

The transition of landownership in Sweden 1562–1654 and its reflection in the agrarian landscape

by Clas Tollin

The comprehensive and rapid transformation in land ownership and agricultural incomes in Sweden in the first half of the 17th century makes the period particularly amenable to studying how changes in landownership are reflected in the agrarian landscape within the concept of land as a resource. The alienation of Crown land and revenues to the nobility was so extensive that the holdings of the nobility increased some two and a half times between 1560 and 1652. There was also a certain shift from family farms towards manors and larger estates. The richness of sources enables exhaustive studies of this process, which has been investigated by particularly agrarian, economical and political historians.¹ However, the associated spatial organisation and landscape changes are studied surprisingly little by historical geographers, despite of the potential of the existing sources.

The landscape concept in relation to landownership

The term *landscape* is often used in a broad sense, without being defined. It is therefore wise to differentiate *physical landscape* and *natural scenery* from other uses of the term, such as *political landscape*, *mental landscape* or non-physical realities in the landscape.² Here landscape is used in the sense *settlement structure and land use pattern*.

The historical geographer Mats Widgren suggests that 'the landscape concept' could be treated as three interrelated concepts: *landscape as*

scenery, (different ways of seeing), *landscape as an institution* (customary laws, land rights and social institutions) and *land as a resource* (land use, production and capital).³ It might be fruitful to add a fourth concept; *landscape management* to understand the influence of man in a wider sense concerning agrarian technique, developed animal and plant breeding and level of knowledge among the farmers. I will use these distinctions as basis in this study.

Landownership in the broad sense is central to the concept of *landscape as an institution*. Landowners have a variety of rights; they can walk wherever they like on the property, for instance, and refuse others to do so. Within certain confines, it is also up to landowners to decide what they will grow and where. Most importantly, ownership is historically connected with income from agriculture and land, whether in the form of products or rent. It is reasonable to believe that the physical landscape and its elements, in one way or another, reflect socio-economic conditions in society, or more precisely, the equality or inequality of its people in terms of wealth and influence.

After the reformation of King Gustav Vasa (Gustav I) between 1527 and 1540, there were three major categories of landowners in Sweden, the Crown, the nobility and freeholders (tax-paying farmers). In contrast to the rest of Europe, just over half of the farmers in Sweden-Finland were freeholders at the time of the death of Gustav I in 1560. About a fifth was Crown tenants and the rest were tenants of the nobility. There were very few demesne farms,

probably only one or two percent of arable land belonged to estates whose farms were run on a larger scale (*Gutswirtschaft*).⁴

For a century or so Sweden was as an important actor on the military and political scene of Europe. The foundation was laid in the 1610s and 1620s. After the Peace in Stolbova 1617 the provinces of Karelia and Ingermanland in the east became part of the Swedish realm. After the Peace of Brömsebro in 1645 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Swedish realm expanded further geographically, adding new provinces in the south and the west. The country's military and political ventures in the 17th century had tremendous impact on Swedish society for generations to come, not least with respect to gains and losses of power over the agrarian landscape. The long period of almost constant war led to an increase in the power of the nobility, especially in the 1630s and 1640s. For instance, all officers and higher military appointments were reserved to the nobility. Closer contact with the socio-economic conditions of the Continent, with its unfree farmers and feudal society, had the same effect. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, Sweden was ruled by a regency government composed of high noblemen for twelve years. The consequences for the agrarian society were critical. Firstly, agricultural yields in the form of tenant rents and land taxes were transferred from the Crown and freeholders to the nobility. Secondly, some thousand family farms were converted to manorial estates, which enjoyed fuller tax exemption than other noble land.

I will make an attempt to illustrate the consequences of non-physical structures on the agrarian landscape, or how *landscape as an institution* is interrelated to *land as a resource*. In other words: how and to what extent did the increasing formal control of the nobility change the agrarian landscape? Is it possible, for example, to discern specific physical marks and changes in settlement structure, land use, spatial organisation, roads and so forth? The study covers two geographical levels: a more generalised overview of the provinces of Östergötland, Sörmland and Uppland; and a few examples on the village or settlement level from the area around Uppsala.

Sources to the landscape

Sources for studying settlement history from this period are abundant. Firstly, there are the provincial records from the King's Chancery Archives⁵. These are among the best settlement records in the world due to topographic disposition and systematic registration of different kind of landowners and because they cover practically all of Sweden from the 1540s onwards.⁶ Secondly, there are complete records of all farms belonging to the nobility in 1562. Thirdly, there are the records of the reduction commissions of the 1680s and 1690s.

The large-scale maps of farms and hamlets, some 12,000 in number, made between 1630 and 1655 are another unique Swedish source. Most were measured by surveyors employed by the state and the maps were collected in the King's Chancery at the Royal Palace of Stockholm. A second generation of large-scale maps was created during the 1680s and 1690s, which allows comparisons of the agrarian landscape before and after the great Crown alienations.

It is mistakenly believed that there are very few old geometrical maps of farms belonging to the nobility. The fact is that an instruction from the King's Chancery in 1634 orders the



FIGURE 1. Overview map of Eastern Middle Sweden. Gotland became a part of the Swedish realm in the Peace of Brömsebro 1645.

surveyors to “diligently” map the landholdings of every hamlet, whether noble, Crown, or freehold. Hence, practically all farms belonging to the nobility were surveyed if they were situated in settlements where there were also freehold or Crown farms.⁷ Furthermore there are at least 15 map collections over dukedoms, baronies and noble estates. The majority of these maps, of which there are more than a thousand, shows farms belonging to the nobility, and some manors were also mapped.⁸ Little of this material has been used so far in historical scholarly research concerning land use and settlement.

