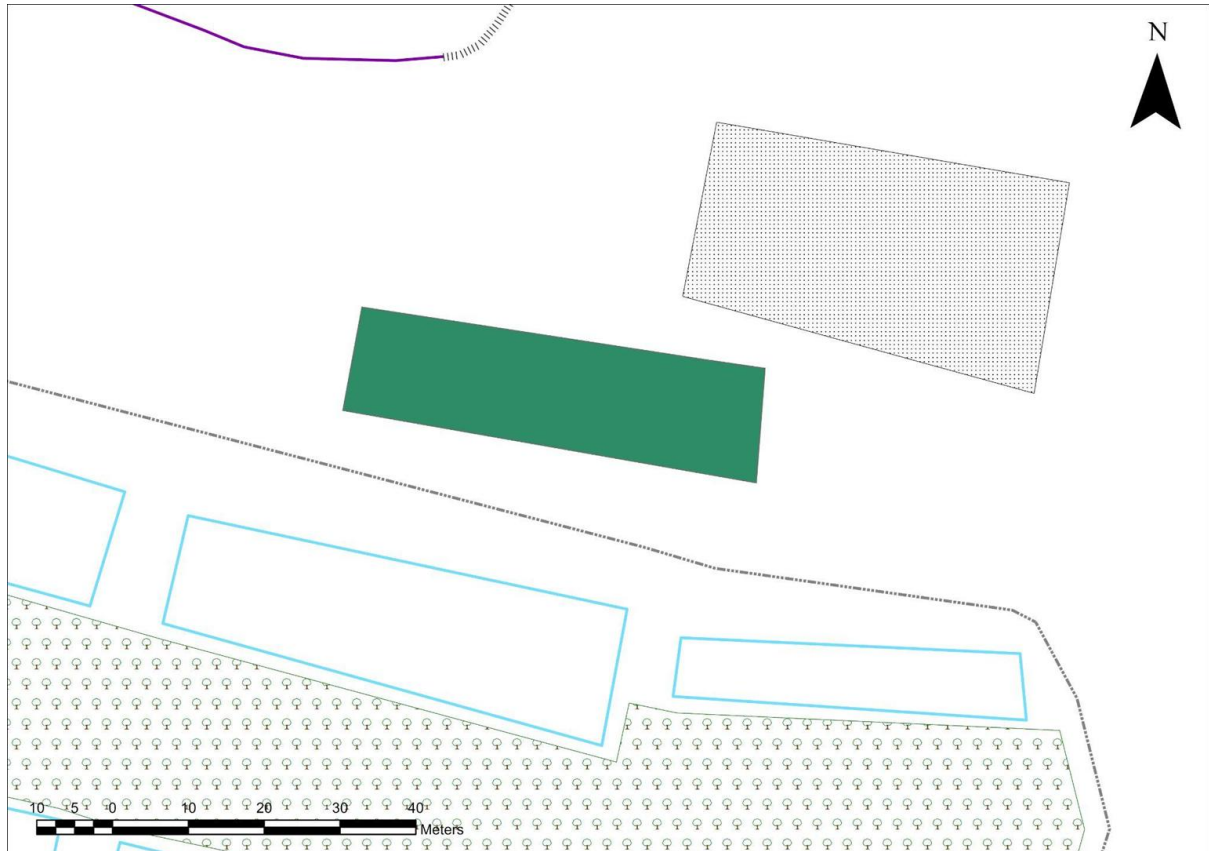


*Fig. 49.* The red area to the left displays debris material (Sundnér 1983) while the two red squares to the right contain building remains (Wilhelmson 2009). Displayed on a map of Flyinge kungsgård from 1813 (Lantmäteriet ©).



*Fig. 50.* Building remains found by Sundnér (1983) and Wilhelmson (2009) on a map of Flyinge kungsgård from 1750 (Lantmäteriet ©). The two yellow areas marked with *e* are kitchen gardens.

