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Out of the Past. The biography of a 16th-century burgher house and the making of society

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to understand how people, in the daily practice of interacting with material culture, created, dealt with and interpreted complex and socially stressful historical processes. A 16th-century timber-framed burgher house, the Reformation and industrialization are the focus of attention. Today the house stands in a museum of cultural history in the south Scandinavian town of Lund, but it once was built in the nearby city of Malmö. Through studies of architecture and spatial analysis, as well as studies of alterations to the house and its surroundings, the biography of the house is followed back to its physical and mental origins. The architecture as well as changes in its appearance can be understood by the use of space as well as the concept of topophilia. The paper ends by relating results to contemporary sociological theories. It is argued that humans structure society through material culture, history (remembrance) and space.

Keywords

house-biography; archaeology; architecture; Reformation; industrialization

Introduction

In 1990 the English archaeologist Matthew Johnson asked why the study of vernacular architecture in England was so boring (Johnson 1990). His immediate answer was that the research had been tied in with a 'cluster of images, traditions, and systems of values' connected to the 'Englishman's home'. But he also stressed that the research was anti-theoretical and focused on single buildings and/or local studies disconnected from the surrounding society. Much of this is also true for Swedish and Danish studies of medieval and post-medieval vernacular architecture. Typological and local or regional 'artefact-in-itself' studies, often connected to regional images, have dominated the agenda and made the field quite dull. In the period following Johnson's paper much theoretically influenced architectural and spatial research has been done (Welinder 1992a; 1992b; Johnson 1993; Giles 2000). In many cases buildings are not only seen as products of society but as actors in the creation of individuals and social relations.

Biographical perspectives on material culture are fairly new to archaeology (Gerritsen 1999; see also Marshall and Godsen 1999). Biographical

approaches accept that the meanings of things are not unchangeable entities and that time is an important factor that must be taken into consideration; objects are interesting even after the period of their construction. This seemingly quite self-evident position must be developed further. Biography is not just a fairly accurate curriculum vitae of 'things' (which in fact characterized much of the older research on individual buildings). In relation to contemporary theories of material culture, the biography of buildings must be understood as interacting with the spatial and social settings surrounding them. In this way a biographical perspective on houses includes various contextual analyses, which may make studies of medieval and post-medieval vernacular architecture less boring.

Some of these considerations have their origin in the theory of structuration, which tries to make a bridge between human agency on the one hand and social structures on the other. In theory the latter are believed to be created through time and spatially framed repetitive social action. The important notion in these circumstances is that a biography that includes temporality, change and duration should be interpreted as consisting of those social actions that constitute historical processes.

The principal aim of the paper is to study how people interacted with a timber-framed burgher house in two periods of societal change: the Reformation (end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century, formally adopted in Denmark in 1536) and industrialization (the second half of the 19th century and the very beginning of the 20th). The text will not only deal with issues about the actual shaping of the house, i.e. the construction, plan and architectural design. Questions are also asked about how the building was viewed by contemporary people, and how the 'shaping' interacted with these perceptions. The building acted as a nexus whereby the use of space, its inhabitants and the known contemporary social structures entered into dialogues. The text is structured with individual dialogues as essays. Unlike other biographical approaches, the point of departure is my own office in present-day Lund (Figure 1). Thereafter dialogues with the house are followed back in time with some stops for contextual considerations. Unlike other cultural biographies, this contains construction, habitation, use and abandonment, resurrection and afterlife. Let us begin with the last.

The present state of the past

Not far from my office at the Department of Archaeology in the city of Lund, there is a timber-framed house situated alongside a manor house, a farm and a cottage, in a cultural-historical reserve called *Kulturen* (Museum of Cultural History, see Figure 2). The setting is formed by a view of the past that was put forward at the end of the 19th century. The museum was regarded, and still partly is, as a safe haven for past material culture. It was a protected area for old things and old ideas, a kind of never-changing depository for an understandable, practical and common-sense lifestyle.

When approaching the house one can see that the dominant part of the building is the three-storey gable façade. The entrance is situated just beside in a less conspicuous architectural component. The stairs are flanked by a couple

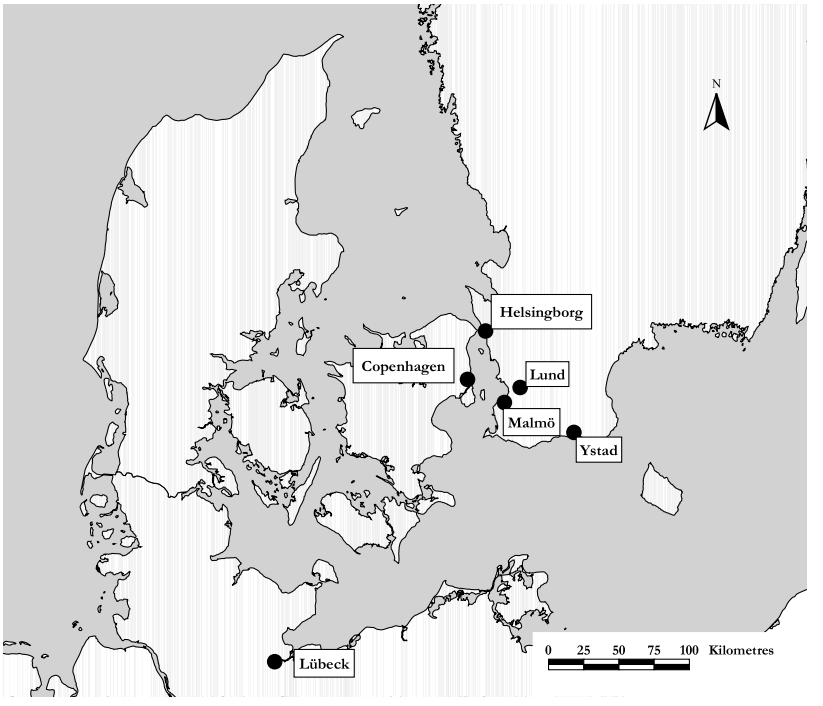

Figure 1 Map showing the position of places mentioned in the text.

of tomb-like stones, and above the entrance there is a carved inscription. It says,

> *År aderton hundra nittiett*
> *Sen fyra hundra år jag sett*
> *Från Malmö stad till Lund jag kom*
> *Här lefver jag min ungdom om*
>
> In eighteen hundred and ninety one
> Four hundred years have come and gone
> From Malmö town, where I once stood
> To Lund I come, a new childhood.

The inscription tells us that the building was transplanted to a new setting; the transplanted part claims to be the same, but the 'body' – the surrounding environment – is new. The biography of the house becomes intriguing: how did it act, how was it viewed in the former 'body', and why was it resurrected to an afterlife?

