ARCHAEOLOGIA MEDII AEVI FINLANDIAE XXII

MANKBY

A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE ON THE COAST OF SOUTHERN FINLAND

Editors
Janne Harjula – Maija Helamaa – Janne Haarala – Visa Immonen

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Mankby village plot during the first field season in 2007. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

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Bronze fittings from knives (KM 2008044:210 and KM 2009032:399).
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PREFACE

In 2004, the exceptionally well preserved plot of a medieval village called Mankby was found in Espoo. The site showed great research potential, and the University of Helsinki began archaeological fieldwork on this site in 2007 in cooperation with the Espoo City Museum.

The medieval settlement history of the province of Uusimaa (Sw Nyland) has proved to be an increasingly interesting subject in the first years of the 21st century. In 2002, a survey project called "Our Maritime Heritage" was launched at the University of Helsinki. One year later, it was followed by a multidisciplinary project called "Western Uusimaa during the Late Iron Age and Medieval Period", funded by the Kone Foundation. These two projects, as well as the "SEAS –Settlement around the sea" project (2009–2012) funded by the Finnish Academy, offered a wider context for the research done at Mankby. The excavations in the village of Mankby became an independent case study with aims similar to those of the SEAS project, which was carried out simultaneously to the Mankby project.

The early years of field studies at Mankby (2007–2009) were funded by the city of Espoo, and research results were showcased in the City Museum's exhibition "Kylä – keskiaikaa Itämeren rannalla/Byn – medeltid vid Östersjöns stränder" ("Village – The Middle Ages by the Baltic Sea"). In 2008, this exhibition was one of the events celebrating the 550th anniversary of the founding of the parish of Espoo. In 2010, a new research project was launched. It was called "Mankby – a key to the Middle Ages" and headed by the University of Helsinki in cooperation with the Espoo City Museum. The project was funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Swedish Cultural Foundation, and the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation. Ulrika Rosendahl's doctoral thesis, which is connected with the project, has been funded by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland. The fieldwork at Mankby was also included in research carried out by Sarka – The Finnish Museum of Agriculture.

The field studies at Mankby continued until 2013, covering altogether seven seasons. As the leaders of the Mankby project, we were happy to have an enthusiastic research team that was ready to participate in fieldwork and other research throughout the years. Our core research team was supplemented each year by students from the University of Helsinki, as well as amateur archaeologists taking part in field courses. Hangö Summer University, which organized its archaeological field courses in Mankby, was an important partner in this project.

Since 1556, the plot of the village of Mankby has been a part of the manor of Espoonkartano (Sw Esbogård). During the years of field research, the landowner, Esbogård Ab, has been extremely helpful. Without Esbogård Ab's positive attitude, its personnel, and the people living in the vicinity, conducting this kind of archaeological fieldwork would have been impossible. During the early years of the field studies, our research was also sponsored by YIT Group, the developer of the Espoonkartano area.

We wish to thank all members of the research team, as well as all the institutions and people who made this project possible.

Georg Haggrén & Ulrika Rosendahl

Georg Haggrén & Ulrika Rosendahl

1 ARCHAEOLOGY ON MEDIEVAL VILLAGE SITES From Wharram to Mankby

THE AGRARIAN VILLAGE IN MEDIEVAL FINLAND

During the Middle Ages, rural settlements in most of north-western Europe were organised in villages. This development took place in Scandinavia as well as on the British Islands and in central Europe. It happened also in the northern periphery, the area that soon afterwards was called Finland.

At the end of the Viking Age, the future area of Finland was sparsely settled by farmers as well as some fisher-hunter-gatherers in the inland. Only the archaeological record reveals information on Viking Age settlements in southern Finland. Five hundred years later, in the middle of the 16th century, this area was a well-organised and closely integrated part of Sweden. In matter of fact, when the Swedish realm was organised as a political entity in the 13th century, Finnish provinces were also ruled by the Swedish king. It is only from the early 14th century onwards that we have detailed information on Finnish provinces and parishes. Already in those days, the majority of the peasants lived in hamlets and villages, even if many still occupied single farms. In Finland, the nobility's role in organising the landscape and settlements was much less important than in most of the rest of Europe, but with this exception, the development was similar to the neighbouring countries.

At the end of the Middle Ages,[1] the rural agrarian landscape in southern Finland, like in most of north-western Europe, was dominated by settlements referred to by the Swedish word *by* (En. *hamlet*, *village*, Fi. *kylä*) and surrounded by open fields and meadows. Beyond these open fields was the outland or the woods of the *by*. This outland was often shared by two or even several *by* settlements, but separated by borders from the rest of the neighbouring settlements. In large areas of north-western Europe, this kind of landscape was the result of feudalism and connected to a manorial landscape with a manor or even a castle at its core. In Finland, as well as in large parts of Sweden, the number of manors was low and most of the peasants were freeholders, but the landscape and land use were nevertheless organised in a similar way.

In the case of the village called Mankby in Esbo (Fi. Espoo), which is the main subject of this study, the landscape was also organised according to this tradition. In the Late Middle Ages, there were open fields close to the plot or settlement site where the villagers had their dwellings. Mankby shared the outlands consisting of woods and rivers with rapids, as well as some coastal waters on the seashore, with a slightly larger neighbouring village called

[1] In Southwestern Finland the Middle Ages are dated to c. 1150/1200–1520s.

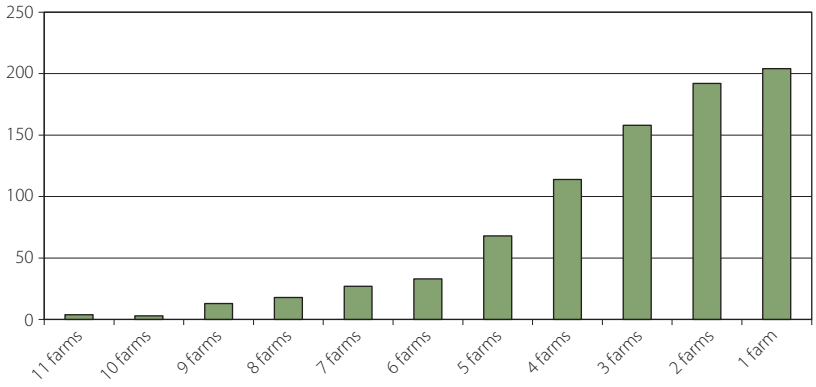

Table 1.1. The size of settlements in the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1560 (Haggrén 2011).

Esboby (Fi. Espoon kylä). Both villages were deserted in 1556 when a royal demesne was founded in Esboby.

On the basis of the written sources and cadastral maps made in the early modern era, the late medieval settlement and landscape in Mankby can be reconstructed, but archaeological fieldwork is needed in order to figure out the origin, establishing, and development of the settlement during the preceding centuries. The landscape and the small village called Mankby had a history before the era of the open fields and the end of the Middle Ages.

Mankby and Esboby were located in western Uusimaa or the medieval Castle Province of Raseborg (Fi. Raasepori). In the late Middle Ages, there were eight farms in Mankby, but two of them were deserted before the 1540s. Compared to the other settlements in the vicinity, with its eight or six farms before 1556, Mankby had been among the largest of the approximately 830 settlements in the castle province (Table 1.1).[2]

Mankby was not an isolated phenomenon, but one of thousands of hamlets and villages in north-western Europe. In Finnish terms, Mankby was was a wealthy but rather typical medieval rural settlement. In neighbouring countries, many villages have been the focus of archaeological research before Mankby. This earlier research has inspired the research of Mankby and also offered models and examples of how to research a deserted medieval village.

THE BEGINNING OF THE RESEARCH OF DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGES IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE

Up until the middle of the 20th century, European medieval archaeology concentrated almost entirely on monuments such as castles and churches, as well as masonry buildings in medieval towns. Rural settlements with no majestic ruins or monuments were neglected or practically forgotten. Probably the most famous pioneers of the research of deserted medieval villages are the English, but in their case, research activity did not start until after World War II.[3]

However, the English had predecessors in Germany and Denmark. In Germany, Paul Grimm excavated a deserted site called Hohenrode in the mountainous southern Harz area the late 1930s. Grimm had hardly any followers, and for a long time, the fieldwork made in Hohenrode was almost forgotten.[4] A much more significant impact on future research was made by Axel Steensberg, who carried out large-scale field studies in Denmark. Steensberg

[2] Haggrén 2011: 102–103.

[3] Clarke 1984: 15–16; Gerrard 2003: 99–105.

[4] Fehring 2000: 7; Bentz 2008: 71–107.

began his fieldwork in two villages called Aså and Bolle in Jutland already in 1938. After the war, he continued his research on many other sites, such as Store Valby in Zealand, and was active in the field as late as in the 1970s and early 1980s.[5]

In the open English landscape used as pastureland, the plots of deserted medieval villages, commonly abbreviated as DMVs, are often clearly visible even today. However, there was only minor academic interest in these sites before the late 1940s, when historian William G. Hoskins began a systematic survey of the DMVs of England.[6] Another historian, Maurice Beresford, focused on DMVs in the late 1940s. In 1948, he found a well-preserved site called Wharram Percy in Yorkshire Wolds in northern England, and soon began to excavate there. In 1952, archaeologist John Hurst joined the Wharram Percy research team, and at this point, systematic archaeological fieldwork in Wharram Percy began. The fieldwork consisting of surveys and excavations in Wharram continued annually until 1990. The research of Wharram Percy is well published and has had a major influence on the research of medieval rural settlements not only in England, but in several other countries, too (Figs. 1.1–2).[7]

Beresford and Hurst were pioneers, but they were far from alone in researching deserted medieval villages. A huge interest in this topic arose in England, and already in 1952, the Medieval Deserted Villages Research Group was founded. Since 1986, the group has been called Medieval Settlement Research Group. Starting from the 1950s, a large amount of fieldwork has been done on DMVs in England. Already in 1954, the number of known and surveyed sites was 1,353, and in 1976, it had risen to 2,813.[8]

Interest in the research of medieval rural settlements soon spread from England to the continent. In France, large-scale research of late medieval villages took place, for example, in Dracy in Burgundy, a village deserted in about 1420. Jean-Marie Pesez wrote an overview of the medieval villages in France already in 1970.[9] In Belgium, the most famous excavated

Figure 1.1. The deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy in 2012. The site is situated on the western edge of the chalk Wolds of North Yorkshire, England. (Photos: Georg Haggrén.)

5 Liebgott 1989: 15–51; Bentz 2008: 111–147.

6 Hoskins 1955; Gerrard 2003: 99–107.

7 Beresford 1954; Beresford & Hurst 1990; Gerrard 2003: 99–107; Bentz 2008: 149–185; Taylor 2010; Wrathmell 2012. In March 2012, a conference marking sixty years since the collaboration of Beresford and Hurst in Wharram Percy began took place at the University of York. Some of the research group in Mankby were privileged to participate in this conference.

8 Beresford & Hurst 1971; Clarke 1984: 15–62; Gerrard 2003: 99–107; Taylor 2010.

9 Pesez 1970.

medieval village site is probably Walraversijde close to Oostende in West Flanders. Starting from 1992, large-scale fieldwork initiated by Frans Verhaeghe and carried on by Marnix Pieters has taken place in this fishing village. In 2004, the results were visualised when a museum and a visitors' centre were opened close to the site (Fig. 1.2).[10]

Figure 1.2. An overview of the ongoing archaeological excavations of the deserted late medieval fishing village of Walraversijde in 1993. (Photo Marnix Pieters. Copyright: Flanders Heritage Agency.)

In central Europe, deserted medieval villages were in the focus of archaeological research in Czechoslovakia, and since the early 1990s, this work has continued in the Czech Republic. In Moravia, extensive fieldwork has been carried out, for example, in Konůvky already in the 1960s and 1970s and in Bystřec between 1975 and 1998. Recent extensive research is going on in Western Bohemia.[11]

In Germany, deserted medieval settlement sites (Ge. *Wüstung*) eventually became a focus of archaeological research in the 1950s and 1960s. Several sites (for example Dalem in Lower Saxony and Ulm-Eggingen in Baden-Württemberg) have been excavated since then. Probably even more remarkable than the research of deserted villages is the research of two deserted urban sites. Haithabu or Hedeby was actually an urban Viking Age settlement, but the extensive fieldwork carried out there has influenced the work done on medieval rural sites. Large-scale excavations at the site, directed by Herbert Jankuhn, took place already in the 1930s. After World War II, the work started again in 1959 and has continued ever since.[12] In the 1990s and early 2000s, large-scale research initiated by Hans-Georg Stephan was conducted on the site of a deserted small town called Nienover im Solling in Lower Saxony. The site of the settlement, which was deserted in the early 14th century, has showed huge research potential.[13]

THE RESEARCH IN SCANDINAVIA

For decades, Axel Steensberg was rather alone in Scandinavia in his archaeological research interest in medieval rural settlements and fields. It was first in the late 1960s and 1970s that research on these sites became more active. In the 1970s, C. J. Becker recognised that during the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages, the plot of Danish villages was moved to a new site after some decades or a period of 100 to 200 years. It was not until the Early Middle Ages or the 11th and 12th centuries that settlements were established permanently on a certain plot and then stayed in the same place for hundreds of years. This development was related to founding villages and establishing new structures connected to landownership and feudalism.[14]

[10] Pieters 1997; Tys & Pieters 2009.

[11] Dudková, Ořna & Vařeka 2008; Svensson 2008: 294–300; Klápště 2011: 106–109.

[12] Fehring 2000: 123–158; Svensson 2008: 300–306.

[13] König 2009; Küntzel 2010; Stephan 2010.

[14] Liebgott 1989: 15–46; Carelli 2001: 29–73.