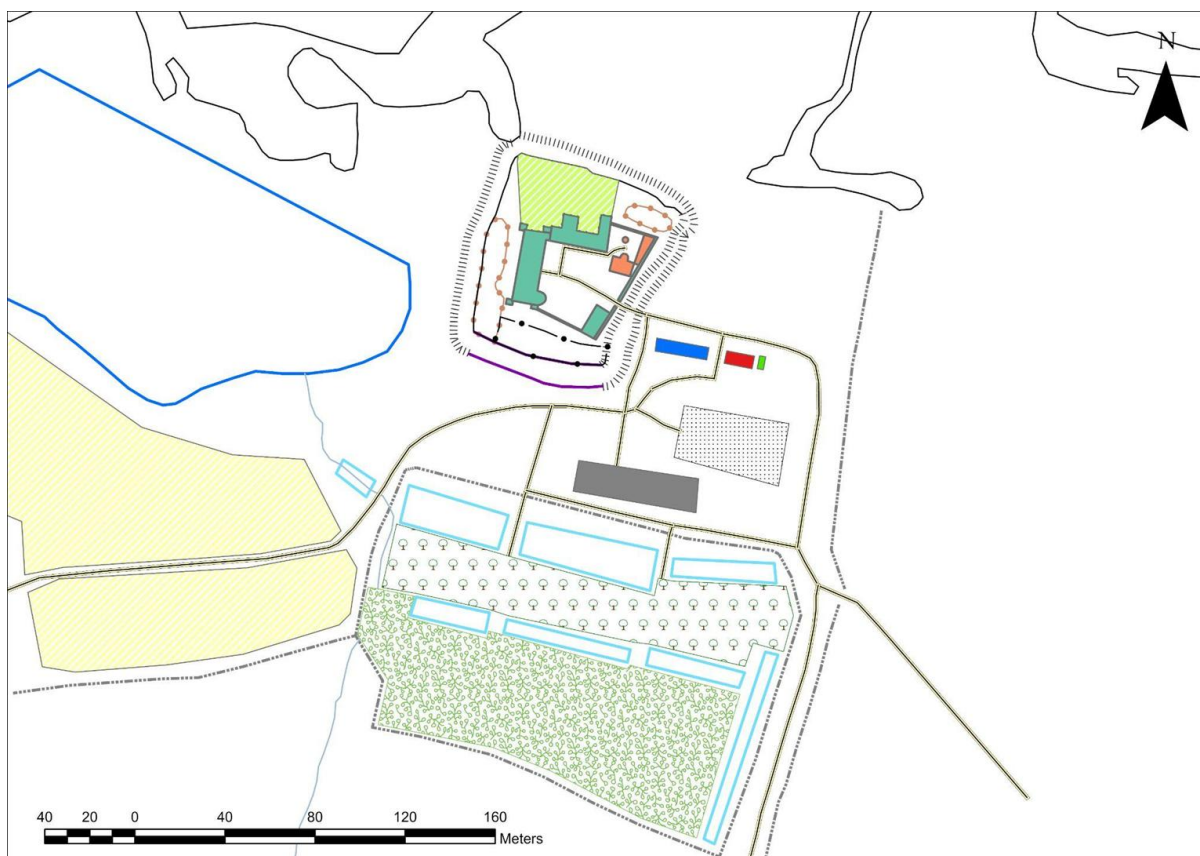
Considering this interpretation, a proposal for a reconstruction can be made (fig. 51). The result of this reconstruction removes the kitchen gardens shown in the previous image and pushes in the boundary of the garden area. The reconstructed area (green rectangle in fig. 51) could have been both one structure or an area for several buildings. It is not possible to know what this area was used for but just to present a few suggestions, the structures in this area could have served as barns or workshops for example.



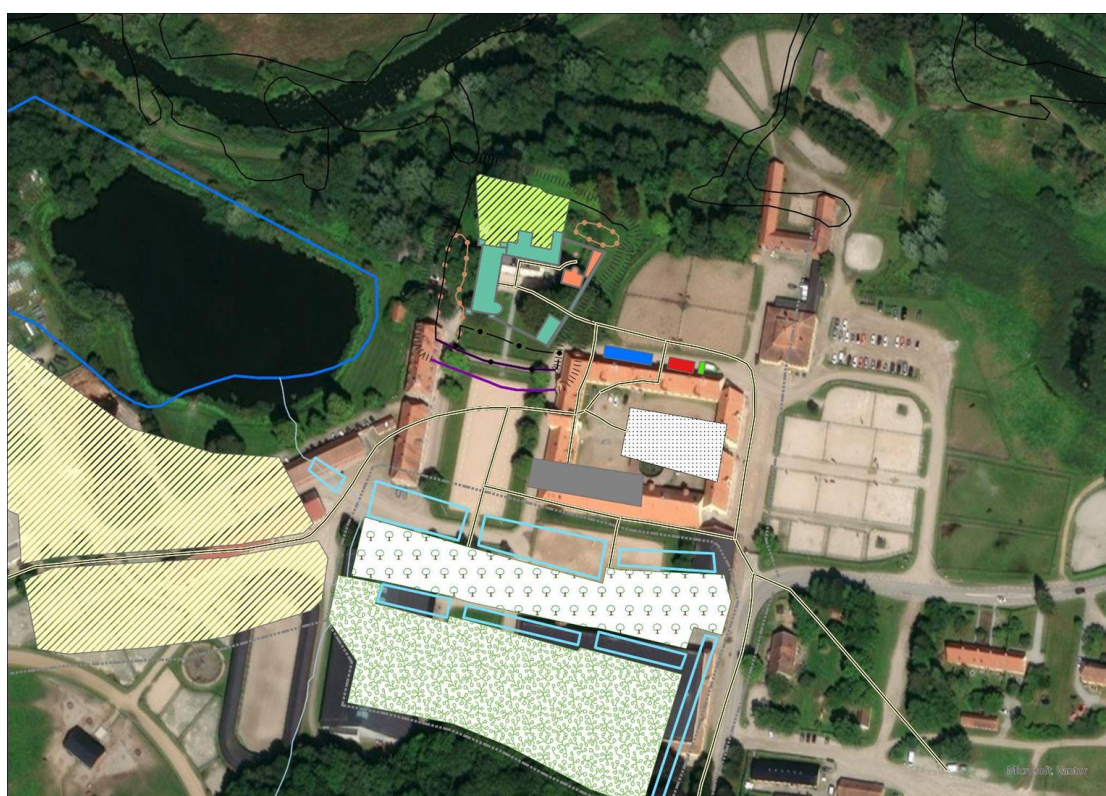
*Fig. 51.* Proposed reconstruction of the area between the gardens and the outer courtyard marked with a green rectangle. The kitchen gardens have been removed and the garden boundaries have been pushed closer to the garden and dams. The dotted area marks the proposed medieval graveyard discussed previously.