The images

Apart from the inscription there is a sign in front of the house telling us that the building once was called the 'Lembke house'. When confronting a photo of this house (Figure 3) located on its original plot in Malmö, there are some striking differences between the Lembke house and the standing monument

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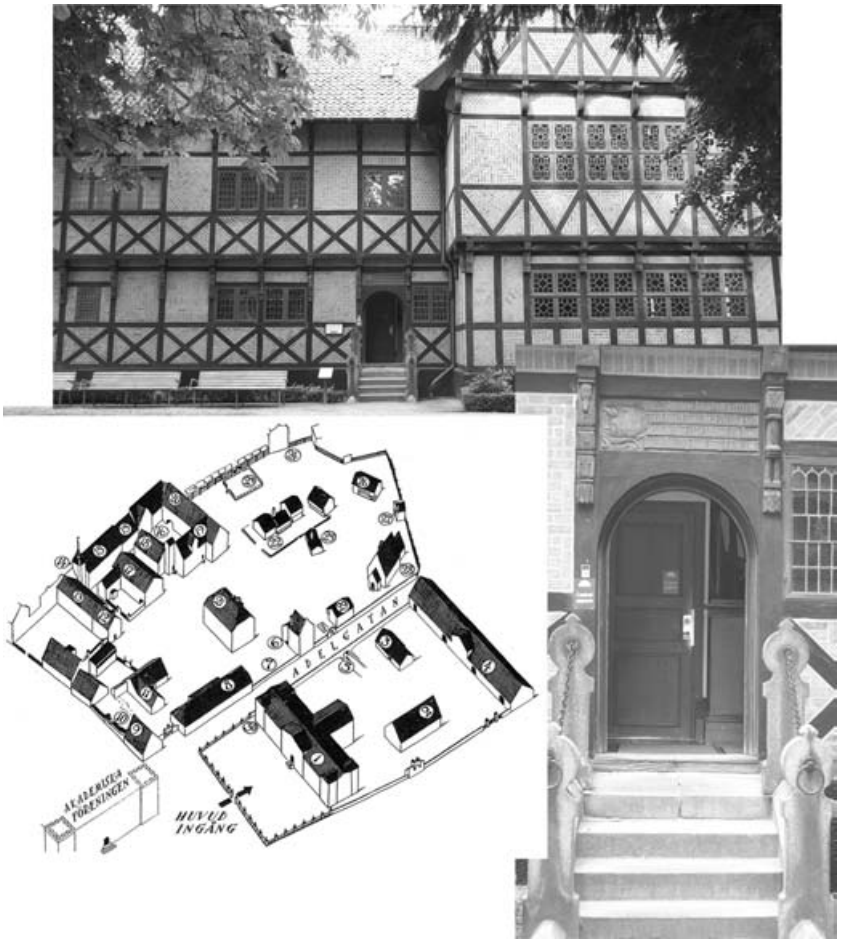

Figure 2 The appearance and the location (number 19) of the Burgher's house at the Museum of Cultural History in Lund.

in Lund. This was a fact that drew some attention when the house was rebuilt at the end of the 19th century. Georg J:son Karlin (1859–1939; Figure 4 left), the man behind the architectural plan, meant that the house was 'in its exterior ideal a representative of the third estate in medieval society' (Karlin 1991, 30). It was not supposed to be an artefact or a document in itself but a museum house, as he said, 'built on authentic documents in the same manner as a thesis in cultural history' (Karlin 1991, 30). The model was taken from a Flemish tapestry at the National Museum in Copenhagen, and beside parts from the Lembke house, some woodworked parts from other timber-framed houses in Malmö and Ystad (another south Scanian medieval town) were placed in the building (Karlin 1918, 125–26). Thus the Lembke house was transformed into the 'Burgher's house'. And with that, the metaphor of transplantation ceased to exist; the transplanted part as well as the body is artificial. Only certain parts of the house were selected for an afterlife.

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Figure 3 The Lembke house in Malmö in 1842 (photo C.W. Roikjer, Malmö Museum).

Figure 4 Left: Georg J:son Karlin (Bringéus 1992, 8); centre: Nils Månsson Mandelgren (Werdenfels 1992a, 45); right: Salomon Sörensen (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf 1996).

Maybe this is one of the explanations why the Lembke house was removed from Malmö: it did not fit the image of medieval urban architecture. Parts of it were regarded as understandable, such as the consoles and the pattern of the timber structure, but the totality of it was neglected. But what did it look like, and what condition was the Lembke house in at the end of the 19th century?

If we start with the exact location of the house we find that it was situated at the end of one of the main streets of Malmö, just inside the medieval tower gate (Figure 5). The old maps tell us that it was located on a corner of a block called Saint George (*Sankt Jörgen*), and that the number of the plot was 395 (Bager 1949; 1977, 327–28). The photos show a two-storey building

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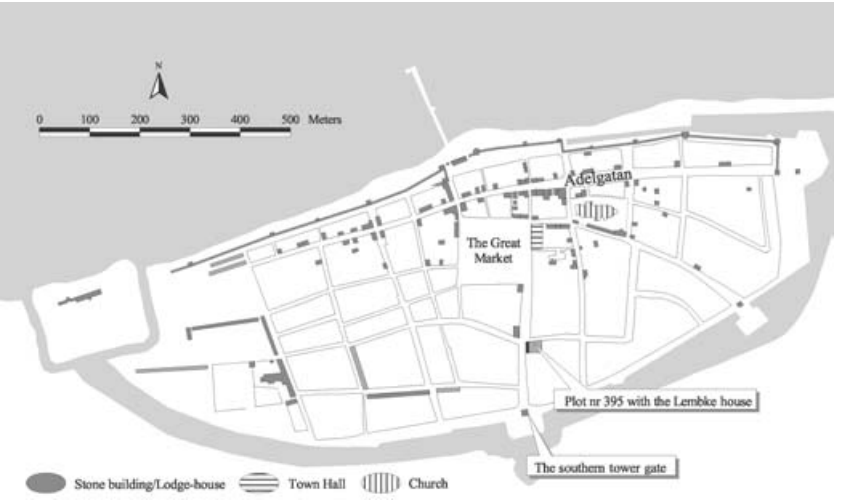

Figure 5 A reconstruction of Malmö shortly after the Reformation in 1536. (The map was drawn by the author but based on material from Malmö Stad (©Kartunderlag Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor) and Malmö Kulturmiljö).

standing with the longer side towards Södergatan (South Street), and the northern gable towards Baltzarsgatan (Baltzar Street) (Billberg 2002). The ground floor seems rather small and overextended in comparison to the rest of the building. This is due to the projecting upper floor. The impression of the Lembke house from the preserved photos is one of age.

The impression of age is not found when one looks at the 'Burgher's house' in the safe haven of Kulturen in Lund. Rather, the message conveyed is the opposite. This contradiction between a safe haven for old things and the aspiration of youth, which is also explicit in the inscription, is perhaps another explanation why the Lembke house was not sufficient as a representative of urban architecture.

The observers

Despite the Lembke house's impression of age, it attracted some observers when its time was about to end. The house was visited by the Danish draughtsman and building historian Reinold Severin Mejborg (1845–98) in the 1880s. He made a beautiful picture of Eve (or the Snake, impersonating Eve; Figure 9.7) taking an apple from the tree of knowledge, which was carved on one of the consoles. He also made drawings of the timber-framed row facing Baltzarsgatan, adjacent to the Lembke house. The artist and antiquarian Nils Månsson Mandelgren (1813–99; Figure 4 centre) came to document the house in 1865 or 1870 and in 1872 (Werdenfels 1992a, 66–71, 78; 1992b, 82–92). He sketched the main façade of the building where the consoles were numbered and drawn separately.