Beginning from the 1970s, a large number of villages dating to the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages were surveyed and excavated in Denmark. In some of them, like Vorbasse, very extensive excavations have taken place. In 1993–1994, large excavations took place in a wealthy village called Tårnby on Zealand close to the Sound and only some kilometres south of Copenhagen. The excavated area was about 7,000 m^2. Even though most of the fieldwork concentrated on one farmstead in the village, the results were remarkable. It was possible to follow well-preserved floor layers beginning from 1050/1150 and continuing up until 1858.[15]

During the Middle Ages, the southernmost parts of Sweden, such as Scania, were parts of Denmark. The medieval settlement structure in Scania followed the rest of medieval Denmark. The villages were large, and there were wide, open fields around the settlements. Medieval archaeology was established as a discipline in the University of Lund in Scania in the early 1960s. Quite naturally, the research done at this university influenced field archaeology in Scania. Danish examples in medieval settlement archaeology were followed here in the 1960s, but it took until about 1980 for the large-scale research of medieval rural settlements to begin. Since then, plenty of research has been carried out both on the field and in the academic world. Several large excavations have taken place, for example in Fosie, Fyllie, Gårdlösa, and Oxie. One of the villages, Kyrkheddinge, has been thoroughly analysed by Katalin Schmidt Sabo in her doctoral thesis.[16] One of the larger recent excavations has taken place in Örja in Landskrona.[17] Plenty of research has also been carried out in another old Danish province, Halland.[18]

With the exception of a couple of small-scale fieldwork projects, research on medieval rural settlement in the rest of Sweden began in the late 1960s. Before 1993, as many as approximately 190 excavations, both small and large in scale, were conducted in Scania, and about 50 in other formerly Danish landscapes, including Gotland. During the same time, only about 200 research initiatives were carried out in the rest of medieval Sweden.[19] Some of the field studies, such as those made in small hamlets in Värmland, were closely connected to the research done at the University of Lund.[20]

Since the early 1990s, research activity on medieval villages in central Sweden has been high. Numerous large-scale excavations have been conducted, for example, in the provinces of Uppland, Södermanland, and Östergötland. Most of them were rescue excavations, but several of these sites have been thoroughly analysed already in the excavation reports.[21] In some areas, the high number of rescue excavations has enabled an overview of the settlement development in a larger area. Some of the best examples of this are in the surroundings of the town of Linköping in Östergötland.[22]

In addition to the research carried out through rescue archaeology, several large-scale research projects have taken place in Sweden. In these projects, like the Ystad project in the 1980s, the settlement dynamics and structure of certain regions have been analysed thoroughly. The focus of another project of the late 20th century, Ängersjöprojektet, was

15 Svart Kristiansen 2005; 2011: 114–116.

16 Schmidt Sabo 2001; Bentz 2008: 187–241.

17 Schmidt Sabo 2013.

18 Rosén 2004.

19 Ersgård & Hållans 1996.

20 Svensson 1998; Andersson & Svensson 2002; Emanuelsson et al. 2003; Svensson 2008.

21 Cf. for example Beronius Jörpeland & Bäck 2003; Nordström 2003; Beronius Jörpeland & Seiler 2011.

22 Cf. Lindeblad & Tagesson 2005.

Figure 1.5. Modern city of Espoo locates in the province of Uusimaa in the near vicinity of the capital Helsinki. Places mentioned in the text marked with green symbol: A = Lieto, B = Masku, C = Kainuunkylä & Oravaisensaari, C = Rovaniemi, E = Lahti, F = Tuulos, G = Tyrväntö, H = Sotkuma, I = Uukuniemi, J = Vantaa, K = Hanko, L = Orslandet. Medieval towns marked with red symbols: 1 = Ulvila, 2 = Rauma, 3 = Naantali, 4 = Turku, 5 = Porvoo, 6 = Viipuri. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

in Norrland. Material from excavations conducted on hamlets in this project has been analysed by Anna Lagerstedt.[23]

One project focused on a late medieval individual farm or hamlet called Hemvidakulla or Skavarp in Östergötland, close to the border of the province of Småland. This site, which is located in a marginal area with restricted agricultural opportunities, was deserted during the 15th century. A reconstruction of the landscape and field system surrounding the small plot has been made here.[24]

Both large projects and small-scale studies made in Scandinavia and the rest of north-western Europe, especially in Sweden, have influenced the establishing and development of archaeology on medieval rural settlement sites. Professor Hans Andersson from Lund gave an important paper on this subject in the small conference organised on the 10th anniversary of the Finnish Society of Medieval Archaeology in Turku in 2000.[25]

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN FINLAND

In the late 1960s and 1970s, a large Nordic research project called *The Scandinavian Research Project on Deserted Farms and Villages*, which focused on medieval desertion, took place in Finland and Scandinavia. As a result, plenty of deserted medieval hamlets and single farms were found in Scandinavia. One of them was Skavarp in Sweden, which was already mentioned above. In the case of Finland, much fewer written sources from the Middle Ages have survived than in other Nordic countries. For this reason, the Finnish participants of the project concentrated on early modern desertion – which proved to have been much more severe than was previously supposed. In contrast to Sweden and Denmark, no archaeologists analysing rural settlements in southern Finland were involved in the project.[26]

However, already in the 1970s, some archaeological interest in medieval settlement sites began to arise. In Varsinais-Suomi (Sw. Egentliga Finland), Unto Salo initiated projects concentrating on the change of the cultural landscape with time. In connection with these projects, in the mid-1970s, Jukka Luoto carried out surveys and some excavations at sites where he tried to find continuity from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages. In Pahamäki in the parish of Lieto, he was able to show that the site was settled from the Viking Age up to the

[23] Lagerstedt 2004.
[24] Andersson & Anglert 1989; Myrdal 1999: 142–144; Andersson 2000.
[25] Andersson 2000.
[26] Koivunen 1977.

14th century.[27] Following these projects, Aino Nissinaho carried out extensive surveys in the parish of Masku.[28]

In northern Finland, written source material is even scarcer than in the south. Because of this, the importance of the archaeological remains of medieval settlement in the north was recognised in the early 1970s, when Kyösti Julku initiated projects on medieval settlement in the University of Oulu. Pentti Koivunen continued this research, conducting excavations in Kainuunkylä and Oravaisensaari in the Tornio River valley. Koivunen was followed by Juhani Kostet and Kirsti Närhi (later Paavola), who carried out field research in another northern river valley, namely the Kemijoki River valley. In 1978 and 1979, they conducted excavations in Ylikylä in Rovaniemi.[29]

In the 1990s, some fieldwork, including larger excavations in Lahti, were made in the province of Häme, in the inland of Finland. Two projects initiated by the National Board of Antiquities in the 1990s should be mentioned. In the early 1990s, Andres Tvauri carried out a systematic survey in the parish of Tuulos. Tvauri analysed especially the importance of different soils for the location of settlement sites in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages.[30] In Tyrväntö, another parish in Häme, Jouni Taivainen tried to find settlement continuity from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages. At several village plots or close to them, he found ceramics indicating long settlement continuity at these sites.[31] In 2000, the well-preserved plot of a medieval hamlet called Annila in the parish of Sääksmäki was surveyed. The site was deserted in the early 17th century at the latest, but before that, it had been settled for hundreds of years. This was proved by the discovery of a prehistoric burial cairn at the site, in addition to several medieval and early modern house foundations.[32]

In the 1990s, both the Universities of Helsinki and Turku began to research the orthodox settlements in eastern Finland. In Sotkuma in Polvijärvi, the settlement proved to date to the early modern era.[33] In Uukuniemi parish, a well-preserved site in Papinniemi was excavated by Ville Laakso. Also here, the house foundations and find material were mostly from the early modern era, in this case from the 16th and early 17th centuries. The site was abandoned during wartime in the 1650s.[34]

However, until the end of the 20th century, interest in deserted medieval villages or the archaeological remains of medieval rural settlement sites was marginal.[35] In autumn 2000, a conference on settlement archaeology took place in Tampere, and it was only now that medieval settlement sites were finally recognised as ancient monuments. Previously only individual well-preserved sites had acquired the status of ancient monuments protected by the law.[36]

Shortly before the conference in Tampere, the Espoo City Museum conducted the first large-scale systematic survey of medieval settlement sites in Finland. As a result, dozens of plots of medieval settlements were located. The survey was inspired by an exhibition in

27 Luoto 1984.
28 Nissinaho 2007.
29 Närhi 1984; Paavola 1985.
30 Tvauri 1998; Poutiainen et al. 1999; Poutiainen & Uotila 1999.
31 Taivainen 2001.
32 Mökkönen et al. 2000.
33 Vuoristo 2004.
34 Laakso 2014.
35 Peltonen et al. 2000.
36 Haggrén 2008.

the museum in 1999.[37] Some years later, in eastern Uusimaa, the Vantaa City Museum also carried out a systematic survey of medieval settlement sites.[38] Other museums, such as the Provincial Museums of Pirkanmaa and Turku, have followed later with similar surveys. In Pirkanmaa, close to Tampere, some excavations have also been carried out, for example in Nokia and Tyrvää.[39]

The surveys made by the city museums soon showed their value in the capital region of Finland, where the expanding building activity of the early 21st century posed a major threat to the preserved sites. Based on the surveys, rescue excavations could be conducted on the plots of medieval villages and hamlets. In 2002 and 2003, two larger excavations were carried out, one in Gubbacka in Vantaa and another in Kauklahti (Sw. Köklax) in Espoo. In Kauklahti, medieval house foundations, plenty of finds, and even a graveyard were found. The site had been settled in the 13th century at the latest.[40] In Gubbacka, the site proved to be a well-preserved plot consisting of house foundations from the 16th and early 17th centuries and a couple of medieval finds. Luckily, some years later the Vantaa City Museum could continue the fieldwork at the other end of the village plot of Gubbacka, where some medieval structures were found. These excavations carried out by Andreas Koivisto showed that the place had been settled already in the 12th to 13th century or even earlier.[41]

In 2002, the University of Helsinki launched a project called Our Maritime Heritage, directed by Ari Siiriäinen and Henrik Jansson. The project focused on maritime settlements in western Uusimaa during the Iron Age and the Middle Ages. A systematic survey of the medieval plots of hamlets and villages began. This was followed by other projects, such as *Western Uusimaa during the Late Iron Age and Medieval Period – Settlement History from the Viewpoint of Archaeology, History, Biology and Geology*, funded by the Kone Foundation.[42] The use of multidisciplinary methods and several different source materials, including historical maps, written sources, archaeological surveys, and pollen analysis from lake sediments, allowed the researchers to prove that some medieval desertion took place in Finland too. An extensive survey showed that dozens of medieval settlement sites are preserved and that especially the sites that have been deserted before modern times have great potential for archaeological research.[43] Beginning in 2002, test excavations were carried out on several sites. More extensive excavations followed in the village of Hanko in 2003–2009 and on the island of Orslandet in Inkoo parish in 2007 and 2008.[44]

THE MANKBY PROJECT – APPROACHES AND AIMS

In 2008, the city of Espoo celebrated its history of 550 years since the first mention of the chapel or church parish of Espoo in 1458. This anniversary inspired the Espoo City Museum to set up an exhibition on medieval villages in 2008. In combination with this, a research

37 Lindholm 2002.
38 Suhonen 2009.
39 Adel 2008.
40 Haggrén 2005.
41 Suhonen 2005; Koivisto et al. 2010; Koivisto 2012.
42 Haggrén & Lavento 2011.
43 Alenius et al. 2004; Haggrén 2009; 2011.
44 Jansson et al. 2010.

project funded by the city museum started. The project focused on the well-preserved plot of a deserted medieval village called Mankby. This exceptionally well-preserved site was found in a survey in 2004.[45] The museum was convinced of the research potential of the site and decided to fund a three-year project carried out together with the University of Helsinki.

In spring 2007, the site previously covered by dense woodland was cleared and a detailed survey was conducted. Large excavations were made in 2008 and 2009. After this, the excavations continued for four seasons. In 2010, a project called *Mankby – A Key to the Middle Ages* started, funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland. In addition to the Espoo City Museum, the research has been carried out in co-operation with Sarka, the Finnish Museum of Agriculture.

Beginning in 2008, several field courses were organised for amateur archaeologists during every excavation season. Usually there were three courses, each lasting four or five days and consisting of both daily lessons and excavating in practice. In 2008 and 2009, the courses were organised by the city museum, and beginning from 2010, by the Summer University of Hangö. There has been some co-operation with several upper secondary schools (Hangö gymnasium, Kauniaisten lukio, Pohjois-Tapiolan lukio). This co-operation has enabled young people to get acquainted with archaeological fieldwork.

Fieldwork at Mankby could be carried out according to a systematic research plan made for several years. This allowed continuing with the research on the same site during several seasons. For the research team, this decision was a real stroke of luck. In contrast to, for example, rescue excavations, it has been possible to carry out research according to a far-reaching plan without having to hurry or compromise in documentation.

Even though the plot of Mankby was exceptionally well preserved from later land use, in other respects, it seemed to have been quite an ordinary medieval village, which was actually one of the reasons why it was chosen as a research subject. One of the main aims was to acquire more knowledge of the material culture and lives of the more or less typical freeholders living in a coastal region with contacts across the Baltic Sea. This social group is severely underrepresented in written sources, and the modern view of medieval peasants tended to be either neglected or highly stereotypical. Within the Mankby project, the everyday life of these people was central to the research. In the beginning, the main focus was on the structure and development of the village, the individual house foundations, and the find material produced by the excavations. The project studied the conditions of life in this time and region, the networks, innovations, and resources that the inhabitants of Mankby had access to, and how the use of the village and its resources changed during the Middle Ages.

