

The Bishop of Ribe's rural property in Lustrup

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In 1996, an archaeological trial excavation prior to an expansion of the Viking Centre in Lustrupholm led to the discovery of among other things a 54-m long, approximately N–S-oriented post-built house from the Middle Ages. The find gave rise to continued investigations, and in subsequent years the remains of a – by Danish standards – very extensive series of buildings were excavated. This can be identified from written sources as a farm site belonging to the Bishop of Ribe. The article presents the results of the archaeological investigations up to 2007. One or two large houses from the 1100s were succeeded around 1200 by a two-winged post-built complex which was expanded in later years with a brick-built house and a number of other large buildings apparently constructed according to a great variety of principles. The complex appears to have been demolished before the end of the thirteenth century.

Keywords: Ribe; Bishop; magnate farm; 12. century; 13. century; cavalry

– a magnate farm from the age of the Valdemars¹

Introduction

Lustrupholm is the name of a small manor house situated near the stream Haulund Bæk just 2 km SSE of Ribe.² The modest whitewashed buildings were erected around 1770 and today house the administrative functions of the Ribe Viking Centre, which was established there in 1992. Throughout the 1990s, in the areas south and west of the manor house, full-scale copies of houses from the Viking Age have been built on the basis of house sites excavated in and around Ribe.

Within this anachronistic framework, from 1998 until (so far) 2007, the Antiquarian Collection in Ribe has excavated extensive remains of a medieval magnate farm which is known, on the basis of written sources from the thirteenth century, to have belonged to the Bishop of Ribe (Figure 1, excavation picture). The complex of buildings, which grew large over time, probably had its origins in two largish farms from the 1100s which were succeeded around 1200 by a two-winged structure around which a number of impressive buildings were erected in subsequent decades, with a total area approaching 1400 m². This included a brick-built house with cellars. The useful life of the magnate farm was short, and there are no signs of activity after c. 1260.

So far only provisional descriptions of the farm and its history have been published.³ It is the aim of this article to present the – not uncomplicated – archaeological data from the excavations, so that future research on this and other magnate farms and their role in the society of the Middle

Ages can rest on firmer ground. But not all questions about the Bishop of Ribe's complex in Lustrup can be answered at present. Various earthworks, afforestation and recent building work have removed or concealed parts of the complex. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the excavated buildings make up the best Danish example of how a magnate farm belonging to the absolute elite of society could look.

We do not know the historical motives for the erection of the so-far unique complex, but against the background of the information about the farm in the written sources, linked with historical knowledge of the role of the bishops in among other areas the military organization of the country, it is proposed that the farm may have served – at least – two purposes: one as a nodal point in the administration and maintenance of the flow of duties, primarily paid in kind, to the bishop's seat; while a second purpose, equally important in the period, may have been as a supply station for the King's mounted troops, who were extremely active in the first part of the thirteenth century.

The History of the Excavations

When the Viking Centre was established in 1993 on the gently ascending terrain, south of the manor house, a copy of the "Viking Age" market place was reconstructed with a background of the excavations of the market place of the eighth and ninth centuries in Ribe. There was no preliminary investigation of the area. In 1998, plans emerged to expand the centre with a number of buildings located on the slightly higher-lying area to the south. Prior to this construction work, the Antiquarian Collection carried out a trial

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Figure 1. Past meets past. The excavations at Lustrupholm were conducted between Ribe Viking Centre's reconstructions of present-day ideas about the past. Here we see a corner of the market place in Ribe in the year 720 temporarily destroyed by the search for the northern part of the farm features from the twelfth century.

excavation and subsequent rescue excavations in 1998–99. These were followed by our own and foundation-supported research excavations in the years 2000, 2002, 2003, 2006 and 2007.⁴ The orientation and position of the excavation fields had to allow for the Viking Centre's use of the area,

which in conjunction with limited funding for the investigations was the reason for the apparently unsystematic location and delimitation of the excavation fields⁵ (Figure 2, campaign overview). The excavation method was the one most frequently used in Denmark, where the topsoil was cleared with excavating machinery until untouched subsoil appeared, after which the earthfast features were drawn and to a certain extent sectioned. As a minimum, the interpreted structures are sectioned and to a very great extent also sieved, and this has ensured a large body of artefact material. The non-threatened features were investigated carefully and an attempt was made to preserve the non-sectioned half of the features with careful covering. Specimens were only taken for scientific analysis to a limited extent. In all, an area of 10,178 m² was excavated.

Topography

The flat West Jutland landscape took on its rounded forms during the melting phases of the last ice age, when enormous masses of water as well as wind and weather levelled the contours of the landscape and created the wide heath plains and hill islands that make up the basic forms of the landscape today. In this flat context, Lustrupholm, as the name suggests ("holm" = islet), is a striking element in the form of a small headland that

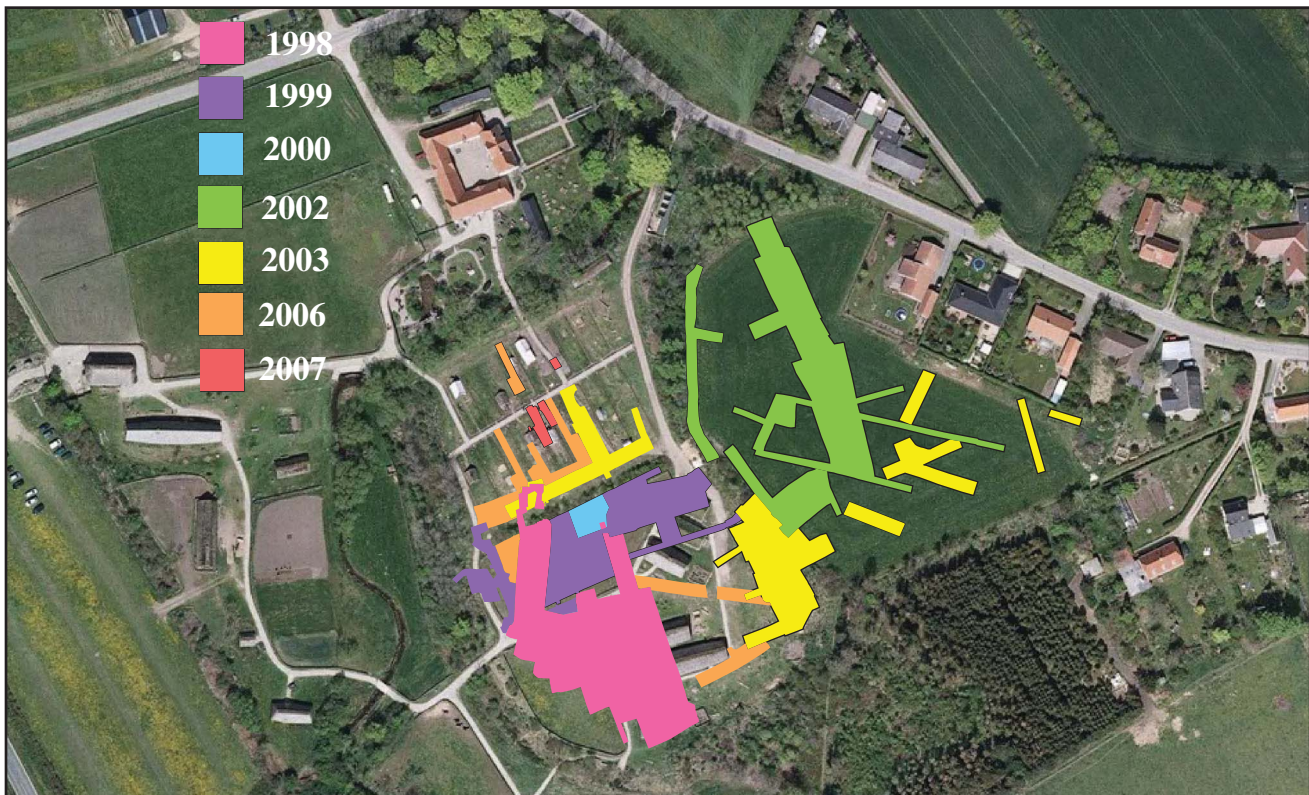


Figure 2. The present use of the area and limited funding have together produced this patchwork of excavation fields which shows the extent and sequence of the excavations.

stretches out into the lower-lying wetlands around Haulund Bæk, which surrounds the area to the north, south and west. Towards the east, the terrain continues evenly in the direction of the present-day village of Lustrup. The landscape surface on the point lies between 8 and 10 m above Danish Normal Zero (DNZ), and the subsoil at the place is fine yellowish sand entirely free of rock. The ploughsoil layer all over the area was very thin and only in a few places reached thicknesses over 40 cm. The ploughing depth seems always to have been modest, and the preservation conditions for the earthfast features must be described as good. In the sandy soil, organic material was much decomposed. Only animal bones were preserved in some cases in the medieval features.

The striking, naturally protected location in the landscape must have appeared attractive to both hunters and farmers through several periods of prehistory. Besides the features from the Middle Ages discussed here, Mesolithic flint from the Maglemose period has been found in the excavations, as well as traces of settlement from several periods of the Neolithic Funnel Beaker Culture and the Single Grave culture, a settlement and burial site from the Bronze Age and several farms from the period Late Roman Iron Age to Germanic Iron Age.⁶

From the point Lustrupholm, the area of which was formerly around 2 ha, there are good views towards the north, south and west, and it is worth noting that the southward road to Tønder runs only 500 m to the west, while the eastward highway over towards the old military road Hærvejen and to Haderslev runs less than 1 km to the north. Both roads must be supposed to have existed as early as c. 1200, and viewed in the context of Ribe's harbour potential the farm must be said, in the overall traffic perspective, to have been located at a central intersection (Figure 3, VSK outline map).⁷

Today, the transition between the point Lustrupholm and the meadows around Haulund Bæk runs down over a marked slope descending about 3 m. This feature is not original, but has emerged with sand-quarrying and the establishment of a meadow irrigation system at some time in the interval 1870–1937. With this excavation work the northwestern tip of the point, which, judging from older height contour lines, must have been very striking, disappeared. At this point in the 1860s, the city historian of Ribe, J. Kinch, could see “a thrown-up bank surrounded on two sides by Lustrup Bæk, and on which there undoubtedly stood a fixed tower in ancient times.”⁸ It is no longer possible to verify Kinch's observations, but