Karlin, Mejborg and Mandelgren were part of a generation of 19th-century personalities who founded associations that served the purpose of saving old traditions, folklore and ancient monuments of a glorious past. Before his

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work with Kulturen, Karlin was engaged with an association that sought to preserve and document old dialects (Bringéus 1992, 25–26). Mandelgren, for his part, undertook extensive journeys in all parts of Sweden, especially in Scania (Werdenfels 1992c). On these journeys he made notes and drawings of everything that he thought had historical value. It was intended that the material be published in a series called *Monuments scandinaves*. Apart from this he founded associations for arts and crafts in order to preserve, protect and teach the old traditions.

On the one hand these observers were part of a movement that opposed some of the consequences of agricultural reform and the industrialization and urbanization of society. On the other hand the movement had a nationalistic agenda that focused on local and regional participation in the building of the nation state (Björkroth 2000, 48–49, Chapter 3). But in Sweden there was cooperation between these different forces. At the large international exhibitions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, quality crafts (everything from textiles to buildings) from the past were displayed beside quality products made for the future (Björkroth 2000, 69–70), thus linking the glorious past with a prosperous future.

Within the Lembke house the glorious past was represented by selected pieces. The woodworked consoles pictured by both Mandelgren and Mejborg were selectively represented, but not the house as a whole. This may be due to the 18th-century plaster dressing that concealed the old firm timber-framed structure. At least Mejborg showed a great interest in the articulated craft of timber-framed architecture in his monumental book *Old Danish homes*, published in 1888.

In the town of Malmö, as in most south Scandinavian towns, the timber-framed houses were dressed with plaster during the 17th and 18th centuries (Bager 1977, 379–80). During this same period bricks were laid in front of ground-floor walls in order to give flat façades to face the streets instead of the past ideal of projecting upper floors. New houses were built with flat monochrome façades and were most often designed to have plastered walls to conceal the timber-framed structure. These new ideals were not applied to the Lembke house; the projecting upper floor was not altered. Perhaps the consoles were too beautiful to be removed?

Later in the 20th century, plaster was removed from most of the surviving timber-framed houses. The undressed houses revealed the naked past of the town, a trend that almost made Karlin and his colleagues trendsetters. The safe havens for the material past, including books like *Old Danish homes* and the marketing of quality crafts of the past, provided a sanctioning of past architecture and a collective pride in historical roots. At the same time it was an expression of fear for the future.

The removers of the Lembke house

The Lembke house was replaced by a four-storey building called the 'Buttericks house' (Figure 6) that fronted large parts of Södergatan and Baltzarsgatan. On the ground floor there were stores and shops while the upper floors consisted of apartments. The façade was formed in the new

Figure 6 The Buttericks house in 1902 (photo C.W. Roikjer or V. Roikjer, Malmö Museum).

interpretation of the Renaissance style. The design was a part of the general development towards historical styles in architecture.

The men who tore down the Lembke house, but kindly let Karlin take what he wanted from the old building, were the city broker A.F. Tornberg and the building contractor Christian L. Müller (Bager 1949, 113–14). The architect behind the new building was Salomon Sörensen (Figure 4 right; Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf 1996, 273–74). Müller, Tornberg and Sörensen were important to the further development of Malmö (Tykesson and Magnusson

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Staaf 1996, 38, 41–42, 108–9, 137). They supported many of the building projects in the old medieval city, which in turn changed the town into a city environment suitable for the new era. The buildings were constructed, like the Buttericks house, as apartments and shops for the new bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the growing working class. Contractors like Müller tore down the old houses and used credits to buy cheap plots and/or plots in suitable positions within the city. Connected plots were merged and larger buildings that could house more people were erected. Contractors invested in the continued growth of Malmö, in terms of both geography and land value. The new houses were regarded as profitable economic capital.

The neo-Renaissance style was used to represent the new class of wealthy burghers who made their fortune in the new industrial era of the late 19th century (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf 1996, 39–40). Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf suggest that the builders of the neo-Renaissance houses wanted to use the architectural style to show their historical roots and connections to the Renaissance princes. Overall, neo-styles within architecture were used to make well-articulated links to different historical roots. The local museum of Malmö, for example, was linked to the glorious 16th century in Scania while schools and factories were linked to medieval or classical periods, and so forth. In this sense the models for new and sometimes controversial societal institutions were taken from the past.

Obviously Tornberg and Müller regarded the Buttericks house as a safe investment and reliable capital as it was built with the new ideals that were manifested with the proper architectural symbols. The old was replaced by an interpretation of the old, just like the 'Burgher's house' at Kulturen in Lund. But now the revival of the Renaissance style was a renaissance of the burghers as an industrial bourgeoisie.

Now that we know who demolished the Lembke house and can speculate as to why and how it came to be a part of the 'Burgher's house' in Lund, it seems appropriate to ask questions about its origins – the beginning of the biography. In doing so we also have to understand how the Lembke house came to act and what it was meant to be.

The structure

According to observations made by Karlin, the house had a timber framing made of oak (Karlin 1991). The local historian and artist Einar Bager (1887–1990) studied the old inventories that state that the house was sixteen bays long and four bays wide (Bager 1949). The upper floor, towards Södergatan, projected over the ground floor and was supported by splendidly carved wooden figures. The lower bays of both the ground floor and the upper storey had crossed studs that formed an ornamental pattern in the exterior design. Furthermore the bays were filled with bricks, which were laid in different patterns according to the positioning of the studs (Karlin 1991, 26). This was obviously regarded as a good piece of craftsmanship, since Karlin copied it on the 'Burgher's house' in Lund.

The door to the house was placed in the middle of the façade towards the main street. Two bays south of the entrance was a gate that ran through the house and led to the inner yard. The ground floor had windows in almost

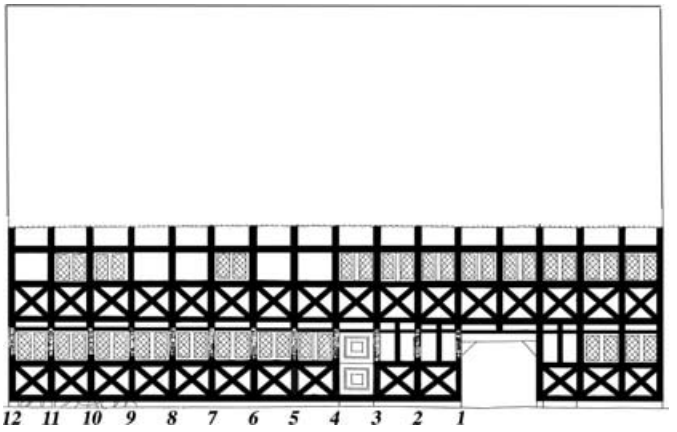

Figure 7 The Lembke House, a reconstruction of the western façade (based on sketch by Bager 1949). The numbers correspond to the placement of the consoles.

every bay (those not occupied by the door and the gate) while the windows on the upper floor were mainly in the northern chambers.

The exterior design of timber-framed houses emphasized the structural parts of the building and hid nothing of it from the observer (Figure 7). The craftsmanship was easily detected and for a person who knew something about the construction of houses the proper and ingenious solutions to construction problems were quite conspicuously displayed. The solid structure together with carved inscriptions stating the year of construction, names and symbols of the female and male heads of the households, and biblical quotations were meant to ensure the integrity and reliability of the house and the family living in it (for a fuller discussion see Thomasson 1997). This could be interpreted as a decisive factor, a kind of precocious Protestant ethic.

