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Reformation, Manors and Nobility

in Norway 1500-1821

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Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, Norwegian historians have debated the importance of manors and the nobility. Their answers have generally been negatively inclined, offering a nationalistic perspective that preferred a separate history of Norway excluding Denmark. However, with regard to the political, cultural and social realities of Norway's long relationship with Denmark prior to independence in 1814, it is clear that there is no such separate history – the countries' histories are deeply intertwined.

Norway was colonized by a Danish elite that used the Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century to take over the positions and the properties of the old Roman Catholic Church and the weakened Norwegian aristocracy. The parts of Norway that were most influenced by this development were the eastern and western sides of the Oslofjord, and parts of Trøndelag and western Norway. In these regions, manors and the nobility were major forces in creating new social, economic, cultural and symbolic systems for ruling, for the exercise of power, and for religious and legal control, systems which have many similarities to those of many other European countries. Manors and manor houses constituted important encounters between local and continental cultures, important links between Norway and the political centre in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark-Norway, and – not least – provided career opportunities to young and aspiring members of the country's ruling elite.

The aim of this chapter is to present some perspectives on the history of the Norwegian manors. One perspective that will be emphasized is the

The manor of Laurvigen

Dating from the 1670s, it was built by Ulrik Fredrik Gyldenløve (1638–1704) as the formal residence of the county (*grevskap*) established for him in 1671. (Photo: John Nilsen)

importance of the Lutheran Reformation with regard to the political development of Norway and, accordingly, the establishment of a noble elite loyal to the Danish king. The political status of the noble elite in Norway was closely linked to how manors and manor houses were established, and to how they functioned in a wider social and cultural context.

Furthermore, the chapter will present, partly through case studies, different phases of the development of Norwegian manors and manor houses. The Norwegian manors and nobility suffered repeated and varied crises that created some distinctive features. Despite its ambitions and claims, the nobility in Norway never had the same privileges that the nobility in Denmark were able to achieve in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Political changes in the 1660s further weakened the traditional privileges of noble status or of owning a manor. The only exceptions from this general rule were the two Norwegian counties (*grevskaper*) of Laurvigen and Jarlsberg, and the barony of Rosendal, all of which were created in the 1670s, after absolutism was instigated. The majority of the manors and their houses were either run – more or less successfully – as large farming estates by a small number of old noble families trying to maintain their own traditions and their traditional elite lifestyle, while in the last part of the seventeenth century other manors became the objects of (usually bourgeois) investors and merchants seeking to control the natural resources linked to the manors.

Kings, Reformers and Nobility

As already mentioned, the Lutheran Reformation had a crucial influence on the political development of Norway, with political control and administration being centralized in Denmark and Copenhagen.

The three Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Sweden had been united under one king since 1397. This union was finally dissolved in 1523 when, after a rebellion, Sweden demanded sovereignty with the prominent nobleman Gustav Vasa (1496–1560) as its first king. Danish kings had no Norwegian competitors at the time, so Norway stayed in the union with Denmark. When a civil war in Denmark over hereditary and confessional issues ended in 1536, with nobility and cities supporting the Lutheran Prince Christian III (1503–1559) as king, it paved the way for the introduction of Lutheranism in Denmark. The Norwegian Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson (c. 1480–1538) tried to mobilize Roman Catholic cul-

tural and political resistance, with central and northern Norway as its main geographical base. In the spring of 1537, however, the Archbishop had to flee Norway, and Danish authorities imprisoned the few Roman Catholic bishops that were still in office, took control of the major military fortresses through fiefholders loyal to Christian III – Akershus, Bergenhus and Båhus – and unilaterally declared Danish Lutheran rule valid in the Kingdom of Norway. Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), a central Lutheran reformer from Wittenberg, introduced new church ordinances, ordained new Lutheran ‘superintendents’ to take the old bishops’ positions, and crowned Christian III.¹ Contrary to previous custom, King Christian III was not elected by the Norwegian nobility or the Norwegian Council of the Realm, of which the Archbishop had been the chairman.²

From 1537, then, Lutheranism and Danish hegemony was imposed on the Norwegian population, of which the great majority consisted of farmers living in the countryside. The Lutheran Reformation is closely linked to strengthened Danish control and influence in the country.³ Old Norwegian elite groups (bishops and noblemen) were marginalized or simply removed, and the dissolution of the old church organization represented a serious setback for the country’s social and cultural development.⁴ The royal expropriation of church land had an immense impact on ownership structures.⁵

On the other hand, the ‘new’ Norway offered many career and financial possibilities for loyal Lutheran nobles of Danish and German origin. They were permitted to work and build up properties under royal privileges, enjoying major exemptions from taxes and tithes, but were obliged to serve the king in peace and war – and, not least, to act as representatives of a Lutheran elite taking part in the religious reform of the country. Some of these noble families received confiscated clerical or monastic estates as feoffments; others used their positions as royal officials to obtain property or resources in the areas of their responsibility – often far away from any strong royal control.⁶

The transfer of Norwegian land and estates to Danish nobles as part of the Reformation was a matter of concern for the few remaining representatives of the old Norwegian elite: for instance, clergymen like Absalon Pedersen Beyer (1528–1575), an aristocratic lecturer in Bergen, and Peder Clausen Friis (1545–1614), a dean in southern Norway, who both began to articulate an explicitly ‘Norwegian’ perspective on the process.

They argued that the Danish occupation of Norway had been unnecessarily harsh, with the burning of manuscripts, the destruction of monuments, and the neglect of the old national aristocracy – practices designed to sever traditional social bonds and erode the memory of Norway’s catholic heritage. Peder Clausen Friis took up the ongoing (but subdued) discussion in Norway on the question of Danish influence and power, and posed the question – to which he responded positively – of whether Norway ever had a nobility of its own, seeing that Danish noblemen filled all of the important political and social positions in his country.⁷ Norwegian observers noted the increasing prevalence of Danish noble names like Lange, Bjelke, Huitfeldt, Brockenhuus, Rosenkrantz, Munk, Sehested and Urne – families that were trusted by the Danish king, and who outnumbered nobility of Norwegian origin, nobles who in turn might have been viewed as politically suspect from the perspective of the court in Copenhagen.⁸

Basis of the Nobility’s Estates

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the basis of the nobility’s estates in Norway shifted from (or actually more often between) agricultural economies, which previously had been the most common, to a proto-industrial or semi-industrial economy. The latter was most often based on access to waterways and forests and thus to resources like fish, iron ore and timber, and on further development of technical infrastructure such as mills, quarries, and fisheries.⁹

With regard to their functions, economic basis and – partly – their origin, the art historian Einar Sørensen has suggested that Norway’s manors can be divided into three groups: agrarian manors, sawmill manors and staple port manors.¹⁰ However, many Norwegian manors had elements of all three functions, or had different functions through their history.

Even after 1536, the nobility in Norway was regarded as a separate group, with privileges and positions that were, formally speaking, different from those held by the Danish nobility.¹¹ The position of the nobility in Denmark and Norway was also distinct: by the mid-sixteenth century, 13% of the land was owned by nobles, while in Denmark the nobility owned 40%. In the last part of the same century, approximately 500 nobles owned land in Denmark, with around 100 in Norway. Because of strict rules governing marriage, the number of nobles in Norway decreased during the seventeenth century.¹²



Royal privileges were linked to a manor or an estate where the nobleman had his permanent household or 'seat' (*setegård*). The most successful nobles established several households to secure their privileged positions, although it was commonly acknowledged that noble privileges in Norway were fewer and less valuable than in Denmark. In the last half of the sixteenth century, the Norwegian nobility had, however, been conferred tax exemption for their manorial seats, free transportation and trade, free fishing and salting of fish, and the right to be judged by the Council of the Realm.¹³ The Norwegian nobility also continuously argued for their right to hold positions and fiefs similar to those of the nobility in Denmark, and they also claimed that the Norwegian Chancellor (*kansler*) should be Norwegian, or at least should have Norway as his permanent residence.¹⁴

In 1639 and 1646, however, these privileges were renegotiated by Christian IV (1577–1648). The Norwegian nobility 'willingly' accepted the

8.1 | A map showing the southern parts of Norway, indicating the manors mentioned in this chapter.