#### *6.1.7 Reconstructing medieval Flyinge*

By looking at all the compiled historical information, presented in this thesis, and results from archaeological investigations, it is possible to see structural elements from after the Middle Ages which conflict with archaeological findings from the Middle Ages. It is important to take these attempts at reconstructions, presented in the above sections, with a grain of salt. However, by combining them all, a proposed map of Flyinge can be created which is the closest one can get to an image of medieval Flyinge (fig. 52 & fig. 53).

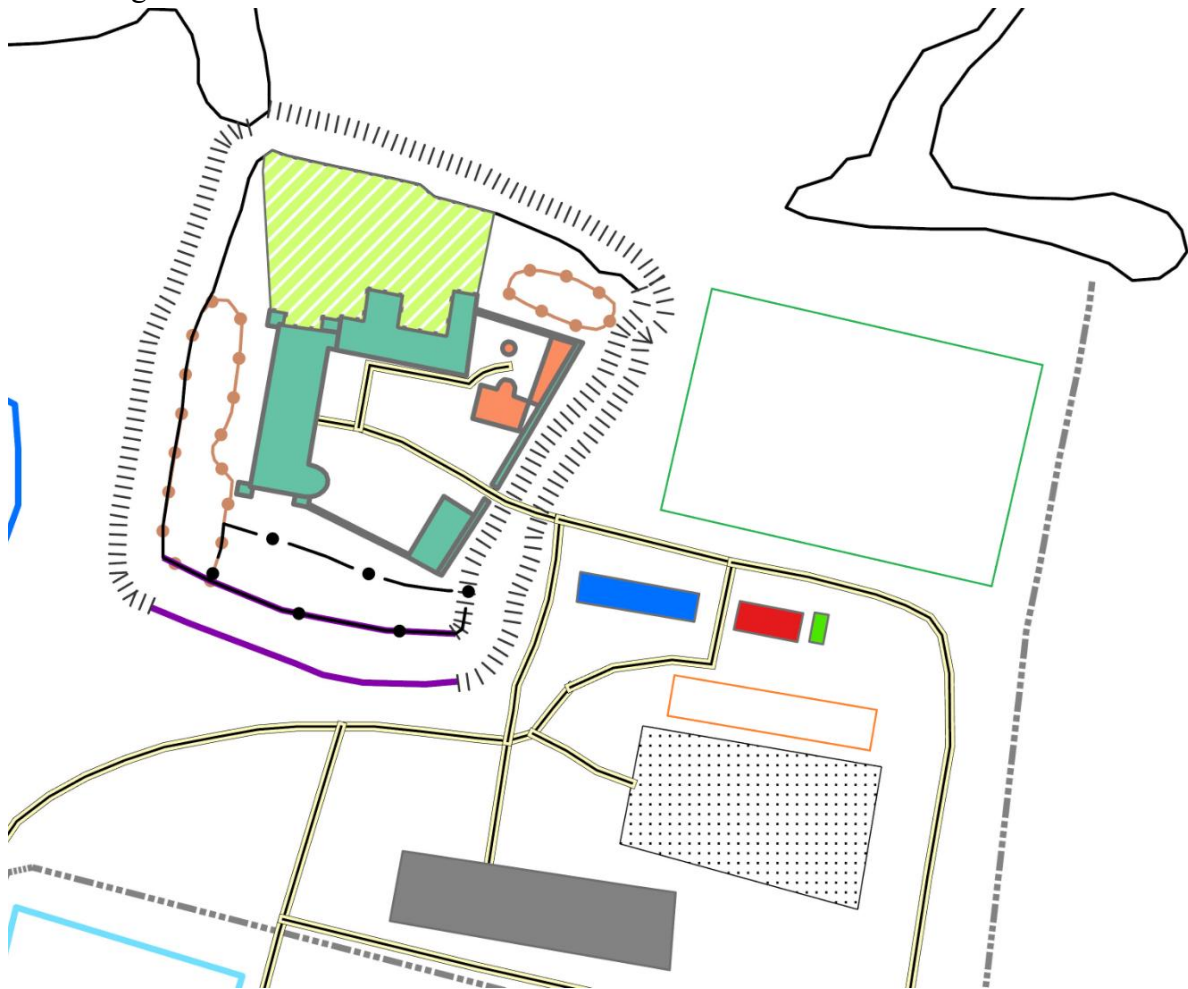


*Fig. 52.* Proposed reconstruction of medieval Flyinge including possible alternatives for a road infrastructure at the site. The yellow area on the left side is agricultural fields and north of this is the large dam with a deep blue border. This dam led water southwards with a canal which might have been connected to smaller dams marked with a light blue border, surrounding two garden areas..