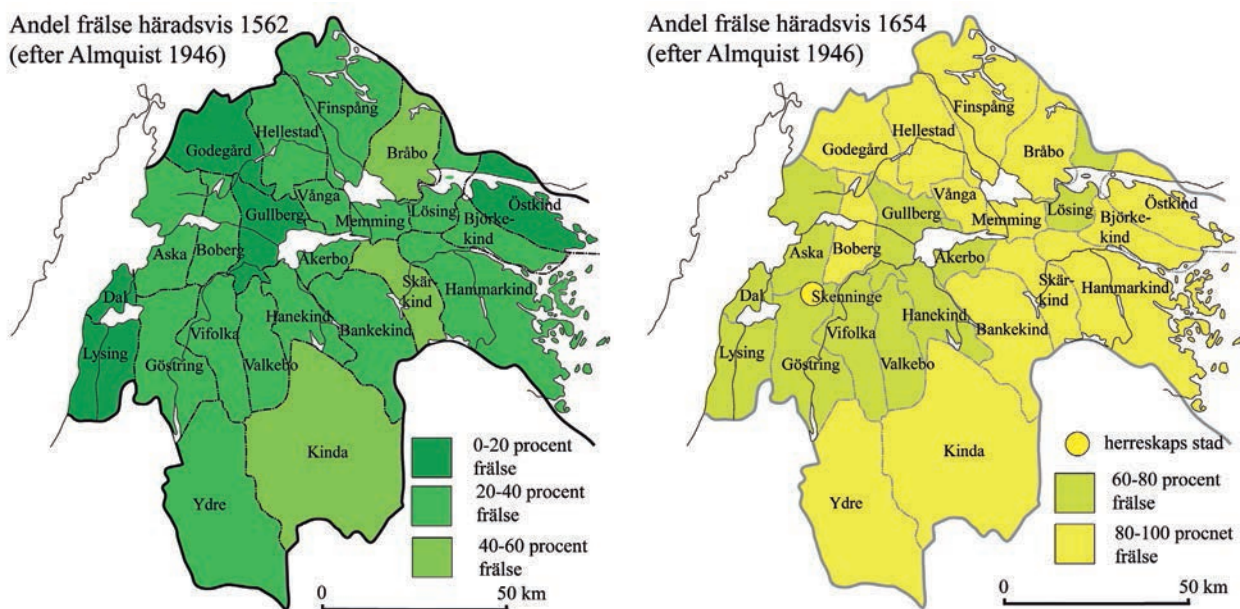
One source material is the *Extract opå rikzsens mantal på närmaste förslag mars 1652*, a summary of all hides in Sweden, province by province.⁹ There are two different principles at work in this material: one report shows the number of functional farms (large and small taxed farms) and the other showing the taxation objects (full-taxed farms) regardless of the number of actual farmers. As there had been little settlement expansion during the relevant period, the total number of full-taxed farms was almost the same in 1562 and in 1654.

The regional level

Between 1931 and 1946 Johan Axel Almquist published a complete record of farms owned by nobility and manorial estates and changes in landownership during the period 1562 to 1700 in the provinces of Östergötland, Sörmland and Uppland. The material allows the user to make agglomerations of any chosen geographical level. The work also provides summaries of the about 70 relevant hundreds.¹⁰ Strangely enough, there has been little interest in turning this unique historical source into maps or in showing how spatial patterns of landownership differ geographically. Thematic maps will be used to show the change in landownership and thus illustrate the concept of *landscape as institution*.

The chosen variables are: percentage of farms owned or controlled by the nobility per hundred in 1562 and 1654, respectively. I have selected five classes: 0-20 percent, 20.1-40 percent, 40.1-60 percent, 60.1-80 percent and 80.1-100 percent. The pattern of the maps reflects changes in control over agrarian production and other utilities and thereby also the shift in power over the landscape.

FIGURE 2. Percentages of farms owned by nobility in the province of Östergötland in 1562, shown at left, and 1654, shown at right (total number approximately 6,600). The dark green color shows hundreds with less than 21 percent farms owned by the nobility. The yellow color shows hundreds with 80 and more percent farms owned by the nobility. Map by Clas Tollin.



Around the time of death of Gustav Vasa in 1560, the Swedish nobility owned 29 percent of the farms in the province of Östergötland. In the majority of hundreds, fewer than 40 percent of farms were owned by the nobility; in four hundreds, the share was less than 20 percent and there were no territorial earldoms and/or baronies. In 1654, the nobility owned or controlled more than 80 percent of farms in 14 of 24 hundreds. The nobility thus owned or controlled about 5,400 of 6,600 farms (all hides). Only about 1,900 were old farms belonging to the nobility, which indicate that 3,500 farms had been alienated from the Crown or freeholders to the nobility during the period. Moreover, there was one new town barony called Skänninge.

The same development could be seen in the province of Sörmland. In 1562, about one third of the farms in the northern part of the province were noble land. In the hundred of Rönö alone, the nobility owned over 60 percent. In 1654, the nobility owned or controlled 4,400 of 4,700 farms. Hence, 2,400 farms had been alienated from the Crown and freeholders to the nobility during the period, including 400 farms under two new baronies in the northern part of the province. This means that in 1654 the nobility owned or controlled between 80 and 100 percent of the farms in all 13 hundreds.

A similar pattern emerged for the province of Uppland. In 1562 the majority of hundreds

had less than 40 percent farms belonging to the nobility. In the coastal zone, the share was less than 20 percent and there were no territorial earldoms and/or baronies. In 1654, the nobility owned or controlled more than 80 percent of farms in 30 of 34 hundreds, and hence owned or controlled about 7,000 of 8,600 farms in 1654. Only about 2,300 were old farms belonging to the nobility, which indicate that 4,700 had been alienated from the Crown or freeholders. Moreover, there was a new earldom – Ortala – with 355 farms and two town baronies (Enköping and Norrtälje) founded in the 1640s.¹¹

In the three studied provinces the nobility increased its control from 32 percent of agrarian output to 88 percent. This was actually an enormous redistribution of wealth from the majority of farmers to a small number of nobles. About 20 ducal or baronial families benefited in particular.