Most of the Norwegian manors are found concentrated in the southeastern part of the country.

loss of free transportation and trade, and their tax exemption was restricted to existing seats. This was compensated by a right to judge and punish their own tenants under Norwegian law, and a grant of tax exemption to their tenant farms. In general, these tenant farms were important assets of the Norwegian noble manors. The tenants both contributed financially to the owner of the manor and were obliged to conduct labour services at the manor. In 1648, new negotiations took place, and the new king, Frederik III (1609–1670), yielded to many of the Norwegian claims. Overall, even if the Norwegian nobility tried to obtain privileges similar to those of the nobility in Denmark, they did not fully succeed.¹⁵

In practice, most Norwegian manor houses in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries were modest buildings, often constructed as log houses that covered the basic needs of a noble household.¹⁶ On the other hand, before 1639 a nobleman could hold several privileged households or manors. In a few cases, however, the main buildings themselves were of a more substantial, impressive character – for example, Hafslund, Borregaard, Tomb,¹⁷ Elingaard,¹⁸ Nes and Austrått. Many manor houses associated with noble households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were abandoned. Many smaller manor houses were taken over by farmers and hence lost their privileges; others were bought by wealthy persons without noble status, as some of the following examples will show. In many ways, the seventeenth century represents a watershed in the cultural landscape of manors in Norway. Those Norwegian manors that survived the seventeenth century in most cases still exist in one form or another. A few noble families survived the economic and political crises of this period, and managed – at least for a time – to increase their wealth and property.¹⁹ For the noble elite in Norway, the two decades before 1660 seem to have been a period of prosperity. Many of the most prominent manors of the period were built or redesigned in these years. In order to understand the effects of this shift in the landscape, it is helpful to examine three individual case studies that illustrate its impact and legacy.

Austrått

Austrått is a very important and prominent example of a seventeenth-century manor house, located 75 kilometers northwest of Trondheim, in the county of Sør-Trøndelag.²⁰ Austrått had been an important centre of nobility and a manorial seat since the Middle Ages. There was possibly already

a fortified house there in the fifteenth century. The Norwegian Chancellor Niels Henriksen (c. 1455–1523) was one of the most powerful and wealthy estate owners of his time, and his portfolio of properties included Austrått. His widow, Inger Ottesdatter (c. 1470–1555) took over as the owner of the Austrått estate on his death in 1523, and due to political ambitions and (eventually) Lutheran sympathies, she and her Danish-born sons-in-law came into severe conflict with the last Norwegian Archbishop, Olav Engelbrektsson, in the following years.

It is held by some scholars that parts of today's main building at Austrått were constructed in the early to mid-fifteenth century by Niels Henriksen and his wife, but this is disputed. In 1552, Inger Ottesdatter transferred the Austrått estate to her daughter Lucie Nielsdatter (c. 1510–1555), who was married to the Danish nobleman Jens Tillufsen Bjelke (d. 1559). Inger and her daughter drowned at sea in 1555; this event marked the beginning of the equally important Bjelke period in Austrått's history.

Austrått became one of the important estates of the influential Bjelke family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with close connections to key individuals in the military and political service of the Danish-Norwegian king. The noble Bjelke family originated from Skåne (*Scania*) in present-day Sweden, formerly part of Denmark. Jens Ågesen Bjelke (1580–1659), the grandson of Lucie Nielsdatter and Jens Tillufsen Bjelke, used Austrått as a base for his expanding number of estates all over Norway. These included manors such as Elingaard and Sande in Østfold county to the south, which he acquired in marriage to Sophie Brockenhuus (1587–1656), in addition to the manors of Kjølbjerg, Kanestrøm and Hovinsholm, located respectively in the counties of Østfold (in the south), Møre and Romsdal (in the west) and Hedmark (in the east). At the time of his death, Jens Tillufsen Bjelke was Norway's largest landowner: his landed property was estimated at 2000 *tønder hartkorn* (approximately 250 farms),²¹ and his economic strength and social position enabled him to build or renew many of his various manors and estates around Norway.

On his death in 1659, Jens Bjelke's many children inherited different parts of his enormous complex of estates, thus contributing to the slow decline of the wealth of the Bjelke family. Jens Bjelke's son Ove Bjelke (1611–1674) inherited Austrått, and it was he – together with his three wives – who most likely refurbished the main building, giving it the appearance it had until it was destroyed by a fire in 1916. The principal building activities took place in 1655–56. Using the medieval church at Austrått



8.2 | Austrått, Sør-Trøndelag

The house was completely destroyed by a fire in 1916, but a complete inventory and record made a few months earlier enabled it to be restored to its former glory in 1961.

(Photo: Arne Bugge Amundsen)

as a point of departure, he built an integral chapel for his family and the employees at the manor, with a burial chapel that would eventually house himself and all of his three wives.²² By Norwegian standards, Austrått was an impressive and highly modern manor house, built in stone, with side wings forming a courtyard, an ornamented raised gateway, and a central tower and staircase constructed around a loggia. The coats of arms of the family members were given central locations in the building. The manor also included a baroque garden with a stone pyramid remembering the family's ancestors.²³ In general, references to the Bjelke family's history, legacy and noble status are numerous, which is quite typical for the manor houses at the time.²⁴

Ove Bjelke's period as the owner and resident at Austrått was the definite heyday of the manor – and of the Bjelke family in Norway. After the death of Ove Bjelke, the estate was taken over by his nephew, Christopher Bjelke (1654–1704), and from him in turn by another nephew, Christian Fredrik von Marschalck (c. 1650–1719). These last two owners with connections to the Bjelke family brought Austrått to an economic and social crisis that ended in 1699, when the estate was taken over by Marschalck's

creditors. By that point, income from the estate hardly covered its costs.²⁵ The Bjelke era had come to an end, and several decades of speculation and changing ownership followed.

Foss-Fossesholm

Another example, this time from southeastern Norway, is Foss in Buskerud county, west of Oslo. Foss became the centre of a considerable estate under the Danish-born nobleman Peder Hansen (c. 1500–1551).²⁶ As the name itself suggests (*foss* means ‘waterfall’ in Norwegian), the estate’s waterfalls created an opportunity to build sawmills. The manor of Foss was, from around 1630, referred to by the more ‘aristocratic’ name of Fossesholm,²⁷ and served as Peder Hansen’s principal seat. Typical of many Norwegian manors or seats, Foss originated from several smaller farms which were partly owned by lower noblemen or non-nobles, and were later merged by noble entrepreneurs and career builders like Peder Hansen.²⁸