Today, Mankby is one of the most extensively researched plots of a medieval village in Finland and, in addition to Gubbacka, the only thoroughly published site with a large amount of medieval structures and finds. After seven seasons of fieldwork, many of the hypotheses made in the beginning have been revised. The project has gathered a body of material that has added much more nuance to our picture of the Middle Ages and life in a rural village. The following chapters in this volume open up the results of the research in Mankby and present the diverse methods used for gathering the knowledge we have of this site today.

[45] Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008.

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Anna Wessman

2 WOMEN ALONG THE RIVERBANKS
New Iron Age Finds from Espoo

INTRODUCTION

The Iron Age of the Uusimaa region has been labelled as a somewhat problematic period because datable finds are scarce, especially in central Uusimaa, including the municipality and city of Espoo. Thus, a large area of Uusimaa has been interpreted as a findless zone during the Iron Age, even though pollen analyses have proven otherwise. Several research projects have searched for the long-lost Iron Age in central and western Uusimaa, but clearly datable sites, especially from the Late Iron Age (AD 500–1150), have not been found in Espoo (for further literature about the settlement history of Uusimaa, see Chapter 5 in this volume).[1]

This chapter discusses the Iron Age in Espoo through new finds that have all, with one exception, been found by amateur metal detectorists. Even though the significance of stray finds is often dismissed, the author argues that also stray finds can be important clues in trying to understand the settlement pattern before the arrival of Swedes. It is also argued that some of these finds might actually be dated to the time when the medieval hamlet of Mankby was already settled by the Swedes.

RESEARCH HISTORY – BEFORE 2012

Until 2012, finds deriving from the Iron Age were scarce in Espoo. There are only a couple of settlement sites that date to the transition period between the Late Bronze Age (900–500 BC) and the Pre-Roman Iron Age (500 BC–0/50 AD). The most famous of these sites is Morby, which dates to the Bronze Age and the Pre-Roman Iron Age. One of the pottery types found there has also given its name to an entire pottery type. Even today, Morby pottery remains the most important artefact material related to the Pre-Roman Iron Age and is thus important for the dating of new sites, since metal artefacts are scarce during this period.[2] During the excavations in 1978–1979, large amounts of clay daub were also found at Morby, deriving from a rectangular house.[3]

Also the famous Dåvits cemetery dates to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (500 BC–0/50 AD) and has been totally excavated during several occasions between 1967 and 1977. Metal ob-

1 Wickholm 2000; 2005; Alenius 2011; Haggrén 2011; Haggrén & Lavento 2011; Lillman 2014.
2 Asplund 2008: 210.
3 Kokkonen 1990: 58.

jects were found from a 10-meter-wide, low stone cairn containing two stone coffins. The two Bräcksta-type neck rings found in one of the coffins, together with a fragment of a third neck ring and arm rings, connect the cemetery type to both Estonia and central Sweden. The artefacts date the cemetery to the Early Roman Iron Age (AD 1–200). Morby-type pottery was found in the lower layers, which might derive from an earlier settlement site below the cemetery.[4] Next to Dåvits is yet another settlement site, Torsbacka, with similar pottery as in Dåvits, but unfortunately no metal finds.[5]

Also the Frideborg find, from the present border between Leppävaara and Mäkkylä, dates to either the Pre-Roman Iron Age or the Early Roman Iron Age.[6] It consists of two iron celts and a socketed spearhead.[7] The artefacts were found by accident in a potato field in 1937, and even though a small test excavation was conducted in 1940, it could no longer be established whether these items derived from a cache or from a single burial.[8]

Another spearhead[9] also derives from the Leppävaara region. According to records from the Archive at the National Board of Antiquities, a tanged spearhead was found close to the Leppävaara School building in Veräjäpelto near a small stream during the beginning of the 1990s. According to the same record, also an iron arrowhead had been reported from the same site in 1951, found in a potato field, but during a visit to the collections by the author in April 2015, no artefact was found, nor any report of its existence.

Also four fire-striking stones are known from Espoo[10], namely from Tapiola[11], Kauklahti[12], Oittaa[13], and from an unknown site[14]. These stones, which are frequently encountered as stray finds, have traditionally been seen as indicators of a slash-and-burn culture and date in the Uusimaa region roughly to the Migration period.[15]

The cache from Frideborg was the last reliably dated find deriving from the Iron Age in Espoo for a long time, and it was believed that the area was abandoned after this. However, the situation has changed rapidly in recent years due to amateur metal detecting. Today there are metal finds from almost all periods of the Iron Age in Espoo. These new finds also point out locations where future archaeological research should be aimed at.

METAL DETECTING FINDS FROM THE IRON AGE

Metal detecting is legal in Finland and has become an increasingly popular hobby, especially in the 2010s. Due to this, Finland is presently facing both ethical and legal challenges towards this hobby. Moreover, amateur metal detecting raises mixed feelings and many concerns among archaeologists. While a growing number of amateurs now cooperate with

4 Meinander 1969; Lang 1996.
5 Fast 2006.
6 Salo 1968: 83.
7 KM 10829:2.
8 Kokkonen 1990: 60.
9 KM 26696.
10 Kokkonen 1990: 62.
11 KM 7177.
12 KM 6350.
13 KM 15183.
14 KM 7073.
15 Pellinen 1999: 26.

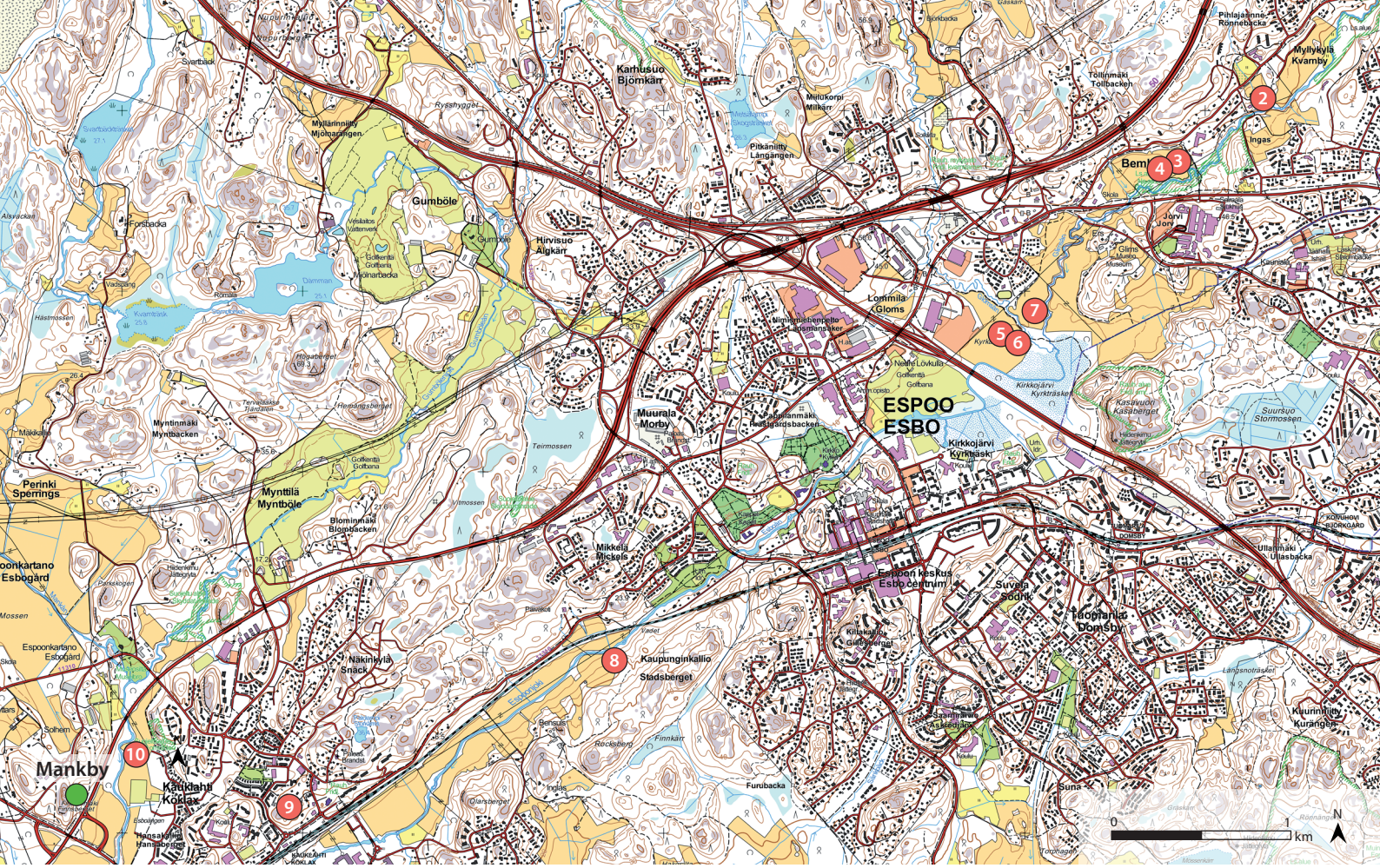

Figure 2.1. Distribution of the Iron Age stray finds presented in the chapter. The number on the plan indicates the figure number. (Map: Anna Wessman and Maija Holappa.)

Finnish heritage management authorities, looting and 'nighthawking' are a genuine threat. However, in spite of the problems, there are many benefits to using detectors in archaeology. Through the rise of the metal detecting hobby, new archaeological source material has been introduced into Finnish archaeology.[16]

Espoo City Museum and the author have cooperated with amateur metal detectorists closely since the beginning of 2012, and the collaboration has been fruitful. The number of metal detector finds has been abundant, especially during the snowless winter of 2013–2014, which made detecting possible throughout the year. Among these finds are also several that date to the Iron Age.[17] All but one of them are metal detector finds, found in plough-soil.

A PRESENTATION OF THE NEW FINDS

The find distribution of the metal-detected finds follows the Espoonjoki or Glimsinjoki River, which runs down from Lake Pitkäjärvi, starting in Myllykylä and Bemböle, going south-west through Kauklahti and Vanttila, and finally discharging into Espoonlahti Bay. New finds have also been found along the Mankinjoki River, which also discharges into Espoonlahti Bay. The distribution of the finds adheres to the general settlement distribution of the Finnish Iron Age, suggesting that the finds might indicate permanent settlement

16 Thomas et al. in press.

17 Siltainsuu & Wessman 2014.

(Fig. 2.1). The finds are addressed below, starting from the northern part of the Espoonjoki River and following the river south towards Espoonlahti Bay.

Myllykylä

One of the oldest finds found with a metal detector derives from Myllykylä (Grävabacka) and consists of a fragmented arm ring from the Early Roman Iron Age (AD 1–200) (Fig. 2.2).[18] The arm ring has a triangular cross-section and is ornamented with rhomboids and double cross-lines. This type is common in the Kroggårdsmalmen tarand grave find material in Raasepori (former Karjaa), but is also common in all the Baltic countries.[19]

The arm ring was found with a metal detector in 2012, and the area around the find spot was later excavated in August 2012. Unfortunately, no evidence from the Iron Age was found during the excavation, but instead a rather large Stone Age site was discovered.[20] This does not prove that the find is a mere stray find. On the contrary, the find spot is situated at the western border of a moraine hill called Grävabacka ('Digging Hill'). The name 'Gräfvabacka' occurs on a map by Nils Westermarck in 1747, which suggests that the hill was already by then used as a source for digging sand.[21] In Finland, cemeteries from the Iron Age are frequently located on top of small moraine hills.[22] Thus, the arm ring could derive from a destroyed cemetery and could have ended up in the field by accident when the sand was removed from the hill.

Figure 2.2. A fragment from an arm ring dating to Early Iron Age from Myllykylä. (Photo: Laura Kannasmaa / Espoo City Museum.)

There are several finds from different areas around the village of Bemböle, an area of Espoo that is still quite agrarian, even though large construction projects are planned. There are thus plenty of fields for metal detecting, which might explain why so many Iron Age objects derive from this area. Observant metal detectorists also tend to survey areas that undergo construction and report their finds to the Museum. However, it is important to acknowledge that metal detectorists seek mainly bronze artefacts, ignoring signs of iron in the ground. This naturally skews the find distribution and explains why all the metal artefacts described here derive from the female dress.

From the nearby field at Österåker, there is a chain divider, a bronze bell (Fig. 2.3), and an unidentified bronze artefact that could be a knife handle or a socket of some sort (Fig. 2.4). From the same field, there is also a possible iron arrowhead, which has not yet been dated.[23] All the

[18] KM 40107:1.
[19] Salo 1968: 107; Kivikoski 1973: 22.
[20] Rosendahl et al. 2015.
[21] Rosendahl et al. 2015.
[22] E.g. Wessman 2010.
[23] KM 40106:1-3.

Figure 2.3. Chain divider and bronze bell from Österåker. (Photo: Laura Kannasmaa / Espoo City Museum.)

artefacts have been found around a ploughed-through mound in the field, a possible destroyed cemetery, which has not yet been excavated but is fortunately now under protection by the Antiquities Act. In spring 2015, the area around this mound was surveyed by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki in cooperation with the Espoo City Museum and local metal detectorists. During one week, an area of 3,370 m^2 was surveyed with metal detectors, but no further objects that could clearly be dated to the Iron Age were found.[24]

The chain divider from Österåkern was very difficult to identify at first. It is in two pieces and the ornamentation on the surface is typical for the Viking Age, but the type was not previously known in Finland. Professor Audronė Bliujienė from Klaipeda University in Lithuania identified the object as a chain divider of Liv origin.[25] However, later the author also corresponded with Dr Roberts Spirģis from the Institute of History in Latvia, who suggested that the chain divider actually represents two separate objects: one would be a part of a Liv chain holder of Type 3 (11th–12th centuries) and the other a fragment of a chain holder of an Estonian type.[26] This would suggest that these dress ornaments either derive from two different dresses or from a costume that has been altered and mixed with different ethnic markers.