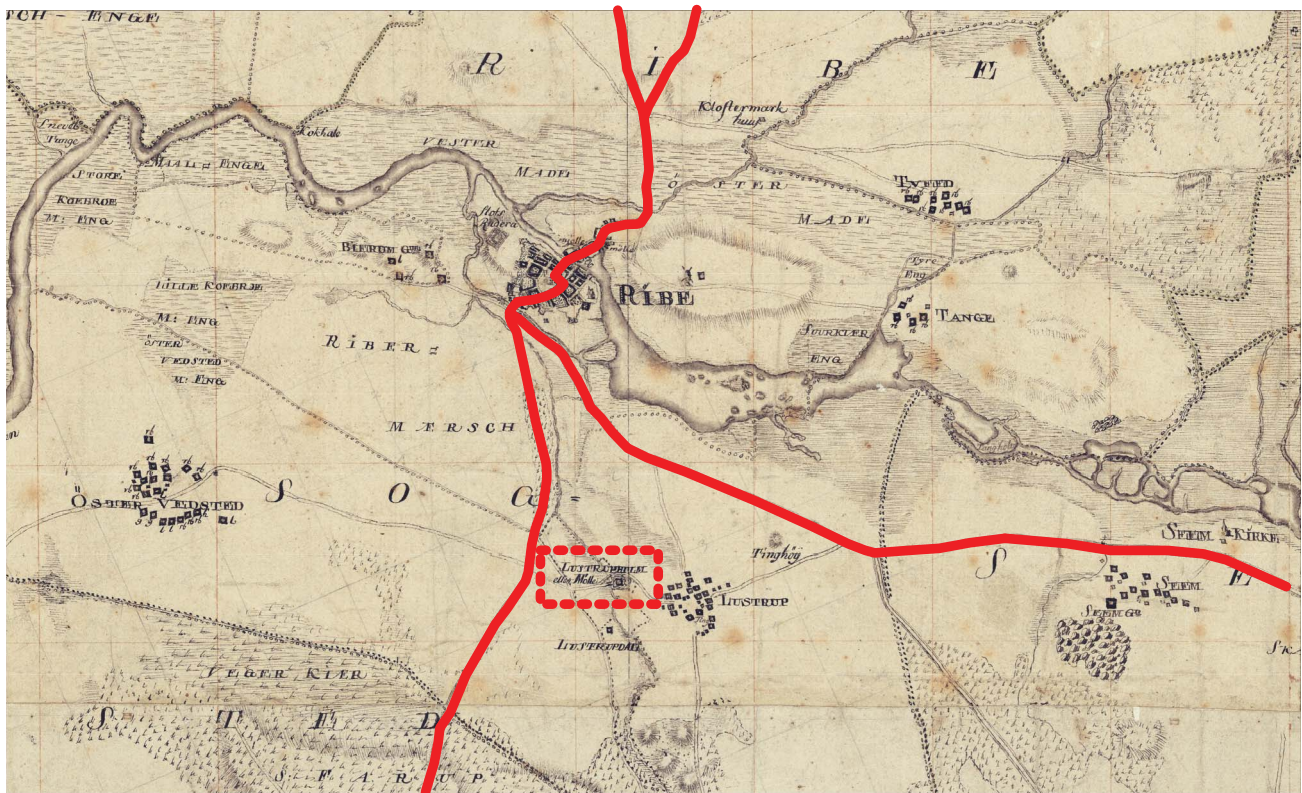


Figure 3. On the outline map from the Royal Danish Society of Sciences and Letters from 1794 the highways towards Ribe are marked here in red. The Bishop's farm lay close to both the southbound road to Tønder and the roads to the south east towards Hærvejen and Haderslev.



Figure 4. By combining the oldest preserved cadastral maps with the height contours from the Topographical Maps from surveys around 1850, one can reconstruct the earlier appearance of the landscape. As is evident, the northwestern part of the point was formerly a striking element, but the area west of the broken line has today been removed by sand-quarrying and a meadow irrigation system. On the point there was an artificial bank, known from a description in the 1860s. This may have been an earthen wall belonging to the northern farm. The placing of the excavation fields is marked in yellow. From the cadastral map of 1839 with additions by the author.

it is likely that there was a rampart belonging to the northern farm from the twelfth century (see below).

By studying the oldest preserved map of the area and earlier height contours, it is possible to reconstruct the appearance of the landscape around 1800. Although there may also have been changes earlier, it is far from unlikely that this picture of the landscape shows us a situation like the one when the buildings of the magnate farm occupied the site on the point at Lustrupholm (Figure 4, original landscape).

Written Accounts of the Bishop's Farm

Of the legal documents from the end of the eleventh century that were instrumental in the regulation of Danish society, and among other things stipulated the legal basis for taxation and property ownership, very few have survived until the present. Most of them are from the Late Middle Ages, and the number of sources declines rapidly the further back in time one goes. Given the paucity of sources, it is striking that today we have knowledge of a whole three sources from the 1200s that mention the Bishop of Ribe's interests in

Lustrup. In itself this is indirect evidence of the importance of the place – especially in view of its short functional lifetime.

In 1233, Bishop Gunner of Ribe confirmed a settlement between farmers from “Tønder” and the later-vanished Andaflyth Parish.⁹ In the agreement, which does not give further details of the original dispute, and whose wording is known from a transcript in *Ribe Oldemoder*, a number of provisions are stated regarding the distribution of the duties that the farmers were obliged to pay to the Bishop. The passage which mentions Lustrup translates as follows: “Each of them is also obliged to drive oat [duties], to wit oxen and bishop's gift, to Lustrup at his own expense.” What was in Lustrup is not described in detail, but it must be assumed to have been important that the farmers delivered their oat duties precisely there in Lustrup, more than 40 km away. Only the oat duties are required to be delivered in Lustrup, while the destination of the other duties is not specified. As early as 1233, the Bishop's seat had major possessions around Møgeltønder, and it is likely that already at that time there was a predecessor of the Bishop's Møgeltønderhus – the later Schackenborg – in the area.

In Nyborg on 14 March 1255, King Christoffer I and Bishop Esger of Ribe effected an exchange of property where the King took over the Bishop’s meadows in Lustrup, which damming for the King’s water mill in Ribe had left under water.¹⁰ In exchange, the Bishop was given Harboøre. The property exchange must give us an approximate date for the King’s mill and the creation of the dam, whose effects are still visible today upstream from Ribe. On the face of it, this seems to be a particularly good transaction for the Bishop. In King Valdemar’s Cadastre, Harboøre was an independent *skiben*, with an area today of c. 3000 ha, which must have been substantially decimated since 1255 by coastal erosion. The value of the meadows in Lustrup does not seem to have been proportionate to that of Harboøre, and one might ask whether one possible reason for the size of the compensation might be that the loss of the meadows also meant that the operating potential of the Bishop’s farm on Lustrupholm was thus considerably reduced. A second and perhaps more important possibility might be that the King, with the exchange of property, was ensuring the support of the Ribe Bishop in the power struggle with Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen which was to affect the political history of the country in the subsequent decades.¹¹

The last known mention of the Bishop’s estate in Lustrup is a letter signed by Bishop Esger at “Our residence in Tønder” on 8 September 1258, which is also known from a transcript in *Ribe Oldemoder*.¹² In the letter, the Bishop entered into an agreement with his tenants in “Tønder,” from which it is evident that the farmers are “obliged to bring the duties to our butler (*cellarius*) with their own wagons to Lustrup.” The mention of Lustrup shows that it still must have been important that some duties were delivered there, where there appears to have

been a butler who may have managed the Bishop’s household.

The present manor house of Lustrupholm seems to have arisen in the Late Middle Ages, but neither the written sources nor the archaeological finds suggest that there may have been continuity back to the Bishop’s farm.

Division into phases and dating

At Lustrupholm, the earthfast remains of a number of buildings and other features have been excavated, and are presented in this context divided into five phases covering the interval from the twelfth century until around 1260. The division into phases has the function of showing the dynamic development of the farm throughout its short useful lifetime, but it is not straightforward, since the number of stratigraphic relations between the medieval buildings is limited. In other cases, it could be documented that a given feature was later than prehistoric features, or it could be assigned to the medieval phases by virtue of the find material. But even when all the stratigraphical, dating and interpretational information is gathered, it is far from obvious how the expansion of the Bishop’s estate at Lustrupholm developed. The finer division into phases has therefore to a certain extent been done on the basis of the author’s ideas of how it may have happened, and which buildings must be supposed to have stood at the same time. But a number of factors are uncertain. The slender basis for the division into phases is used here in a feature matrix showing the registered stratigraphic relations (Figure 5, feature matrix). The more detailed basis for the assignment to phases and dating is described under the individual buildings.

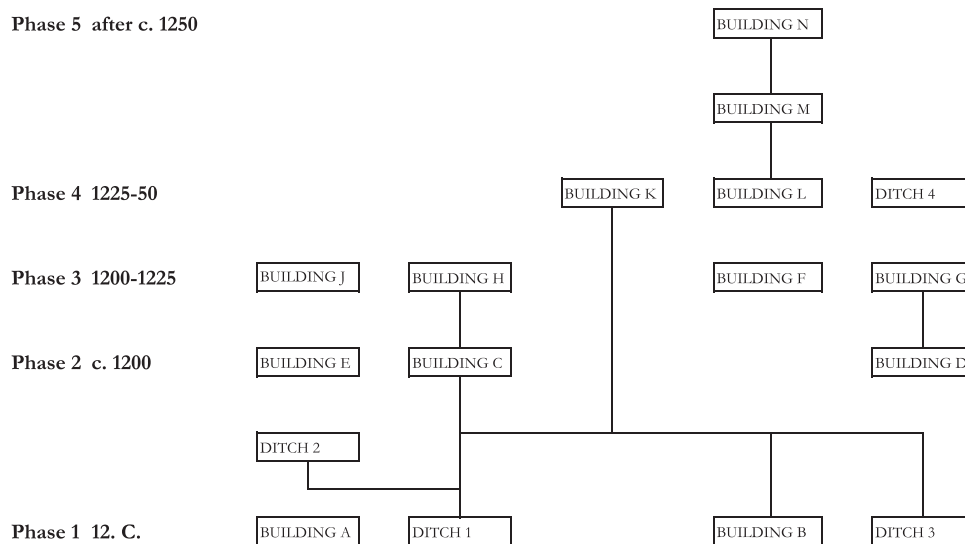


Figure 5. Feature matrix showing the division into phases and the stratigraphic relations on which it is based.

Phase 1: twelfth century

By all indications, in the oldest medieval phase two large farms were built on the point Lustrupholm (Figure 6, Phase 1). Both farms had curved long walls, but they were of different sizes. This might suggest that they were not built at the same time, and in that case the northernmost farm, Building A, must presumably be regarded as the first to be built. South of Building A, a collection of medieval post-holes may mean that there was yet another medieval building, but a belt of shelter planting prevents further investigations at present. This may have been a building that belonged together with Building A, as the course of the large Ditch 1 may also indicate. There is little possibility of determining with certainty whether one or two farms lay at Lustrupholm in the twelfth century. They are regarded here as two contemporary units on the basis of the convergence between Trenches 1 and 3, which seem to respect each other, but this may be coincidental. The northernmost farm looks like the most important one, both because of the size and number of the buildings and because of the surrounding ditch, but it is unfortunately also the one most destroyed today.