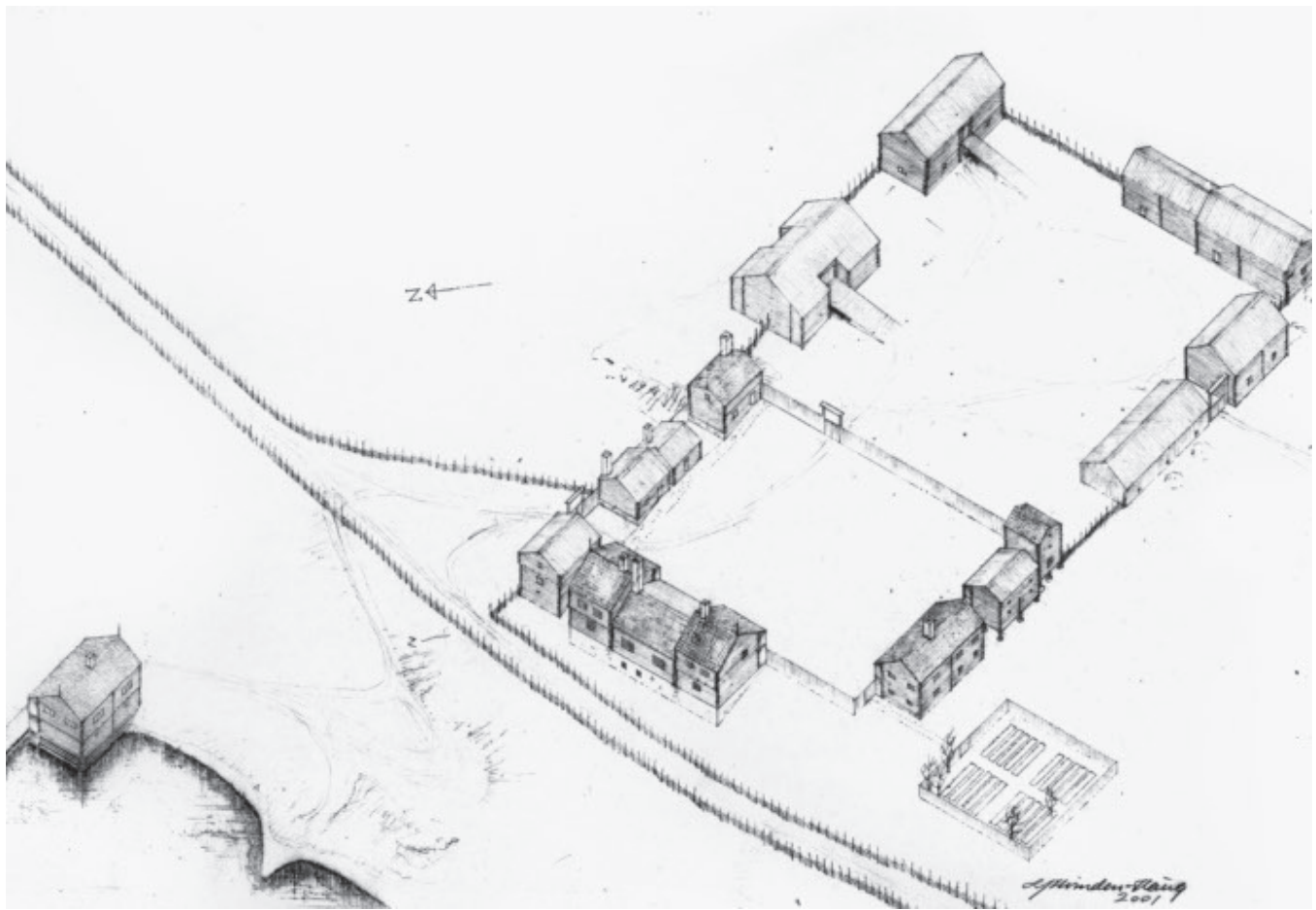
Peder Hansen followed the traditional route for lesser Danish noblemen and married into a wealthy Norwegian noble family, the owners of Austrått. His wife was Ingeborg Nielsdatter (c. 1507–1597), the older sister of the above-mentioned Lucie Nielsdatter of Austrått. Peder Hansen also knew how to attain royal favours in a period of political and religious unrest. In 1523, the Danish and Norwegian King Christian II (1481–1559) was forced to leave his throne and flee both countries. Part of the conflict concerned the way King Christian II had treated Sweden as part of the Kalmar Union, but more importantly, it was due to disputes about catholic reform and developing protestantism. Christian II himself was not a fervent catholic, but later he came to be seen as a defender of the Roman Catholic Church. His younger brother succeeded him on the Danish and Norwegian thrones in 1523 as Frederik I (1471–1533). Frederik was sympathetic to the protestant cause, but politically he attempted to balance the religious parties. During his reign, however, a number of young Danish noblemen, partly in company with Frederik’s eldest son, Christian (later Christian III), attacked and plundered Norwegian churches and monasteries. The campaign led by the crown prince in Oslo in 1529 was particularly infamous, as he forced the authorities in the St. Mary’s Church to hand over church silver and other precious objects.²⁹

In 1532, the deposed Christian II made an attempt to regain power in Denmark and Norway, starting in Norway. He was supported by a number



8.3 | Monumental pyramid, Austrått, Sør-Trøndelag

Placed within the grounds of the house in the seventeenth century close to the passing roads, to proclaim their noble genealogy, the Bjelke family used this landmark. (Photo: Daniel Johansen)



8.4 | Reconstruction of Fossesholm Today's Fossesholm looks very different to this reconstruction of the manor as it appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century. The reconstruction is based on historical sources, and shows the close integration of residential and agricultural buildings. (Illustration: Lars Jacob Hvinden-Haug)

of abbots and other members of the church elite, but his military campaign was not a success, and he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in Denmark. Christian II's defeat prompted a new wave of destructive plundering and military raids against monasteries and other church institutions in Norway. Between 1527 and 1533, attacks on church institutions were supported and partly directed by the Danish nobleman Mogens Gyldenstjerne (c. 1485–1569), the feudal overlord of Akershus fortress and fief.⁵⁰

This description of the conditions surrounding the political unrest in eastern Norway during this period serves to explain how Peder Hansen managed to build his fortune: he strongly supported the later Christian III, and as the result of his strategic choices, held (succeeding Mogens Gyldenstjerne) the important office of fiefholder or feudal overlord of Akershus, the largest and most important of the Norwegian fiefs at the time, from 1536 until his death in 1551. From this position as the crown's most prominent servant in Norway, Peder Hansen continued to destroy old

church institutions, demolishing monasteries, churches and the Bishop's Palace in Oslo.³¹ No less importantly, he seems to have used his position to suppress tenants and farmers in order to enlarge his own estate, including his economic interests in mining, iron manufacture and sawmills.

Peder Hansen was a typical example of the young Danish noblemen who found in Norway a perfect arena for building up large properties, manors and privileges. They had close and often lifelong ties to the royal court in Copenhagen, but they operated as a part of the large Danish-Norwegian kingdom, which was furthest away from Copenhagen and thus the furthest from strict royal control – and they had few local competitors.

The result for Peder Hansen was astonishing wealth, with large investments in landed property, forests and transport routes in southeastern Norway, but this only lasted for three generations. For most of his life, Peder Hansen's son Hans Pedersen (c. 1540–1602) held important political positions in Norway, and he inherited Fossesholm.³² The Danish nobleman Gunde Lange (c. 1570–c. 1645) married Hans Pedersen's daughter Anne Hansdatter (1578–1633),³³ but his increasing debt resulted in Fossesholm being turned into a royal property in the 1630s, and by 1706 Fossesholm lost all of its privileges as a noble property.³⁴

Nes

A third example is Nes, in Torsnes in Østfold county, 80 kilometres south of Oslo. As with Foss, the Nes estate was composed from a number of farms and different properties in the area, but contrary to Foss, it never had access to natural resources other than arable land and a port. From the sixteenth century, Nes was owned by the noble Bildt family, and from the 1570s Daniel Bildt had Nes as his manorial estate. The Bildt family was also closely connected to the owners of Austrått; Daniel Bildt (d. c. 1585) was married to Blanceflor Lunge, the granddaughter of Inger Ottesdatter and Niels Henriksen.

Daniel Bildt's grandson Vincents Bildt (1606–1658) held several important fiefs in southeastern Norway, and served as an officer in the wars against Sweden throughout the 1600s. Through opportunities opened up for him by his many political and military positions, Vincents Bildt built up a considerable estate in the area around the town of Tønsberg, on the west side of the Oslofjord, but kept Nes as his manorial seat until his death. Nes was enlarged as a landed property during this period, and in the 1650s



8.5 | Nes in Østfold county

This aerial photograph from the 1950s shows what remained of the manor built by Vincents Bildt 300 years earlier. The main building was reconstructed after a fire in 1827, but with only one wing. Originally, the manor was U-shaped with two wings and a tower. (Photo: Widerøe, copyright Østfold Fylkes billedarkiv)

Vincents Bildt also took control of the neighbouring manor, Tose, an even larger estate than Nes.