However, according to the metal detectorist, both items were found in the same pit, only 2–3 cm apart from each other. Also the ornamentation is identical, which might imply that both pieces do derive from the same object.

Either way, this object gives very interesting new information about the Iron Age in Espoo, because it suggests wide overseas contacts during the Viking Age. Moreover, there is previous evidence of interaction be-

Figure 2.4. An unidentified bronze artefact, possibly a knife handle, or some sort of a socket from Österåker. (Photo: Laura Kannasmaa / Espoo City Museum.)

[24] Perttola pers. comm. 9.11.2015.
[25] Bliujienė pers. comm. 24.4.2014.
[26] Spirgis 2005; 2006; Spirģis pers. comm. 9.4.2015.

tween the Liv culture and Finland during the Late Iron Age, even though this has not been studied in further detail. The new finds provide support for further studies in this area.

From Fallåker and its vicinity Kyrkängen, there is a bird needle[27] (Fig. 2.5), a fragment of a chain holder of the cruciform band-plaited variant[28] (Fig. 2.6), and an eared tube[29], which derives from a chain ornament (Fig. 2.7). Even though these finds are from the same village, they were found in different locations.

The bird needle is of Gutorm Gjessing's A type, which dates it to the second half of the 5th century. Bird needles are somewhat common in Finland, Sweden, and Norway during the Migration period (AD 450–550), but only two are known from Denmark.[30] Over 30 bird needles are known from Finland so far.[31] In the Uusimaa region, only one bird needle is previously known, from the Lillmalmsbacken single-tarand grave in Raasepori (former Tenala). Also this needle is of Gjessing's A type.[32]

Bird motifs are frequent during the Iron Age, especially as pendants, in most parts of the Finno-Ugric area. They have been interpreted as mythical and/or Christian symbols.[33]

In Finland, with the exception of the Palomäki cemetery in Salo, bird needles are not found in pairs, as they are in Norway or in Gotland, which suggests that they were not used to fasten the dress. On the contrary, these needles are frequently found in burials together with brooches, which suggests that they might have functioned as hair needles or been used to fasten the headdress.[34]

Figure 2.5. A fragment of a bird needle from Bemböle. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Figure 2.6. Chain holder of the cruciform band-plaited variant from Bemböle. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Figure 2.7. An eared tube from a chain ornament from Bemböle. (Photo: Iida Heikkari / Espoo City Museum.)

27 KM 39283.
28 KM 39146.
29 KM 40498:1.
30 Gjessing 1932; Kivikoski 1939; Nerman 1940; Becker 1973: 18–19.
31 Sipilä & Mäntylä 2005: 72.
32 Heinonen 1954: 39; Kivikoski 1973: 47.
33 Rinne 1905: 7; Schauman 1971: 73.
34 Heinonen 1954: 42–43.

The chain holder of the cruciform band-plaited variant[35] and the eared tube[36] both derive from a chain ornament that has equivalents in the Tuukkala cemetery find material in Mikkeli and dates to the Crusade period (AD 1025/1050–1150/1200/1300). These items were not found close to each other and should thus be seen as separate finds, but since they both belong to the same type of chain arrangement, they are described here together.[37]

In Finland these artefact types are common mainly in Savo (in the Mikkeli area) and on the Karelian Isthmus, but they are also known from the south-eastern side of Lake Ladoga in Russia. According to Pirjo Uino, these two artefact types are so common in the Savo area that they have probably originated from this area and been distributed from here to Karelia.[38] Recently a chain holder has been found, also by metal detector, in Illinsaari 2 (Suutarinniemi) in Ii,[39] a site that was later during archaeological excavations confirmed to be a cemetery from the Late Iron Age.[40] This find from Northern Ostrobothnia is probably the northernmost example of this chain holder type in Finland. It is probable that the chain holder from Espoo is the southernmost example.

Eared tubes are divided into different types depending on their shape and number of ears, and the one from Fallåker is of type B according to Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander's work.[41] Even though it is broken, it has equivalents in the famous Tuukkala cemetery in Mikkeli.[42] The eared tube's upper part is missing, meaning that is has probably originally been a so-called quadruple eared tube, which has been even on all sides and ornamented with spiral decorations. In the Savo-Karelian ancient costume, eared tubes were placed between the tortoise brooches and the chain holders.[43] The eared tubes usually have different kinds of small bronze flipper-shaped pendants and ornaments that hang down from the ears, but in the Fallåker case they are missing.

Vanttila

A fragment of a flat bird pendant dating to the Viking Age (AD 800–1025/1050)[44] was found in a field close to the medieval hamlet of Vanttila in 2012 (Fig. 2.8). The fragment portrays the punctured bird's tail of the pendant. It is ornamented with small circular motifs and has hung from the chains in the dress ornaments.

Bird pendants similar to the ones in western Finland are known especially among the Livs in Latvia, but also in the southern areas of Lake Ladoga.[45] According to Ella Kivikoski, there were two types of flat bird pendants in circulation during the Viking Age; swan-like pendants and broad-tailed pendants.[46] According to Juha Ruohonen, the broad-tailed pendants could be divided into two subgroups: broad-tailed pendants and pendants with a punctured

35 KM 39146.
36 KM 40498:1.
37 Kivikoski 1973: 138.
38 Uino 1997: 173, 362.
39 KM 38884:2.
40 Kuusela 2013.
41 Lehtosalo 1966: 80.
42 Kivikoski 1973: Abb. 1117.
43 Lehtosalo 1966: 78–80; Uino 1997: 362.
44 KM 39147:1.
45 Kivikoski 1939: 161.
46 Kivikoski 1947: 11.

Figure 2.8. A fragment from a flat bird pendant from Vanttila. Drawing illustrates a complete pendant. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl. Drawing: Maija Holappa.)

Figure 2.9. A fragment from a horse pendant from Kauklahti. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

form and a fan-like spout.[47] The fragment from Vanttila fits well into this latter subgroup of the broad-tailed type of pendants, because there are clear punctures under its tail.

Kauklahti

While going through the find material from the medieval hamlet of Saka in Kauklahti due to an exhibition project in 2012, the author identified a fragment from a horse/bird pendant from the Crusade period (Fig. 2.9).[48] The pendant had been catalogued as a partly melted piece of copper alloy and had thus not initially been identified. The hamlet is one of the oldest hamlets in Espoo, established by the estuary of the Espoonjoki River no later than in the 13th century.[49]

The pendant was found at the southern end of area 8 in a clayish unit (Y823), inside a young building (R805) and next to an oven foundation of a later date (R808). The building has been dated roughly to the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. The dating of the building is based on the artefacts found inside the building, since the oven was never excavated. Unfortunately there are no exact coordinates for the find, and according to the field report, most finds, despite some curiosities, were thrown away.[50]

Hollow horse/bird pendants are typical for the Crusade period (AD 1025/1050–1150/1200/1300), especially in the area of the Karelian Isthmus. It is typical for these pendants to have several bronze chains with small bells hanging from the body of the animal, forming some sort of feet that hang from the base of the pendant.[51] The origin of these pendants is, however, probably to be found outside Karelia, south of Ladoga in present Ingria.[52] The artefact type was in use for a long time, and examples have also been found together

47 Ruohonen 2010: 84–90.
48 KM 2003111:275.
49 Haggrén 2003: 37.
50 Haggrén 2003: 10–13.
51 Schauman 1971: 69.
52 Schauman 1971: 69; Uino 1997: 169.

with coins, establishing that they were in use still at the end of the 12th century.[53] The name of the pendant has been discussed, and it should be noted that the animal actually resembles a horse much more than a bird due to the long legs and mane.[54]

Esboåker

In the summer of 2015, a metal detectorist found a fragment of a tortoise brooch[55] (Fig. 2.10) in a field at Esboåkern on the eastern shore of the Gumbölenjoki River. The find spot is exactly opposite the Mankby medieval hamlet, meaning that Mankby can be seen on the other side of the river. When archaeologists from the Espoo City Museum inspected the site together with the finder, nothing out of the ordinary was found. There were no changes in the soil; it seemed to be a typical southern Finnish field consisting of clayish soil. When the detectorist was given permission to continue to search for artefacts in the field later that summer, another fragment of the same tortoise brooch was found. During the summer and autumn, several new items were found, such as a third fragment of a tortoise brooch (possibly from the same brooch as the two previous ones due to its similar ornamentation, but possibly also deriving from its pair), a chain holder of a western Finnish type[56], and a probable fire striker[57]. The tortoise brooch is of Julius Ailio's type H with equivalents in Mikkeli and Karelia, dating to the 11th century.[58] Also the western Finnish chain holder can be dated to the Crusade period and has equivalents in the Mikkeli region.

Figure 2.10. The first two fragments of the tortoise brooch from Esboåker. (Photo: Tryggve Gestrin and Anna Wessman / Espoo City Museum.)

DISCUSSION

It is important to acknowledge that the above-mentioned finds from Espoo would not have been found without a metal detector. Moreover, they have been brought into the sphere of research by amateurs. These finds unquestionably contradict previous research hypotheses claiming that the area would have been unsettled during the Iron Age. Thus, metal detecting has proven to be of great help rather than hindrance to archaeological research in this area.

Even though metal-detected finds are often dismissed by researchers, they are not artefacts without a context. On the contrary, they are valuable in many respects. They give important chronological and socio-economical clues for assessing the history of a specific

53 Sarvas 1971: 56–57.

54 Ruohonen 2010: 91–92.

55 At the time of writing the brooch had not yet been catalogued.

56 Of the type Kivikoski 1973: Abb. 1110.

57 Similar to Kivikoski 1973: Abb. 1247.

58 Ailio 1922: 42–57.

site. Metal detecting has been proven to be a good method at major sites, such as Uppåkra in Scania, where metal-detected objects have helped to date a site, but also to identify its function.[59]

Moreover, in contrast to common beliefs, objects that are recovered from the plough-soil can even be connected to underlying structures. Ploughing brings objects up to the surface layers, and in Scandinavian research it has been estimated that the majority of all artefacts are actually found in the plough-soil layer and not beneath it in the actual settlement layer. Thus, plough-soil objects are not without context but valuable finds, especially when found in areas where previous find material is scarce. It has even been suggested that metal finds found in the plough-soil should be interpreted as 'stray sites' in contrast to stray finds, because they often indicate an ancient site.[60]

Even though it has not yet been possible to connect the finds from Espoo with dwelling sites or cemetery contexts through archaeological excavations, the finds are still valuable, because they prove a continuation in the settlement pattern through the entire Iron Age. It is probable that the finds ended up in the fields with dung brought there to fertilise the fields, making their context secondary. Still, their presence indicates that the cemeteries and settlement sites must have been close by, if not situated under the plough-soil layer itself. These new finds provide valuable information about where future archaeological research should be focussed.

The find distribution along the valley of the Espoonjoki or Glimsinjoki River, but also along the Mankinjoki River, fits quite well into the picture of Iron Age settlement distribution in other areas of Finland. More importantly, these finds also correspond quite well with previous pollen analyses carried out in Espoo, which suggest that permanent agriculture has been practised in Espoo already during AD 700–1000 (see Chapter 5 in this volume).[61] Thus, it seems evident that not enough research has been carried out in this area earlier.[62] Instead, it must be acknowledged that the unbiased attitude metal detectorists have had towards this geographical area, in contrast to archaeologists, has proven to be quite fruitful.

As already stated above, the metal finds from the Late Iron Age are all female dress ornaments and thus personal items. This is probably related to the fact that detectorists mainly focus on seeking bronze, which would explain why iron objects are often missing from finds. Iron objects are also difficult to identify without costly conservation.

An interesting feature of these dress ornaments is their strong ethnic variability, which is a clear exception to the 'normal' western Finnish find material during the Crusade period. The counterparts for most of the finds are found in eastern Finland, in Savo, or more precisely in the famous Tuukkala cemetery in Mikkeli. Moreover, there are also signs of contacts with the Liv culture in present-day Latvia, which makes the interpretation possibilities intriguing yet hazardous due to ethnocentric pitfalls.

According to new radiocarbon dates from excavations that took place in Tuukkala in 2009, it seems that the cemetery should preferably be dated solely to the early medieval period, the 13th and 14th centuries.[63] This means that these bronze ornaments have been in use much later than has previously been believed. The new dating coincides with the period

[59] Paulsson 1999.

[60] E.g. Paulsson 1999; Svensson & Söderberg 2009; Fabech et al. 2012; Svensson 2014.

[61] Alenius 2011.

[62] Rosendahl 2013.

[63] Mikkola 2012: 7.

when the Uusimaa region was settled by the Swedes. Thus, the horse pendant found at the medieval hamlet of Saka in Kauklahti, even though found in a secondary context, could derive from the same time as the hamlet, which is intriguing new information concerning the settlement history of the Espoo and Uusimaa area. Also the tortoise brooch and the other items found in the same field at Esboåkern were found opposite the Mankby and Esboby hamlets, and the earliest C^{14} datings from Mankby coincide very well with the chronology of these objects (see Chapter 5). This suggests that the Swedish newcomers that settled down in the coastal areas of Uusimaa probably had neighbours. Moreover, the ancient dress of the Savo-Karelian type was probably still in use during medieval times, and it was perhaps a way to differentiate oneself from the newcomers who arrived in the area.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter focused on new archaeological finds dated to the Iron Age in present-day Espoo. These objects unquestionably show that the area was settled throughout the Iron Age. The chronological variation among the artefacts ranges from the Early Roman Iron Age to the Crusade period, perhaps into the medieval period. It also seems that the ethnic background of the people living in this area was more diverse than has previously been thought. Espoo was, in other words, a multicultural area also during the Iron Age.