Building A

Sand-quarrying and terrain regulations have transformed the area where Building A lay, so much so that the possibility of its existence was not realized until after the excavations in 2006. These were followed up by limited surface stripping in 2007, which was not made easier by the fact that the Viking Centre's market place uses the area at present. The western end of the building has been destroyed by sand-quarrying, and only the bottom centimetres of the post-holes of the south wall were preserved. However, this was enough to establish that there has been a building with curved long walls, whose width in the middle had exceeded 9 m. The building does not seem to have had projections; it consisted of two rows of roof-bearing wall post-holes. In these two post-holes were found; one of the rhenish Paffrath type and the other of local grey-fired ware. From the east gable a ditch started, Ditch 2, which is discussed below. Buildings with curved long walls consisting of just two rows of roof-bearing wall posts are well known in the archaeological material. They are known from Vorbasse and a number of other sites and are dated in general to the eleventh/twelfth centuries.



Figure 6. Phase 1. Buildings and ditches belonging to Phase 1 of the medieval settlement from the twelfth century. Building A has two circular post symbols against the background of an accurate sketch made during the digging of a pit-house at the Viking Centre market place in 1993.

Ditch 1

A substantial ditch between 2.3 and 3 m wide in the excavation surface. Its curved course cut off Building A and the northwestern part of Lustrupholm from the open countryside towards the east. Its depth was up to 1 m below the excavation surface. Towards the east there was a 4-m wide opening approximately opposite Building A. There were no traces of any rampart, but this is not surprising, since the subsequent construction work around 1200 must already have removed most of it. There were no traces of support for the sides of the ditch, which had collapsed in and partly filled the ditch before the formation of visible growth zones or humus layers.

The course and size of the ditch suggest very strongly that it was conceived as a fortification feature, perhaps dug together with the possible rampart on the northwestern corner of the point during the civil wars of the 1100s. The quick filling of the ditch suggests a short useful life. The Chronicle of the Bishop of Ribe, written around 1230, says of Bishop Helias (1142–62) that “for his protection he built many fortified places, of which there are still traces on the episcopal estates.”¹³ Perhaps Building A was one of these?

Ditch 2

An E-W-oriented ditch, whose width in the excavation surface varied between 0.6 and 1.2 m. It has been assigned to Phase 1, since it seems to start at the gable of Building A, and is interesting because it cuts through the fill layers of Ditch 1, which must thus already have been wholly or partially filled in when Ditch 2 was dug. The function of Ditch 2 is unknown.

Building B

Building B was excavated in its entirety, and was a well preserved, approximately E–W-oriented, post-built long-house with roof-bearing posts placed in the slightly curving long walls (Figure 7, Building B). The length of the building was 27 m, and the span between the long walls was 5.5 m at the gables, while the span at the middle of the building was approximately 7.2 m. At the eastern end the building was equipped on both sides with a 2.2-m wide projection that took the overall width of the building up over 10 m. The western end of the building seems to have constituted an independent section of the structure, which was open to both north and south. A function as a wagon shelter or threshing floor is a possibility.

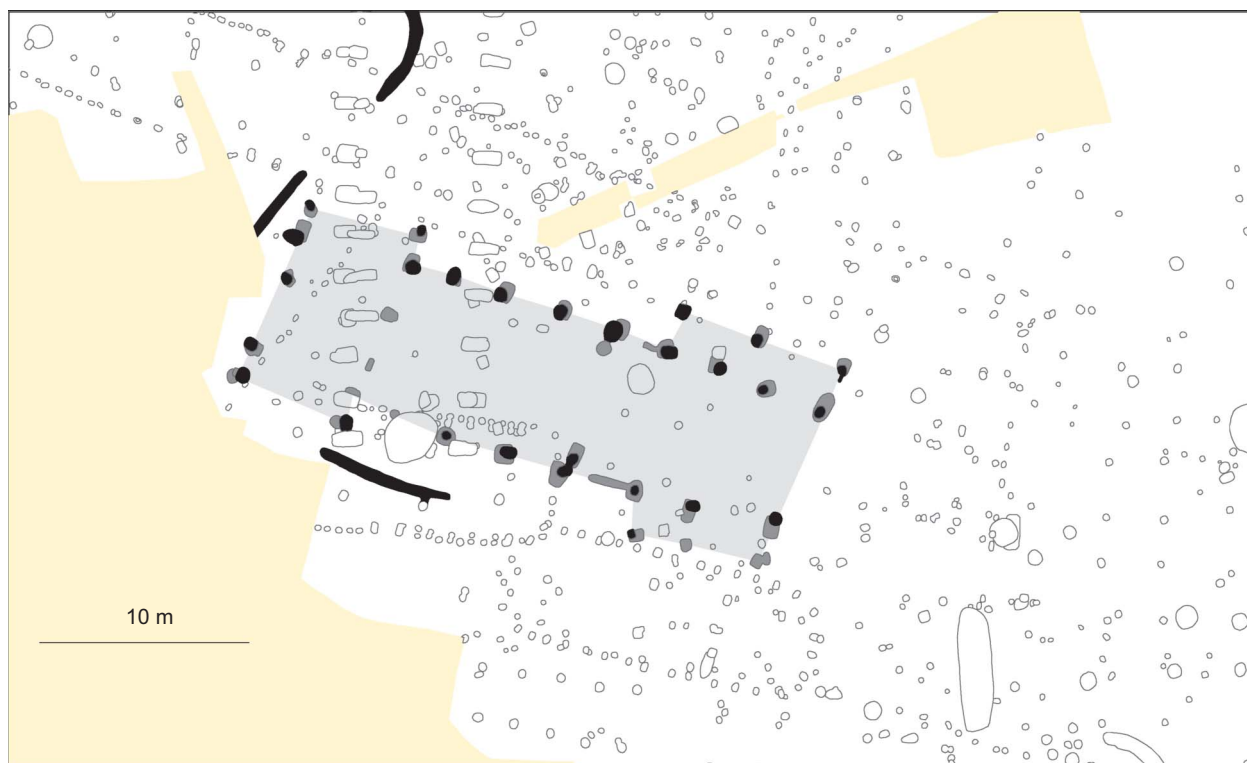


Figure 7. Building B was a 27-m long post-built house with slightly curving long walls. At the eastern end both walls had projections, while the western end of the building is occupied by a building section whose function has not been clarified. The grey shows Phase 1 of the building, while the black post-holes show Phase 2.

In the way the posts were set, a number of differences could be seen which may reflect a further partitioning. In the central segment, the posts were set in pairs opposite one another, forming four bays with post-intervals between 2 and 3 m. The pairwise rhythm ended towards the east with a set of posts standing in the interior of the building close to the walls. East of these the posts did not stand opposite one another. Against this background, it is possible that Building B was divided into three main sections. No remains of fireplaces or other features definitely associated with Building B were found in the interior of the building.

The find material from Building B is scanty. It consists of 19 body sherds from local grey-fired globular pots, where the small body sherds cannot be dated more precisely than the interval c. 1000–1300.

Building B, with its dimensions, the curved long walls, the division into three sections, and especially the distinctive western section, is a building type of which excavations over the past 25 years have produced a number of examples. A close parallel is Building C from Vilslev, which was not fully exposed when Stig Jensen published the provisional results in 1987.¹⁴ The similarity between the building from Vilslev and Lustrup is so great that they can reasonably be viewed as built according to the same template. The published buildings from Vilslev were regarded by Stig Jensen as contemporary and from the eleventh century, but against this one can argue that overlapping house remains and several buildings with straight long walls were also found at the site.¹⁵ Against this background it is more reasonable to view the Vilslev site as in several phases and perhaps extending all the way into the 1200s. Building CLXXII from Østergaard, only about 30 km east of Ribe, is best known for the find of two particularly prestigious gold and silver brooches in one of the post-holes of the building. This has been dated to the 1100s and fits into a sequence of similar buildings.¹⁶

Buildings like Building B from Lustrupholm, but with straight long walls, are also known. The best known was excavated in 1982 at Nr. Farup near Ribe and has been dated to the second half of the 1100s.¹⁷ From excavations in the city of Ribe, we know post-built houses with straight long walls and projections. They have likewise been dated to the second half of the 1100s on the basis of the dendrochronology of related wells and a large body of find material.¹⁸ There is thus much to indicate that buildings with straight long walls, projections and the special gate/barn space at one end were already known in the second half of the 1100s, but it is still too early to say whether this also means that the corresponding buildings with curved long walls are all older, or whether there may have been a long period when the two construction types existed side by side.

Despite these reservations, the erection of Building B must be dated to the 1100s and probably to the time before rather than after 1150.

Ditch 3

This is an overall designation for a total of three smaller ditches whose width in the excavation surface did not exceed 1 m. The course of the ditches, but also the openings in between them, seem to have respected Building B. Parts of the ditch are stratigraphically younger than the settlement traces from the Iron Age and the long Building K. Its function cannot be specified in more detail.

Phase 2: around 1200

In Phase 2, a number of buildings were erected which, particularly in view of their later successors, can be interpreted as the oldest phase of the Bishop of Ribe's farm in Lustrup. From the beginning the residence seem to have consisted of two large post-built houses and a four-post structure; the latter has been proposed against the background of a find configuration interpreted as the remains of a small forge (Figure 8, Phase 2).

Building C

Building C was a poorly preserved E–W-oriented long-house consisting of two parallel rows of post-holes. The width was 7.8 m, but the length is not known, since the later brick building, Building H, had removed part of the southern wall; but there may still be posts from the north wall of the building beneath the unexcavated shelter planting. The north wall could be followed over 18.3 m.

Finds only emerged from one post-hole belonging to Building C; in this a piece of brick was found as well as two grey-fired side sherds from globular pots and two pipe-clay sherds of the material type Green Rouen, probably from a jug imported from the northern French region.¹⁹

How Building C was constructed above the ground we cannot say with certainty, but the posts do not form sets across the building, and we must probably imagine that the wall posts had a head or wall plate on which the roof structure rested. Whether this actually took the form of a so-called "head" where anchoring beams brace the structure crosswise, or a roof where the rafters and a tie-beam formed a fixed triangle cannot be determined.²⁰ The roof construction and lower part may have made up two separate sections of the building, which may be a reasonable assumption inasmuch as the lifetime of the roof construction must be expected to have exceeded that of the earth-fast posts in the lower part.

Despite the incomplete preservation, there is little doubt that Building C must be regarded as a predecessor of Building F.

Building D

This is a relatively poorly preserved NNW–SSE-oriented post-built longhouse with projections on the western side



Figure 8. Phase 2. Appearance of the farm c. 1200. The complex consisted of two 8 m wide post-built houses and a probable four-post feature, Building E.

throughout the length of the building. The northern part of the west wall was excavated in the 1999 season, while the other parts of the building were identified and excavated in 2003. The full width of the building was 7.9 m, of which the projection took up 1.2 m. The length of the building was 27.6 m. No finds emerged from the post-holes.