From family farms to manorial estates

In parallel with the alienation of family farms to the nobility, hundreds of new manorial estates were established in the 1640s and 1650s. In Uppland, for instance, the number of manors increased sevenfold, from 125 around 1600 to 845 in 1654. About 1,400 farms representing about 18 percent of the arable land were exempt

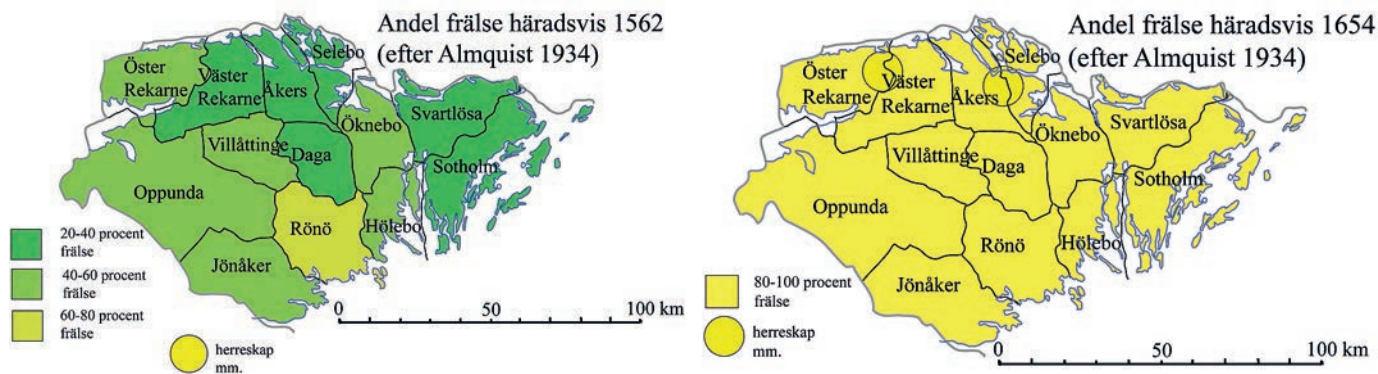


FIGURE 3. The share of farms owned by nobility in the province of Sörmland in 1562, shown at left, and 1654, shown at right (total number approximately 4,700). The dark green color shows hundreds with less than 21 percent farms owned by the nobility. The yellow color shows hundreds with 80 and more percent farms owned by the nobility. Map by Clas Tollin.

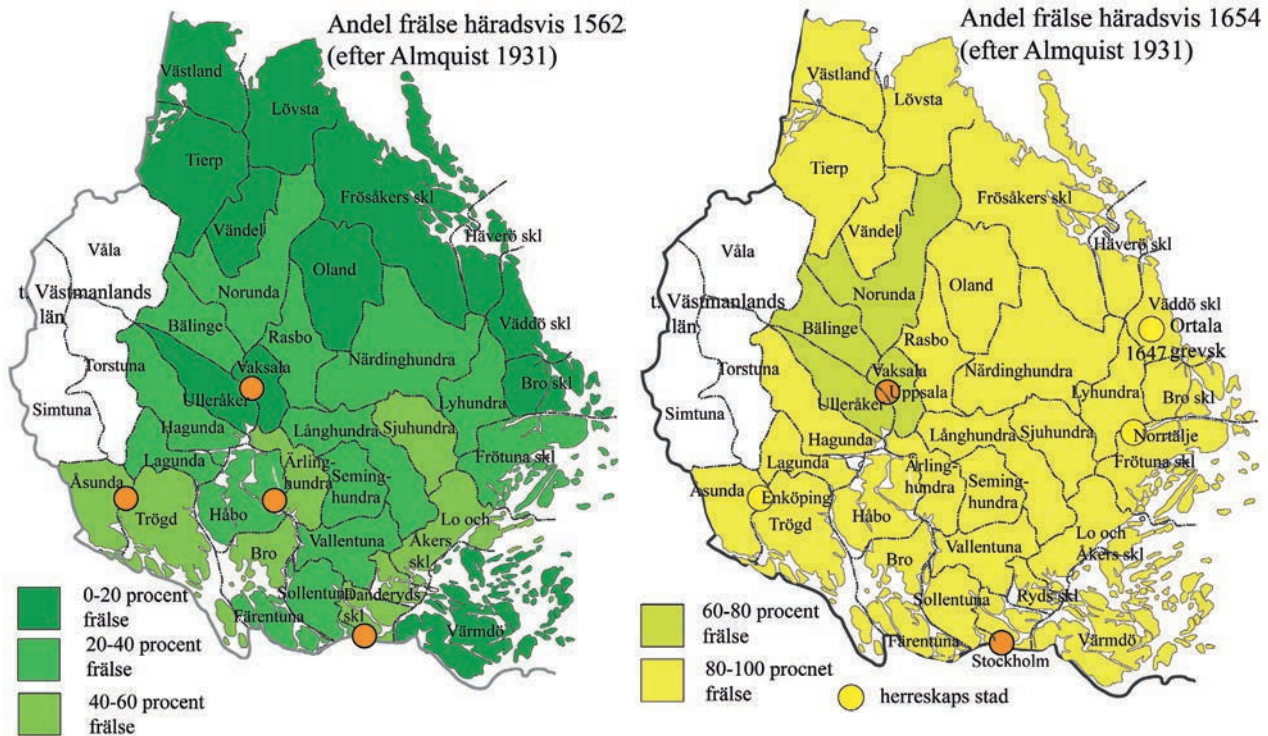


FIGURE 4. The share of farms owned by nobility in the province of Uppland in 1562, shown at left, and 1654, shown at right (total number approximately 7,900). The dark green color shows hundreds with less than 21 percent farms owned by the nobility. The yellow color shows hundreds with 80 and more percent farms owned by the nobility. Map by Clas Tollin.

from all taxes.¹² Especially around Lake Mälaren, many old hamlets and villages were cleared and replaced by manor houses. This had partly to do with the growth of Stockholm and the establishment of the city as a real capital, with a growing public administration, and as a more permanent meeting place for the Council of the Realm. Many noblemen were directly involved in the expanding bureaucracy and built palaces in the city as well as manor houses in the nearby countryside.¹³ The newly created manorial estates were often given new names with the first part alluding to the owner and the endings of *-holm* or *-berg* as markers of high status.¹⁴

In spite of the dramatic development, few maps have been made to illustrate this process.