EPILOGUE

During the writing of this article, in the late summer and autumn of 2015, several new items were found in Espoo that have not been included in this article. One such find is a fragment of a chain holder of the cruciform band-plaited variant from Dåvitsby, similar to the one found at Kyrkängen. Yet another object dating to the Crusade period was found during the archaeological excavation of the medieval hamlet of Mäkkylä in autumn 2015. It is a cross pendant with a cast defect, similar to to Ella Kivikoski's figure no. 1115. Both objects have equivalents in the Tuukkala inhumation cemetery in Mikkeli and support the arguments made in this chapter.

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Ulrika Rosendahl

3 RURAL ENCOUNTERS IN MEDIEVAL ESPOO
The Emergence and Development of Settlement in a Colonised Area

INTRODUCTION

The main subject of this book, the deserted medieval village of Mankby, was originally chosen as a research subject because of its extraordinary level of preservation that offers a microhistoric glimpse into the life of medieval peasants and their environment. Soon, however, it became obvious that the history of Mankby also generated questions that had to be answered on a larger scale. The settlement history of the coastal area in Southern Finland underwent major changes during the Middle Ages. The record of Iron Age sites in this area is extremely sparse, but by end of the medieval period, when the first written sources shed light on settlement in the region, small villages and hamlets had appeared in almost every location that had arable land. The history of Mankby needed to be understood in the perspective of settlement history on a broad level. However, we lacked answers to questions of how the medieval settlement emerged and what the nature of the intangible Iron Age settlement that preceded the villages was.

During the Middle Ages, the area of Finland was taken over by the realm of Sweden, a young emerging kingdom that at the time was expanding into neighbouring areas without official rule. The expansion of Swedish power in Finland is clearly visible in the 13th century, and during the same period, the coastal areas of Finland were evidently colonised by Swedish settlers. According to Lindkvist, these two events are not necessarily linked to each other.[1] The incitement to migrate might have emerged on an individual level rather than as the result of a state-building strategy. The process behind the colonisation is, however, poorly known. What we do know is that during the Middle Ages, predominantly Swedish place names were in use in the coastal region, reflecting a concentrated Swedish-speaking settlement in this area. Another open question in connection with the settlement history of the Swedish areas in coastal Finland is the interaction between the settlers and the settlement groups that inhabited the area prior to colonisation. The Swedish and Finnish language groups coexisted close to each other during the Middle Ages, but what was the situation like when the settlers arrived? Traditionally it has been thought that the coastal areas were largely uninhabited prior to the colonisation, but recent studies have provided strong evidence for questioning this interpretation.

This chapter focuses on the medieval settlement history of the parish of Espoo, taking into account new results of studies on the area and opening up for a more diverse view on

[1] Lindkvist 2002: 46–49.

the language and settlement history. The structure of land use is studied by means of the retrospective analysis of tax sources and boundaries in order to define different chronological layers in the landscape. The aim is to use this material to identify zones and centrality that affected the landscape structure and everyday life in the medieval parish in a long-term perspective and to tie this to the settlement history and the colonisation process of the region.

REJECTING OR EMBRACING THE ENCOUNTER?
From a Culture-Historical Approach to Post-Colonialism

The theory of an uninhabited coastline in Iron Age Finland had its roots in the turn of the 20th century and the then dominant culture-historical view of settlement history. People and cultures were seen as entities that came and went, and there was not much reflection on interaction and change during these migrations – or the problems of defining ethnic groups. During this period, a number of influential scholars debated the ethnicity of the prehistoric and early medieval settlement in Finland.[2] By the 1930s, the debate had died down and a widely accepted view held that the coast was, with some exceptions, uninhabited at the end of the Iron Age and colonised by Swedish settlers by the 13th century.[3] The theory was, however, consolidated as late as 1983, when C. F. Meinander wrote a well-cited article upon the matter. In this text, Meinander stated that when Swedish settlers colonised the coastal areas of both Finland and Estonia, these areas were uninhabited 'virgin lands'.[4]

To understand the research history of the Iron Age and the early Middle Ages in the coastal areas of Finland, one has to understand the political climate of the age when the research emerged. Throughout the 20th century, the prehistoric origin of the present population had been an important symbol in the shaping of national identity in Finland. When Finland sought to gain independence from Russia by the turn of the 20th century, a prehistoric iconography inspired by archaeological finds and the national epos Kalevala became a well-used illustration for the process. Since Finland had never been an independent state, the visual image of the time prior to the inclusion in the Swedish realm became the main identity-shaping era upon which to build a vision of a nation.[5] The archaeological settlement theories of this era did not emerge in a vacuum – they were influenced by the political climate and the ongoing debates that craved answers to the questions on ethnos that were widely used to legitimise and organise contemporary society.[6] Nevertheless, this influence was, and continues to be, profoundly denied in most academic papers on the matter.[7]

In its beginning, the project to build a Finnish national identity was a matter of a quite small but influential group of intellectuals and artists drawn to the ideas of nationalism, and it was not so much the relationship between the Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority that was problematised as it was the relationship with Russia. Once Finland gained independence in 1917, and actual laws concerning the official languages of

2 E.g. Appelgren 1897; Montelius 1898; Setälä 1900; Hackman 1917; the debate is discussed by Lena Huldén 2002, for example.

3 Tallgren 1931.

4 Meinander 1983: 283.

5 Fewster 2006: 21.

6 Wickholm 2005; Tuovinen 2011.

7 E.g. Setälä 1900: 615; Meinander 1983: 243; Taavitsainen 2002: 104–105.

the nation had to be established, the problematic relations between the two language groups surfaced. Within the academic world this conflict was very tangible, since the deep-rooted role of Swedish as the educated language was questioned, a theme that concerned Finnish archaeologists and their international colleagues at the time.[8] On a broader level in Finnish society, the tense relations culminated during the 1920s and 1930s in some aggressive confrontations, but on the legal level, a compromise was reached, and eventually, during the Second World War, the conflict declined. The conflicts of the early independence period did, however, leave tensions in the relationship between the language groups, and especially outside the academic world, there was polemic about indigenous rights to the land.

Within the academic world, on the contrary, there was a need to find a national consensus in the language conflict – and to officially denounce every connection to the politically biased debate on ethnicity in prehistory. For this purpose, a comprehensive archaeological explanation was needed, and Meinander's viewpoints on the settlement history of Uusimaa as an empty space for settlers to arrive in worked well in this context. It was a view that did not take sides, it made the colonisation into an isolated phenomenon where the two language groups did not meet and nobody's indigenous rights were trodden upon.[9] However, the lack of settlement on the coast was actually not the main focus of the text from 1983. Instead, the emphasis was on showing that no signs of explicitly Scandinavian Iron Age inhabitation were detectable along the Finnish coast.

Thus, Meinander's text can be seen as a reaction to the discourse on ethnicity that from time to time has risen – and still rises today – in both popular and academic debate on the origin of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland.[10] The fact that some people in the Swedish-speaking community in post-war times were keeping the language conflict alive by insisting – often with openly racist argumentation – that the Swedish population had prehistoric roots had provoked Meinander in the 1950s.[11] A certain amount of this annoyance is still tangible in Meinander's text from 1983,[12] where he shows, with sound archaeological evidence, that there is no archaeological evidence of Scandinavian settlement on the Finnish mainland. But when he claims that the area must have been empty because it would have been impossible for the Swedish settlers to colonise an area with an existing settlement without conflict, his argument is not as well validated.[13]

Today, more than thirty years later, we have reason to believe that the coast of Uusimaa was used for permanent agricultural settlement from the period of AD 700–1000 onwards. This view is based on evidence from pollen analysis, mainly in the work of Teija Alenius.[14] The consequence of this shift in view is that we can no longer close our eyes to the encounter that must have taken place between two cultural groups at the beginning of the colonisation process. But is this actually a problem – or could this be an opening to understanding the settlement history in a more diverse way?

There has been a conspicuous absence of the subject of migrations and ethnicity within archaeology in the decades since the Second World War. The misuse of archaeological results

8 Salminen 2014: 162–164.
9 Tuovinen 2011: 25.
10 See e.g. Strandén-Backa 2012: 198–199.
11 Edgren 2013: 187–200.
12 See Meinander 1983: 243.
13 Meinander 1983: 232.
14 Alenius 2011; Alenius et al. 2014.

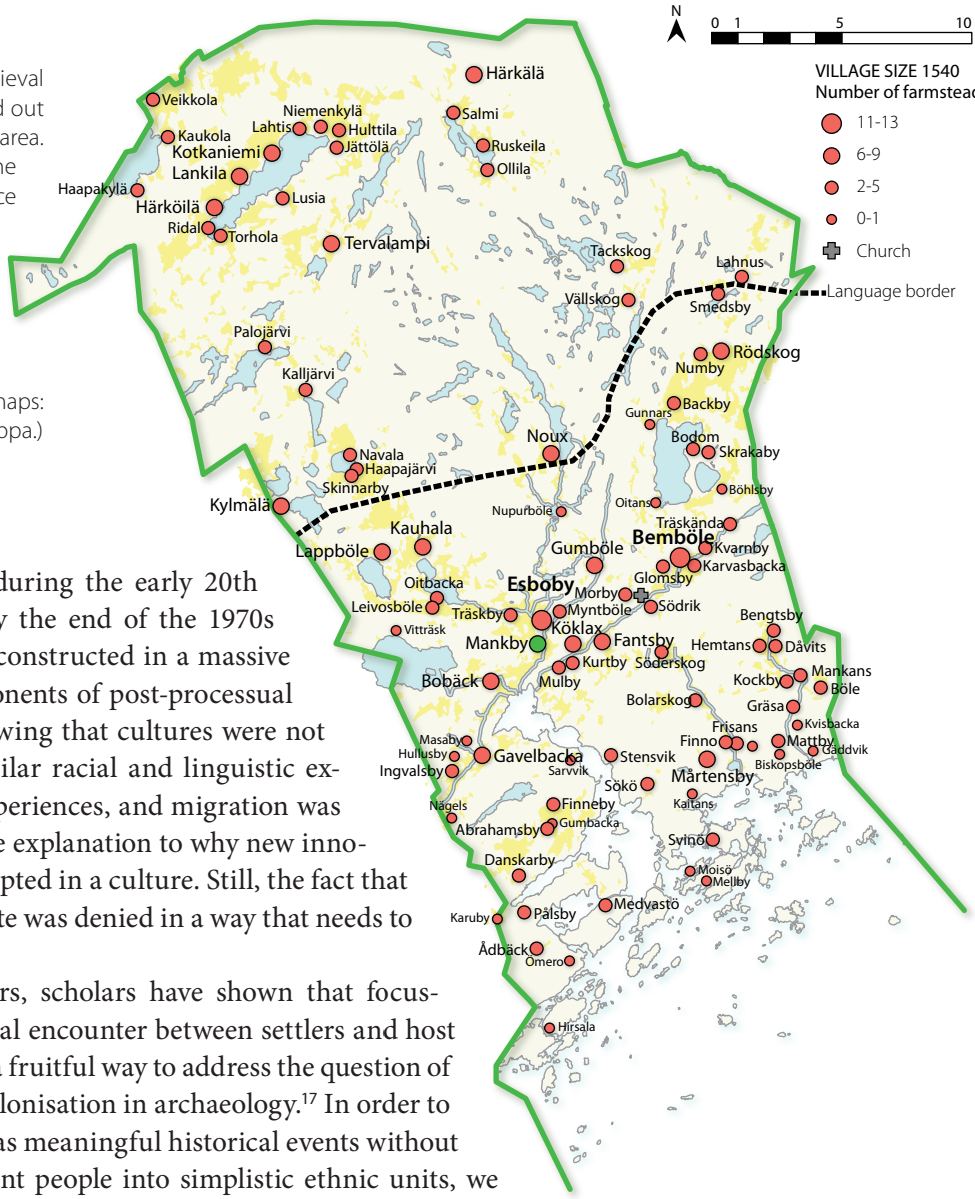

Figure 3.1. The villages of medieval Espoo parish were evenly spread out on all the arable lands in the area. Finnish place names occur in the north whereas Swedish place names are located on the south side of the language border. The larger villages were during the mid-16th century concentrated to the river valley in the south or to the lake area in the north. (All maps: Ulrika Rosendahl and Maija Holappa.)

that took place during the early 20th century[15] was, by the end of the 1970s and onwards, deconstructed in a massive critique by proponents of post-processual archaeology, showing that cultures were not entities with similar racial and linguistic expressions and experiences, and migration was no longer the sole explanation to why new innovations were accepted in a culture. Still, the fact that people did migrate was denied in a way that needs to be revised.[16]

In recent years, scholars have shown that focusing on the cultural encounter between settlers and host groups has been a fruitful way to address the question of migration and colonisation in archaeology.[17] In order to view migrations as meaningful historical events without forcing the ancient people into simplistic ethnic units, we must understand that people in the past had opportunities for agency, individual decisions, and multiple identities. In this view, a new complexity is recognised in the process that follows the migration – encountering and adapting to life in a new context for both groups. This insight arrived into the archaeological sphere from postcolonial theory, and especially Homi K. Bhabha's and Edvard Soja's work on the concepts of *Hybridity* and *Thirdspace* has been influential.[18] In contrast to culture-historical archaeology that sought the essential materiality of past cultures, postcolonial archaeology recognises the elusiveness of culture and even embraces it by looking for the in-between, the Thirdspace, where the hybridisation of cultures takes place. The hybridisation should not be seen as a mere mix of cultures; it represents something new and different that appears in the encounter.[19]

[15] Identified e.g. by Tallgren 1937: 160.