*Fig. 53.* Proposed medieval reconstruction of Flyinge, on a modern satellite image of Flyinge kungsgård.

The reconstructed image of Flyinge above has pockets of empty space which could have been occupied with structures during the Middle Ages (fig. 54). The orange area in the image below is just north of the proposed medieval graveyard. As the grey rectangle south of this graveyard has been interpreted to not be a church, perhaps the orange area could have been the location of the medieval church. Without the stables, visible on the etching from 1756, and the cultivated areas, next to those stables, an area marked with green in the image below is left empty. Perhaps this area would have been occupied by economy buildings during the Middle Ages.



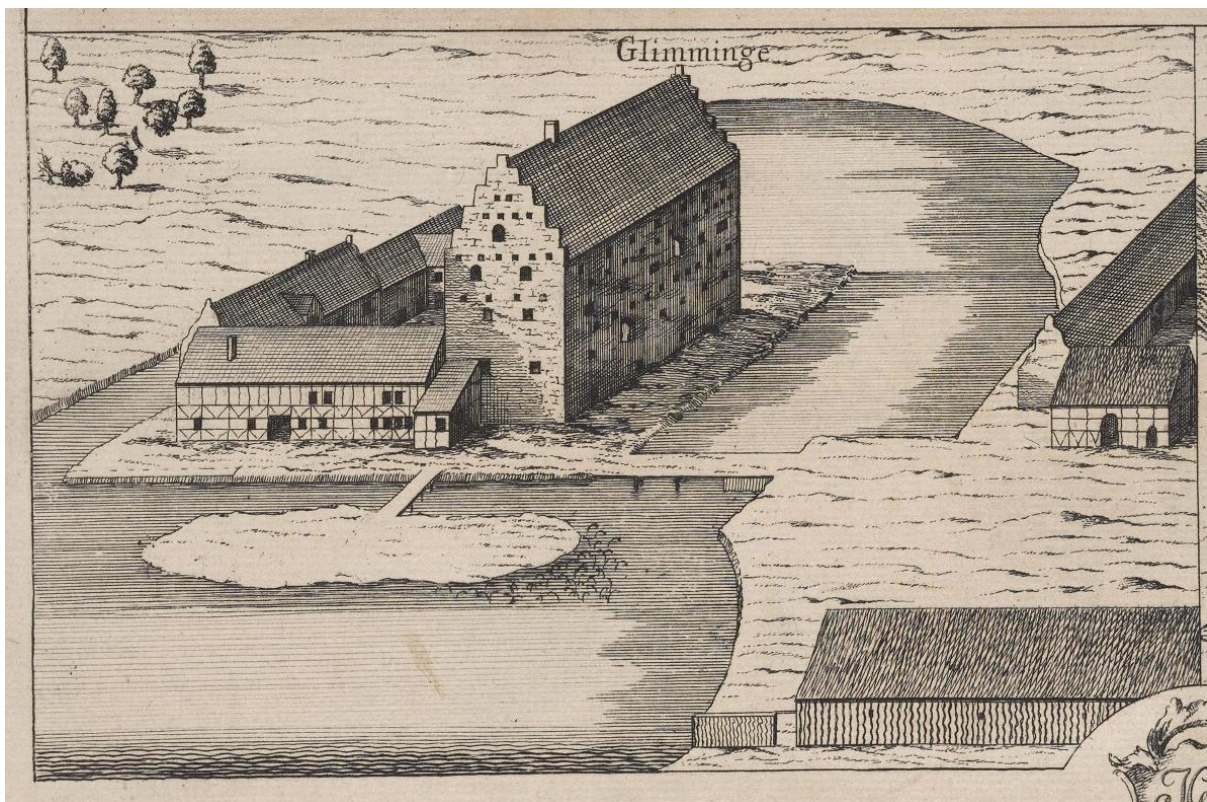
*Fig. 54.* In the image of the reconstructed Flyinge, two areas have been marked (orange and green). These areas could have been occupied during the Middle Ages.

Despite the archaeological evidence, combined with historical sources, which cannot explain the uncovered building remains, it brings a new understanding to Flyinge and its medieval layout. This discussion also highlights areas where possible medieval structures could have been situated at some point during the Middle Ages. If further archaeology would take place at Flyinge kungsgård in the future, these areas would be of significance to further our understanding of this site.

Finally, with a proposed reconstruction of the medieval site of Flyinge, this location can be compared with other aristocratic sites beyond Lundagård. In the collection of etchings published by Fisher in 1756, which contained the etching made of Flyinge by Buhrman,

multiple aristocratic sites in Scania have been illustrated and turned into etchings. These sites, contemporary with Flyinge, offer a possibility of comparison with Flyinge despite varying in age and ownership. Looking at examples such as Örtofta, Wegehölm (Vegehölm), Knutstorp, Klogerup (Klågerup), Julared (Hjularöd), Wanås (Vanås), Häradsva kloster (Herrevads kloster), Skafversjö (Skabersjö) and Dybeck (Dybäck) are just some examples of locations which mirror how Flyinge was presented in the same print.