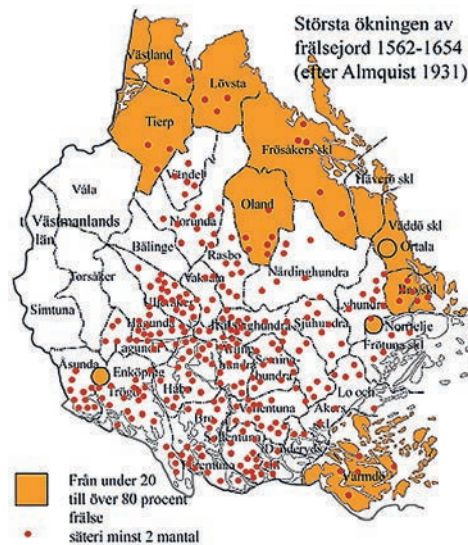


FIGURE 5. Uppland, manorial estates (after Helmfrid 1966).

One of the very few maps was made by Staffan Helmfrid in the mid 1960s and shows manors and the situation in the late 17th century.¹⁵ Most manors were created during the reign of Queen Christina in the period of 1644–1654.¹⁶ There was also considerable manorial expansion in Sörmland and Östergötland pertaining to 650 farms in the former and 900 in the latter. Hence, 13 or 14 percent of the arable land was converted into manorial estates or belonging to farms directly dependant on manorial estates.¹⁷

The transition from freeholders to tenants per se seems to have created few changes in the physical landscape. The change from village farmland to manorial estates is more complicated. In the 1940s, the geographer Torsten Lagerstedt made some case studies from Uppland and Sörmland based on large scale maps from the 17th century. Lagerstedt's example from Sörmland concerning the hamlet Ludgo, which turned into estate Ludgonäs in the 1640s, shows that even major changes in habitations and homesteads did little to change the production landscape. The arable land was almost intact, the fences and open fields were only slightly changed. The two-year or three-year crop rotations remained almost intact. The pattern was much the same in Linnés Hammarby outside

Uppsala. The changes caused by the conversion of the hamlets of Skånela and Ekeby into the manor of Skånelaholm were more radical. The richest soil was allotted to the new manor, while the remaining tenant farms were allotted poorer arable land. The protection system (i.e. how the fences are organised to protect the growing crop and hay from grazing animals) were partly reworked.¹⁸

The tenant farm Järö turned into the manorial estate Margretelund

The large scale geometrical maps from the 17th century give sometimes an almost photographic impression of the landscape with its buildings, land use and vegetation. Baron and head of the high court Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna (1587–1640) had his estate Smedby in Uppland, which had some 50 dependant farms, surveyed in 1640 by the surveyor Sven Månsson.¹⁹ Some years before, Oxenstierna had built a new manor house on a hill closer to the Baltic Sea, by turning the small tenant farm of Järö into the manorial estate Margretelund, named after his first wife Margareta Bielke (d. 1629).²⁰ In this case, the surveyor made detailed maps over the manors of Smedby and Margretelund. You can imagine the new manor on its hill close to the water and how an orchard, hop garden and a large stable have replaced former arable land. In the bay there are boats and fishing sites. In this case, the large scale geometrical maps combine the concepts of *landscape as scenery* and *land as a resource*.

The village of Alsike converted to the estate of Krusenbergh

The village of Alsike in the parish of the same name in Uppland was mapped in 1635 by surveyor Thomas Christiernsson. In the early mod-

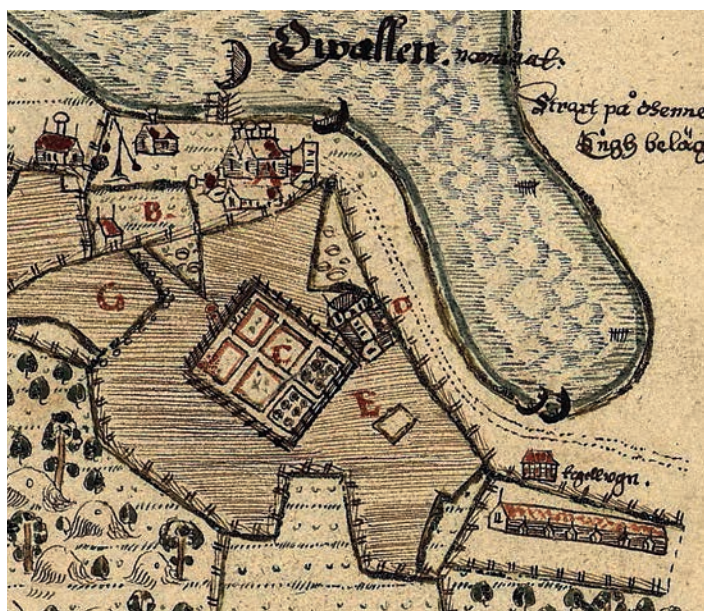


FIGURE 6. *The landscape of the single farmstead Järö was completely change in the 1640s when it was turned to manor Margretelund. Notice the garden, the new manor house and the stables as well as the brick kiln and brick barn to the right. It was not unusual to establish a brick factory to supply bricks for the manor and its farm buildings (GGO:19).*

ern era, the village consisted of nine farms. The village was mixed with respect to categories of landowners.²¹