Vincents Bildt's wealth was used in part to build a stately main building at Nes – in granite, according to the latest fashions, with formal baroque gardens and ponds, and possibly partly fortified. Even if Bildt may only have occasionally resided at Nes, he still constructed an impressive manor, showing his symbolic power and presence in the local society. Many similarities between Nes and Austrått, both of which were built or reconstructed in the 1650s, can be pointed out: their building materials (stone); their ground plans (a square closed by a four-winged building); their architectural details (towers), their heraldic symbols; and their position in the landscape (a castle-like, impressive manor house in a fairly flat agricultural area). These similarities show the ambitions and competitive atmosphere within the self-assured higher nobility in Norway in the mid-seventeenth

century: fighting for their privileges, showing their elite ancestry, and comparing their own position with the position of the nobility in Denmark.³⁵

However, Vincents Bildt's wealth barely survived him or his widow, Else Friis (d. 1677), despite both fighting fiercely for the honour and fortune of their family. Their three children divided their father's properties between them, but Vincents Bildt's fortune had been supported in large measure by mortgages. In addition, the reduction of noble privileges following the introduction of absolutism in Denmark-Norway in 1660 added further problems. The family's creditors immediately positioned themselves, and a series of court cases took place. Vincents Bildt's only son Anders Bildt (1639–1683) inherited Nes, but eventually he also built up considerable personal debt. Anders Bildt's only daughter Else Cathrine Bildt had married a nobleman and military officer, Fredrik Christian Reichwein, but in 1687 they left Nes manor to her mother, Anne Høeg, for the rest of her lifetime due to the family's substantial debt. When Anne Høeg died (c. 1709), Reichwein tried to install himself at Nes with a new wife, but the project was doomed to fail. In 1724 the Nes manor was finally sold by the Bildt-Reichwein family – the buyer being another member of an old noble family, Knud Gyldenstjerne Sehested (discussed below).³⁶

In conclusion, the Lutheran Reformation was crucial to the development of manors and nobility in Norway. As a direct result of the Reformation, the old noble and church elite was marginalized and church estates were put in the hands of the Lutheran kings, which made it possible to develop new fortunes and new careers for those who chose the 'right' faction. In addition, Norway had a number of unmarried noblewomen who could make major contributions towards building the careers of Danish-born noblemen. Though fighting for their privileges, it seems that the nobility in Norway experienced the 1650s as an Indian summer. Their incomes increased, their privileges developed, and their response was a prolific building programme which made symbolic reference to the glorious and honourable past of the noble elite.

The Catastrophe of 1660

The build-up of important noble estates and manors in Norway had been based on the king's need for loyal servants in this part of his widely dispersed kingdom. The loyalty of the nobility was to a large extent built on

opportunities for developing and exploiting the natural resources of Norway, and for gaining control over landed property confiscated from the church, bought or rented from the crown, or collected through strategic marital alliances.

Noblemen like Gunde Lange, Anders Bildt and the Bjelke nephews were all aligned with the losing side after the catastrophic wars with Sweden in the 1640s and 1650s. By 1658, Denmark-Norway had lost important territories in both Norway and Denmark that would never be reconquered – Jemtland, Herjedalen, Båhuslen, Skåne, Halland and Blekinge. The architect of the European war efforts and the instigator of the kingdom's downfall, Christian IV (b. 1577), died in 1648, and his son Frederik III continued to blame the Danish nobility for not having fulfilled their obligations as servants of the realm in the wars with Sweden. After a complex political process, Frederik III managed to marginalize the 'old nobility', who had failed to support him and his father in times of political and military crises, and introduced a system of absolute monarchy.

The introduction of absolute monarchy in 1660 was marked by the abolition of several of the privileges previously enjoyed by the old nobility, both in Denmark and in Norway. The main privilege that survived this political revolution was tax and tithe exemption on estates' demesne land – the *setegård*.³⁷

At the same time, and as we have already seen above, many of the 'old' noblemen ended up with substantial economic problems. In several cases, they had borrowed money from wealthy burghers, using their estates as security. Typically this financial crisis seems to have stemmed from a combination of ambitious building projects and conspicuous consumption – both parts of a strategy to maintain the ideals, ambitions and power of the aristocracy. Again, Nes and Austrått can be seen as typical examples of the results of this strategy. As they were unable to repay loans and mortgages, the noble owners were forced to transfer or formally sell the estates and manors to their creditors, or at least to transfer ownership to other noble families. In a few cases, old noble families managed to keep control of what was left of their family fortunes, but in most cases they were left isolated from the monarch and the new court constructed around the new political centre in Copenhagen.

Accordingly, the military and political catastrophe of Denmark-Norway in 1660 was also catastrophic for the 'old nobility'. Only a few of these

noble families and their family representatives subsequently managed to stay close to royal power and to build their careers at the court. As family fortunes diminished, they more often had to find other career paths, for instance in military service; alternatively, they entered into marriages with wealthy heirs or established other alliances in order to safeguard their property. Military service was badly paid, and forced noblemen to stay away from their estates for long periods, which contributed to weakening their social and economic positions further.

A New Nobility Emerging After 1660

As part of its political strategy, the new absolutist monarchy sought to establish a 'new nobility' in Denmark-Norway to replace those it deemed unreliable. The hierarchy of this new nobility was based on the size of their estates, their perceived level of loyalty, or their connections to the crown and the royal family. A royal proclamation of 23rd May 1671 described the privileges of counts and barons (*grever* and *friherrer*) in Denmark-Norway. Such titles had not been used before, and the royal proclamation made clear distinctions between this new nobility and the old with regard to rank, honour, heraldry, legal status and economic basis. The king created new estates (*grevskap* and *baroni*) for the counts and barons. These estates were intended to be passed on in their entirety, and the primogeniture principle was introduced for the first time in Denmark-Norway. The privileges linked to these new estates were only fiscal and economic, not political. The old combination of noble status and military service for the king was repealed. The members of the new nobility were rich landowners with benefits.³⁸

In Norway the number of estates created for the new nobility was very limited – with one barony south of Bergen (Rosendal) and two *grevskap* (Laurvigen and Griffenfeldt, later named Jarlsberg) southwest of Christiania (Oslo). These three new estates were composed from older noble estates, or estates owned by the crown (Jarlsberg), and the transition from old to new noble estates was closely linked to important political processes in Copenhagen. The transition also motivated the building of impressive new manor houses according to the ambitions and wealth of their owners.³⁹