Archaeological investigation at the castle of Glimmingehus has made it possible to reconstruct several medieval elements. The site was delimited by a water-filled moat and the castle was located on a small islet surrounded by a curtain wall which created an inner courtyard. On the inner courtyard, a few building foundations have been excavated which amounted to three smaller buildings beside the castle (Ödman 2000: 27–30). Glimmingehus was also published in Fisher (1756) where buildings on the outer courtyard are somewhat visible (fig. 55). In contrast to these castles, Hammershus castle on Bornholm was a disputed area between the Danish crown and the church during the Middle Ages. The church regarded the castle as their property and it was important for the church to maintain its status against the crown. The crown would in turn conquer the castle for the same reason (Olsen 2011: 94, 136). The conflicts surrounding Hammershus castle are a stark contrast to the castle at Flyinge which did not experience the same type of events.



*Fig. 55.* After Buhrman made a sketch of Glimmingehus in 1680, it would later be published as an etching (Fisher 1756).

## 6.2 From a manor to a castle

Many historical events would have had a lasting effect on Flyinge such as the Black Death or Karl Knutsson attack on Scania in the 1450s. It could have impacted how often Flyinge was visited and how many workers were active at the site at the time of these events. Another event which would change the perspective of Flyinge was its transformation from a manor to a castle in the late 1400s. The establishing of a castle was no small feat and it did not happen at any location just because someone wished to.

In the theoretical section of the introduction, the difference between a manor and a castle was whether or not a location was fortified with several defensive structures such as both a moat and curtain wall (Hansson 2011: 33–34, 64). The architectural decisions of archbishop Brostrup towards the end of the Middle Ages signified a stage of transformation which Flyinge went through. While this revamping of the site was based on the incentive of one archbishop, medieval documents issued by various archbishops at Flyinge prove that it was a frequented location to visit before Brostrup.

While Flyinge used to be one of many manors owned by the archbishop's see in Lund, it came to adopt the identity of a castle with an important administrative role. However, after the curtain wall was constructed, certain historical sources sometimes still labeled Flyinge as a manor instead. How contemporary individuals, visiting or working at Flyinge, interpreted the site could have varied. Perhaps the change from manor to castle was too sudden for others to reflect on a change of status or the historical sources were composed by individuals who did not consider Flyinge a proper castle? Written sources towards the end of the Middle Ages point towards an increased importance and activity at Flyinge on various levels. More and more locations were sending taxes to Flyinge instead of Lundagård. Furthermore, certain workers had to be transferred to Flyinge from Lundagård to aid in spikes of workload such as the butcher who had to salt pork for months.

It is interesting to see that after the reformation, when Flyinge changed lords, the site did not lose its administrative role. It could be argued that administrative responsibility increased. While Flyinge kungsgård today does not have an administrative function, it has remained an important site even when Flyinge became Swedish. Besides administration, horses have remained an important factor for Flyinge from the earliest written sources until today. Horses were gifted in certain archbishops' wills during the Middle Ages and raising them would have reflected social and economic status. Seeing as stables were visible on the etching from 1756, it is possible that horses kept on being housed at Flyinge. Something that was continued under Swedish rule when Flyinge was a royal stud farm until its current role as a royal landed estate. Thus, one can wonder if Brostrup never built the curtain wall at Flyinge and it received an increased status, would it even remain today? Anyhow, the continuation of both roles and a focus on horses has undeniably shaped how we view Flyinge kungsgård today.

### 6.3 Two aristocratic environments of the archbishop

With the analysis and discussion of Flyinge completed, it is time to compare those findings with Lundagård and discuss them together to find similarities and differences. Layout wise, there are several similarities between these two sites (fig. 56a & 56b). The main residence building is neighbouring only a few buildings such as a kitchen including a herb garden. A larger area, intended for various economy buildings, is situated next to the residence but is delimited with a curtain wall and creates an outer courtyard. Finally, a garden is located furthest away from the residence building. Furthermore, in order to access the residence building and the inner courtyard, one would first have to pass through the outer courtyard.

Distinct parallels can be made between Lundagård and a similar archbishop's palace at Trondheim in Norway, which is discussed by archaeologist Øivind Lunde (2023). In Trondheim, the archbishop's residence was constructed right next to the cathedral and went through several changes throughout the Middle Ages. This could hint at how Scandinavian archbishops would like to organize their main residences.