In the 1630s, young nobleman Johan Cruus (1616–1644) inherited part of Alsike village. He bought the rest in 1640 with a view to creating a suitable manorial estate for himself and his family.²² Johan Cruus's wife Katarina was the daughter of the Lord Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, indicating that Cruus was part of the higher aristocracy at the time. Cruus became a member of the Chancery councillor in 1641. During the war with Denmark in 1644, Johan Cruus was Councillor of War under Field Marshal Gustav Horn. Cruus was responsible for providing the army with sufficient food and other provisions, such as salt, as well as hay and oats for the horses.²³ If the Councillor of War failed at his effort, there was palpable risk that soldiers and cavalry would plunder and loot the countryside in the border provinces on the way to Denmark. The government feared this would foment resistance from the local peasantry and thus weaken both the army and civilian society. Sweden won the war in 1645 and the provinces of Halland, Gotland, Jämtland and Härjedalen became part of Sweden for good. Johan Cruus, however, died in December the previous year in an army camp near Ystad. His widow and four young daughters settled down at the new manor house.²⁴

Lord Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna stayed with his daughter several times at Alsike. The new importance of the place was also indicated by the fact that the Chancellor sent several official political letters from there.²⁵ The manor was renamed Krusenberg in 1650 after the widow's dead husband. The suffix *berg* in the place name, as mentioned before, is itself an aristocratic marker showing the change from family farming to noble estate. But was the new status also reflected in the physical landscape and if so, how? A comparison of the geometrical map from 1635 with another from 1693, enables an analysis of whether the vegetation and land use reflected the change in landownership and settlement structure.

The greatest changes concerned the buildings and their location. The new manor house

surrounded by extensive gardens, had been built on the former grazing land on an oak-covered hill on the shore of Lake Mälaren about 1.3 kilometres away from the historical village toft. A one kilometre long and straight avenue had been laid out from the Stockholm road to the manor. The farmsteads had been abolished and the village tofts deserted with one exception. One of the Crown farms had been turned into an official inn due to its location on the main road between Uppsala and Stockholm. A socially related change was the transformation of tenant farmers into crofters. About 16 crofts were established in a more remote location on the border between the infields and the surrounding forest and grazing land. The only croft with a more central location was the miller's dwelling, close to the windmill on a hill near the cow paddock. A large cow barn and a hop garden had been built at the entrance of the new avenue. Otherwise, it seems mainly have been a constancy in land use and spatial organisation. The two field crop rotation was intact and there were few changes in protection system. The delimitation of the main two open field fences was almost intact. The only change was that two smaller fields had been included. The same goes for the hay meadows where the fences were largely intact. There were also some minor changes in land use. The arable land increased from 212 tunnland (106 hectares) to 238 tunnland of which 42 tunnland were cultivated by the crofters. The difference in hay meadows and hay production was slightly bigger. The surveyor in 1635 had indicated a hay yield of 279 loads of an average year compared to 344 manorial loads 1693 and another 42 loads for the crofters.²⁶

It takes three to four loads of hay to keep a cow during winter in the Lake Mälaren Region, which means that the nine farms in Alsike village had 31 loads of hay each, which allowed them to feed seven to ten cows during wintertime.²⁷ Notice that some of the hay must be reserved for the cultivator's oxen or horses. The 17 crofters had only two and a half loads of hay each in 1693 which meant that not all of them could keep a cow. The manorial hay harvest allowed 80 to 100 cows during wintertime.



FIGURE 7. (Top) Alsike village in 1635. The village toft with its nine farms is situated on both sides of the main road between Stockholm and Uppsala. The farmsteads are situated in an almost optimal way in relation to the arable land. The huge hay meadow to the east was converted to arable land during the agrarian revolution. (A10:140-41)

FIGURE 8. (Below) Krusenberg manor 1693. A new manor house has been built at the shore of Lake Mälaren and is connected with the Stockholm road with an over one kilometre straight avenue. The village toft is deserted and partly replaced by a hop garden. Two enclosures have been laid out north and south of the building, containing an orchard and a kitchen garden.

To summarize, during the period 1635 to 1650 the village Alsike was converted to the estate Krusenberg. The farmsteads were evicted from the village toft. A new manor house was erected some 1,300 meters to the east on an oak hill close to Lake Mälaren. The road system was mainly intact; however, an important social marker was the creation of a straight avenue with lime and ash trees leading up to the manor. The area close to Lake Mälaren was turned into a manor toft with orchards, kitchen gardens and alike.

Oppression and resistance

Even if Sweden was far away from the battles and fighting on the continent, the shadows from the 30 year war lay dark over the country. Thousands of farms were directly or indirectly concerned by the huge transformation of income from the civilian society to military use. Some examples from the area around Uppsala will be given to illustrate the matter.²⁸ These following examples contain all three concepts; *landscape as scenery*, *landscape as institution* and *land as resource*.