[16] Anthony 2007: 17, 108; Naum 2008: 8–12, 22–24.

[17] E.g. Fahlander 2007; Naum 2008; Ylimaunu et al. 2014.

[18] Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996.

[19] Fahlander 2007: 22.

Within linguistics, the simplistic assumption that ethnicity equals language has been criticised in the same way as the bond between ethnicity and material culture has been criticised within archaeology. The assumption has been deconstructed in several ways, showing, for example, how multilingual communities can make use of different languages in different social contexts, or how language shifts have crossed cultural borders.[20] This makes linguistic material interesting in analysing the past as a scene for intercultural encounters, and a good counterpart in the discussion with the archaeological material.

Thus, recent research has shown that there are new openings to the history of medieval colonisation and settlement history. The process of studying settlement patterns of language groups involves a certain amount of dusting off old topics once dear to the culture-historical tradition. But there is no reason to sidestep these topics just to avoid confronting a difficult research history. On the contrary, dusty theories tend to live on as stereotypes if not questioned in the light of new research.

THE ELUSIVE IRON AGE

The theory of an uninhabited coastline during the late Iron Age is today regarded as more and more untenable. Even though up to this day – 2015 – we have no definite record of Iron Age settlement in Espoo, this picture is rapidly changing. One of the reasons for this change is the increase in hobbyist metal detecting during recent years.[21] Since 2012, the increasing number of Iron Age finds that has reached the Espoo City Museum up to this day is discussed by Anna Wessman in this volume. These finds convincingly show that there has been Iron Age activity in the area and that it has left behind typical grave-goods-type artefacts dating mainly to the late Iron Age. The pattern is the same in other parts of Uusimaa that were formerly regarded as uninhabited during this period. The settlement at the village site of Gubbacka in Vantaa, east of Espoo, is dated as beginning in the 6th century,[22] and extensive surveys and some excavations performed in coastal western Uusimaa have also revealed a growing number of late Iron Age finds.[23]

Pollen analyses also provide evidence for the presence of sedentary settlement practising agriculture in Uusimaa from the late Iron Age onwards. The studies of Teija Alenius show that in Hannusjärvi, in the southern part of Espoo, a change in the landscape takes place around AD 1000. At the same time as pollen of cultivated plants like rye, barley, and hops starts to occur in the material, there is a distinct increase in open landscape species like juniper, nettle, and grass and a decrease in forest trees like spruce and birch.[24] According to Alenius' calibration and the revision of an older study by Kimmo Tolonen et al., samples from Lake Loojärvi-Lappböleträsket on the border of Espoo and Kirkkonummi, only 5 km from Mankby, show that a similar process takes place in this spot even earlier, around AD 730 (Fig. 3.5).[25]

20 Saarikivi & Lavento 2012: 190–193.
21 Siltainsuu & Wessman 2014.
22 Koivisto 2011.
23 Haggrén 2011.
24 Alenius 2011: 105–107.
25 Tolonen et al. 1979: 15–16; Alenius 2011: 92–93.

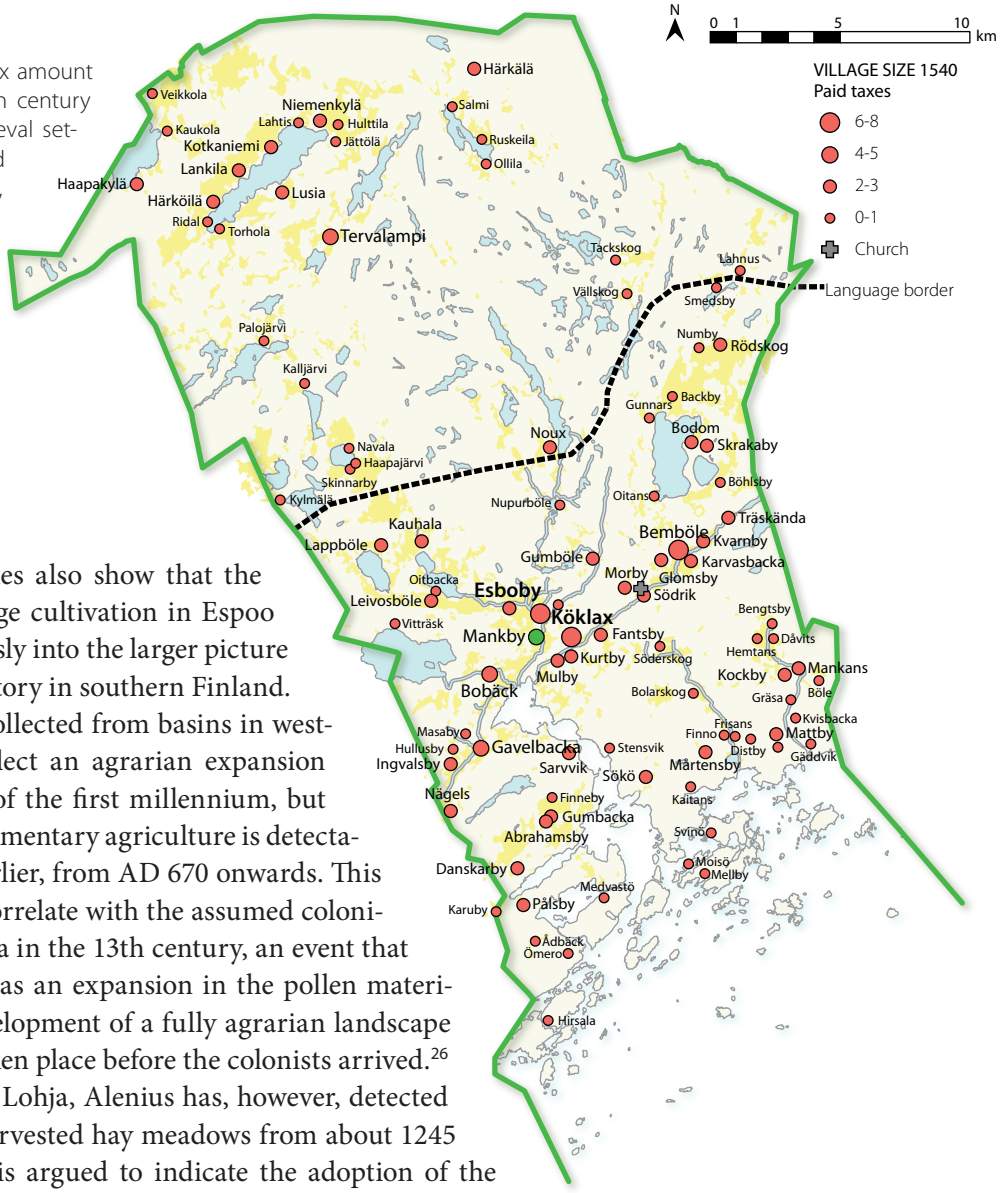

Figure 3.2. An analysis of the tax amount paid by the villages in mid-16th century reflects the size of earlier medieval settlement. Large taxes were paid by the villages in the river valley, while the villages on the coast and in the lake area paid modest taxes.

Alenius' studies also show that the dating of Iron Age cultivation in Espoo fits quite seamlessly into the larger picture of cultivation history in southern Finland. Pollen samples collected from basins in western Uusimaa reflect an agrarian expansion around the end of the first millennium, but at some sites, sedimentary agriculture is detectable noticeably earlier, from AD 670 onwards. This result does not correlate with the assumed colonisation of Uusimaa in the 13th century, an event that is not detectable as an expansion in the pollen material. Thus, the development of a fully agrarian landscape seems to have taken place before the colonists arrived.[26] In material from Lohja, Alenius has, however, detected an increase in harvested hay meadows from about 1245 onwards, which is argued to indicate the adoption of the two-field crop rotation system,[27] a sign of a more organised village structure in the area.

Despite the strong evidence of both pollen and artefacts, the continuing lack of Iron Age settlement sites in Espoo can rightfully be questioned, as the area is subject to heavy land use and active archaeological research. Metal detector finds show that a lack of research is one factor, and that more research and effective new prospecting and survey methods could provide new material. The elusiveness of the Iron Age sites is, however, probably linked to a burial tradition that is less conspicuous and thus harder to detect archaeologically in this area than in the central areas, such as Häme or western Finland. The research on the Iron Age in Finland has traditionally concentrated on graves and grave goods, not settlement, which has biased the results of the distribution of settlement sites. Even in the central Iron Age areas, the number of known sites is much smaller than the number of historically known medieval villages. This should not be regarded as a major increase in population during the Middle

[26] Alenius 2011: 112–114.

[27] Alenius et al. 2014.

Ages, but rather as evidence for a burial rite that only included specific people of the Iron Age society, as shown by Sirkku Pihlman's studies on the Iron age population in western Finland.[28]

THE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT – ZONES AND CENTRALITY IN ESPOO PARISH

The first systematic mention of the medieval villages of Espoo parish in preserved written sources is in the tax record of 1540. The cadastral parish, the geographical unit studied here, was not entirely identical to the church parish, and it is also different from the modern Espoo city area. The medieval cadastral parish of Espoo included the western parts of modern Kirkkonummi and the southern parts of modern Vihti, but excluded the eastern parts of modern Espoo. This study also includes the south-eastern parts of Kirkkonummi that according to a record from 1451 belonged to medieval Espoo. In the northern part of this area, the place names are Finnish, but on the southern side of the relatively sharp language border, the place name material is dominantly Swedish (Fig. 3.1).

All in all, this study includes 105 villages spread out on an area that reaches approximately 30 km from the southern coast to the northern inland border, and 15 km from the eastern to the western border.

The villages of Espoo consist of a total of 392 farmsteads, which gives an average of a little more than three farmsteads per village. In other words, the villages are quite small and evenly spread out in all areas with arable land in the parish. The village size is, however, not equally divided; larger villages are concentrated in two areas, the river valleys and the lake area in the north. By the coast and in the zone between the river and the lake area, small hamlets or single farmsteads dominate. The comparison indicates that the areas with large settlement size – the lake area and the river valley – are central within the parish at the end of the Middle Ages.

However, the tax records of the 16th century also show another dimension that can be used as a tool for retrospective analysis of the settlement. The amount of tax paid per village was adjusted according to the size of the settlement and its resources, but seems to have stagnated to the level that was accurate when the taxes were established. According to Georg Haggrén, this happened at the end of the 14th century.[29] Compared to the village size, the largest taxes were paid in the river valley, while the large villages in the lake area paid only taxes comparable to the small settlements on the coast. This implies that settlement size in the lake area had grown during the end of the Middle Ages, while the river valley had a concentration of large villages at this point (Fig. 3.2).

In the tax records, the villages are grouped into units called (Sw.) *bol*, consisting of between 5 and 15 villages, hamlets, or single farms each. The number of villages depended on the amount of tax they paid. The *bol* division appears in a rare tax record from 1451,[30] but the division is believed to be of an earlier date. In the document from 1451, the *bol* units are listed, but not the individual villages of which they consisted. The medieval *bol* units of Espoo parish are all named after one of the villages in the *bol*; Palojärvibol, Esbobybol, Finnevik bol,

[28] Pihlman 2004: 88–89; see also Vuorinen 2009: 27; Wessman 2010: 13.

[29] Haggrén 2008: 52.

[30] FMU 2898.

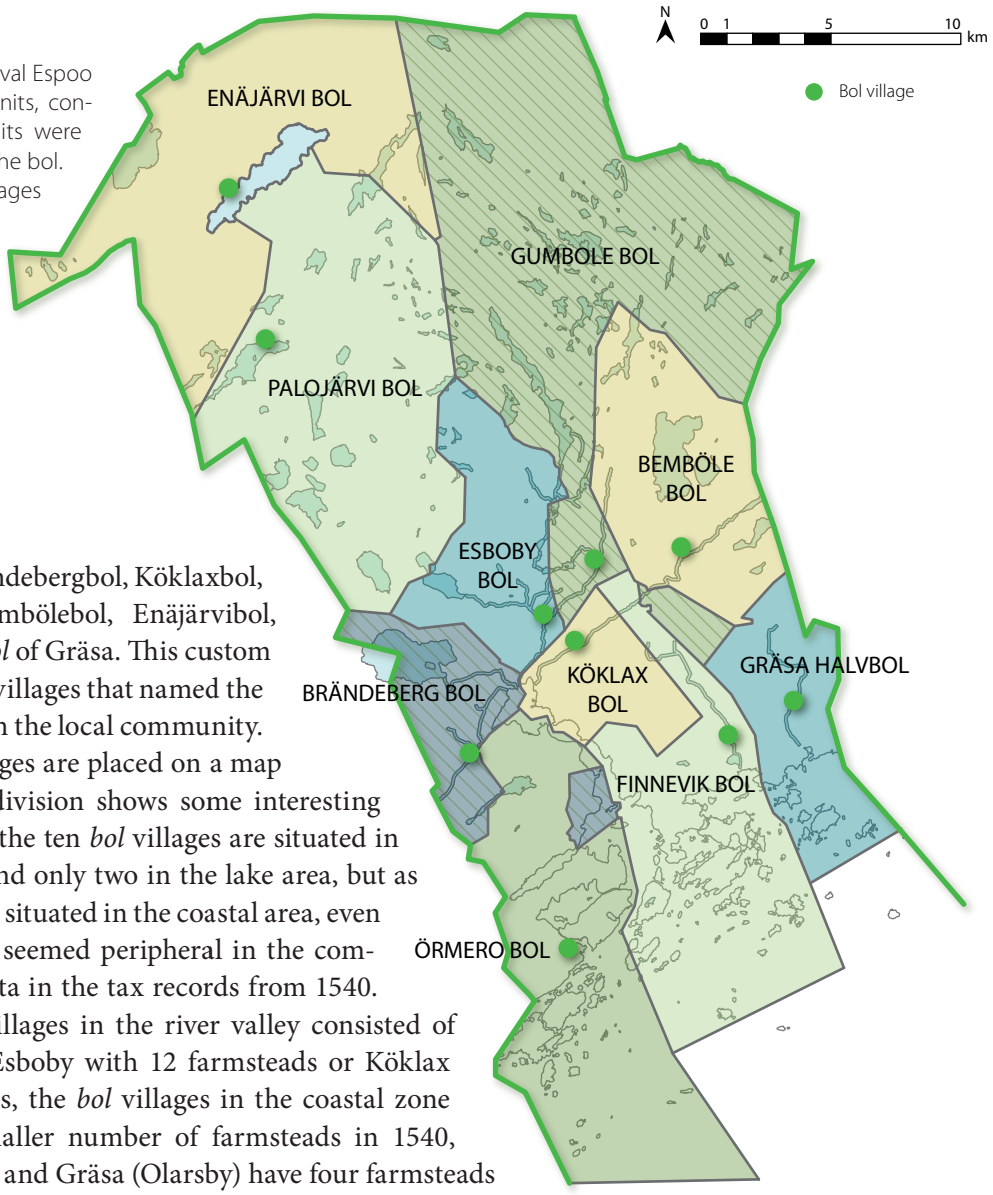

Figure 3.3. The villages of medieval Espoo parish were grouped into *bol* units, consisting of 5–15 villages. The units were named after the main village in the bol. The distribution of these bol-villages reflect a centrality in the river valley, but more surprisingly, also in small settlements on the coast.