The intrigue of everyday life – the plan of the house

In 1692 a housing commission was set up to investigate how many soldiers could be accommodated in the town (Rosborn 1984, 13–14). All of the 766 plots of Malmö were thoroughly explored, especially the heated rooms. Representatives of the town council visited the Lembke house and described the building as 16 bays long towards the 'Main Street' (Bager 1949, 125–26). On the ground floor there was a living room with an 'iron stove', two heated chambers and one 'cold' chamber. The upper floor, which is described in a different part of the document, consisted of 'four rooms as chambers and a great hall, of which only one chamber was heated'. This is the earliest attempt to describe the house in its entirety; the older documents only mentioned single rooms or single objects.

It is not until the inventory from the year 1732 that the spatial relations between the different rooms are fully revealed. According to the representatives of the town council the different rooms are described and measured in bays, from north to south. From the north there was a bedroom

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(chamber) followed by a living room and the entrance hall with stairs to the upper floor. To the west of the stairs there was a bedroom in an annex located partly outside the main building. The southern part of the ground floor consisted of a gate and a room for rent. On the upper floor just above the stairs there was a small hall or ante-room. To the north there was a great hall that took up almost half of the space. The remainder of the area, apart from the small entrance hall, was made up of four bedrooms. The kitchen was situated in a building joined to the house between the northern bedroom and the living room on the ground floor.

When compared to other plans of equally old timber-framed houses in the nearby medieval town of Ystad (see Sandblad and Tuulse 1947; 1949; 1952), it is evident that the structure of the Lembke house was altered. First, the inner bedroom behind the entrance hall on the ground floor was partly situated in a secondarily added annex. The entrance hall probably occupied all of the space as far as the long side wall towards the yard. Second, the two southernmost bays of the kitchen were likewise placed in a secondary part of the house. It is most likely that the kitchen was originally placed in the connecting range of buildings. Third, there is a problem with the location of the stairs. In past houses it was most common to place stairs on the outside of the building towards the yard. These stairs led to an external gallery that made it possible to access all the rooms on the upper floor from the outside. It is possible that this was also the case with the Lembke house since all of the rooms ran from wall to wall. On the other hand, the nearby example (both in time and space) of the Thott house in Malmö was constructed with interior stairs (Rosborn 1981). Some structural components are less likely to be moved than others. For example, it was a difficult task to change the location of the gate to the inner yard. To do this, the builders had to move the sill stones and alter the height of the rafters. There was also some difficulty involved in moving the stove and chimney to other locations within the house. Besides the obvious structural and technical problems, much of the inner layout of the house is dependent upon the location of the stove and chimney. Adjacent rooms were heated from the main stove while the room on the upper floor used the same chimney. This leaves us with a series of rooms that ran from the façade towards the main street to the façade towards the yard. Counting from the north there was a bedroom, a living room, an entrance hall, a gateway and one rented room. The upper floor consisted of a great hall and four bedrooms (Figure 8).

The composition of the consoles, the plan and the street

As already mentioned, the consoles are carved masterpieces. They depict scenes from the Old Testament and classical mythology as well as pictures of fantasy figures and ornamental motifs (Bager 1949; Sandblad 1949, 391–401). Twelve of the original fifteen are preserved today. Thanks to the drawings done by Mandelgren we know where these were positioned on the house. The carefully carved consoles are placed on the house to reinforce the experience of the household, i.e. to display the proper setting of symbolic assets. As such, it is a part of the interpretation of the social situation and a way to deal with it. But the consoles could not be understood without their

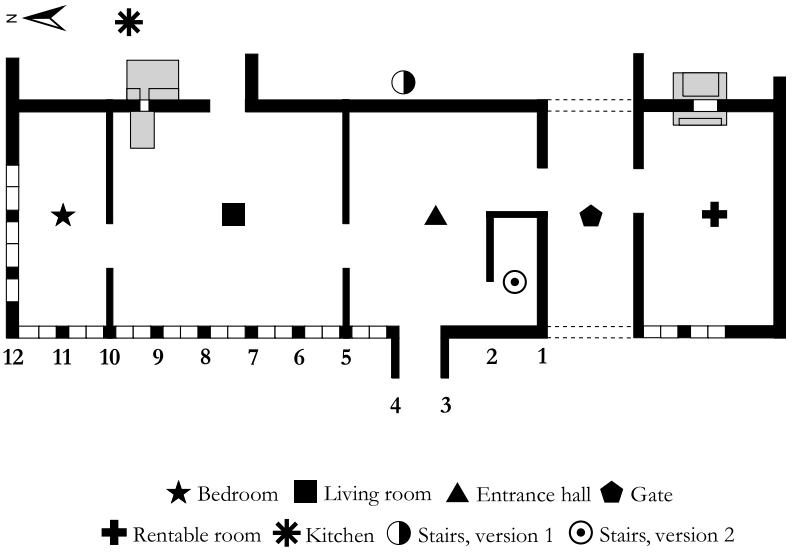

Figure 8 A reconstruction of the 16th-century ground plan of the Lembke house. The numbers correspond to the placement of the consoles.

contextual relationship with the plan of the house and the movements outside on the street.

The plan of the house and movement on the street Södergatan, the street running by the Lembke house, functioned as one of the main streets in Malmö. It ran from the tower gate in the southernmost part of the town, first mentioned in the written records in 1445 (Rosborn, 1984, 39–40; Ljungberg 1960, 91–92), and archaeologically dated to the 12th century (Rosborn 1989a, 147–48), to the older medieval marketplace in the north. It had its own market rights for the section that started directly to the north of the Lembke house (Rosborn 1984, 41–42). Shortly after the Reformation a new market square and town hall were constructed adjacent to the northern part of the street (Bager 1977, 292–93). The street increased in importance as it became a transport route through town, market area and public space. Movement on the street included many people who did not reside in the town but who also went backwards and forwards from the gate to the market square.

In the oldest written records Baltzarsgatan, the adjacent street to the east, is called the '*Strede* of Saint George' (*Sancte Jörgens strede*) and is first mentioned in 1539 (Ljungberg 1960, 40–41). In Danish the term *strede* means the equivalent of 'street' or 'path'. While streets seem to be public spaces, a *strede* is understood as a more semi-public area used by persons going to their homes or to visit someone (Altenberg 1996). S*tredes* could be characterized as the back regions of a town's public space.

Town architecture clearly shows the division between the front and back of public areas. The height and size of almost all of the buildings of Malmö were recorded in an inventory of the housing commission in 1692 (Rosborn

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1984, 13–14). Towards Södergatan and the new and old market areas approximately all of the buildings had an upper floor while on the other streets one-storey buildings dominated (Rosborn 1984, Figure 5). This difference is especially notable when one looks at the context of the Lembke house. Along Baltzarsgatan there were one-storey cottage-like houses rented by petty craftspeople or wage labourers (Reisnert 1991; Bager 1977, 360), while two-storey timber-framed buildings or stone houses owned by established craftsmen or merchants framed Södergatan (Bager 1977, 362–63).

The house plan corresponds in some respects with how people moved on the street. The least private spaces are of course the rented room in the south followed by the entrance hall, the living room and the bedroom. The room order is related to how a stranger entered the town from the south, first passing the rented part and lastly the windows to the bedroom. This means that the rooms were ordered with increasing degrees of privacy. It is notable that the great hall on the upper floor had views that overlooked the new market square. Perhaps more importantly, however, people walking from the square to the tower gate could view festivities taking place in the great hall.