Inside the building, a number of pits were found which probably belonged to Building D. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that in the next, almost identical Building G, pits were found similarly placed in the building. In all three cases, these were rectangular pits with almost vertical sides and a flat bottom which was dug down deeper than the posts of the building. There was no trace of wooden constructions or other features in the pits, but the sides must have been supported in some way – otherwise they would have collapsed. In all three, a complicated but structurally identical layer sequence was registered; it had arisen because organic fill material in the pits had collapsed and pulled the layers above down into the pit. The succession of the layers in the pits could thus tell us about the appearance and character of the otherwise ploughed-away surfaces inside the buildings. The majority of these layers seem to have belonged to the succeeding Building G and are described there. The function of the pits cannot be more specifically established, but the fact that similar pits were positioned in the same way in the

succeeding Building G shows that it is more likely to have been a deliberate rather than a random feature.

Building E

A so-called four-post construction forming a rectangle of 5×3.7 m situated approximately 30 m SW of Building C. In the southeastern post-hole, an iron nail and a forge-stone were found – the latter a waste product from forging, part of the clay slab that protected the bellows from the heat of the forge. Usually four-post features are described as hay barns, but the find material included a small amount of slag and forge-stones, concentrated around the two demonstrated four-post features, Buildings E and J.²¹

Phase 3: first quarter of the thirteenth century

In Phase 3, the two oldest buildings on the Bishop's property were rebuilt. Building C was succeeded by the equally wide Building F, displaced 18 m to the east. This may have been because the erection of the brick structure Building H was also planned at this time. Building D was also replaced by the apparently identical Building G, which partly overlaps the older site (Figure 9, Phase 3).

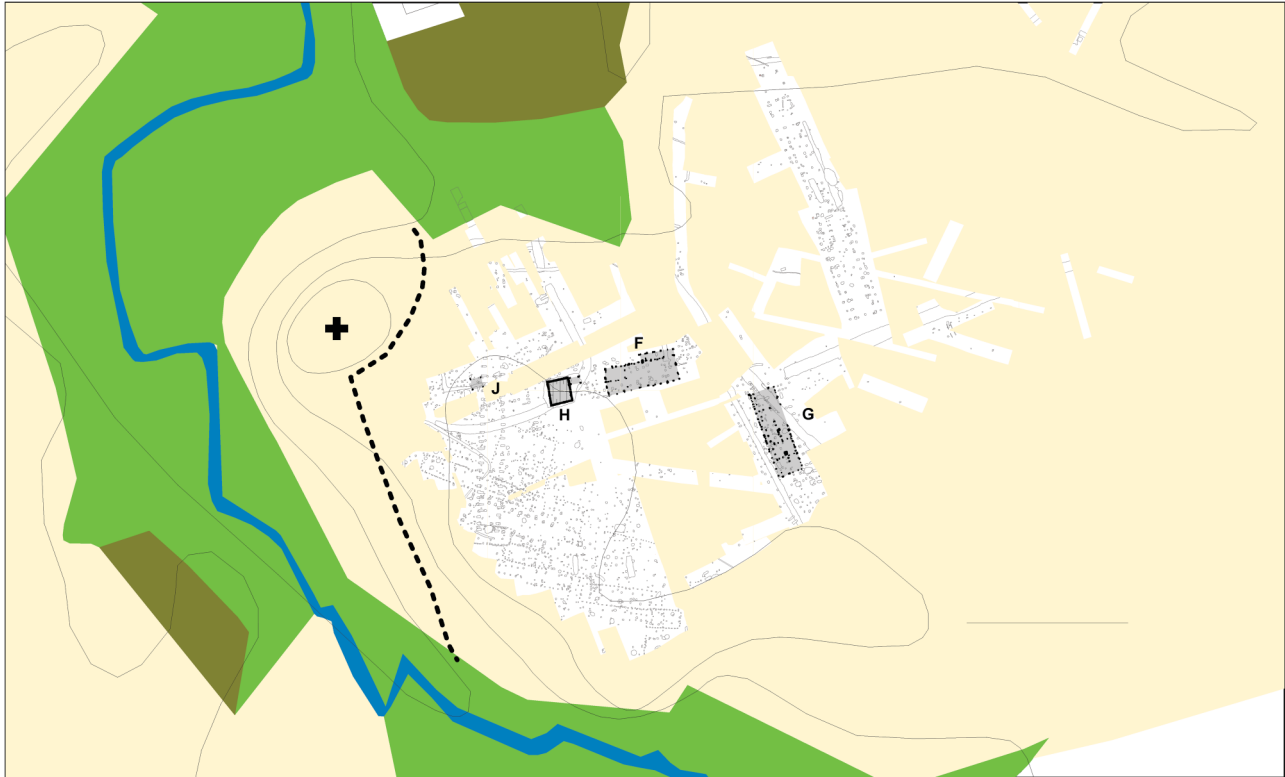


Figure 9. Phase 3. First quarter of the 1200s. The oldest set of buildings at the farm are replaced by two new ones, and the prestigious brick house with the wood-built stairwell is erected. To this phase a four-post feature probably also belongs.

Building F

E–W-oriented longhouse whose post-holes mark a well-defined ground plan where the placing of the individual post-holes was strikingly unsystematical. This feature recurs in its predecessor, Building C, but contrasts with the precision of the placing and orientation of the post-holes in the other wing of the complex, Buildings C and F.

Building F is 22 m long and 7.8 m wide (Figure 10, Building F). Along the eastern half of the north wall the building was equipped with a projection that brought the overall width up to 9.9 m.

The find material from the post-holes consists of brick, small iron fragments and 30 potsherds, 27 of which come from local grey-fired globular pots, while one is of the rhenish Paffrath ware type, one of rhenish proto-stoneware and the last is an imported pipe-clay sherd with peeling glaze which cannot be identified in more detail.

In the interior of the building, a number of post-holes have been interpreted as traces of partition walls, but in the rest of the building, a whole row of medieval post-holes was found which has not been specifically interpreted. Besides the post-holes, no other dug-down elements could be found that could be associated with Building F. The function of the building cannot be identified, but its

closeness to the brick Building H makes it most likely that Building F was used as a residence.

The unsystematic placing of the posts suggests that the wall posts held up a head or wall plate on which the roof construction rested. The fact that the building is of the same width as its predecessor might indicate that the roof construction was re-used from the latter? During the lifetime of the building, there may have been a number of repairs, but they seem to have been effected by digging down new posts in the wall line rather than complete replacement.

Building G and related structures

Building G is a well-preserved NNW–SSE-oriented post-built building with projections on the west side along its whole length (Figure 11, Building G). It is the best preserved post-built house site of the excavations, partly because the building had burned down. Another reason for the good state of preservation was that most of the house site was located beneath the dike that formed the boundary between the property associations Lustrupholm and Lustrup. Prior to the establishment of the earth wall, there had been a phase when the area was ploughed, which was discernible over the fire place from clearly charcoal-filled plough traces in the original brownish-grey soil layer.

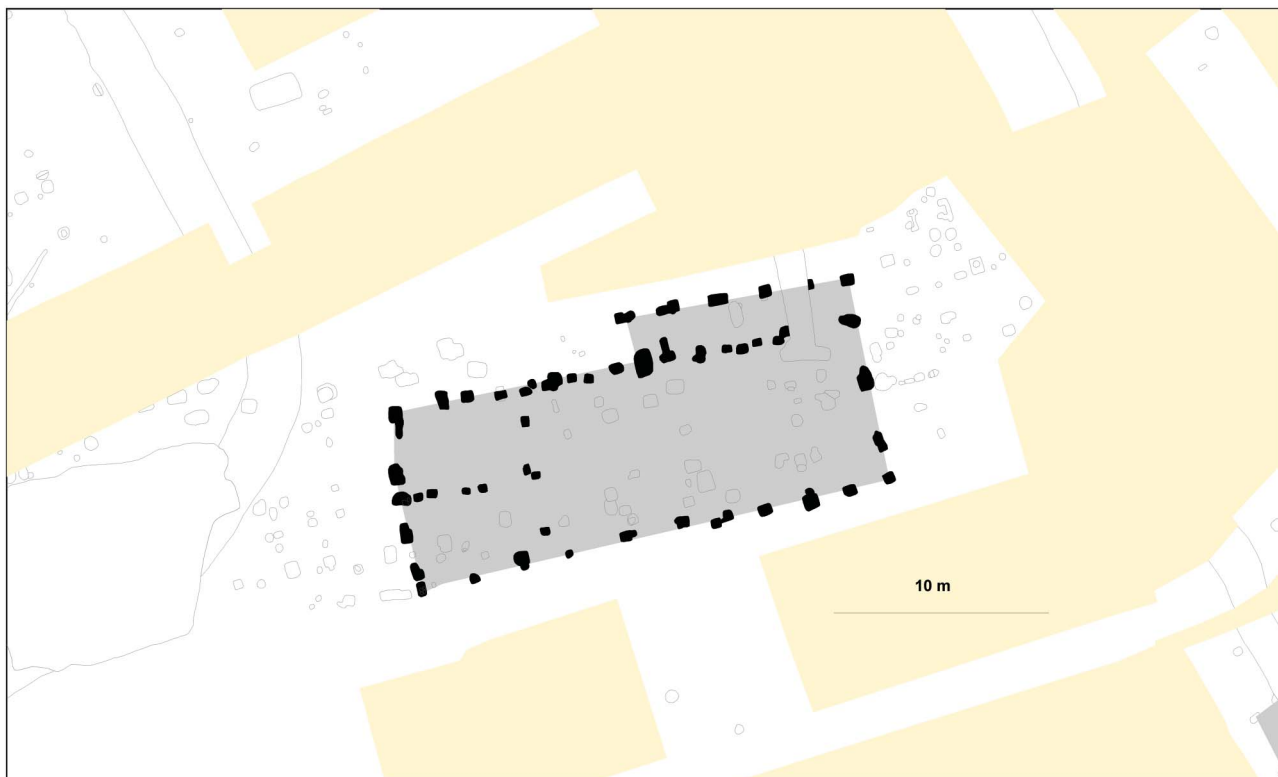


Figure 10. Building F was a very clear but atypical medieval house site where the gables are also marked by large posts. The individual posts had been placed with a striking lack of precision which recurs in its predecessor, Building C, but which differs clearly from the other buildings at the site.

The ploughing had removed all traces of surfaces in and around the building. The fire was the reason why it was possible during the excavation to observe clear charcoal-filled post traces in most of the building's post-holes. In these, large quantities of fired mud-wall were found. The charcoal is thought to have ended up in the traces from the posts after the rotting-away of the buried part of the burnt-down posts. The post traces provided an unusually precise snapshot of the way the posts had been set in the building.