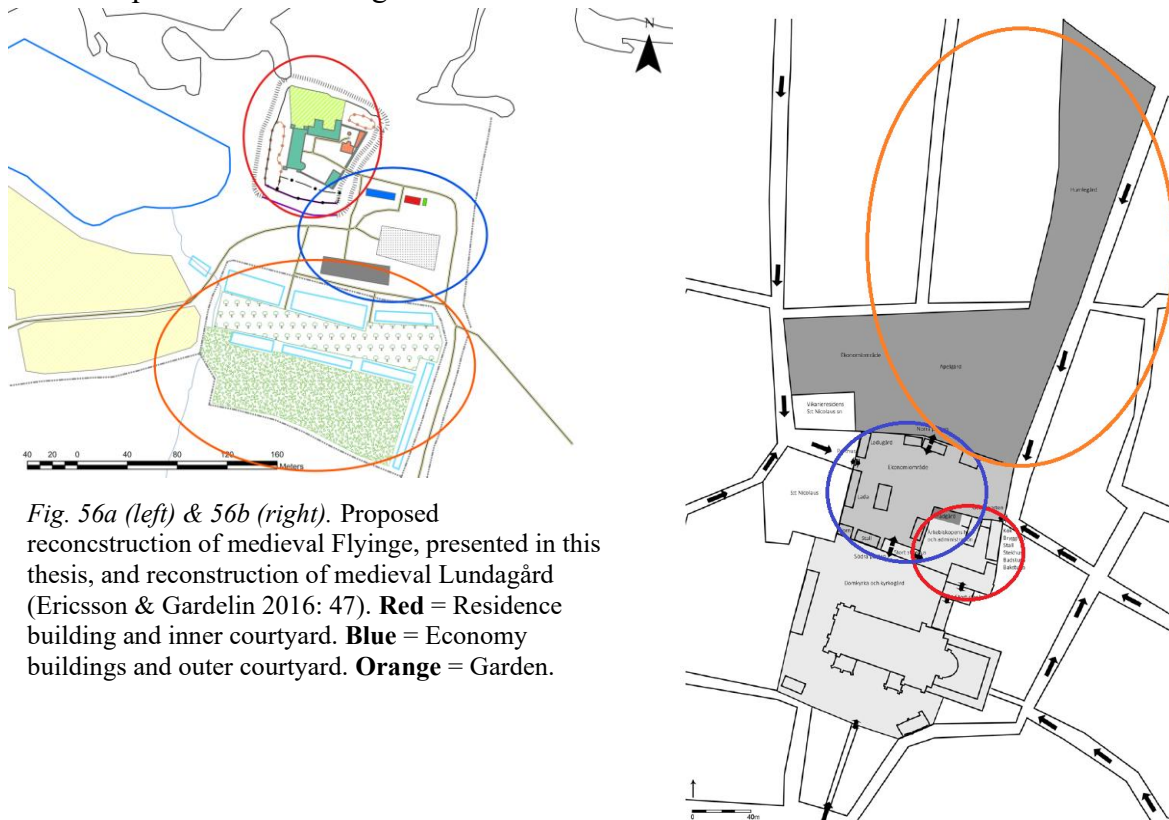


Fig. 56a (left) & 56b (right). Proposed reconstruction of medieval Flyinge, presented in this thesis, and reconstruction of medieval Lundagård (Ericsson & Gardelin 2016: 47). **Red** = Residence building and inner courtyard. **Blue** = Economy buildings and outer courtyard. **Orange** = Garden.

#### 6.3.1 Fortifications

While no fortifications at Flyinge and Lundagård have remained till today, it has been mentioned that both sites were fortified with curtain walls at some point during the middle ages. Lundagård could have had a single curtain wall surrounding both the inner and outer courtyards, however, it is unclear if the one at Flyinge only surrounded the inner courtyard. It is not impossible that the curtain wall at Lundagård would have protected a larger area considering this location would have served as the main residence and seat of power for the

Danish archbishops during the middle ages. The curtain wall at Flyinge was added towards the end of the fifteenth century and there might have been economic limitations for Brostrup when he decided to fortify Flyinge.

The largest difference between these sites are the existence of moats at Flyinge which were not present at Lundagård. Considering the analysis of historical sources, it would seem that moats had been present for a long period at Flyinge before a curtain wall was added. Adding a moat around Lundagård might not have been possible considering streets and other neighbouring structures in the town. At the same time, the medieval curtain wall at Lundagård might have been deemed enough for the needs of the archbishops. Flyinge's isolated location in the landscape made it possible to choose different methods of fortifications. Digging a moat, and depositing the soil behind the moat to form a rampart, did not require any building material. Thus, it could have been considered a budget option to a curtain wall which fulfilled the aristocratic need of limiting accessibility to the inner courtyard. Furthermore, the environment at Flyinge also helped with defensive capabilities in several directions. Namely the creek and the resulting wetlands to the north, the large dam to the west and the gardens with belonging dams to the south (parts of these are visible on fig. 56a). While it would have been possible by a hostile army to surround Lundagård, it would have been much more difficult to do the same at Flyinge. Thus, it would seem that Flyinge, towards the end of the middle ages, would have been a more protected site than Lundagård was. However, if the curtain wall at Flyinge only surrounded the inner courtyard, the economy area on the outer courtyard at Flyinge would appear more accessible than the outer courtyard at Lundagård. This can be interpreted as Flyinge not being of the same status as Lundagård and not fulfilling aristocratic needs to the same level.