In the hundreds of Rasbo and Vaksala, several farms owned both by the Crown and freeholders, were given or taken over by the military. Higher officers even got their own estates with a lot of dependant farms, like the governor of Upplands Calvary Isak Axelsson Sifersparre and the Scotsmen captain Nisbeth and Colonel Jacob Forbes. Forbes had also appropriated a hay meadow by force from the hamlet of Lillinge. Also women were involved, for instance the widow to a captain de Courles was donated a farm for her lifetime.²⁹

Other farms were conferred to Calvary men and army sergeants and lieutenants. All three farms in hamlet Lunda in the parish of Danmark were given to horse men. This could be fatal for the tenants. The hamlet of Bredåker in the par-

ish Gamla Uppsala was more or less completely deserted in 1641 for this reason. The surveyor Mårten Christiernsson noticed that a horse man drove the farmer away from his farm in the hamlet Husby 'four years ago'. Christiernsson stated that the farm had been deserted ever since and that two of the barns were now without roof. Furthermore was the belonging arable land 'free to cultivate by anyone who was getting hold of it'. Another neighbour farm had been deserted since six years due to a horse man. A third farm in Husby had been deserted since 20 years and there were no houses left.³⁰ One farm in the hamlet of Hämringe in the same parish, had been deserted during a longer period because the farmer was called up as a soldier. For this reason there were no houses any longer except a bad barn without a roof. The arable was free to

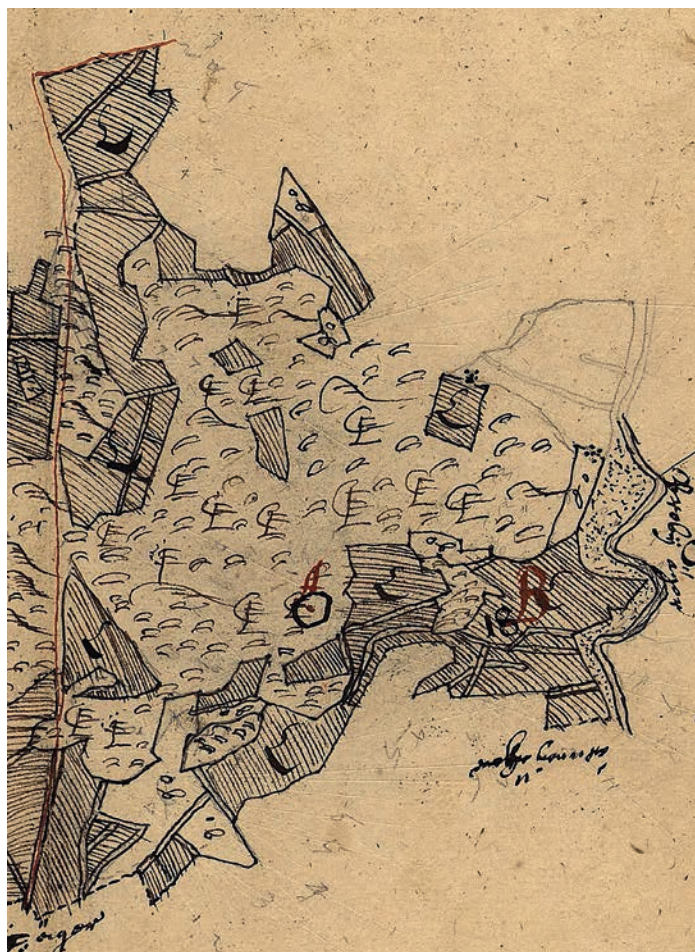


FIGURE 9. Concept map by Mårten Christiernsson 1640. At litt. A, a circle shows the toft of the former farm Eggeby. The farm has been deserted for 12 years and no houses and fences remain (Uppsala:74).

cultivate 'by anyone who was getting hold of it'. Even the huge farms belonging to the Crown, the so called *Kungsgårdarna* in the village of Gamla Uppsala, had been deserted since 10 years. All the houses were in bad condition and were without roofs.³¹

Another problem for the freeholder was the extra taxes due to the war. In the hamlet of Karby in the parish of Rasbo two former freeholders had not been able to pay the taxes and the farms were therefore taken by the Crown. The farms had been deserted for 16 years. A third farm in Karby had been deserted for a considerable time so there were no houses left. It had recently been given to a colonel over an infantry regiment. Another freeholder who failed to pay the taxes was the owner of Eggeby. In 1641 the farm had been deserted for 12 years and there were no houses or fences.³² Even in the hamlet Norrby in the parish of Vaksala, a former freeholder had to give it up because of inability to pay the taxes. The farmstead was deserted and the belonging arable and hay meadows were used by someone else. The two other farms in Norrby were given to a horse man and a nobleman.

There was of course opposition from the farmers. During the parliaments 1644, 1649 and especially 1650, spokesmen representing the freeholders and lower clergy demanded an end to the policy and wanted a reduction to bring back at least some income to the Crown. The freeholders also feared that they were to lose their relative social freedom and become serfs like the peasants in the Baltic.³³ Further more there were a minor uprising in the province of Närke. The revolt was however, easily crushed and the leaders were executed. Strangely enough, no manor house was burnt down, no avenue trees were chopped down and no nobleman was, to my knowledge, killed by mistreated farmers during the period. The resistance took mostly non physical expressions.

Conclusions

This is by no means a comprehensive study of the Swedish agrarian landscape during the 17th

century. However, the result shows the need to expand landscape studies not only to include buildings, tofts and settlement areas, but the production landscape in order to understand the whole process.

In the beginning of this study the main question was: is it possible recognising that the holdings of the nobility increased some two and a half time between 1560 and 1652 in the landscape? The answer is that it is possible to *illustrate* the change in power relations in society with thematic maps. Despite of the great transformation in wealth and landownership in the 1640s and 1650, there were, however, little change in functional farming and agrarian landscape. Tenants and freeholders cultivated the land in the same way. But the nobility and military pressure on the freeholders created a negative development. *Landscape as scenery* could be noticed by deserted farms, decomposed buildings, arable in fallow and neglected hay meadows even in central areas. In a way *land as a resource* was characterised by less agrarian production.