Building G seems to have been an exact copy of its predecessor, Building D, and the similarities are so striking (cf. the pits mentioned above) that there must have been a template or survey behind it. The similarities must also mean that the erection of the younger Building G came immediately after the demolition of the older Building D, and as has also been proposed for Building C/E the roof construction from Building D may have been re-used in Building G.

The length is 27.4 m and the width is 8.0 m, with the projection taking up 1.2 m. Post-holes and traces mark the placing of three transverse partition walls that divided up the interior of the building, but possibly not the projection, into four rooms. The larger central room and the southern room may have been further subdivided by posts standing

on the central axis of the room. At the partition wall between the two middle rooms, a clearly heat-affected section was found that marks the position of a fireplace. That the fireplace is by a partition wall suggests that there had been a secondary stove fed from another room.²²

From the building come several thousand fragments of fired mud-wall with impressions of straw on the back. Precisely this mud-wall type is a well-known find group from the Ribe of the 1100s and 1200s, and it must have been in general use in house-building. The distribution over the whole site of Building G shows that it was used all over the building (Figure 12, mud-wall).

The other find material from the building consists of pottery and a small quantity of brick. From the fire layer come half a horseshoe and an iron lug from a cauldron. Besides these, a few small lumps of melted lead were found.

How the house was constructed above ground we cannot say with certainty. There is a tendency for wall posts to form pairs across the house, but it is not consistent, and it is equally important that the central partition wall of the house with its secondary stove was not located at a pair of posts. This suggests rather that the pairs of posts were not joined by transverse tie-beams but bore a longitudinal wall plate on which the roof construction,



Figure 11. Thanks to very clear post traces (marked in black), the burnt-out Building G provided a precise “snapshot” of the positions of the posts in the building, which was divided into four rooms and had projections on the west side. Inside the house, as in its predecessor, a number of pits were found whose function is not known. On the eastern side of the house towards the north, one can see a four-post feature and towards the south the post-holes from the possible post-borne plank road. The arrow inside the house marks the position of a fireplace, while the arrow beneath the plank road marks the position of the pit with the crushed pottery and the coins.



Figure 12. On the thousands of burnt mud-wall fragments from Building G impressions of straw are the only traces of what they had been applied to. In the panels such straw mats must have been mounted, but how they were attached to the wooden skeleton of the building we do not know. The actual clay layer is usually less than 1 cm thick.

which may have been re-used from the preceding building, rested.

As in its predecessor, Building D, in Building G too there were a number of rectangular pits approximately in the middle of the building. Thanks to the pits in the preceding Building D, remains of Building G’s floors were preserved. This was so because the fill in the older set of pits had collapsed and had drawn the layer above down with it and beneath the depth of the plough (Figure 13, cross-section of pit with fine layering). The fill in the older set of pits was all sealed in by a fire layer with mud-wall material, and beneath this in all three pits remains of mortar flooring were found as well as laid-out layers of heath turf.

The secondary stove and the floor-layer remains show that the house was furnished as a dwelling – perhaps for the butler mentioned in 1258, who was probably responsible for everyday operations?

Constructions associated with Building G: Abreast of the north end of the east wall of the building there was a four-post feature consisting of four small post-holes forming a rectangle 1 × 1.5 m. The interpretation is uncertain.



Figure 13. Section of the pit A345, which formed part of Building D. Originally the pit was filled with an organic layer that has wholly decomposed and now consists only of the brown streak at the bottom. In the process, the overlying floor layers, which belong to Building G, were pulled down under the plough layer and form the only preserved floor layer from Building G. There are traces of both a mortar floor and a layer of laid-out heath turf.

Along the east side of Building G and further south, a number of large post pairs were found, recalling the post-borne plank roads which in the first half of the 1200s formed continuous paving on most of the streets of Ribe. Such posts had lengthwise sills on which the plank floor had been nailed.²³ This may also have been the case here. Beneath this plank road, the possibly recovered coin hoard mentioned below was found (Figure 22).

Building H

In the 1999 field, a large irregular fill layer approximately 9×12 m was registered. In the two southernmost corners the sections were dug, and in both places intact masonry emerged. In the subsequent excavation of the complex in 2000, the wall remains proved to come from a large brick structure. The uncovering and registration of the ruin was done carefully. No intact masonry was removed, and in the excavation of the room the digging at first only went down to the top of the youngest surface-covering floor layer; a sand layer that was probably the underlay for a surface-covering cobblestone layer, Floor 3. After this, 30% of the underlying floor layer was excavated (Figure 14 with plan of investigated areas in the cellar plus the stairwell). All fill layers from the ruin were sieved.

The original structure: The excavated wall remains form a cellar whose outside dimensions were 7.9 m N-S \times 7.4 m E-W. The walls stood on a foundation of fieldstones and were built of brick in monk bond set in shell-tempered mortar.²⁴ In terms of masonry technique,

this was a cofferwork wall where the core consisted of alternate layers of medieval brick fragments as well as some tuff and a few pebbles. The thickness of the wall varied between 65 and 75 cm, and the inner dimensions were 5.9 m E-W \times 6.6 m N-S – approximately 39 m².

At the northern end of the eastern wall the remains of a door opening were found. This was an outwardly bevelled opening whose width, measured in the outer alignment, had been 1.4 m. Inside, the opening was surrounded by half-brick filleting which at some later juncture had been cut way in the preserved north side of the door opening. In the sixth course of the cut-away filleting a now-decomposed piece of wood had been mounted, in which the lower of the door pintles had been mounted. It had thus been a left-hand door and opened into the room, as was also shown by the shape of the youngest wall bench. In the door opening a granite ashlar had been laid as a threshold stone. The first stage of the laying of the oldest Floor 1 had been a 10–12 cm thick layer of marine clay, which must have functioned as damp proofing, and over this a mortar floor just 1 cm thick was poured, which, probably thanks to the frost-free depth, had preserved its hardness. The mortar floor was 1.9 m beneath the surface at that time.

On this floor, round along all four walls, a one-brick wide wall bench was laid; at the door opening it functioned as the bottom step of the stairs into the room. The wall bench was later removed and was only evident from a few remains and the impression in the mortar floor. The construction ended with the pouring of a wearing course on the floor consisting of mortar tempered with crushed brick, making the floor appear in a warm red colour – almost like a tennis court. In the mortar on the floor gutters were made, a few centimetres wide and deep, which, judging from the excavated section, seem to have been N-S oriented. Perhaps they led to an unexcavated sump? On this floor a thin layer of dirt was found, but no finds emerged from the excavated parts of the layer.

Later rebuildings: Before the laying of Floor 2 of the cellar, the wall benches along all four walls were removed. Then, first, an underlay of grey marine clay was laid, followed by a layer of crushed brick and mortar, and finally a layer of mortar which, like the oldest floor, had preserved its hard surface. On this floor, but only along the north wall, a one-brick wide, three-course high wall bench was built, which was fully preserved. Towards the east, where the door opened, the wall bench was built up of diagonally laid stretchers – probably so as not to be in the way of the door (Figure 15, wall bench behind the door). In the first layer on Floor 2 or the overlay a coin was found that had been minted in the reign of Valdemar II, and which was in circulation in the time before 1234.²⁵

Floor 3 is marked by a sand layer up to 20 cm thick. In this the remains of an otherwise removed cobblestone covering were found. The youngest registered floor of

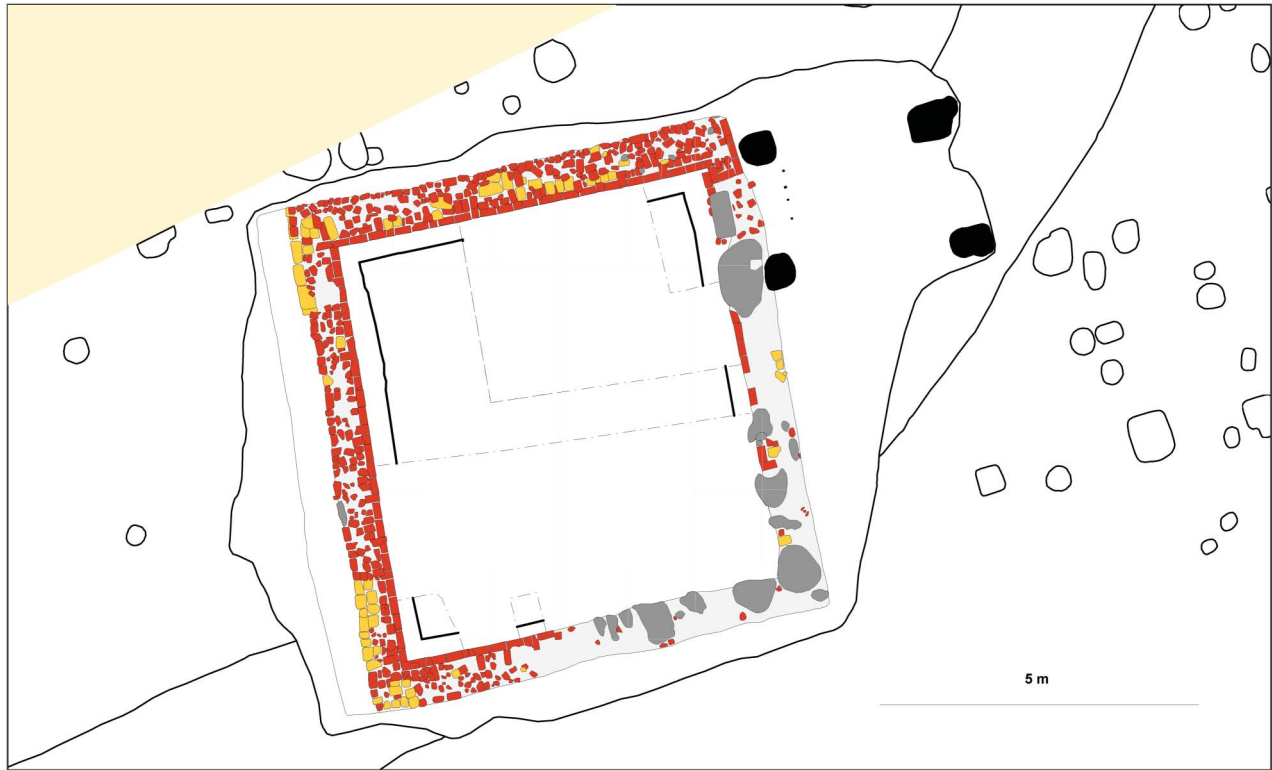


Figure 14. The registered wall remains from the cellar beneath Building H. Tuff stone is marked in brown, while fieldstones are grey. At the north end of the east wall, one can see remains of the bevelled door and the stone threshold. Outside this we see the four massive post-holes from the wood-built stairwell and, in a row, the four iron nails that were part of the wholly decomposed stairs down to the cellar. The investigated areas of the floor layers are marked, and a line marks the course of the oldest wall bench.