### *6.3.2 Gardens*

Both Flyinge and Lundagård have a herb garden close to the residence and a larger garden on one end of the sites. The larger gardens at these sites both mention apple trees which were an important feature at aristocratic locations such as Flyinge and Lundagård. The latter also cultivated hops next to the apple trees. While gardens are described less at Flyinge, its being in a rural location made it possible for different enclosures which could be used as kitchen gardens. Something the space at Lundagård did not allow. Besides this fact, there is little evidence which would point at differences between the two locations and how the gardens were organized and placed. Gardens were a vital part of aristocratic environments during the Middle Ages and it is therefore not surprising to find this element present at both Flyinge and Lundagård.

### *6.3.3 Water*

The possibility of using water for various means varied greatly between Flyinge and Lundagård, which of course is natural since one site is in the middle of a town and the other is in the landscape right next to a creek. At Flyinge, the large dam next to the residence and the many dams in the gardens are typical elements of aristocracy. The same possibility was not possible at Lundagård which made these two sites differ from each other. Thus, it seems

Flyinge would have allowed for more aristocratic possibilities than Lundagård could. It is possible that evidence of water manipulation at Lundagård has not been preserved during the creation of certain historical sources which can make it seem that this aristocratic element was not present at Lundagård.

#### *6.3.4 Economy buildings*

Discussion about the economy buildings at Flyinge has proven to be a difficult task for various reasons. The etching from 1756 and all of the maps were made some time after the end of the Medieval period. Only hints of economy buildings at Flyinge can be interpreted from written sources, mainly stables and perhaps a mill. Lastly, while archaeology has uncovered building remains not visible on any images, their age, function and extent have not been determined. However, it can be argued that the mentioning of horses from Flyinge in written sources could prove that horses were the main economic focus at the site, on the side of housing for various livestock. Thus, the uncovered building remains at Flyinge could be precursor to stables and barns displayed on the etching and the oldest maps of the site.

When compared to Lundagård, it appears that the designated space for economy buildings were of somewhat equal size. However, seeing as Lundagård was the main residence, it would most likely store more produce from various properties instead of being a producer of goods. Resources would in that case mainly be funneled to Lundagård. This does not mean that the site of Flyinge was created because of economic motivations. Seeing how the oldest historical sources mention horses, and the surrounding landscape around Flyinge benefits horse breeding, or at least horse care, Flyinge's main function could have been horses because of the archbishop's aristocratic status in medieval society. While no sources state if stallions, meant for warfare, were bred or housed at Flyinge, a focus on smaller horses could aid in the workload or even be sold to others as a way to generate income. The importance of horses as status symbols could have also increased the status of Flyinge as an estate. This, combined with Brostrup's decision to construct a curtain wall, should have increased the status of Flyinge above other properties of the archbishop's see. However, seeing as buying a medieval stud would have been a large investment for a knight, if the archbishops did have a business selling these large horses, it should have been mentioned in historical sources. The lack of medieval sources mentioning studs at Flyinge could in this case prove that studs were never kept at Flyinge. Instead, it is more likely that general livestock was kept at Flyinge.

#### *6.3.5 To summarize these two estates*

Studying and comparing Flyinge and Lundagård make it apparent that these two sites were organized in a similar fashion towards the end of the Middle Ages. The layouts and various elements present at these locations highlight the need of the medieval aristocracy to reflect their status in society outwards: Curtain walls and moats to control visibility and accessibility. Using water and gardens to influence and shape the surrounding landscape while at the same time providing self-sufficiency at both sites. Various economy buildings to manage, store and aid in the functions of the site.

With Lundagård being the main residence and Hammershus castle on Bornholm being a main defensive property, Flyinge lacks a clearcut identity. Because the written sources at Flyinge are from various months of the year, it is clear that Flyinge was not a summer residence. At the same time these documents were not written close to Christmas and Easter for example, which could mean that the archbishops had a preferred estate to celebrate these holidays where Flyinge was not included. There is also a lack of information surrounding feasting which begs the question whether or not large feasts were ever held at Flyinge? Perhaps we will never know what kind of celebrations were held at Flyinge.

It is now appropriate to discuss whether or not Flyinge can be considered an aristocratic site during the Middle Ages. Creighton's interpretation on an ideal aristocratic landscape included gardens, use of water, moats and parks (2013: 213–218). Flyinge had a large garden, used water in various dams at the property and also had a moat surrounding the inner courtyard. However, no sources mention a park for hunting. Therefore it is not possible to know if there ever existed a medieval park connected to Flyinge or if no evidence of it has been preserved. Despite this, enough aristocratic elements were present at Flyinge towards the end of the Middle Ages for it to be considered an aristocratic site. This interpretation is also based on the possibility of comparing Flyinge to other contemporary aristocratic sites where several similarities can be found. Lastly, it is time to finish this thesis with a conclusion about the discussed material of this medieval site.

## **7. Conclusion**

When Flyinge became a property of the Danish archbishops is not known. However we do know that in 1322 it was an established manor at this site. Thus, it could even be from the late thirteenth century. In any case, the aim of this thesis was to further our knowledge of Flyinge and to better understand the Danish archbishops and their individual decisions during the Middle Ages. I believe the aim of this thesis was successfully achieved by answering the questions presented in the introduction.