Öremerobol, Brendebergbol, Köklaxbol, Bembölebol, Gumbölebol, Enäjärvibol, and the partial *bol* of Gräsa. This custom suggests that the villages that named the *bol* were central in the local community.

If the *bol* villages are placed on a map (Fig. 3.3), their division shows some interesting features. Four of the ten *bol* villages are situated in the river valley and only two in the lake area, but as many as three are situated in the coastal area, even though this area seemed peripheral in the comparison of the data in the tax records from 1540. Where the *bol* villages in the river valley consisted of large units like Esboby with 12 farmsteads or Köklax with 9 farmsteads, the *bol* villages in the coastal zone have a much smaller number of farmsteads in 1540, when both Finno and Gräsa (Olarsby) have four farmsteads each. Örmero is perhaps the most surprising *bol* village. In the record of 1540, only one single farm (Dåvits) is situated in this location, and the amount of tax collected is the lowest in the whole parish (1/8 *skattmark*). With the exception of the fact that Örmero is a *bol* village, nothing would imply that Örmero is central; on the contrary, it is situated in the outer part of the coast where the field resources are very limited.

Gräsa, which gave its name to a partial (1/2) *bol* in the coast area, is also interesting. The only noble medieval manor in Espoo, Gräsa gård, is located in this village. The manor was, however, very small and had no subordinated farmsteads.[31] The presence of the coastal settlement in the list of *bol* villages and the noble status of Gräsa might imply that a change had taken place during the Middle Ages. The coastal settlements seem to have lost an earlier, more central position during the end of the Middle Ages, and the modest numbers of settlement size and tax amounts seen in records from the 16th century might be a result of decline in wealth and settlement.

[31] Anthoni 1962.

An analysis of the geographical zones of the medieval settlement areas implies furthermore that land use on the coast and in the river valley were linked together. The borders of the coastal Örmerobol continued more or less seamlessly to the north as the borders of Brändebergbol in the river valley, and some of the villages (Bobäck, Vasparby, Vittkars) belonged to both *bol* units. A similar continuous border can be seen around the coastal Gräsabol and Bembölebol in the river valley, and in the case of Finnevik bol on the coast and Köklaxbol in the river valley.

As the *bol* units were compiled to serve the tax collection authorities, they did not entirely reflect units that were meaningful in the community. To reach an understanding of how the villages cooperated, the *bol* borders can be compared to the *skifteslag* units, which consisted of the commonly owned outland and forest areas of several neighbouring villages. This is especially helpful in central Espoo, where the *bol* structure split up *skifteslag* and village units in order to gain equally sized taxation amounts per *bol*. The borders of the *skifteslag* of Esboby, Mankby, and Träskby and those of Gumböle, Nupurböle, and Myntböle are also drawn as a continuous line north of Köklaxbol. Thus the river valley and the coast can be divided into three areas reaching from north to south (Fig. 3.4).

SETTLING IN – ORGANISING THE LANDSCAPE

What do these traces of zones and centralities seen in the landscape analysis tell us about historical land use in the area? One obvious notion is that an older stratum of central areas of Espoo parish seems to concentrate in areas with a Swedish place-name record: the river valleys and the coast in the southern part of the parish. The settlement in the northern parts, with Finnish place names, seems to have become denser during the end of the medieval period. This observation shows that the medieval settlement is not a fixed entity and that the colonisation of the area cannot be explained by simply assuming that the Finnish settlement just existed in an unchanging state before the Swedish colonists arrived. On the contrary, there seems to have been an internal settlement movement within the areas with Finnish place names, or fluctuations in the population that appear as an intensification of the settlement in northern Espoo by the end of the Middle Ages.

The centrality seen in the river valley area is another interesting feature. The fact that the area is attractive for a farming society is not surprising. The river valleys had good field and meadow areas that offered good prospects for agriculture. What makes the interpretation of the settlement a bit more intricate is the element of ethnicity and language that has to be discussed further in this context. The dating of the land use would be crucial in interpreting the settlement, but unfortunately it is not easy to reach an unambiguous dating. Looking at the written sources available, we only know that the area had been central as far into (pre) history as we can see. Recently, however, archaeological evidence has shed some light on this issue. As mentioned earlier, during the period from 2012 to 2015, hobbyist metal detecting has generated Iron Age stray finds from Espoo that challenge the view that this area was uninhabited during the Iron Age. The locations of these finds are strongly concentrated in the river valley area, suggesting that the activity here has old roots. The nearest pollen analyses made in the river valley environment are the samples taken from the Loojärvi/Lappböle basin in Kirkkonummi, which suggest a date of AD 730 for permanent agriculture in the

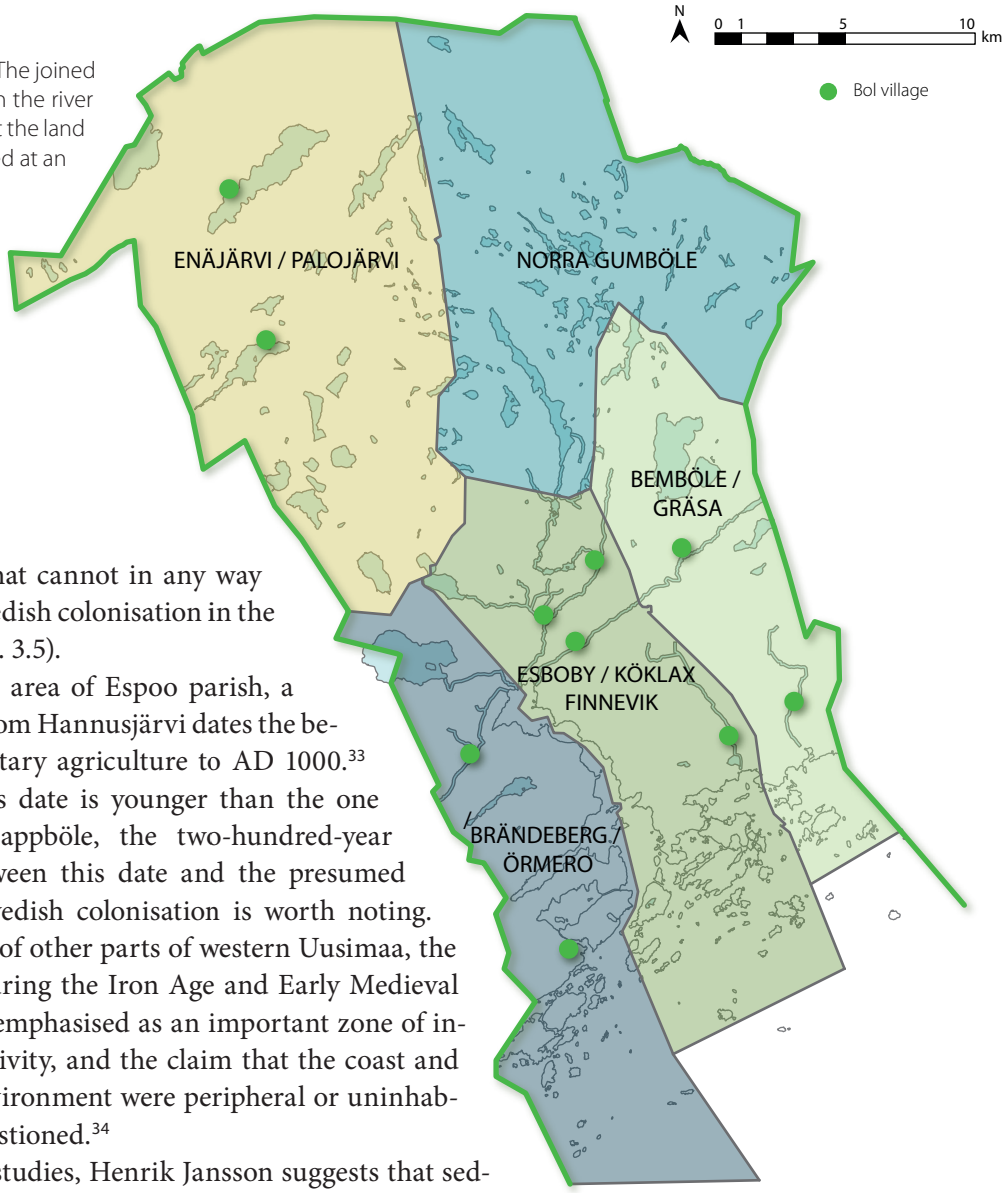

Figure 3.4. Zones of interaction. The joined borders between the *bol* areas in the river valley and on the coast imply that the land use of these areas had been linked at an earlier point.

area[32] – a date that cannot in any way be linked to a Swedish colonisation in the 13th century (Fig. 3.5).

In the coastal area of Espoo parish, a pollen analysis from Hannusjärvi dates the beginning of sedentary agriculture to AD 1000.[33] Even though this date is younger than the one from Loojärvi/Lappböle, the two-hundred-year discrepancy between this date and the presumed dating of the Swedish colonisation is worth noting. In recent studies of other parts of western Uusimaa, the coastal region during the Iron Age and Early Medieval Period has been emphasised as an important zone of interaction and activity, and the claim that the coast and the maritime environment were peripheral or uninhabited has been questioned.[34]

Based on his studies, Henrik Jansson suggests that sedentary agriculture in the archipelago emerged from internal colonisation when the use of fishing sites and other sporadic outland use intensified and became sedentary during periods of population pressure.[35] A similar scenario could also apply to the Espoo area. The link between the river valley area and the coast, which was mentioned earlier (Fig. 3.4), would suggest an inland-outland relationship between these topographical and ecological zones and their land use. This would require interpreting the boundaries between the historical villages and *skifteslag* areas as remains of ancient land use. In his studies, Seppo Suvanto has made this interpretation for the inland regions of Häme (Tavastland) and western Finland,[36] so if the Espoo area is regarded as inhabited, the organisation of land use is very likely to have been regulated here too at this date.

[32] Alenius 2011.
[33] Alenius 2011.
[34] Jansson 2011; Tuovinen 2011; Alenius 2011.
[35] Jansson 2011: 146.
[36] Suvanto 1972.

However, this early settlement does not correlate chronologically with the dominant Swedish place name material. Place name studies have shown that these settlement name types are medieval, often a combination of a Christian name and *by/böle* (Sw. village, hamlet). The area lacks references to pre-Christian places, like those found in mainland Sweden.[37] Saulo Kepsu has, on the other hand, shown that a strata of Finnish place names exists in the record from Espoo, and reads this as the remains of an older settlement phase than the Swedish colonisation.[38] The notion that Finnish place names appear in the dominantly Swedish areas is not new, but formerly they have been explained as being connected to extended land use in the hunting grounds, fishing waters, or sporadically used slash-and-burn areas of Häme Finns, since the meanings of these place names often refer to the natural environment, even if they are used as settlement names, such as the Swedish name *Köklax* (Fi. Kaukalaksi = 'Long bay'). Kepsu's studies have, however, shown that a closer look at the historical record of names of fields and meadows reveals the presence of the Finnish strata also in this material, which strongly implies the existence of a Finnish-speaking agricultural sedentary settlement in the area.

RECOGNISING THE ENCOUNTER

The notion that a Finnish population existed in the Espoo area prior to the Swedish colonisation is an interesting idea as such, but these layers of population cannot be regarded as mere phases following each other. The settlement continued to change during the Middle Ages, and these processes of change were developments that included major cultural exchange and communication – not just static ethnic entities that moved around to different geographical locations.

When the Swedish villages emerged in the Espoo area, they did not appear in empty, uninhabited areas. On the contrary, both Swedish medieval and Finnish late Iron Age elements concentrate in the river valley. The empty, or less densely used, areas are mostly to be found in the northern areas, where Finnish villages appear and grow during the end of the Middle Ages – a useful reminder of the fact that it is not only the Swedish colonist settlement strategy that shows mobility. Instead, the ability to move and change seems to be fundamental in early medieval society in the area. The coast of Espoo seems to have coexisted with the river valley – first as an outland source and from AD 1000 onwards as a sedentary settlement with permanent fields. The shared borders of the coast and river valley show common land use that can most probably be traced to the late Iron Age.