Figure 15. The northwestern corner of the cellar seen from the southwest. The door jamb and the younger wall bench can be seen. Where the door opened, the bricks are set diagonally, and the primary function of the wall bench was probably to conceal and seal in front of projecting foundation stones.

the cellar, Floor 4, was represented by a 6- to 10-cm-thick heterogeneous/stirred-up marine clay layer, above which a decomposition layer was found. In the marine clay layer, a

coin minted in Ribe during King Abel's brief reign in 1250–52 was found.²⁶ (Figure 16, digitalized profile w. floor layer)

The wood-built stairwell: Just outside the cellar entrance a largish fill layer was found which concealed several large post-holes, once the basis of a large, wood-built stairwell with estimated outside dimensions of 3.4 m E–W × 2.45 m N–S. Within this structure a wooden stairway down to the cellar had been placed. The stairwell itself was borne by four particularly substantial posts. The two eastern ones had been dug 1.3 m down under the ground surface while the two western ones had been dug a whole 2.2 m down. We cannot say with certainty how the actual staircase up to the upper floor was designed, but the spacious stairwell suggests several possibilities. The most likely is a stairway with straight fliers just 2 m wide, which even at a gradient of less than 45° would end more than 3 m up the wall. If we reconstruct the stairs like this, the building must have had at least two floors above the cellar. There were no certain traces of any replacements of the stairwell posts.

Type, dating and function of the building: There are unfortunately few possibilities for clarifying how the building looked above ground level. Its demolition –

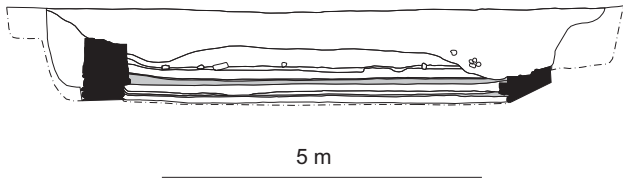


Figure 16. Section through the cellar ruin with floor and fill layer. The intact mortar floors, Floors 1 and 2 are marked in grey.

besides the preserved wall remains – had only left behind small amounts of rubble that cannot be used to provide much information on the fixtures of the building, but comparison with the known secular brick buildings around 1200 in northwestern Europe makes it seem likely that the upper floors of the building were also brick-built.²⁷ There were neither moulded nor ribbed bricks in the ruin, nor were there demolition layers. Since brick was clearly preferred in the preserved interior facades, there can be little doubt that the exterior of the building also appeared as a brick construction. From the excavations come two limestone fragments with traces of dressing, one of which is equipped with a bevelled edge. These are stray finds, but it is likely that they were used as decorative details around windows or doors. The ruin's only preserved stylistic feature was the remains of the bevelled cellar door. Openings of this type are well known in Romanesque buildings, and undoubtedly the door opening had a round-arched covering. In the fill layer of the cellar one fragment of a glazed pantile was found. This is the only find of a tile in the excavations which probably comes from the roofing of the brick house, which very likely had a pitched roof.²⁸ Beyond this the building must have had a door into the ground floor and a door into the upper floor. All three floors must have had lights, the building must be supposed to have had heating facilities – presumably brick fireplaces with a chimney in one of the gables.

The two coins from the floor layers show that the building must have been erected some time before 1234, and the first quarter of the 1200s is proposed here. There is nothing to indicate that the building survived the demolition of the other features, and the thorough demolition is unlikely to have taken place much later than 1260. It is notable that during its short functional lifetime at least three considerable rebuildings took place in the cellar room. The limited archaeological investigations of the floor layers could not answer the question of the function of the building, but the find of two coins might suggest some degree of monetary activity in the cellar of the rooms above. There may have been wooden buildings up against the not fully uncovered north side of the brick house.

The actual building type – a quadratic brick house in several floors built in the twelfth to thirteenth century – is now known from a number of archaeological investigations all over the country as well as many foreign

parallels. Such brick buildings seem to have been a frequently occurring element on the properties of the aristocracy, whether they were located in the countryside or in town.²⁹ Similar buildings are now familiar from large parts of the northwestern European area, where they were built until sometime in the thirteenth century.³⁰

The brick house at Lustrupholm would have been the prestigious centre of the complex, and its red walls and glazed roof would have been elevated over the landscape and would have been visible to travellers along both of the town's southern exit roads towards Tønder and Haderslev/Schleswig, as a visible sign of the Bishop's wealth and power. The brick house must be described as a thoroughly civilian structure without fortification features. Any attacker would have been able to burn out the stairwell and smoke the occupants out without great problems.

Building J

This is a so-called four-post structure forming a square with side lengths of 3.3 m. In the post-holes, grey-fired sherds from globular pots have been found, as well as two brick fragments. The ascription to Phase 3 is uncertain, but was chosen on the basis of the orientation, which matches that of Buildings C, F and H. The scattering of forge refuse may indicate that Building J was also a small forge.

Phase 4: second half of the thirteenth century

In Phase 4 the building stock at the Bishop's property was greatly expanded. The order of the expansion is uncertain, but here it is considered most likely that Building K was built before Buildings L and M, so for a period the complex had the appearance of a three-winged unit open to the south. The new buildings have been interpreted as barns or animal sheds (Figure 17, Phase 4).

Building K

The Bishop's property was expanded with the extremely long N–S-oriented Building K, after the arrival of which the complex was given an open, three-winged structure. Beneath the northern end of Building K, older features containing pottery and bones from after about 1200 were found, showing that the area around the northern end of the building was used as a refuse dump before the erection of Building K.

Building K measured 54 m in length, and its width can be estimated as 6.2 m, resulting in a ground area of 335 m². The building consisted of two parallel rows of posts that did not stand in pairs. There were no traces of openings in the walls, interior divisions or fixtures. At the south gable, a 1-m deep medieval pit was found; its placing does not preclude the possibility that it was dug while the building was standing, but its function could not

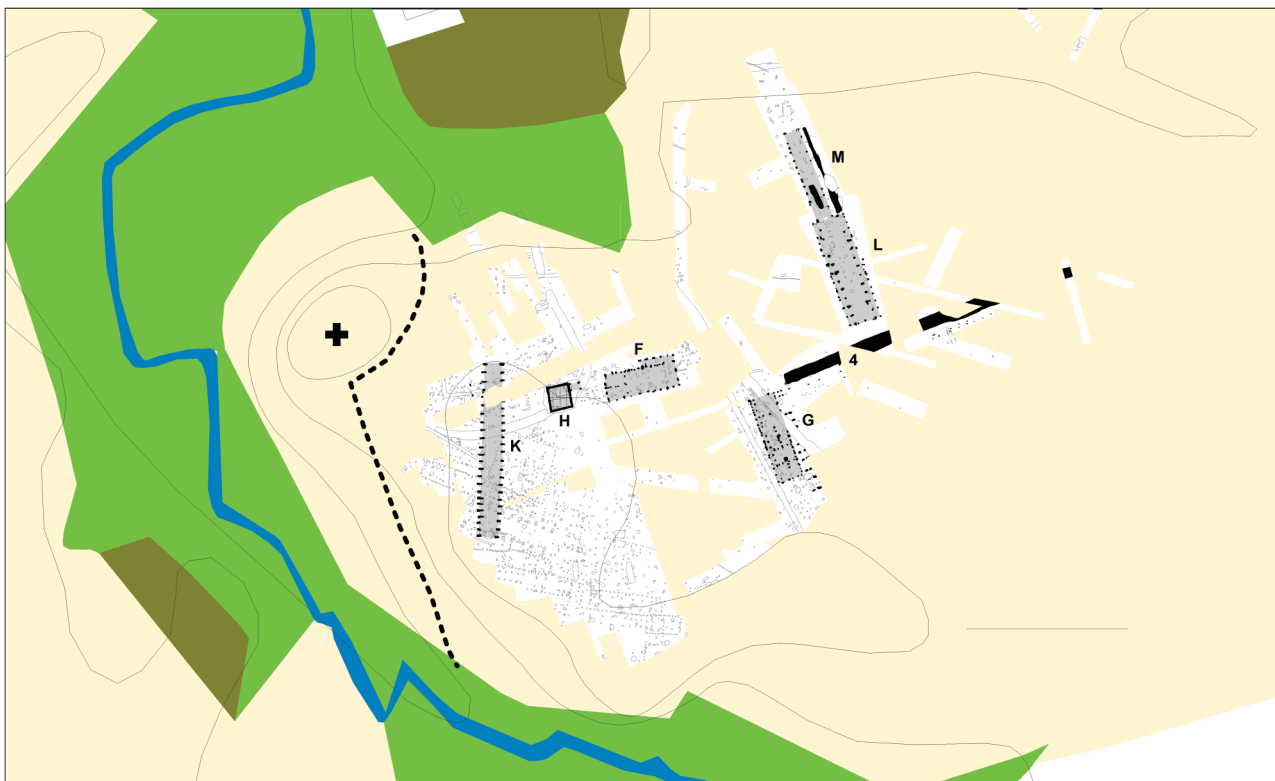


Figure 17. Phase 4. Second quarter of the 1200s. The complex is expanded with animal shed and barn buildings as well as the poker-straight Ditch 4.

be determined. The great bulk of the important find material from the post-hole fill seems to come from refuse dating before the house was built.

The size of the building points towards a use as a barn and/or animal shed. The non-uniform number of posts in the walls suggests that over the posts there had been a wall plate that bore the roof construction. This is likely to have been a mud-walled, single-winged building.

Building L

By virtue of its great width and accurate post positioning Building L was the most impressive house site of the excavations (Figure 18). The N–S-oriented building measured 33.7×10.1 m and covered a ground area of 339 m^2 – the same area as Building K occupied. Building L's ground plan was three-winged, and the roof-bearing posts formed sets across the building throughout its length. Towards the north, however, one post was missing in the western and eastern row, respectively; perhaps they had not been dug as deeply as the others. The span between the roof-bearing posts was 6.7 m and the distance between bays was 2.8 m. The building was equipped with a 1.7-m wide projection along both walls throughout its length. The orientation is exactly parallel to that of Building G – a

similarity that suggests that the two buildings stood at the same time.

The find material consisted of a few animal bones, a little mud-wall material and bricks as well as 17 potsherds. At the northern end of one projection a small pit was found that contained parts of the skull of a young cow. This was possibly a construction sacrifice with an intended disease-preventing function.³¹

Inside the building a number of double post-holes were found, greatly resembling stalling partitions, but their positioning does not harmonize with either the orientation or the post positions of the building.

In its posts and dimensions, Building L recalls the oldest preserved manorial barns.³² The preserved examples are head constructions on foundation stones, but may have had predecessors with dug-down posts. The absence of finds in the post-holes as well as the possible stall partitions and the buried cow skull also suggest that the building was used as a barn and/or animal shed.