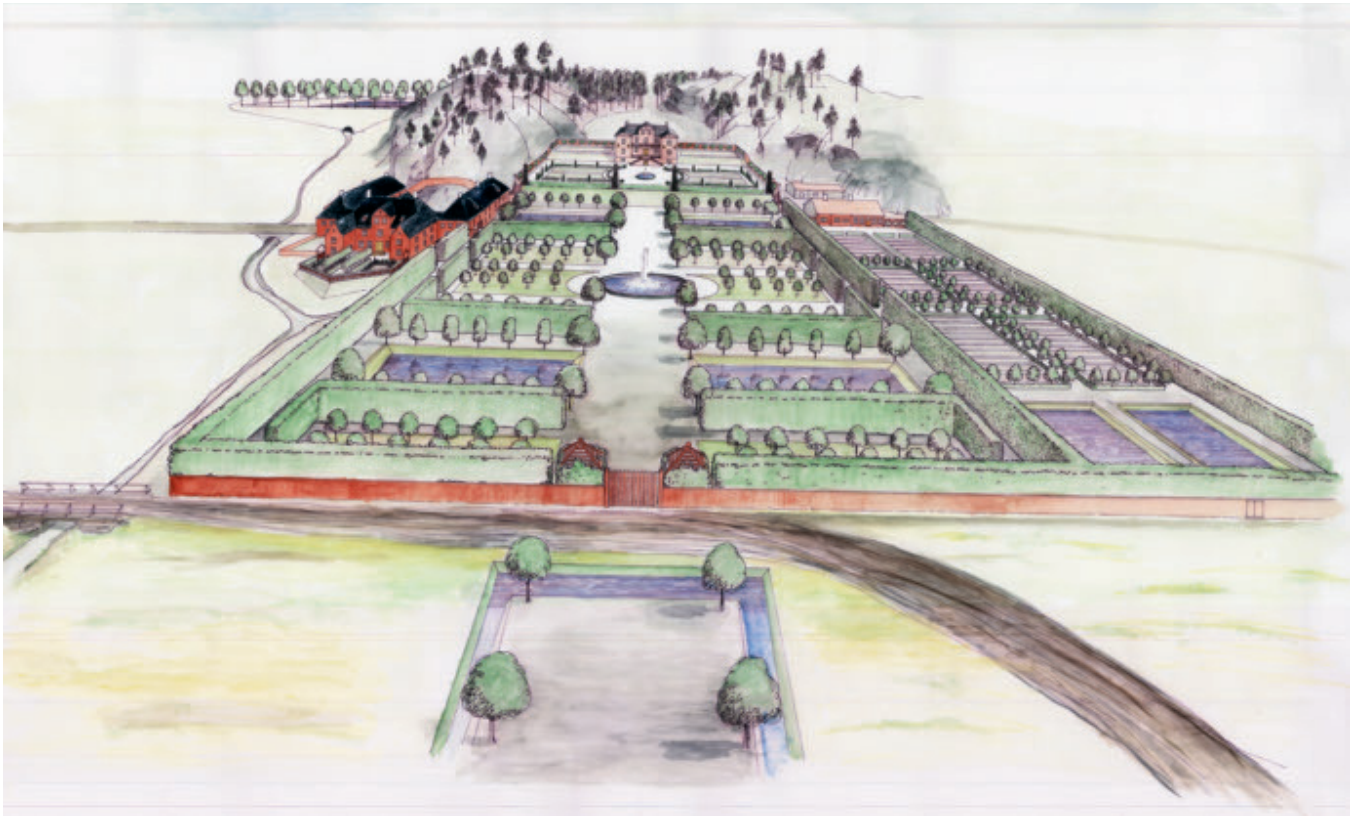
Laurvigen

8.6 | The garden at Elingaard in the county of Østfold

The present main building was built in the 1740s, and the garden was laid out in the late-eighteenth century in the English style. (Photo: Wikimedia Commons)

A very important example of one of the new counts' estates established after the introduction of absolutism, is the manor of Laurvigen (present-day town of Larvik). The manor house was a semi-urban residence for the counts of Laurvigen from the 1670s to 1805. The counts of Laurvigen mainly stayed in Denmark, and rarely resided at the manor. When they did visit, it was only for short periods, but the large estate at Laurvigen was their main economic basis. In their absence, the counts established a complex social and cultural structure on their Norwegian estate with tenants, workers, officials, transportation structures, court systems and religious institutions. This structure has had a deep influence on this part of Norway up until the present.⁴⁰

The whole project originated with the wish of count Ulrik Fredrik



Gyldenløve (1638–1704), illegitimate son of Frederik III,⁴¹ to establish a position for himself in Norway. His main official career was linked to his position as governor (stattholder) in Norway between 1664 and 1699. The ‘county’ (grevskap)⁴² of Laurvigen was established for him in 1671, and a residential building was constructed soon after that. In 1677 the count married the countess Antoinette Augusta von Aldenburg (1660–1701), who brought a substantial fortune to the marriage. The residential building in Larvik was a timbered house surrounded by what was probably Norway’s most ambitious, modern and impressive garden at the time, presumably finished by 1680. The garden showed the count’s position and ambitions on a European level, with ponds, fountains, fruit trees, hedges and an alley leading to the harbour.⁴³

At the time of the establishment of the county, Laurvigen was not yet formally recognized as a town with full privileges, but was regarded as a staple port; that is, a port with limited import and export rights under the legislation and control of the nearest town, in this case the town of Tønsberg. The economic interest of Gyldenløve was the structuring principle

8.7 | The ambitious garden in Laurvigen was finished by 1680

At the northern end of the garden, Count Gyldenløve built another house, seen in the centre of this reconstruction, of which little remains. (Copyright: Lars Jacob Hvinden-Haug)

behind the organization of commerce in the area. But in any case, the residence of the count should be regarded as an urban structure. It had close symbolic and technical links to the administration and legal power of the county, including the management of the most important sources of income for the *grevskap* – the sawmills and the ironworks.

Moreover, the count's residence in Laurvigen hosted a number of royal visits: Christian V (1646–1699) in 1685, Frederik IV (1671–1730) in 1704, Christian VI (1699–1746) in 1733 and Frederik V (1723–1766) in 1759. Despite this, and with few exceptions, the counts of Laurvigen did not stay in their residence for longer periods of time. Their residential base was in the capital, Copenhagen, close to the political power of the Danish-Norwegian court. Compared with their residences in Copenhagen, the counts must have regarded the Laurvigen manor as a minor, perhaps even picturesque Norwegian souvenir, with a landscape, population and building materials quite different from what was found in Denmark. There were marked differences between the Laurvigen manor and count Gyldenløve's palace in Copenhagen.

The earlier history of the Laurvigen manor is equally interesting. The county (*grevskap*) of Laurvigen was founded on the basis of a manor established in the sixteenth century by two Danish noble dynasties that managed to seize control of important natural resources and transform them into economically productive assets. The first of these dynasties has many similarities with the dynasty established by Peder Hansen and the Foss/Fossesholm estate in the 1540s.

In the mid-1530s, the Danish nobleman Iver Jensen (c. 1500–1570) married a daughter of the prominent Norwegian nobleman Olav Galle (d. 1531), Karine Olavsdaughter (d. 1565).⁴⁴ The Galle family had a considerable fortune, centred on the estate and manor of Tomb in their district of Smaalenene (present-day Østfold). The marriage and favours from several Danish royal officials after the Reformation brought Iver Jensen into a privileged position – and he achieved a good knowledge of Norway and its possibilities for those noble Danes who wanted to make a career in the country.

Already in the 1520s, Iver Jensen was testing his prospects in Norway. With the support of Frederik I and Mogens Gyldenstjerne at Akershus, he visited the monastery of Gimse (close to the town of Skien), where he 'disgraced' the nuns – as contemporary sources euphemistically report – and forced some of them to marry before claiming the rights and privileges of the monastery for himself.⁴⁵ It cannot be firmly established whether this



was an expression of Lutheran sympathies, or simply one of pure greed and violence; however, the vulgarity and brutality of Iver Jensen's activities suggest the latter. In the turmoil following the defeat of Christian II's army in Norway in 1531, Iver Jensen pursued his opportunities further, and in 1541 he became the owner of crown properties in the Farris area (now centre of the town of Larvik), the most important of which was the Fresje farm. This gave him control over waterfalls, sawmills and timber transportation, and he quickly began to build a substantial manor house at Fresje.

Iver Jensen's son, Peder Iversen (1551–1616), developed his father's estates further, not least his manor at Fresje. The basis of this estate was – again – access to timber and water power for sawmills. No less importantly, Peder Iversen married one of the fosterlings of Norway's former governor, Poul Huitfeldt (1520–1592). Through his loyalty to the crown, ambition, and strategic marriage, Peder Iversen quickly advanced to a prominent position among the nobility based in Norway.⁴⁶ Accordingly, he built what

8.8 | Ulrik Fredrik Gyldenløve's main residence in Copenhagen

Even though he served the king of Norway for many years, his palace in Copenhagen was erected between 1672 and 1683. In 1699, the building was sold to the royal family and was renamed Charlottenborg. This painting by Jacob Coning shows the palace in 1694. (Copyright: Frederiksborg Museum)

was described as a 'stone house' at Fresje, parallel to his father's building.⁴⁷ However, very little is known about these buildings.

No exact information remains regarding the size, design, or interiors of these two buildings – and they were both completely destroyed by a flood in 1653. This accident compounded the economic decline of the noble owners, the Langes. Their fortune and success was closely linked to their loyalty to the Norwegian governor Hannibal Sehested (1609–1666), and when Sehested fell from power in 1651, the Lange family was quickly and effectively attacked by their many enemies. Despite prolonged conflict in and out of the courts, they eventually had to sell their property to a prominent representative of the new political order, Ulrik Fredrik Gyldenløve.⁴⁸

What, then, made Count Gyldenløve so interested in the Fresje/Laurvigen area? It was obviously related to the area's access to raw materials like iron ore and timber, both of which were in high demand for military and civilian purposes in Denmark and abroad. The ironworks and the saw-mills that had been constructed by the Jensen and Lange families were both extremely attractive propositions. The estate was big enough to fill the requirements of a *grevskap* according to the new absolutist rules,⁴⁹ and so it became the economic foundation for a high life, lived in Copenhagen and abroad, for the counts of Laurvigen until 1805, when it was sold to the king even after decades of serious mismanagement, such was its strategic importance.