The consoles The consoles and the composition of motifs can be divided into four groups in relation to their position on the house. This position takes into consideration both the house plan and the larger pattern of movements in Södergatan. Each of these groups has a meaning that is related to images of everyday life (Figure 9).

From the south the first two known consoles make up a group that have architectural motifs (Figure 9.1–2). The first has two parallel columns that support a beam with two faces. The second also has column motifs but here two parallel columns support a single pillar. The upper part is constructed in such a way that it could be understood as the beginning of a vault supported by the upper pillar. This group of consoles and motifs served to reinforce the message of the building as being built by leading craftsmen, according to the highest standards of style and capital, and inhabited by a most respectable and important family. Perhaps the faces on the top of the first console depict the craftsmen in charge? Architects and builders were often depicted in sculpture on important or essential parts of structures such as vaults in cathedrals all over Europe (Svanberg 1994, 151–52). The two faces on top of the Lembke column were placed in a position where they supported the projecting upper floor.

The second group consists of consoles that flanked the entrance to the building (Figure 9.3–4). To the left there was a female figure holding a sword, while to the right a figure was depicted with a cross in the left hand, a heart on the right shoulder and a halo around the head. The left figure is most likely an image of the antique goddess of Justitia holding the sword of power. Justitia is one of the virtues symbolizing impartiality and incorruptibility. The figure to the right could also represent one of the virtues. The cross and the heart imply that the figure should be interpreted as symbolizing the virtue of Fides, the belief in God. Fides represents indisputable and absolute faith but, like Justitia, has an ancient origin. Often personified as a god, Fides was a technical term for the protection that a patron gave a client. Therefore a

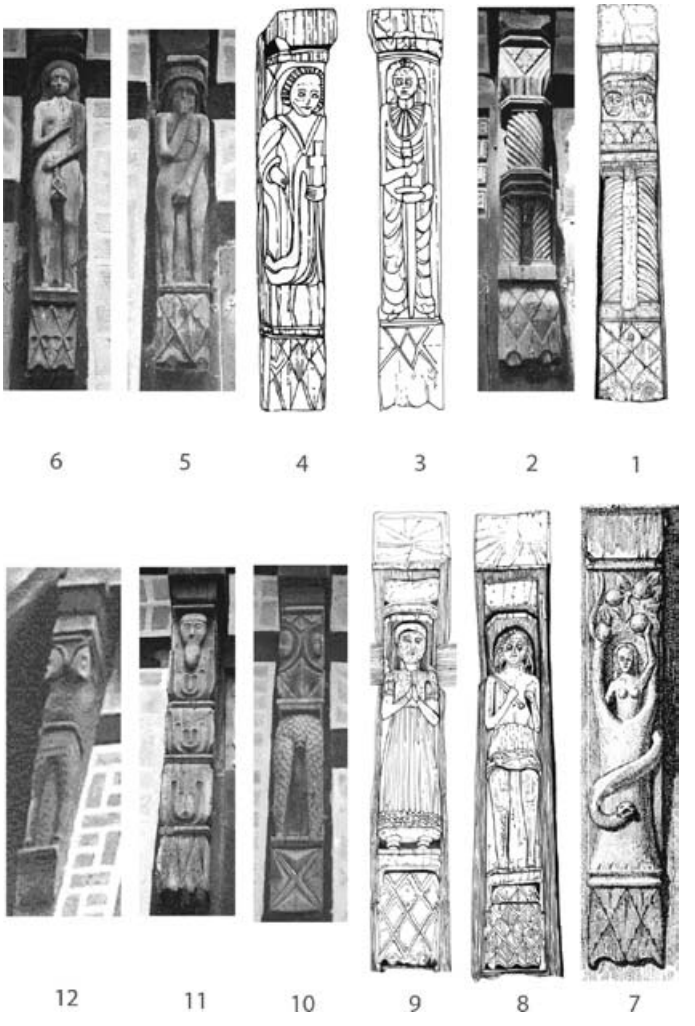

Figure 9 The Lembke house consoles. Pictures by Reinold Severin Mejborg (no. 7, National Museum of Copenhagen) and Christina Borstam (nos 1–6, 8–12, Historical Museum, Lund University).

person entering the house from the public street entered between the values of justice and the power to judge on the one side, and on the other indisputable faith and Christian love. These messages were a means of putting the moral and social standards of the household on display to people entering the house.

The third group was linked by the common fact that they relate to scenes from paradise (Figure 9.5–8). Adam and Eve are pictured separately on the first two consoles from the north; they seem embarrassed by their nudity and try to cover themselves. On the third console Eve is pictured with apple in hand, encircled by the snake in the tree of knowledge. She is about to take a bite of the forbidden fruit. Alternatively, the snake may represent

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Eve. A figure with a small sword is pictured beside Eve. This figure may be interpreted as another of the virtues. Temperantia is often pictured with a sword, watering can, and/or a bridle and is used to symbolize the virtue of moderation. Together with Justitia, Temperantia belonged to the ancient virtues, which were rediscovered during the Renaissance. These scenes were connected within the limits of the living room. It seems logical to assume that the living room, as the centre of the household, symbolizes the earthly paradise. But the message also emphasized the fragility of these circumstances, how easy it was to commit a sin and the need to have proper morals.

The fourth group consists of three consoles with fantasy motifs, two of which can be understood as wild men or monsters with feathered legs and double heads (Figure 9.10–12). The console in the middle shows a bearded face atop three sets of flames. When related spatially to the bedroom of the house these figures may have served to scare people from intruding on the privacy of the married couple.

Between these latter groups there was a console that probably depicts the female head of the family (Figure 9.9). She stands humbly with her palms together beside both the virtue of moderation and the beasts. On the one side she had something wild, frightening and perhaps tempting while on the other side the requirement of moderation. Could the bearded man on the top of the middle console, between the bedroom windows, be a portrait of her husband standing in the eternal fire? Could the setting of consoles be understood as a statement about sexual morality? Altogether the interpretations of symbolism of the consoles correspond to the ethics displayed in the architecture. Both underlined that the household was reliable, had nothing to hide and had proper morals.

The statements, the Reformation and the dependence upon history

Who was meant to receive the statements expressed through the appearance of the house, and why were they put forward in such a manner?

It was a turbulent time when the Lembke house was built during the Reformation. The burghers had grown strong in feudal society and wanted a suitable position among the estates. There were reform movements in the towns, especially in Malmö (Reisnert 1991, 16–20). The Catholic Church was in a state of fragmentation and moral decline. The setting of consoles on the Lembke house, and the house itself, were statements in relation to the turbulent times. Several elements, such as the picturing of the virtues of Justitia and Temperantia as well as the conspicuous construction of the timber-framed house, seem to have obvious references to reformative thoughts, while others, such as the scenes from purgatory, have links back to a medieval tradition. The totality of the house demonstrated a lifestyle with the proper arrangement of symbolic assets.