In what way was Flyinge delimited by a moat and a curtain wall? While only certain parts of the moat were visible on maps from the eighteenth century, archaeological findings aided in visualising how the moat followed the outline of the inner courtyard. While the medieval curtain wall, constructed by Jens Brostrup, was less present in the material, it is possible that it was preserved when the sketch for the etching, from 1756, was produced. Seeing as the moat was limited to surrounding the inner courtyard, it is likewise possible that the medieval curtain wall surrounded the inner courtyard. Limiting accessibility to personal areas such as the residence building at Flyinge, or Lundagård, was a core concept for the medieval aristocracy.

Was there a church at Flyinge during the Middle Ages? The location of a medieval church at Flyinge remains unknown, uncovered medieval graves and written sources mentioning a priest and someone in charge of ringing the church bells proves the existence of a medieval

church. It is unclear when the church would have been taken out of commission. However, Flyinge's loss of status as a parish towards the end of the Middle Ages could point at it being removed when the Danish crown seized ownership of the estate.

How much of the medieval layout at Flyinge can be reconstructed? Several building remains have been found at Flyinge which however are of uncertain age. Despite this, a possible medieval layout of Flyinge has been proposed in this thesis based on a combination of the various analyzed materials. The dating of certain proposed elements cannot be specified with the current amount of knowledge about Flyinge, however, the proposed reconstruction serves as a first step in accurately reconstructing the medieval layout.

How did Flyinge change throughout the Middle Ages? The location of certain buildings highlight changes which might have taken place at Flyinge during the Middle Ages. This, included with the addition of the curtain wall, proves an everchanging environment. It started out as a manor but later turned into a fortified castle. This change of status was important for the site which is reflected in contemporary sources.

What aristocratic elements were present at the site towards the end of the Middle Ages and how did the medieval layouts of Lundagård and Flyinge compare? When comparing the medieval layouts of Flyinge and Lundagård with each other, several common elements were present such as large gardens, economy structures and a limiting curtain wall. These similar elements were essential parts of estates owned by the medieval aristocracy. It is therefore natural that a property such as Flyinge would have these aristocratic elements. One of the differences between Flyinge and Lundagård was the existence of several dams at Flyinge next to the garden area including a larger dam west of the inner courtyard. Lundagårds location in the middle of a town and the surrounding topography might have limited the possibilities of utilizing water in the way it was used at Flyinge.

Originally, the ambition was to hopefully unravel the complicated and unclear history of medieval Flyinge. By analyzing the oldest images of Flyinge, the first steps of solving how the archbishop's castle looked has been taken. The written sources presented important context in understanding what the site meant for the archbishop's and some of the events which took place both before and after the Protestant Reformation. While it was not possible to get clear dates for the older constructions uncovered by archaeology, the proposed reconstruction, presented in the discussion, added clarity for some of the oldest remains of the archbishop's castle and the various elements present at the site.

Any future archaeological investigations have the possibility of furthering our understanding of this aristocratic space. The presented results, and related discussions, can be applied to both commercial archaeology and research based projects, if those were to become relevant in the future. It is therefore fully possible to answer the questions left unanswered in this thesis.

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## Appendices

**Appendix I:** A list of Danish archbishops during the Middle Ages who faced various conflicts, in chronological order until Jens Brostrup. Information from Green (1973), *Svenska kyrkan* and DBL (1887–1905).

| Name                  | Archbishop | Conflict                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Absalon Hvide         | 1177–1201  | Attempted to enforce a requirement of celibacy for priests and a tax for the peasantry. This caused a large rebellion in Scania against Absalon Hvide. His castle, Sövdeborg, was plundered. He returned in 1181 with the help of the Danish king, Valdemar Knutsson, and defeated the uprising. |
| Uffe Thrugotsen       | 1228–1252  | Attempted to enforce a requirement of celibacy for priests. Thrugotsen required the help of the Danish king to implement this rule.                                                                                                                                                              |
| Jens Grand            | 1284–1302  | Imprisoned by the Danish king, Erik Menved, between the years 1294–1295.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Esger Juul            | 1310–1325  | Fled to Rome for a period due to partaking in a rebellion against the Danish king, Erik Menved.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Jacob Kyrning         | 1355–1361  | Captured by the Swedish king, Magnus Eriksson, for a short period in 1358. Had conflicts with the pope in 1360.                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Peder Mickelsen Kruse | 1410–1418  | Captured by pirates while travelling on a ship to Schleswig in 1417.                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Hans Laxmand          | 1436–1443  | Political strife with the Danish king, Erik of Pomerania.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|               |           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tuve Nielsen  | 1443–1472 | Defended Lundagård when Karl Knutsson attacked Scania and besieged Lund.                                                                                                                                          |
| Jens Brostrup | 1472–1497 | Due to the pope promising the role of archbishop to one of his cardinals, Brostrup had to pay a large sum to acquire this position. He suffered from debt and a reduction in power during his time as archbishop. |

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