Rosendal

Norway's only barony was Rosendal. In 1658, a member of one of the most prominent old noble Danish families, Ludvig Rosenkrantz (1628–1685), married the exceptionally wealthy Norwegian noblewoman Karen Mowat (c. 1630–1675). Rosenkrantz had a military career, and distinguished himself in the Danish-Norwegian defence against Swedish aggression in the middle of Norway in 1658. His efforts seem to have accorded him a favoured position at court even after the absolutist revolution in 1660, and he held several important civil and military positions in his lifetime.

Despite his respectable career and the fortune he inherited through his wife, Rosenkrantz did not succeed economically. In his various public offices, and during his long stays in Copenhagen, he would display a lavish lifestyle of conspicuous consumption, which was also apparent from his extensive building activities at the Hatteberg manor in Hardanger, where



a baroque castle was erected in the 1660s. His prominent position at the court of Christian V outweighed his severe economic problems, and the barony of Rosendal was created in 1678 and Rosenkrantz and his male successors were given the hereditary title of baron, even though his fortune did not quite meet the requirements.⁵⁰ At the same time, Hatteberg manor was made the centre of the barony and given the name 'Rosendal'.⁵¹

Ludvig Rosenkrantz had three sons, but only Axel Rosenkrantz (1670–1723) lived long enough to make the new generation's mark on the barony of Rosendal. Axel Rosenkrantz did not have any male heirs, so at the point of his death, the barony (with all its properties) was returned to the crown in accordance with the laws governing new noble titles.

In 1749, Rosendal became an entailed estate (*stamhus*),⁵² but only thirty years later in 1779, it was re-established as a barony with Baron (from 1783, Count) Marcus Gerhard Rosencrone (1738–1811) as its owner. In 1837, Rosendal was turned into an entailed estate for the second time.⁵³

8.9 | Rosendal, shown in an oil painting from 1705 The manor, with its garden, harbour and Kvinnherad Church, forms a background for the baron's equipage, which is just arriving. (Copyright: Baroniet Rosendal)

The economic basis of the barony of Rosendal was never particularly strong, based as it was on agricultural production and dispersed landed property. This did not prevent the two generations of the Rosenkrantz family at Rosendal from building up a substantial degree of cultural capital. In fact, Ludvig Rosenkrantz seems to have concentrated on his civil and military offices and the high life in Copenhagen. After him, his son Axel managed to restore the economic foundations of Rosendal by focusing on his position and potential as a Norwegian landlord. This did not make him especially popular among the peasants or the local authorities – but that was of minor importance to him, and did not prevent his success.⁵⁴

The Rosendal example shows that it was possible for representatives of the ‘old nobility’ to build new careers and fortunes in Norway after the absolutist revolution of 1660. As an architectural construction, Rosendal has many similarities with Nes and Austrått. As a representation of the ‘new nobility’, Rosendal manor was looking backwards, making reference to the aesthetic preferences of the ‘old nobility’. Its privileges, on the other hand, were based on the policy of the ‘new nobility’. Only three manors based on the policy of the new absolutist regime were established in Norway, a fact that demonstrated the inferiority of Norway as compared to Denmark. The ‘Indian summer’ of the nobility in Norway had come to an end.

Another Development – Natural Resources and Noble Estates in Smaalenene

The ‘catastrophe’ of 1660 created a clear watershed in the history of the old nobility and the manors of Norway. The main economic privilege that remained was the manors’ tax exemption. The nobility no longer had the exclusive privilege of royal service, and their tenants had to pay taxes like any other farmers. Privileges now became attached to the ownership of estates, rather than to a noble title. As a consequence, the manors caught the attention of new groups who tried to obtain the same benefits from the purchase of such estates – and to a certain degree, also from the status of being owners of historic buildings and properties. In other cases, the old manors were bought by noble families trying to unite their (in most cases) military careers with an economic basis for a lifestyle appropriate to their status.

Following the history – described above – of Nes and Tose manors in Smaalenene (literally ‘the small fiefdoms’; today, Østfold County), Tose was

sold by its old owners to a German noble military officer named Johann Friedrich Heusner in 1699. By that time, much of the landed property belonging to the manor had already been sold or mortgaged. In addition, it seems that the property had been run rather badly. Heusner immediately claimed his rights, renewed the buildings and tried to modernize the running of the farm, including the more extensive use of work by the tenants. He must have succeeded, despite the fact that Smaalenene was severely damaged by the invasions of Swedish armies under Charles XII (1682–1718) between 1716 and 1718.

Heusner's daughter Frederika Augusta Heusner (c. 1695–1764) married a member of the old Danish nobility, Knud Gyldenstjerne Sehested (1690–1758), who began a military career in Norway in 1709. From 1719, Sehested was the owner of Tose, and in 1724 he also bought the Nes manor. From that point up to his death in 1758, he bought landed property that had previously belonged to the two manors in order to strengthen his economic basis. His efforts lasted for another generation. Nes and Tose were divided between his two children, but Tose was sold in 1786 to a wealthy tradesman in the town of Fredrikshald (present-day Halden), and in 1797 Nes manor was also sold to a tradesman. At that time, the manors had been mismanaged for decades, and their owners' social and economic decline had become a public scandal.⁵⁵

Borregaard and Hafslund

The destinies of Nes and Tose represent the last phase of the old Danish-Norwegian nobility's efforts to maintain their position as major landowners in Norway. As a contrast – still taking Smaalenene County as an example – the manors of Borregaard and Hafslund should be mentioned.⁵⁶ The county of Smaalenene was an important but geographically limited area southeast of Oslo/Christiania. Before 1660, the southern parts of Smaalenene held a substantial number of noble households or seats. These small fiefdoms consisted of limited administrative districts and remnants of confiscated church property. In addition, this part of Norway had considerable natural resources – waterfalls, timber and access to the sea. This combination made Smaalenene a perfect area to build up substantial estates by using the privileges of the nobility.⁵⁷ After 1660, natural resources remained linked to a few of these estates, even though the privileges of the nobility were reduced.

The manors Hafslund and Borregaard were extraordinary in the sense that they controlled access to one of northern Europe's largest waterfalls (Sarpen, north of the town of Fredrikstad), at the end of the Glommen, the longest and most important river in Norway. The manors are situated on either side of the waterfall. Since the sixteenth century these two manors, both with a history stretching back to the Middle Ages, operated several sawmills and extended their control over transport routes and forests along the river.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Borregaard was owned by the old noble family of Bagge, but along with many of their contemporaries the family had severe economic problems, and had to mortgage their properties. By 1665, Borregaard was taken over by the Danish born career official Christen Jensen (1604–1683), who had a remarkable career behind him as a bailiff, a town councillor and a judge (appeal judge [*lagmann*] from 1662). In all his different positions, he used every opportunity – whether lawful or not – to build his own fortune. He was constantly engaged in litigation, and lent money strategically to noblemen in economic difficulties. He also acted as a guardian for widowed noblewomen, taking every opportunity to develop his own interests. The Bagge family at Borregaard was an interesting object of Christen Jensen's speculations, whose ultimate aim was obviously to take over Borregaard and realize its enormous economic potential. He also tried to intervene with Nes and Anders Bildt, but was less successful in that enterprise.⁵⁸