The name of the block, Saint George (a Catholic saint), maybe suggests one of the reasons why the symbolic assets were so conspicuously displayed. Going further back in the literature and historical documents one finds the obscure fact that this name refers to the chapel and hospital that once stood on the block. Archaeological excavations support these facts and have pinpointed the actual place where this complex was located (Einarsen 2002; Olsson

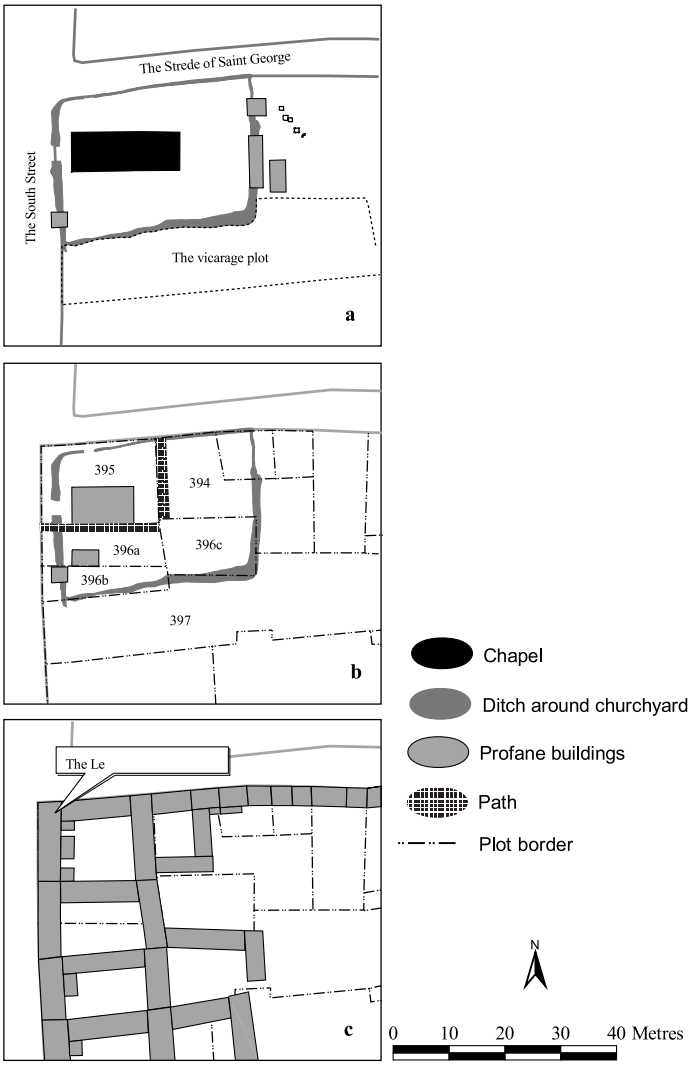

Figure 10 Reconstructions of the plot structure in the north-western parts of the block of Saint George, Malmö. A: the medieval hospital with chapel and churchyard; B: the oldest settlement in the old churchyard; and C: the townyards at the end of the 17th century. (based on material from Malmö Stad (©Kartunderlag Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor), Malmö Kulturmiljö, Bager 1936; Einarsen working material 2002; and Olsson 2002a; 2002b.)

2002a; 2002b). The old chapel with its defined churchyard was situated in the north-western part of the block, in the same area as the Lembke house.

The closure of the hospital The archaeological excavation revealed a 54 × 40-metre churchyard that was encircled by ditches, with entrances in the western and north-western parts (Einarsen 2002; Olsson 2002a; 2002b) (Figure 10a). Remains of the chapel were found in the west-central area whilst the remains

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of other buildings related to the caring and/or secular function of the facility were located just outside the eastern limit. The remains of a smithy were located near the border of the churchyard in the south-western part of the excavated area (Olsson 2002b). The gable of this small two-roomed building was oriented towards Södergatan. Overall, the stratigraphy and artefacts from the site suggest that it functioned from 1350 to 1450. It is also known that a presbytery was situated south of the chapel (Rosborn 1989a, Figure 6).

In a decision made by the Danish King Fredrik I in 1529, all properties given to the different ecclesial institutions and guilds were taken over by the town council (Reisnert 1991, 18–19). However, written records indicate that the demolition of the hospital started even earlier (Reisnert 1991, 12, note 9). In 1506 the hospital sold off building material that included bricks and personal property (Rosborn 1989a, 147–48). In 1519 'demolition material', including gravel and flint from the Saint George plot, was used in the erection of a new town wall. Archaeological investigation found that during the 16th century the remains of the three buildings east of the churchyard were demolished and the ground was levelled (Olsson 2002a). This indicates that the notes in the account book referred to adjacent buildings belonging to the hospital institution rather than the chapel itself (also Rosborn 1989a). Written records suggest that the actual chapel building remained standing at least until 1545 (Bager 1949, 122–23). This means that the hospital of Saint George was closed down at the beginning of the 16th century. Some time around the year 1529 the chapel and the churchyard were transformed into profane plots. Those who settled in the former churchyard were well aware of its prior history, as burials took place in the churchyard as late as the beginning of the 16th century (Einarsen 2002).

The making of profane plots Relations between the living and the dead in every human society are surrounded with ritual, regulation and myth. So it must have been a sensitive matter to transform a place of the dead into a place for the living. This prompts a question: how did settlers deal with the past? The layout of the Lembke house was structured by these time–space relationships with the old chapel and its churchyard. Thanks to the archaeological excavations it is possible to study the process of change from sacred to profane space in more detail (Figure 10a–c).

The transformation to profane plots was done with earth. The first activity traced in the archaeological record is that the old churchyard was levelled. Layers of earth between a half and one metre thick were spread on top of the old burial level. Judging by the excavations these activities took place during the 16th century (Einarsen, personal communication). The oldest trace of the profane settlement comes from a basement that was built into these levelling layers some time thereafter. Though artefacts in the fill suggest a late medieval date for this basement, its position in relation to the southern plot border, as well as its stratigraphic position after the levelling, pushes the date of its construction forward to the beginning of the 16th century. It is difficult to determine the function of this building. In Denmark after the late 15th century most dwelling houses were situated facing public spaces, such as streets and marketplaces (Engqvist 1989, 61–62). Adjacent rows with

kitchen and storage facilities were, like the basement, placed on the inside of the plots and connected to the dwelling house. This was the case with the Lembke estate. The row of houses towards Baltzarsgatan was built after 1570 (Sandblad 1949, 202–3) and included a kitchen, storage facilities and a basement.

How was the profane settlement organized and developed? Back in the 19th century the historian Anders Ulrik Isberg made a reconstruction of the older division of plots in Malmö (Isberg 1976 (1875)). According to Isberg the hospital area was divided into six different plots. Archaeological excavation has enabled the connection of his findings with written records and physical remains.

The principal east–west-oriented plot border that divided the old churchyard in half was probably related to the southern wall of the church (see Figure 10b). This appears quite logical, since the written records suggest that the building was standing as late as 1545. But the northernmost, north–south-oriented plot border split the chapel into two. A smaller part of its length (a fifth) was situated in the north-eastern plot (394), while the main parts were in the north-west (395). This could imply that the chancel was demolished (the sacred part of the chapel), and that the nave was reused as a profane stone house. The positioning of the presumed 'new' stone house in the inner part of a profane plot has great similarities to noble manors in southern Scandinavian medieval towns (Thomasson 1997, 710–11). These stone houses were located in the inner area of squared plots and functioned as the residences of noble households when they visited the town. Towards the street there were often timber-framed buildings for rent that accommodated servants or small shops. Stig Porse, a nobleman, was the first holder of the plot. It seems plausible that when he acquired the plot in 1543 (Bager 1949, 122–23), he and his family used the remaining parts of the old chapel as a Malmö residence.