Building M

In the northern extension of Building L, a structure much discussed during the excavations was found – Building M. It consisted of two 29-m-long post rows parallel to Building L, where the western post row was

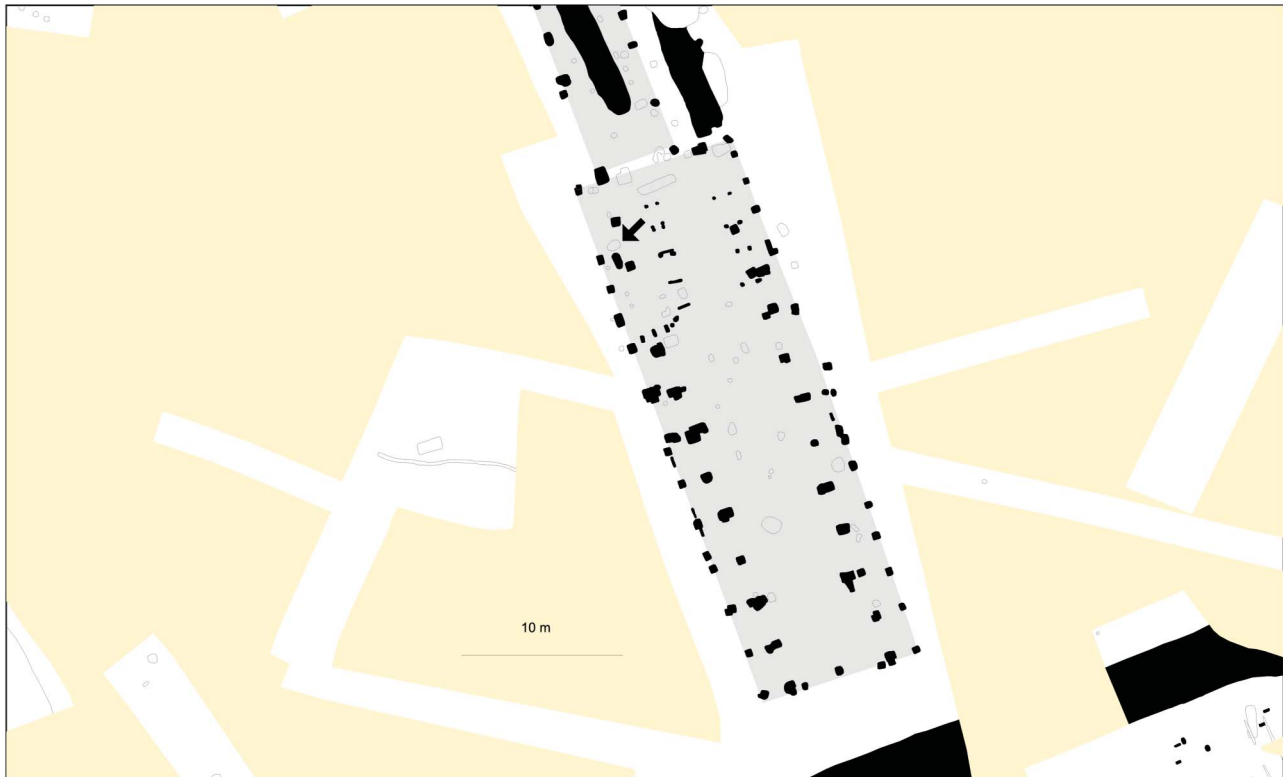


Figure 18. The three-winged barn or animal shed, Building L, was laid out with great precision. The roof-bearing posts formed pairs, and by all indications this was a head construction. At the north end of the west side wing of the building, there were stall-like structures and the arrow marks the position of a buried cow skull – perhaps a disease-averting construction sacrifice.

the best defined. The distance between the rows was 5 m. In addition, towards the east, a 50-cm deep ditch was found which seemed to have grown over naturally. The length of the ditch matched that of the post rows. In two cases, bricks were found in the post-holes, but otherwise there were no finds. Along the central axis of the building a large oblong fill layer was registered.

Building M's orientation and placing provide no reason to doubt their connection with the rest of the complex. But the building need not have been very high, and the rafters may have been anchored in the related ditch. The oval fill layer in the middle of the building recalls the wear that arises at the end of animal sheds, and might indicate movements of animals, which in turn points to a use of the building as an animal shed. A large gap at the southern end of the western post-row might have been an opening. Building M is followed by the equally distinctive Building N.

Ditch 4

Between Buildings G and K, a large, very straight ditch was found, Ditch 4, which projected 4 m from the north east corner of Building G and from there ran eastward in a

direction exactly at right angles to the buildings. The ditch was of a size that could justify the designation trench, and could be followed over 96 m before it disappeared in under a modern residential house. At the excavation level, the trench was 3.5–4.7 m wide and turned out to have steep sides shored up with stacked turf. In particular, the straight termination towards the east was carefully executed (Figure 19, section of Ditch 4.). Judging from the cross-sections made, the width was between 4 and 6 m at the ground surface and its depth was 1.6 m. At the bottom of the dry trench a growth zone could be demonstrated, and this was probably grass-covered. The overlying fill layers were greyish-brown sand, and the vegetation growth seems to have been natural. No certain traces of any earth wall being thrown back into the trench were seen. The orientation does not suggest that there were fortification motives behind the establishment of the feature.

On the southern side, one or perhaps two rows of oblong, low post-holes were found which may have constituted a fence. Rather paradoxically, the trench does not seem to have demarcated the farm, but rather to have divided it up in accordance with an as yet unknown system.



Figure 19. The sides of Ditch 4 were shored up with turf. Here we see the carefully executed western termination.

Phase 5: the period up to c. 1260

Building N

Building M was overlaid by a building which, contrary to the normal house typology, had curved long walls. There seems to be no doubt about the stratigraphy, and Building N constituted a relatively well-defined house ruin with a length of over 28.3 m. The width at the gables was just 5 m, while the width at the middle reached just under 7 m. In the post-holes, six grey-fired sherds were found as well as bricks. Building N must be regarded as a light curved-wall construction that can hardly have been built much before 1250, but whether the building was equipped with a roof and whether this was a pitched roof with a curved roof ridge remains an open question. As for Building M, use as an animal shed can be suggested.

The finds

In all, 512 find numbers have been collected from the excavations, covering a total of 6119 objects. The find material from the Middle Ages makes up a considerable part of this, and the medieval pottery with its 3181 sherds is the largest group. The amount of medieval potsherd material is large compared with other excavated rural building complexes and is to a great extent due to the sieving of the excavated features.

In Figure 20, all medieval potsherds are presented and divided into pottery types. The domestic pottery consists of the local grey-fired sherds from globular pots, A1/A2, while the other types were probably all imported from production areas in northwestern Europe ranging from the Rhineland over the Low Countries down to the area around the English Channel.³³ With few exceptions, the imported pottery can be classified as tableware, primarily in the form of jugs. The great majority of the Lustrupholm

Pottery	n	%
Local greyware	3004	94.4
Pingsdorf-type	4	0.1
Paffrath-type	6	0.2
Andenne-type	1	< 0,1
Glazed redware, jugs	31	1
Glazed redware, white slip, jugs	52	1.6
Rouen type, red-yellow	10	0.3
Rouen-type, green	26	0.8
Proto-stoneware	31	1
Other imports	16	0.5
All	3181	99.9

Figure 20. The total of 3181 medieval potsherds arranged by ware type. The domestic grey-fired pottery from globular pots is clearly predominant, while all the other sherds are probably imported. They come primarily from glazed jugs.

pottery comes from the Bishop's property, phases 2–5, and has been dated to the period c. 1200–1260; a period when the pottery inventory in the city of Ribe is familiar from many archaeological investigations.³⁴

There are striking differences between the pottery inventory at Lustrupholm and in the city of Ribe. The quantity of imported pottery at the Bishop's property is only about 5%, whereas in Ribe itself it is often 20%. The few imported sherds at Lustrupholm almost all come from jugs that do not stand out in size or mountings, and the overall impression of the pottery is that of plainness.

From the fill layer above the ruin of the demolished brick building, Building H, a large quantity of sherds emerged. The layer was probably formed by throwing material into the scrap pit after the demolition, and therefore contains a mixture of sherds whose common feature is that they were dropped or scrapped around the brick building (Figure 21). In the layer above the cellar, the percentage of imported sherds approaches 14%; there also seems to be a clear concentration of tableware around the prestigious centre of the complex.

Beneath the plank road east of Building G, a small pit was found containing two coins minted in the reign of Valdemar II as well as 48 potsherds laid together at the bottom of the hole. The sherds could be assembled into a globular pot which when intact was only a little smaller than the pit itself (Figure 22). The unusual find combination can be interpreted as an already dug-up coin hoard.³⁵ Duke Abel's capture of Ribe on 28 April 1247 may have been the background for the burial of the hoard, but King Erik Plovpenning's recapture of the city on 3 June may be the reason why most of it came into the possession of the owner again.³⁶

In 1996–97, Lustrupholm was scanned with a metal detector. From this there emerged a well-preserved cast casket lock of a well-known thirteenth C type. In addition, a fragment of the yoke from a set of scales was found; its

A682, layer 1	n	%
Local greyware	387	86.2
Pingsdorf-type	1	0.2
Paffrath-type	0	0
Andenne-type	0	0
Glazed redware, jugs	8	1.8
Glazed redware, white slip, jugs	24	5.3
Rouen type, red-yellow	3	0.7
Rouen-type, green	15	3.3
Proto-stoneware	10	2.2
Other imports	1	0.2
I alt	449	99.9

Figure 21. The fill layer above the ruin of the brick-built cellar, Building H, is thought to have been deposited during an adjustment of the terrain after the demolition of the building, and thus to contain sherds scrapped/dropped around the brick building. Of the 449 potsherds 14% are imported tableware. One can thus document a clear concentration of imported goods around the prestigious main building of the complex.

surface was covered with circle markings (Figure 22). Similar scales are known from the town of Ribe. The find of the scales is particularly interesting, since it suggests monetary activity which could have been the payment of duties.

From the excavations come a total of six coins ranging in time from the first part of the reign of Valdemar II to that of Christoffer I (Figure 23). They all appear to have been minted by the master of the mint in Ribe, and their datings coincide closely with the mention of Lustrup in the written sources.

In terms of the dating of the find material there is nothing to indicate activity after c. 1300. Later pottery types are entirely absent, and if we are to believe the evidence of the coins, the cessation of activity should be dated closer to c. 1260.

In quality the find material has its closest parallels in the finds from the town of Ribe, where all the find categories from Lustrupholm are frequent. At Lustrupholm, no decidedly high-status finds were made, nor was there anything that pointed towards the written culture such as book mountings, styluses or the like. Taken together with the plain appearance of the pottery, it seems most likely that the Bishop and his household only stayed to a limited extent at Lustrupholm (Figure 24).