When it comes to the circa eight percent of peasantry farming that was turned to manorial estates the situation was different. The most obvious change was the building of a manor house, often at a new site connected with water. There was also an addition of orchards, kitchen gardens and large hop gardens, and in larger estates, also pleasure gardens, deer parks and a brick factory to provide material to erect new buildings. The old farmsteads were mostly evicted, while new large cow-houses and stables were erected. The location of these buildings was often close to or on the old village toft, because it generally was situated central to the arable land. To supply the needed labour force several day labour crofts were built, normally situated on the border between the infields, wood and grazing land. Farm buildings were thus replaced by manor houses and crofts, and small farming houses were replaced by large cow stables and barns. The most visible element in the landscape, besides the buildings, was probably the constructed new straight roads and avenues.

The agrarian production with its technique, land use and spatial organisation changed very

little. Most of the extremely rich high noblemen used their increasing income primarily on luxury consumption and grandiose building projects. Very little was invested to improve agriculture. There was, however, a slight increase in hay meadows and paddocks, probably explained by the need to feed more horses and, in some cases, a turn over from grain to cattle production. One of few examples of melioration in land use is from Lord chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's farm in Grävlinge in Västmanland, where a large wooden area was cleared from trees in order to make a hay meadow (litt. I on the map). The new meadow was called "Rothugget" (the Root-chop). The clearing was made by men from the province of Dalarna.³⁴

There was neither any dramatic change in woods or higher vegetation, with one exception – the oaks. The oak trees were *regale* (regal right) if they were growing on taxation or Crown land but not on land owned by noble-

men. This meant that a nobleman could use oak trees as he wished and therefore he was positive to oaks. The freeholder on the contrary, tried to get rid of oak saplings. Paddocks and meadows with elements of oaks therefore became more common on manorial estates than among the neighbouring freeholders. There was also a preference for lime trees in parks and avenues. On the whole, however, the shift in power was just expressed in point and line objects and concentrated to some minor areas such as oak groves, gardens, deer parks and orchards. It might be more correctly to speak of symbols of power in the agrarian landscape rather than a "landscape of power".

The resistance against the transformation of incomes and control over the agrarian society did not take any particular physical or violent expressions. Not until 1680, under the young king Karl XI, was the power of high nobility broken and a top to bottom reduction was made. Even



FIGURE 10. Lord Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's estate Fiholm had several underlying farms that were surveyed 1639. Grävlinge is an example of how hay meadows were created by wood clearings. The whole area indicated litt. I, the so called Rothugget, is a newly cleared grassland.³⁵

this time, however, there were little changes in land use and agriculture.

Not until the midst of the 1800th century, there was a considerable change in the agrarian landscape. This had to do with the agrarian revolution and a technical development, rather than the landowner situation. In addition, to the concepts *landscape as institution*, *land as resource* and *landscape as scenery*, a fourth concept, *landscape management*, is needed to create change in the landscape. This concept should involve things like agrarian technique, animal and plant breeding and a spread of knowledge among the farmers.³⁶ This is probably more crucial to create a radical impact on the agrarian landscape than landownership or power in itself.

(Translation by Rosemary Nordström)

CLAS TOLLIN holds a PhD in human geography and is Associate Professor of Agrarian History at SLU (the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences), Ultuna, as well as being project leader for the publication, by the Swedish National Archives, of a national edition of early geometrical cadastral maps.

clas.tollin@slu.se
Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet, SLU
Box 7013
750 07 Uppsala

Notes

- 1 Last presented by Myrdal 1999, especially pp. 203–263 and Gadd 2000, especially pp. 22–141 and there related sources.
- 2 Olwig 2004 and there related sources.
- 3 Widgren 2004, pp. 455–465 and there related sources.
- 4 Helmfrid 1966.
- 5 National Archives, Kammararkivet, Landskapshandlingarna.
- 6 In Sweden there are large scale maps from both the period before and after the great transformation of land ownership in the decades in the middle of the 17th century. The sources from Småland, Öland, Östergötland, Sörmland and Uppland are published by Almquist 1931–1947.
- 7 Riksarkivet, Kammarkollegiets arkiv, Kammarkollegiets instruktioner 2 april 1634: "... och flitjeligen afmätta hwar Byes ägor så Frälse, som Crono, och Skate."
- 8 Nya Bergkvara (Allbo, Kinnevald och Tveta h:d m.fl.) 1637, Södermöre (Södra Möre h:d) 1655–1656, Fiholm (Öster-Rekarne h:d) 1639, Claestorp (Oppunda h:d) 1634, ca 1640-tal. Mälby (Daga och Hölebo h:d) 1650-tal, Mörby (Seminghundra h:d) 1638, ca. 1650–1670, Smedby (Åkers skeppslag) 1640, Bogesund (Kinds & Marks h:d) 1652–1654, Kungslena (Kungslena sn) ca 1650, Lönnarp (Gudhems, Kåkind, Redvägs, Vartofta, Ås h:d) 1650–1651, Främmostad (Kållands, Valle, Viste, Kinne h:d m.fl.) ca. 1653, Torpa (Kind & Ås h:d) 1648, Öresten (Marks h:d) 1649–1650, Norrby (Bobergs h:d) ca. 1644, Sturefors (Bankekind, Hanekind, Valkebo m.fl.) 1651.
- 9 Published by Eli Heckscher 1963.
- 10 Almquist 1931–1947.
- 11 The count ship of Ortala was donated to field commander Lennart Torstensson (1603–51) after his great victories at the end of the Thirty Years' War. This was probably against the law while Ortala belonged to the "bergslag" (mining area) which should remain under Crown control.
- 12 *Säteier, rå- och rörs hemman, adelns tjänares hemman* were farm land free from all taxes. Heckscher 1963, p. 117; Helmfrid 1965.
- 13 Some examples of this is Cabinet minister Carl Bonde (d. 1652) who turned the hamlet Hässelby to a manor (1641), the hamlet Nockeby became Åkeshov after another Cabinet minister Åke Axelsson (Natt och dag) (d. 1655), part of the hamlet Järva became Jacobsdal (later Ulriksdal) 1643 after the field marshal and count Jacob de la Gardie (d. 1652). Norsa and other smaller settlements became the estate Rosersberg by count Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna (d. 1656), the hamlets Bolstomta, Lundby, Ösby became the estate Karlberg by king Karl IX's adulterine Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm (d. 1650). The hamlet Sollentuna became the manor Sollentunaholm. Almquist 1931, I:1:2, Selling 1966, pp. 48–62.
- 14 Selling 1966.
- 15 Helmfrid 1966 mapped all manors consisting of at least two full-taxed farms in the eastern part of Sweden.
- 16 Almquist 1931, I:1:2; Nilsson 1964, p. 133.
- 17 Nilsson 1964, p. 133.