The medieval smithy and the post-medieval basement correspond to a border dividing two deep and narrow plots (396a–b). As early as 1537, there is a note stating that Knud Smed (*smed* = 'smith') had 'moved into the chapel' (Bager 1949, 122–23). The phrasing of the text need not be interpreted literally; it can also be understood to mean that he moved in somewhere in the old chapel area. Perhaps this suggests that Knud moved to the plot that housed the remains of the old medieval smithy (396b). If he was a smith as the surname implies, then it seems that the trade continued even after the Reformation. The other plot (396a) that contained the basement may be connected to Hans Hackeblock. In 1549 he is mentioned as holding a booth (*bod*) to the south of the chapel in the old churchyard. In the medieval period and the 16th and 17th centuries booths were small buildings that housed trade and handicraft activities or rooms for rent. Most often they were situated near public spaces like streets and marketplaces.

The north-eastern plot (394) is mentioned as being a cabbage garden owned by Christern Bager (Bager 1949, 122–23). The remaining south-eastern plot (396c) must have been separate as one path passed directly to the east of the Lembke estate going to Baltzarsgatan, while another path went to Södergatan (regarding the paths see Bager 1949, 124–25). This would not have been

necessary if the plot had already reached Södergatan as it did on Isberg's map. According to later written records from 1532, the presbytery was situated to the south of the chapel (Bager 1949, 122–23). If we interpret this phrasing in the same manner as that of Knud Smed, then the presbytery was positioned on the bordering plot to the south, i.e. number 397. The plot holder, Rasmus Fynbo, erected a new timber-framed main building in 1538 (Bager 1949, 122–23).

The positioning of the Lembke house Pinpointing the Lembke house on archaeological plans and modern maps shows that the dwelling house stood precisely outside the old churchyard on Södergatan (Figure 10c). This is probably the reason why the western border of the block is approximately five metres more to the west than the neighbouring block to the north. The accuracy of Lembke house is such that even the gate through the building to the inner yard was placed exactly on the spot where the old entrance to the chapel and churchyard had once been.

These acts, including the spreading of earth layers and the positioning of the dwellings, are of course not by chance. Covering the graves with earth ensured that the rights of the deceased to rest undisturbed were upheld; plundering and opening graves even if unintentional must have been regarded as something very wrong. At the same time the earth covering was a way to protect the new inhabitants from the deceased. The act of levelling helped people deal with superstition and fear. Even if the settlers felt comfort in their reformed faith, they did not dare to sleep over an old churchyard.

The builder of the Lembke house

Finally, there is the question of who actually built the Lembke house. As we already know, the first known holder of the plot was the bailiff, Stig Porse (Bager 1949, 122–23). He belonged to a manorial family and was bailiff of Lundagård (1540–56) and the shire of Halmstad (1543–1547). Porse died in 1556 (Erslev 1879, 3, 10). The following holder of the Lembke plot was Peder Pofvelsen Jyde. According to the notes in the council archive of Malmö, he obtained a formal contract for the plot in 1572. The time period between Porse's death in 1556 and the contract of 1572 is rather long. However, if there were conflicts regarding the distribution of the legacy among heirs it could have taken some time to sort things out.

Peder Pofvelsen Jyde's name suggests that he was born in Jutland (*Jyde* = Jute). He is known to have been the town bailiff of Malmö during the period from 1563 to 1568, and a customs officer from 1563 (Isberg 1897, 73–74). In 1568 he was chosen as one of the four mayors. In keeping with the traditions of the town officials at this time he should have left the post of customs officer but instead he prolonged this position until 1588. Pofvelsen was married twice and had ten children by his unnamed first wife. Pofvelsen's second wife, Maren Andersdotter, was married to Pofvelsen in 1591, shortly before his death in 1593.

A chain of circumstantial evidence supports Pofvelsen and his first wife as commissioning the building of the house. First, Pofvelsen, as a customs officer, had major interests to protect near the southern town gate. As mentioned

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earlier, Södergatan took on greater significance as a space for transport and commerce after the construction of the new marketplace further south. The traffic through the gate must have increased, and with it the income for the customs officer in charge. Second, as a mayor in a town council that actively supported and hastened the reform process, he ought to have been a convinced reformist to a higher degree than Porse. The statements made in the Lembke house were to some degree clearly Protestant and would not have been allowed by a holder of the house who was doubtful of the new beliefs, such as a landed nobleman like Porse. Third, other noblemen in the town either lived in stone houses facing the public space, or in houses situated deep inside squared plots. The Lembke house was a timber-framed dwelling facing a crowded road.

To identify Pofvelsen as the builder of the Lembke house is not without problems. According to the stylistic and typological analyses made by Sandblad, the house was built during the period from 1530 to 1559, but most likely after 1549 (Sandblad 1949, 311–12). If Pofvelsen did build the house he must have done it before he obtained the formal contract in 1572, possibly shortly after Porse's death in 1556.

The new block of Saint George

Before the establishment of the new marketplace, the block was situated on the periphery of the town. Some suggest that the chapel was founded outside the high-medieval town border (Rosborn 1984, 34–35). The location of the wealthiest people living in the town supports these initial impressions. According to van Freden's account book, the people who paid most in tax lived along the old market street of Adelgatan (Rosborn 1989b, 17–18).

The socio-spatial distribution changed dramatically after the new marketplace was established (Thomasson 2004). Suddenly the block was positioned along one of the main streets of Malmö. As stated earlier Södergatan was framed by two-storey buildings with mayors and other members of the town council among its inhabitants. As we have seen, the Lembke estate may have first been a noble residence, then the home of one of the mayors, followed by that of a member of the town council. The plot in the north-eastern part of the block was inhabited by clergymen. The first stone house facing the southern parts of Södergatan was built at the very end of the 16th century, just opposite the Lembke house.

The street was one of the main transport links in Malmö even as late as the end of the 19th century. The town had grown beyond its medieval limits, especially to the south, which once again increased the importance of Södergatan. The street was the main link between the new areas, the railway station and the harbour to the north of the old town. Trams and later on cars used the street.

The evocative past

Now we are about to end the dialogue with the biography of the Lembke house. This-not-so-boring story has taken us through a wide range of images, houses and people. It is finally time to end with some considerations about the 'shaping' and 'viewing' of the Lembke house.

The biography of the Lembke house could be described as a web of human–material relations. It shows how different chains of social action are coordinated through the house and how people like Pofvelsen and Müller are forced to act in different ways according to material and immaterial conditions. The patterns of movement in the town changed when the new marketplace was established, which in turn resulted in the increasing significance of Södergatan as a public space within the town. It was medieval practice to populate the most public areas with the most important people in the town (Larsson and Saunders 1997). In this case changing patterns of movement in the town, due to the physical change of the space, acted to transform the socio-spatial relations in Malmö. But the stimuli for this shift were within the feudal system of linking space with power, which was built up around the presence of important people like Porse and Pofvelsen overlooking and controlling important public spaces like Södergatan and the tower gate.