Summary and perspectives

The medieval building complex at Lustrupholm seems to have arisen in the first half of the 1100s and consisted in phase 1 of two large farms which may be contemporary or may have been established successively. In the museum archives there is no information on other finds from the

Viking Era or the Early Post-Viking Middle Ages, and the farms may be the “thorpe” village unit that accounts for the *-trup* element of the toponym.

The northernmost farm was the largest, but large parts of it were destroyed by later digging, while other areas are not accessible to archaeological investigation. Our knowledge of this probable founder’s farm is therefore fragmentary, but the sum of the observations suggests that it consisted of a main building with one smaller building. At one point in the 1100s, the farm was fortified with a possible rampart and a surrounding trench or moat that was quickly filled in again. The fortifications may have been established during the civil wars around the middle of the century. The Chronicle of the Ribe Bishops says of Bishop Helias (1142–62) that he fortified his episcopal farms.³⁷

To the south lay another farm whose unfortified main building could be fully excavated. It is unknown whether Lustrup consisted of more farms than these two. Since both farm units were obliterated by the subsequent Bishop’s property, we must suppose that the farms from the 1100s were also in the possession of the Bishop, and it would be reasonable to imagine them as farms run by a tenant-manager (*bryde*) (Figure 6).

The establishment date for the farm that was later to develop into the Bishop’s magnate farm is not known, but it is likely that this happened when Bishop Omer (1177–1204) held the office. In consisting at first, in Phase 2, of two equally large buildings where we cannot clearly identify a main building, the Bishop’s farm already at this juncture stands out from other archaeologically known rural units (Figure 8). With the appearance in Phase 3 of a prestigious brick house whose roof ridge rose as much as 10 m above the terrain, the magnate aspect became obvious (Figure 9), and after the erection of colossal barn and animal shed buildings, the building stock grew to an extent that as yet has no parallel on Danish soil (Figure 17). Similar units may conceivably have been associated with the magnate farms of the twelfth to thirteenth century, which are known both archaeologically in the form of usually brick-built cellars and from written sources.³⁸

It is a conspicuous feature that the building stock at Lustrupholm seems to have been constructed on a variety of principles. In most of the buildings the wall posts were not in pairs, and the posts must be assumed to have borne a wall plate on which the roof construction rested. Some kind of anchor beams must have braced the buildings crosswise. The constructional separation of the wall posts and the roof structure permitted the re-use of the roof structure, whose lifetime must be supposed to have exceeded that of the dug-down posts considerably. This may have happened in two cases at Lustrupholm. Only in the large barn/animal shed Building L were the roof-bearing posts set in pairs, which must be assumed to have been connected by



Figure 22. Finds from the excavations. In the pit A355, the heap of sherds shown here appeared, and could be assembled into a more or less intact, 27 cm tall globular pot. In the fill of the pit the two coins shown were also found; they circulated in the period 1234–55. Could this be a recovered coin hoard buried during the hostilities in 1247? Detector scanning in the early 1990s uncovered a fragment of the yoke of a set of scales with surface-covering ornamentation of circular dots as well as the intact cast casket lock with an octagonal lock housing. On three sides it is decorated with a punched, wavy line.

beams. The varied building types may show in the local perspective that different carpenters were active at the farm. In the wider perspective, the differences can also be seen as an indication that there was rapid development in house-building in the period.

The excavations did not provide many answers to how the buildings looked above ground. The fire site Building

G was mud-walled, and the barn/animal shed, Building L, may have had stave-built projection walls. Bricks appeared scattered all over the site, and we cannot preclude the possibility that Building F beside the brick house had masonry elements. In addition to the tiled roof of the brick house, the other buildings probably had thatched or shingled roofs.

ID	Ruler	Type and Mint	Findspot	Method
1301 × 306	Valdemar II (1202-41)	Grenåfundet 35	Floor 2/3 in cellar	sieving
1700 × 74	Valdemar II (1202-41)	Hbg. 42b, Ribe	Recovered coinhoard? A355	excavation
1700 × 75	Valdemar II (1202-41)	Hbg. 42b, Ribe	Recovered coinhoard? A355	sieving field
1700 × 171	Valdemar II (1202-41)	Hbg. 42b, Ribe	Surface find after completion of 2002-campaign	walking
1301 × 299	Abel (1250-52)	MB 50, Ribe	Floor 4 in cellar	sieving
1301 × 42	Christoffer I (1252-59)	MB 97, Ribe	Pit, 1998-campaign	sieving

Figure 23. The six coins from the excavations presented in chronological order.

Other finds, except building materials
4 whetstones
Quernstone fragments, Hyllestad-type
Quernstone fragments, Mayen-type
2 horseshoes
Iron loop from copper-alloy bowl
Iron bolt from barrel lock
Smithing debris
2 fragments of glass rings
Glass sherds, drinking vessels

Figure 24. List of meaningful refuse and object finds from the excavations at Lustrupholm. Building parts, nails and a few unidentifiable iron objects have been omitted.

The use of the individual buildings may have changed over time, but the buildings D, F, G and the brick house H seem to have been wholly or partially residential.

But what was the background for the initial placing of the Bishop's property at Lustrupholm and its later growth into such an extensive complex? One possibility is to regard it as a traditional manor whose buildings to a certain extent reflect the land around the farm, but in several respects this model does not seem adequate. In that case one would expect to find traces of building stock of similar extent at other magnate farms investigated, but so far that has not been the case. Nor does the placing in the landscape seem – to present-day eyes – to be well suited to a large estate. The meadows around Haulund Bæk are modest, and large infertile heath areas extend densely south of Lustrupholm. Moreover, a placing close to the fertile marshlands would seem more likely for an exclusively farming-based magnate residence.

Lustrupholm's location in the local resource area can thus be characterized as peripheral; but in an overall traffic and communication perspective, the point at Lustrupholm has a much more central position. The buildings lie with easy access to and are visible from the highways towards both Tønder and Haderslev/Hærvejen and at a short distance from the trading centre Ribe, from which connections issued both to the north and to the whole northwestern European region. The placing in the landscape supports an interpretation of the complex as a nodal point in the physical

administration of the Bishop's activities. These were many-sided, but one of them was the collection, storage and resale of the goods that came as duties, primarily in kind, to the Bishop. The coins and scales found indicate that hard cash too may have been used for payment of dues in whole or in part. One imagines that the farm in Lustrup was run by the *cellarius* or butler mentioned in the letter from 1258, while the find material does not suggest that the Bishop and his household spent much time at the place.

The Bishop's activities in the early part of the Post-Viking Middle Ages also included a central role in the military organization of the country. As someone responsible for military levies in the individual dioceses, the Bishop participated in the provision of war supplies whether in the form of active military service with his own men or the equipping of forces. During the functional lifetime of the Lustrup farm, the military levy system underwent radical transformations, from a system based on personal military service to a system based on commutation in the form of payment of taxes. The mention in the written sources of Lustrupholm may indicate that the farm also played a role in the Bishop's military obligations. The settlement from 1233 determined in fact that the oat duties were to be delivered to Lustrup – perhaps because there was a large number of horses there intended for the King's cavalry? That the military role of the bishops could be particularly active is evident from the fact that Bishop Tuvo (1214–30) was one of the prominent prisoners-of-war who fell into the custody of the conquering German coalition army after the defeat at Bornhöved in 1227.³⁹ He was ransomed by the Chapter for 700 marks of silver.

The reason why the lifetime of the farm extends over just under a century we cannot say with certainty, but in the period there were both a number of local physical changes and great historical developments, each of which could have contributed to the closing-down of the farm. The damming of the river Ribe Å in connection with the establishment of the King's mill took place in the period immediately before the appeal case in 1255, and the effect in Lustrup was that the meadow areas were diminished. All other things being equal, this must have reduced the agrarian potential of the farm. But the

military development, when the role of the bishops in the war levies was taken over by mercenaries paid from the war taxes, may very well also have been an important factor.

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Notes

1. Manuscript submitted (2008).
2. Søndergaard (1998). Lustrupholm is today in the parish of Skt. Katharine, but in the Middle Ages it belonged to Vester Vedsted parish. Nielsen (1985, p. 60).
3. Feveile and Kieffer-Olsen (2005), Etting and Engberg (2004, p. 136) and Poulsen (2001, p. 418).
4. The excavation campaign of 2003 received support from Queen Margrethe II's Archaeology Fund and the Farumgaard Foundation.
5. The campaigns of 1998–2000 are gathered in the museum case ASR 1301, while the campaigns from 2002 on are gathered in the case ASR 1700. SB. No. 190409-22.
6. The burial site from the Bronze Age has been published in Feveile and Bennike (2002). The finds from the other periods are unpublished.
7. Matthiesen (1930, p. 112). The road from Ribe runs into the ancient military road Hærvejen at Urnehoved. See also Matthiesen (1927).
8. Kinch (1869, p. 603).
9. *Diplomatarium Danicum* (DD) no. 168.
10. DD no. 156.
11. Paludan (1977, pp. 484ff.).
12. DD no. 257.
13. Søgaard (1973).
14. Jensen (1987, p. 22).
15. Report on the investigation ASR 491 (1987), drawn up in 2001 by Claus Feveile.
16. Sørensen (2003).
17. Madsen (1985), Building 1.
18. Feveile and Jensen (2006, pp. 89ff.).
19. ASR 1301 × 278.
20. For a discussion, see Klemensen (2001, pp. 36ff.).
21. During excavation no attempt was made to locate hammer scales or slag remains.
22. Secondary stoves have been demonstrated archaeologically in Denmark as far back as c. 1100. Kristensen (1999, p. 74).
23. Jantzen et al. (1994, fig. 4).
24. Brick size 25–26 × 10–12 × 7–8 cm. Course sequence: irregular monk bond with an excess of stretchers. Up to seven stretchers in a row were seen in some courses.
25. Grenaa find 35. The obverse matches the coin Hbg. 40, which has been ascribed to Ribe. Galster (1931, p. 224).
26. The coin is of the type MB50.
27. Gläser (2001) and Mührenberg (2001).
28. Roof pantiles, often glazed, appear in large numbers in the Ribe culture layers from the 1200s. They seem to have been the preferred roofing of the time on brick buildings.
29. Callmer (1992), Liebgott (1980, pp. 130f.), Stiesdal (1980) and Andersen and Nielsen (2000).
30. In the German area, the house type is usually called *Steinwerk* or *Kemenate*. For a comparative treatment covering the northern European area, see Mührenberg (2001).
31. ASR1700 × 65. Jensen (1984).
32. Engqvist (1987).
33. Madsen (1999, pp. 73ff.).
34. Madsen (1999) and Søvsø (2006, 2007).
35. First suggested by the excavator, Claus Feveile.
36. Kinch (1869, pp. 58f.).
37. Søgaard (1973).
38. Callmer (1992), Etting and Engberg (2004) and Stiesdal (1980).
39. Søgaard (1973, p. 272).

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