Christen Jensen had only one child, Helvig Christensdatter (1653–1692), who in 1667 married his successor as appeal judge, Werner Nielsen (1625–1695). Werner Nielsen had a similar career to that of his father-in-law: he had come from Denmark, entered Norway as a tradesman, worked as an appeal judge and investor, and lent money to noblemen in order to take control of their properties. In addition, he managed to take control of Christen Jensen's enormous wealth by marrying his daughter. Nielsen also tried to take control of the manor Tose in Torsnes, but did not manage to do so. The old noble owners had counter-strategies to avoid selling off their properties to an investor of non-noble origin. Instead, Werner Nielsen concentrated his efforts on Hafslund, which was owned at the time by the Bildt family. In 1674 he was able to take over Hafslund.⁵⁹

However, neither Christen Jensen nor Werner Nielsen seem to have been preoccupied with nobility or noble privileges. They were mainly businessmen and investors, and aimed at taking control of manors and estates



with significant financial potential. Both Borregaard and Hafslund had their historical privileges with regard to tax exemption, and both Jensen and Nielsen were ‘men of rank’ (and as such were entitled to own privileged estates), but that was probably of minor importance within their wider business interests.⁶⁰

Christen Jensen’s Borregaard manor house was most likely a three-winged, single-floored timber construction, similar to most of the Norwegian manors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1702, it was completely destroyed by a mudslide. The new manor was a similar construction that still forms the basis of the present-day house at Borregaard. The Hafslund manor that Werner Nielsen controlled from 1674 was much more impressive, a Renaissance building of the early-seventeenth century built with bricks and based on Danish architectural models.⁶¹

8.10 | Hafslund manor, by Jacob Coning from around 1700

This is the only painting of Hafslund manor that exists and depicts the renaissance-style manor as a minor element overlooking the waterfalls of Sarp, with its many sawmills. The manor of Borregaard was situated on the other, western, side of the waterfalls. (Photo: O. Væring)

Werner Nielsen and Helvig Christensdatter had four sons, and three of them were ennobled with the name of Werenskiold. Niels Werenskiold (1669–1741, ennobled 1697), inherited Hafslund, and Jens Werenskiold (c. 1675–1744, ennobled 1717) inherited Borregaard. Both manors then remained in the family for another generation, but the ennoblements only afforded their owners honour, not any further economic privileges. In the 1750s, both manors were again the object of investments by wealthy merchants, most of whom were based in the city of Christiania. As in the case of Christen Jensen and Werner Nielsen, the investors sought access to natural resources, waterfalls and transport routes. Nobility could be a cultural and social asset for investors, but it was not crucial to their economic success.⁶²

In 1757, Borregard was sold to Peder Holter (1723–1786), a clergyman's son who built a fortune as an investor specializing in the timber trade. He was politically active and held several important civil offices, but never sought ennoblement. In the 1770s, he also bought Hafslund in order to control both sides of the important waterfalls at Sarpen. His wife, Maren Juel (1749–1815, married 1771) inherited Peder Holter's enormous fortune and later remarried twice. Her last husband, the Danish nobleman Marcus Giøe Rosenkrantz (1762–1838), kept Hafslund as his own property after his wife's death, while in 1814 Borregaard was sold to new investors. The owners of Borregaard and Hafslund never sought to have a *grevskap* or a barony established. Rosenkrantz's noble status gave him and his wife a certain degree of honour and status, but this was of minor importance in an economic or political sense – especially in the years after 1814.

By 1814, many important Norwegian manors had become the object of investors and wealthy tradesmen who wanted to establish themselves in the countryside. Ennoblement was a minor – but symbolically not unimportant – element in this strategy; profitability a major one. To these people, the manors were estates with access to large-scale agriculture, natural resources or industrial activities.

The Last Political Crisis

As a result of sudden and unexpected political and military developments in the maelstrom of the Napoleonic wars, Norway was forcibly separated from Denmark in 1814. On 17th May that year, a convention of representatives from towns, cities, rural areas, the clergy and the military, signed a Norwegian Constitution Act. Paragraph 23 of this act stated that no per-



sonal privileges would be given in the future, and paragraph 108 put an end to the possibility of establishing new entailed estates.⁶³ The anti-nobility sentiment was explicit, perhaps more so on a political and symbolic level than on a level that affected social, economic and cultural realities. In 1821, the Norwegian parliament passed an act abolishing all hereditary noble titles and manorial privileges, including *ius vocandi*, jurisdiction, and tax and tithe exemption for the manorial residences (*hovedgårder*); only the few nobles who were born before the act was passed were entitled to keep their titles and tax privileges.⁶⁴ Sixteen families claimed to have noble status; fourteen claims were accepted by parliament.⁶⁵

The king of Sweden and Norway, Carl XIV Johan (1763–1844), used his veto on this act, but parliament insisted. In 1824, the king proposed an act allowing him to establish a new hereditary nobility in Norway, but parliament did not accept his proposal.⁶⁶ The last Norwegian count, Peder Anker

8.11 | The main building of the Jarlsberg grevskap Erected after a fire in 1699, it was reconstructed in 1812. It is still owned by the Wedel Jarlsberg family. (Photo: Jarlsberg Hovedgård)

8.12 | The manor of Borregaard became one of the leading Norwegian industrial companies in the nineteenth century, in large part because of its English investors. The manor's access to natural resources, transport routes and a labour force created a basis for the establishment of a modern industrial town – Sarpsborg. This poster from the 1940s shows the activities of a new cultural landscape, around the waterfalls of Sarp. (Copyright: Østfold Fylkes billedarkiv)



Wedel Jarlsberg (b. 1809) died in 1893, and the last baron, Harald Wedel Jarlsberg (b. 1811), died in 1897.

In 1814, there were still two *grevskap* and one barony in Norway – Laurvigen, then owned by the Danish King Frederik VI (1768–1839); Jarlsberg, owned by the Wedel Jarlsberg family since 1683;⁶⁷ and Rosendal, with baron Christian Henrich Hoff-Rosenkrone (1768–1837) as its owner.⁶⁸ Except for these three, the old manors in Norway that still benefitted from privileges were owned by a socially diverse group. A few were of noble origin, the majority were from bourgeois and middle-class backgrounds, but with formal positions that entitled them to enjoy the privileges of a manorial seat. The

act of 1821 did not immediately change the status of Rosendal and Jarlsberg, but by 1821 Frederik VI had sold Laurvigen to a group of local investors.

The rest of the Norwegian manors and country houses had diverse futures. Some ended up as permanent objects of investors and industrial enterprises – Hafslund and Borregaard being the most prominent among these. Others continued as more or less discreet symbols of ancient aristocratic lifestyles in the European nation-state of Norway, now dominated by civil servants and freehold farmers.⁶⁹

Notes

- 1 Oftestad, Bernt T.: *Den norske statsreligionen*. Oslo. 1998, p. 40.
- 2 Rian, Øystein: *Danmark-Norge 1380–1814 II. Den aristokratiske fyrstestaten 1536–1647*. Oslo. 1997, p. 15.
- 3 Asche, Matthias and Anton Schindling (Hrsg.): *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Nordische Königreiche und Konfession 1500 bis 1660, (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreformation im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 62)*. Münster. 2003.
- 4 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 34.
- 5 Rasmussen, Carsten Porskrog: “Manors and states: The distribution and structure of private manors in early modern Scandinavia and their relation to state policies”, in: *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 2018/66, p. 3.
- 6 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 119; Weidling, Tor: *Adelsøkonomi i Norge fra reformasjonstiden og fram mot 1660*. Oslo. 1996, p. 18 and chapter 4.
- 7 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 26.
- 8 Johnsen, Oscar Albert: *De norske stænder*. Christiania. 1906, p. 28; Amundsen, Arne Bugge: *Borge 1500–1800*. Borge. 1993, p. 77. This leaves the question open of whether there were distinct differences between nobles of Norwegian and foreign origin in this period (see Weidling p. 40), but there is little doubt that the number of noble persons with a more or less Norwegian origin decreased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, pp. 45–50.
- 9 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 180.
- 10 Sørensen, Einar: *Adelens norske hus. Byggevirkksomheten på herregårdene i sørøstre Norge 1500–1660*. Oslo. 2002, p. 46.
- 11 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 1.
- 12 Rasmussen 2018, “Manors and states”, p. 3.
- 13 Privileges of 1582 and 1591, Johnsen 1906, *De norske stænder*, pp. 33, 109 and 126.
- 14 Johnsen 1906, *De norske stænder*, pp. 126, 258 and 291.
- 15 Johnsen 1906, *De norske stænder*, pp. 172, 181, 191, 226 and 257.
- 16 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 109.
- 17 Hvinden-Haug, Ole Fredrik: *Østfoldske setegårder. Bygningshistorisk utredning*. Oslo. 1938, p. 25.
- 18 Norseng, Per G. and Sven G. Eliassen (eds.): *I Borgarsysle – Østfolds historie*, Vol. 2. Sarpsborg. 2005, p. 386.
- 19 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 322.
- 20 Andersen, Håkon A. and Terje T. V. Bratberg (eds.): *Austrått. En norsk herregårds historie*. Trondheim. 2011.