The replacement of the Lembke house can be understood in these same terms. At the end of the 19th century the plot was situated on one of the main transport links between the new parts of the city in the south and major communication centres like the railway station and the harbour in the north. Wheeled vehicles and trams were moving faster than ever on Södergatan and pedestrians were confined to pavements. The new patterns of movement and means of movement led to a transformation of the socio-spatial layout of the city. To capitalist thought, space was a commodity and prices were settled through markets, not through regulations. Müller and Tornberg saw an opportunity to gain capital. The visible and central position of the new Buttericks house increased its market value as an attractive place for shops and apartments, and therefore its value as a profitable investment. As it was built, it acted to make and separate the new bourgeoisie class.

Movement and the positioning of social activities in specific places, spaces and time have been interpreted in structuration theory as a medium for and an outcome of social action (Giddens 1984). Through the reproduction of social action fixed in time and space, more or less powerful societal institutions emerge, change and are maintained. These activities are structured by knowledgeable actors (individuals as well as collectives), who reflect on the conditions and consequences of their actions (Giddens 1984, 280–81). The materiality of space is partly regarded as already 'there' and partly structured by social action. Giddens uses the term 'locale' to describe the fixed points and the physical conditions where these social encounters take place (Giddens 1984, 118). For example, in feudal society social actions such as trade and craft production were spatially defined as towns that are regarded as locales. Locales are then regionalized into different zones of social action with different degrees of co-presence, such as streets, houses, town halls and churches. These are positioned and designed according to the structuring processes; churches are recognized as churches, town halls as town halls, and dwelling houses as dwelling houses. The positioning of the material world, like the human body in situations of co-presence, is divided into front regions and back regions that in turn serve as public and private areas – what is to be shown and what is not to be shown.

The Lembke house was structured as a recognizable dwelling house. It was formed through the feudal use of space while keeping obvious references to the images of the past and present, as well as pretensions for the future. The same circumstances structured the Buttericks' combined dwelling and business house. But structuration theory does not explain the dependence on history and memories of specific locales or zones in the very forming of space and social relations. The biographies of material culture in the block of Saint George reveal that a specific sense of the place, a topophilia, is vital for understanding specific events as well as structuring social relations. Structuration theory does not, as Giles has pointed out, explore the material structuration of a locale (Giles 2000, 11–12) and it therefore lacks the tools to understand the arguments stated in material culture. However, the theory points out the very important interdependence between human action, time-space and the power structures (or institutions) of society. The material acts, such as the closure of the Saint George institution and the construction of the Lembke house, can be understood as the very making of the Reformation, fixed in both time and space. Material culture is both an outcome and a source of social relations. Significantly, archaeology has the tools to understand the dialectic of structure and situate it in time and space. Also, biographical perspectives and contextual dialogues can, as indicated in the Lembke example, provide understanding of the arguments in the material culture.

The Pofvelsens; the unknown craftsmen who built the Lembke house; and Müller, Tornberg and Sörensen, who built the Buttericks house, all used the house form and design to formulate arguments and to show possessions, alliances, belongings and pretensions; i.e. to expose their lifestyle to the public space. The question is whether these expressions were obvious when observed by common people. According to Bourdieu (1990), every human has a set of dispositions, that directs how he or she acts, thinks, evaluates and reflects on things and people in any given social situation. This habitus is created or, in Giddens's terminology, 'structured' by past experiences in relation to people, institutions and material culture. There is both an individual and a collective habitus: 'The first is acquired through personal experience and socialization, and reflexively adjusted over the individual lifetime in relation to objective reality. The second is a shared body of generative schemes and cultural dispositions which form a collective homogeneous phenomenon uniting particular groups in society' (Giles 2000, 10–11). According to one's experiences, one knows through individual and collective habitus what is regarded and acknowledged as honourable, truthful and superior. These groups of common cultural dispositions shape social space. This space is made up of two axes, a vertical one that shows the distributions of wealth, and a horizontal one that articulates the distribution of taste and lifestyle. The articulations on the Lembke house were a 'cultural disposition' and 'homogeneous phenomenon' that united the group of reformist burghers in the urban cosmos; it was an asset or a cultural capital that was displayed through the house. The statements could be read and understood by the urban community including those that conflicted with the old Catholic Church and the class of landlords. The symbolic capital was easily noticeable to visiting

urban merchants. The firm timber-framed construction and the inscriptions displayed a trustworthy and honourable home.

For the nobility, the house was perhaps not regarded as an asset to the household; rather the symbols were understood as commitment to a conflicting class. For farmers living in the countryside outside Malmö, like the nobility with their own collective habitus, the house was recognized as a proper piece of craftsmanship because they too had experienced the problems of constructing timber-framed houses. The figures on the consoles were perhaps recognized from the parish church and possibly even recognized as controversial; however, they were probably not understood as an articulated argument in a struggle between two classes (the nobles and the burghers). The meeting between farmers and burghers obviously also had elements of this struggle. The farmers had to put their surplus products on sale in the marketplace, as they were not allowed to sell goods anywhere but in the towns. To enter the town they had to pay an entrance tax to the customs officer by the tower gate. Of course the confrontation with the Lembke house – the home of the customs officer in charge and controlling the area just inside the tower gate – must have aroused negative feelings against the house and the burghers in general. The farmers recognized the Lembke house as an image of the lifestyle of burghers.

The images of the past were, and are, haunting the present. The chapel and churchyard of Saint George were remembered and this memory was passed on to great numbers of people from many different ways of life. For them the position of the Lembke house, outside the original plot on the former space of Södergatan, was easily understood. But the Saint George churchyard was not a problem when the old timber-framed house was demolished three and a half centuries later, and when the Buttericks house was built. Large parts of the northern churchyard were destroyed in order to make space for the basements of the new building. Any haunting was now caused by the old timber-framed house with its beautiful consoles. The old Lembke house was out of date and non-functional in the city. The house had, thanks to the work by Mandelgren, Mejborg and others, patina and could be linked to a glorious past; it was a unique collector's item (see Dant 1999, 142–43). According to the newspapers the demolition of the house was quite controversial (Bager 1949, 113–14). For Müller and Tornberg, the obvious way of dealing with this problem was to be positive about the request from Karlin about taking the house to a safe haven at Kulturen in Lund. This investment in the material representation of the past legitimized the new and controversial. The neo-Renaissance style of the façade was aimed at a certain past. Articulated by an architect trained outside the old local craft tradition, commissioned by persons not living in the house, built by workers from another class of people, and made to be rented by anonymous persons, the façade was only understood by a small proportion of the city's inhabitants. But many people had seen this kind of architecture at other places in Malmö and elsewhere before; it was recognized as the architecture of the new bourgeoisie. It was all about making and thereby forming and transforming the capitalist industrial society.

Today the neo-Renaissance house has been replaced by a postmodern or neo-modern structure called Baltzar City. The ground floor consists of a

great shopping centre or mall while offices occupy the upper floors. The idea behind the exterior design is that the neighbouring older buildings should be mirrored in the glass façade. The neo-modern style, aiming at the glorious past of the Swedish welfare state, is used to legitimate another controversial project. Above all, the temporo-spatial and social division of the city centre is set in concrete and glass. During office hours the city space is used by office workers, consumers and shop owners. In the evening and at night the Baltzar City building is closed but Södergatan outside is used by pedestrians going to restaurants and pubs and the few wealthy people going to sleep in their expensive apartments.

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