- 18 Lagerstedt 1941, Lagerstedt 1942, Lagerstedt 1943.
 19 Smedby: 1–53.
 20 GGO:19, Almquist 1931, I:2, p. 689.
 21 In 1562 two farms belonged to nobleman Arvid Trolle who had his main manor Bergkvara in the province of Småland. Arvid Turesson Trolle (d. 1568) and his daughters owned over 30 farms in Uppland, six of which were situated in parish Alsike. They also owned manor Ängsö in lake Mälaren east of Västerås (Almquist 1931, I:1, p. 101). One farm belonged to a freeholder and five farms belonged earlier to the archbishop of Uppsala and other church institutions. Finally there was another farm belonging to a nobleman Part of Alsike by had 1630 had been given to Johannes Bureus (d. 1652). Almquist 1931, I:2 p. 537.
 22 Johan Cruus mother was Brita Pontusdotter De la Gardie and father the National Treasurer Jesper Mattson Cruus. Their stone grave monument is in Storkyrkan in the old Town in Stockholm. The brother Lars Cruus (1621–1656) was married to Agneta Horn (1629–1672) who was daughter to field marshal Gustav Horn (1592–1657). 10/3 1640; isk 2 AoE 4 kl. Almquist 1931, I:1.
 23 Johan Cruus and Katarina Axelsdotter had four daughters and the manor was inherited by Brita Cruus (d. 1716). Almquist 1931, I:2 p. 537. Backhaus 2009b, p. 456 f., p. 844, reg. nr 1153.
 24 Katarina Cruus hired the architect Nicodemus Tessin d.ä. for the buildings. This was his first independent project. Later his was working for Katarina's father Axel Oxenstierna and made the drawings for his palace in Stockholm and manor house Tidö in the province of Västmanland.
 25 In 1647 the Chancellor dated eight letters in Alsike and another in February 1648. In 1653, two letters were dated Alsike and two were dated Krusenberg. www.Riksarkivet.se click: sök i arkiven, click: Oxenstiernaregistret, accessed in June 2010.
 26 Widenberg 1998.
 27 Björnhag & Myrdal 1994, pp. 82–92.
 28 In 1640 to 1642 the surveyor Márten Christiernsson mapped some hundred settlements in central Uppland. Many so called concept maps have survived and contains some unique remarks by Márten Christiernsson about the situation for the peasants and their farms (Lantmäterimyndighetens arkiv i Uppsala län. Scanned version signum Uppsala:001-202, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.
 29 Uppsala:082-083, A5:137.
 30 Uppsala:102.
 31 Uppsala:105.
 32 A5:166-167, Uppsala:038, A5:20-21, Uppsala:074-075.
 33 Carlsson & Rosén 1962 pp. 557-560.
 34 Fiholm: 48.
 35 Oxenstiernaregistret, accessed in June 2010, Post no. 3123. Tidö 1639-10-27. (*Fullmakt för lantmätare Johan Larsson*).
 36 The immense scholarly works around the agrarian revolution in Sweden is summarized by Gadd 2000, especially pp. 142–369.

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- References to concept maps in the archive of Lantmäterimyndigheten in Uppsala. Signum Uppsala:38.
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The transition of land ownership in Sweden, 1562–1654, as reflected by the agrarian landscape

by Clas Tollin

Summary

A huge transfer of wealth from the Crown to the nobility, and especially to the high aristocracy, took place during the first half of the 17th century, partly through the Crown donating or selling its homesteads to the nobility and partly through assignment to the nobility of the taxation revenue which the homesteads generated. The nobility increased their land holdings by 250 per cent between 1560 and 1652. The influence and revenues of the Crown were further reduced by the simultaneous introduction of territorial counties and baronies. Regional developments are illustrated with the aid of thematic maps showing the change of land ownership in 70 hundreds (härad) of East Central Sweden.

There also occurred a transition from tenant and family farming to agricultural estates. The revolutionary impact of ownership changes on the agrarian landscape can be studied in the earlier large-scale maps. For tenant farmers in general, the transition from being a tenant of the Crown to being a tenant of the nobility made practically no difference to agricultural practice and land use. Bigger changes accompanied the formation of manorial properties (säteri). Several villages were evacuated or demolished

in connection with the formation of new manorial estates, especially in the Mälaren Valley. The new manor houses were often sited near big lakes or the sea. Orchards, deer parks, parklands, carp ponds and suchlike were established round about the corps de logis. Large outbuildings and stalls for livestock were often erected on the site of the former village. If possible, a brickworks was also established for producing the necessary building material. Another noticeable element of landscaping was the laying out of straight avenues linking the main building with vital points. Lime and oak were the preferred tree species.

The productive landscape, however, changed surprisingly little. Land use, field configurations and enclosure systems remained much as before, as did technology and production. The high aristocracy invested their newfound gains mostly in stately buildings and conspicuous consumption. Very little money was ploughed back into farming itself. It was not until the agrarian revolution that farming underwent a major transformation with steeply rising productivity. This is equally true of both small-scale and manorial farming.

(Translation by Kerstin & Roger Tanner)

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