- 21 Rian 1997, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 322; Schou, Terje: *Onsøys historie III. Tiden fra 1537 til 1700*. Fredrikstad. 1996, p. 53. Following the estimate given by Rasmussen 2018, “Manors and states”, p. 4, 2000 tønner hartkorn equate to 250 farms.
- 22 Sørensen 2002, *Adelens norske hus*, p. 378.
- 23 Dietze-Schirdewahn, Annegreth: “Herregårdslandskapet på Austrått. En studie av det eldste hage- og parkanlegget fra 1650 til 1780”, in: *Kunst og kultur 2017/100*, pp. 216-35.
- 24 Sørensen 2002, *Adelens norske hus*, p. 365.
- 25 Andersen and Bratberg 2011, *Austrått*, p. 333.
- 26 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 64.
- 27 The change of name from Foss to Fossesholm made it sound more like the name of a Danish manor house. Similar name changes took place in this period, e.g. from Eline to Elingaard and from Hovin to Hovinsholm.
- 28 Sørensen 2002, *Adelens norske hus*, p. 45.
- 29 Nedkvitne, Arnved and Per G. Norseng: *Middelalderbyen ved Bjørvika, Oslo 1000–1536*. Oslo. 2000, pp. 421 and 423; Amundsen, Arne Bugge: “Det reformerte landskapet. Det kirkelige kulturlandskapet rundt Oslofjorden etter reformasjonen”, in: Nina Javette Koefoed (ed.): *Religion som forklaring? Kirke og religion i stat og samfund. Festskrift til Per Ingesman*. Aarhus. 2018, pp. 307-24.
- 30 Nedkvitne and Norseng 2000, *Middelalderbyen*, p. 423.
- 31 Nedkvitne and Norseng 2000, *Middelalderbyen*, p. 424.
- 32 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 69.
- 33 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 72.
- 34 Sørensen, Einar: *Fossesholm – herregården på Eiker*. Drammen. 1983.
- 35 Sørensen 2002, *Adelens norske hus*, p. 33.
- 36 Amundsen 1993, *Borge*, p. 96.; Coldevin, Axel: *Norske storgårder*, Vol. 1. Oslo. 1950, pp. 107-28.
- 37 Dyrvik, Ståle: *Danmark-Norge 1380–1814 III. Truede tvillingriker 1648–1720*. Oslo. 1998, pp. 157-160. The first regulation of the privileges of the nobility was through a royal regulation of 24 June 1661, which also included, for example, the right to judge and punish their own tenants, and the *jura patronatus*. These privileges were confirmed by a royal regulation of 20 September 1671, which was extended to include the nobility in Norway on 12 March 1673; Wessel Berg, Fr. Aug.: *Kongelige Rescripter, Resolutioner og Collegial-Breve for Norge i Tidsrummet 1660–1813*, Vol. 1. Christiania. 1841, pp. 6-9, 74 and 86.
- 38 Schou, Jacob Henric: *Chronologisk Register over de Kongelige Forordninger og Aabne Breve, samt andre trykte Anordninger, som fra Aar 1670 af ere udkomne*, Vol 1. Copenhagen. 1795, pp. 83-103; Heiberg, Steffen: “Herskab gennem tiderne”, in: John

- Erichsen and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen (eds.): *Herregården. Menneske – samfund – landskab – bygninger*, Vol. 1. Copenhagen. 2004, p. 86.
- 39 Dyrvik 1998, *Danmark-Norge*, p. 165.
- 40 Rian, Øystein: *Vestfolds historie. Grevskapstiden 1671–1821*. Vestfold. 1980; Norli, Anita Wiklund: *Gud velsigne mit høye og Naadige herskab, som mig haver forundt arbejde. Sosiale og kulturelle forhold blant arbeiderne ved Fritzøe jernverk i perioden 1690–1790*. Oslo. 2017.
- 41 Acknowledged extramarital sons of the seventeenth century Danish-Norwegian kings were allowed to use the name Gyldenløve. Ulrik Fredrik Gyldenløve was the son of Frederik 3. and Margrethe Pape (1620–1684).
- 42 A grevskap (Danish: grevskab) is a formal and institutional landed estate which was a precondition for the title of greve (count), and was to be handed down through the male line.
- 43 Hvinden-Haug, Lars Jacob: "Residensens hage i Larvik", in: Einar Sørensen (ed.): *Norsk havekunst under europeisk himmel*. Oslo. 2013, p. 237.
- 44 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 52.
- 45 Østvedt, Einar: *Nonneklosteret på Gimsøy*. Skien. 1970, p. 72.
- 46 Weidling 1996, *Adelsøkonomi i Norge*, p. 57.
- 47 Johnsen, Oscar Albert: *Larviks historie I. Larviks historie indtil 1814*. Kristiania. 1923, p. 41.
- 48 Coldevin Axel: *Norske storgårder*, Vol. 2. Oslo. 1950, pp. 163-84.
- 49 The minimum size of the landed property for a greve was 2500 tønner hartkorn. The grevskap could not be sold or mortgaged, and should be returned to the Crown in case of the extinction of the noble family.
- 50 The minimum size of a barony was set at 1000 tønner hartkorn.
- 51 Sunde, Jørn Øyrehagen: *Vegen over havet. Frå Mowatane på Shetland til Baroniet Rosendal*. Kvinherad. 2010, pp. 50-56; Sunde, Jørn Øyrehagen: *Rosendal. Slottet fra 1665. "Et underlig levende minde" 350 år*. Kvinherad. 2015.
- 52 The Danish-Norwegian term is stamhus. According to the Norwegian Law ('Norske Lov', 5-2-65) of 1687, owners of manorial estates of no less than 400 tønner hartkorn were allowed to establish a stamhus, which could not be sold or mortgaged and must be passed on undivided: Universitetet i Oslo: "Chr. Vs Norske Lov: Femte Bog. 2 Cap.", https://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/tjenester/kunnskap/samlinger/tingbok/kilder/chr5web/chr5_05_02.html (Downloaded 18/07/18).
- 53 This status was changed in the 1920s: cf. Dag Trygslund Hoelseth: "Act concerning the entailed estate of Rosendal and changes of the inheritance rules

- for the entailed estate of Wedel Jarlsberg”, <http://www.hoelseth.com/acts/act19270704-011.html> (Downloaded 18/07/18).
- 54 Hopstock, Carsten and Stephan Tschudi Madsen (eds.): *Rosendal. Slottet fra 1665. Baroni og bygning*. Vol. 6. Kvinherad. 2015; Coldevin 1950, *Norske Storgårder*, Vol. 2, pp. 319-36; Valebrokk, Eva and Geir Thomas Risåsen (eds.): *Norske slott, herregårder og gods*. Oslo. 1997, pp. 64-77.
- 55 Amundsen 1993, *Borge*, pass.
- 56 Coldevin 1950, *Norske storgårder*, Vol. 1, pp. 69-88 and 89-106.
- 57 Norseng and Eliassen 2005, *Borgarsysle*, p. 384.
- 58 Amundsen 1993, *Borge*, pp. 81, 85 and 92.
- 59 Amundsen 1993, *Borge*, p. 92.
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