The notion that the centrality of the river valley appears prior to the Swedish colonisation and continues more or less seamlessly after it raises questions about what happened in the encounter between the settlers and the existing community. Instead of rejecting the encounter, as the culture-historical archaeologists did up to the 1980s, we can now view this encounter as an interesting insight into how people have interacted in the past. The interaction and communication that took place in the Espoo area is visible both in the linguistic material mentioned earlier and in the archaeological record. The encounter between the settlers seems to have led to a hybrid culture where the Swedish language eventually became

[37] Lars Huldén 2001; 2002.

[38] Kepsu 2008.

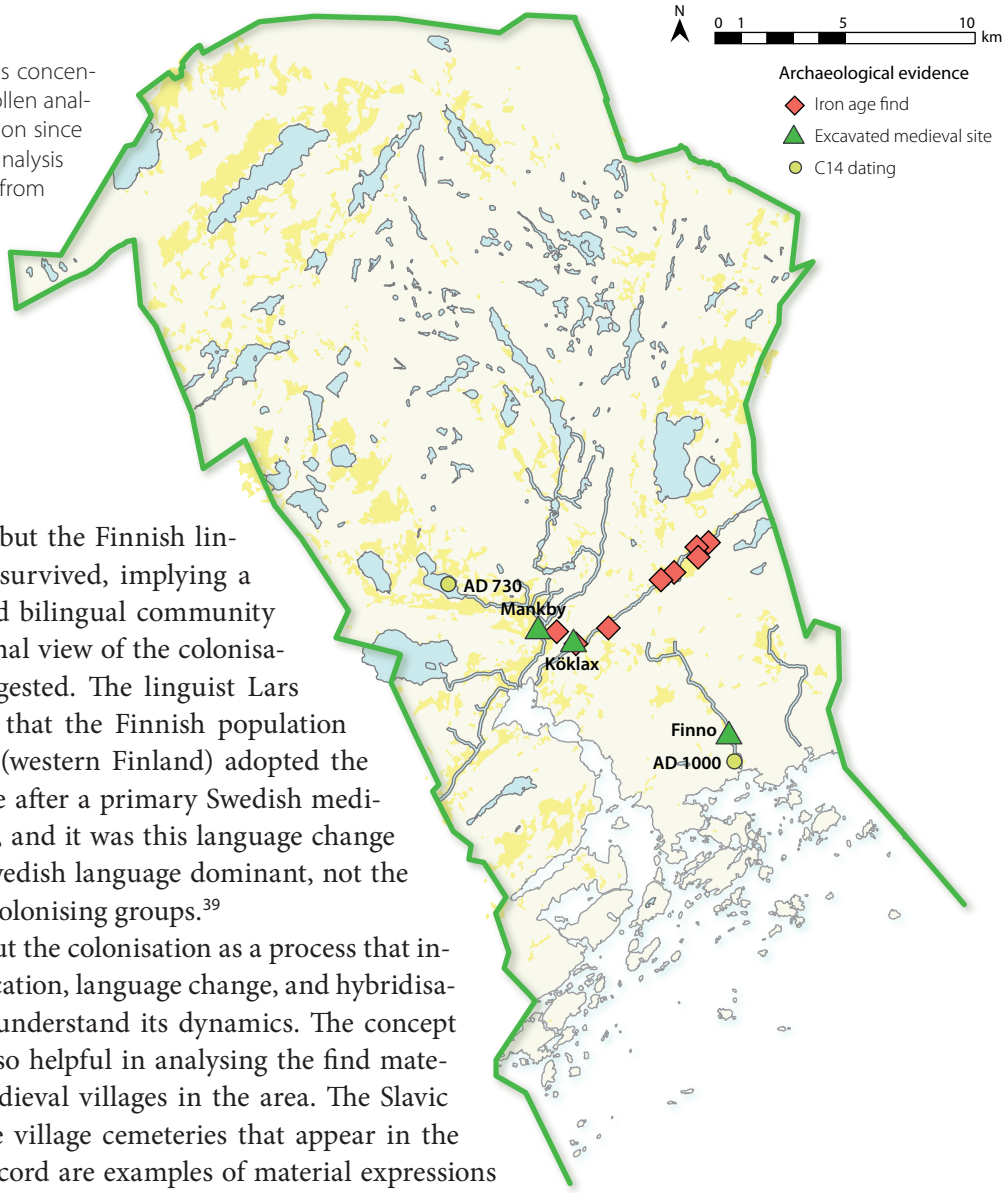

Figure 3.5. Recent Iron Age finds concentrate to the river valley, where pollen analysis has shown traces of cultivation since AD 730. On the coast, pollen analysis shows clearing and cultivation from AD 1000 onwards (Alenius 2011).

more dominant, but the Finnish linguistic elements survived, implying a more merged and bilingual community than the traditional view of the colonisation process suggested. The linguist Lars Huldén suggests that the Finnish population of Ostrobothnia (western Finland) adopted the Swedish language after a primary Swedish medieval colonisation, and it was this language change that made the Swedish language dominant, not the mere size of the colonising groups.[39]

Thinking about the colonisation as a process that includes communication, language change, and hybridisation helps us to understand its dynamics. The concept of hybridity is also helpful in analysing the find material from the medieval villages in the area. The Slavic ceramics and the village cemeteries that appear in the archaeological record are examples of material expressions that make the Swedish villages in Espoo different to the villages on the Swedish mainland.[40] The notion that the Swedish villages on the Finnish coast are the result of a mix of cultures, creating something new in the encounter, makes the characteristics of their material culture more understandable.

It is also important to understand that the Finnish settlement strata that existed in the Espoo area prior to the colonisation did not represent a clearly defined ethnic group. According to place name studies and medieval written sources, the Espoo area was situated on the border of the ancient resource areas for the Häme tribes from inland Finland (Sw. Tavastland) and the western Finnish tribes from the central areas in Varsinais-Suomi (Sw. Egentliga Finland).[41] The find material, however, shows that the stray finds from Espoo display both eastern and Baltic influences, which is seen in female dress ornaments from Karelia and Liv areas.[42]

[39] Lars Huldén 2002: 69; also Lars Hulden1987.

[40] See Chapters 5 and 10.

[41] Haggrén 2008: 37–39.

[42] See Chapter 2.

In order to recognise the encounter and explain the interaction between groups, we must learn to think about historical languages in a more flexible and diverse way. Language groups mixed and communicated, and both language change and bilingualism must have occurred in this area. This could explain both the survival of Finnish place name strata in addition to the dominant Swedish place names and the emergence of the hybrid culture we see in the archaeological record.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, it can be stated that the study of landscape use, place names, pollen analysis and archaeological finds have shed light on the settlement process during the Swedish colonisation of the Finnish coast, and in this case the Espoo area. It is clear that the theory of Swedish newcomers arriving at an empty 'New land' has to be revised, as the areas that are central to the Swedish medieval settlers were clearly central already much earlier. But just adding a static original Finnish settlement is not enough, since the settlement continued to change during the Middle Ages and the original settlement also shows signs of great variability. The different language groups in the area interacted and communicated, and both language change and bilingualism are plausible explanations for making this possible. The culture that emerged in the encounter between settlers and the original settlement shows a hybridity that can be seen in the archaeological record today. It was not a culture that was either Swedish or Finnish, but rather something new, a culture that was specific for the Middle Ages in this area.

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Georg Haggrén

4 THE CONTEXT OF THE DESERTION OF MANKBY
King Gustaf Vasa and His Network of Royal Demesnes

In 1555, Mankby was a flourishing hamlet or small village in the parish of Esbo (Fi. Espoo), located in the medieval Castle Province of Raseborg (Fi. Raasepori), the western half of the province of Nyland (Fi. Uusimaa).[1] The peasants living there could hardly imagine what was going to happen to their farms, plots, fields, and meadows in the following year. On 27 June 1556, King Gustaf Vasa ordered Anders Korp, the bailiff residing in the royal manor in Helsingfors (Fi. Helsinki), to find a suitable place for a new royal demesne or landed estate in Esbo parish. Korp quickly followed the King's orders, finding a suitable site for an estate in the lower reaches of the Gumbölenjoki River.[2]

On 27 August 1556, when the summer court of law was held in Esbo parish, the peasants living in Mankby, as well as their neighbours in Esboby (Fi. Espoon kylä), faced a proposition they had to accept. The King and his bailiff had decided to found a new royal demesne based on the properties of these two villages. In Mankby there were eight farms, while in Esboby there were a dozen. The tithe records from the years around 1550 show that not all the farms were occupied. Two of the farms in Mankby and one in Esboby were deserted, even though their fields were cultivated by certain neighbours. In the late Middle Ages, the Castle Province of Raseborg had suffered from serious depopulation. Several individual farms and small hamlets had been totally deserted, and dozens of farms in the rest of the hamlets and villages had been abandoned, too. This had also happened in Mankby and Esboby.[3]

All the peasants in these two small villages left their old farms. Because they were freeholders, the Crown compensated for their loss by giving them deserted farms and other suitable properties elsewhere in Esbo parish. These transactions were made in the court of law on 27 August. Analysis of the written record shows that several of these peasants actually settled down to the new farms given to them.[4]

The Crown took over most of the fields, meadows and woodland, as well as the rapids in the Mankinjoki River, but not all the properties. Actually, one of the peasants in Mankby, Vincentius Jacobsson, was allowed to stay in the village even though he and his family were obliged to move to the outskirts of the old village. Vincentius settled on a new plot a couple of hundred metres westwards of the old village plot. His new farmstead was later called

1 In this article, the place names follow the language used in the 16th-century sources. Most of the names of settlements are in Swedish, and Finnish names are used only in connection with some places in the Finnish-speaking inland.

2 Ramsay 1924: 263–266; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 136.

3 Ramsay 1924: 266–269, 339–342; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 136; Haggrén 2011: 163–176.

4 Ramsay 1924: 339–342; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 136–137.

Figure 4.1. The southern part of the plot of the village of Mankby before the excavations. (All photos: Georg Haggrén.)

Figure 4.2. The site of the plot of the village of Esboby. Today the site is covered by the English park surrounding the manor of Esbogård.

Finns, after Vincentius' first name. In a similar manner, two of the peasants in Esboby moved their farms to the outskirts of the old village. One of them was Mats Sperring, and also in this case the new site, Sperrings (Fi. Perinki), was named after the first occupant.[5]

Esboby became the centre of the royal demesne, later called Esbo gård (Fi. Espoon kartano). In 1607, it was donated to Samuel Nilsson till Hessle and become a noble manor.[6] The owners of the manor changed throughout the centuries, but the manor was preserved as a large estate. Even today, Esbo gård is an imposing manor. The sites of the plots of Esboby or at least some of them became parts of the large gardens surrounding the main building. Hardly anything from the old village is visible on the ground at present. In 2004, traces of medieval or early modern structures were found when surveys and test pits were made in the English landscape garden of the manor. While Esboby became the centre of a large estate, the plots in Mankby were soon totally deserted and the former village 'fossilised'. When the site was found in 2004, the foundations of several houses, as well as hollow roads, were still visible.[7] It soon became evident that the site had exceptional archaeological potential (Figs. 4.1–4.2).

What was the context of this dramatic episode in 1556 that made two prospering rural settlements disappear? Was it a common occasion or was it something unique? The aim of this article is to explore the wider context of the desertion of these two villages, to analyse the Crown's policy and the way it resulted in deserted medieval hamlets and villages (DMV). The focus of this chapter is on the area of modern Finland, especially south-western Finland. On the other hand, the value of Mankby and its state of preservation as an ancient monument among all these sites is analysed. Are there other sites like Mankby to be found in archaeological surveys?

5 Ramsay 1924: 268–269; Kepsu & Wuorenrinne 2008: 35–38, 79–80.

6 Ramsay 1936: 135.

7 Haggrén & Latikka 2004.

HELSINGFORS ANNO DOMINI 1550

Gustaf Vasa's Master Plan

King Gustaf Vasa's endeavour in founding royal demesnes in 1556 is well known, but it has hardly ever been linked with his achievements in founding Helsingfors (Fi. Helsinki), the new town on the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland. In early 1550, when he founded Helsingfors, Gustaf Vasa ordered the townspeople from four old towns, Borgå (Fi. Porvoo), Ekenäs (Fi. Tammisaari), Raumo (Fi. Rauma), and Ulfsby (Fi. Ulvila), to move to Helsingfors.

In 1550, when Gustaf Vasa established his new town, he also founded a royal manor called Helsingfors kungsgård (Fi. Helsingin kuninkaankartano) or Helsingborg on an island outside the town area. In 1551, a large landed estate, Vik ladugård (Fi. Viikin latokartano), was founded on the properties of two villages in the neighbourhood, Västervik and Östervik. In the late Middle Ages there were twelve farms in Östervik and eight in Västervik. Some of them were deserted before the 1540s, but others were among the most prosperous in the parish of Helsinge. In addition, also two or three farms in Forsby (Fi. Koskela), or half of this hamlet, were included in the estate, while the other half was donated to the new town. Somewhat later, in 1555, a single-tenant farm called Brakvik was also merged with the estate.[8] According to Lars Forssell's map from 1687, the plot of Östervik seems to have been chosen for the centre of the landed estate, while Västervik and Brakvik were abandoned.[9] Possible sites for the plots of Östervik and Brakvik have been found in surveys in 2011, while those of Västervik are located in heavily built areas today (Figs. 4.3–4.4).[10]

Figure 4.3. The manor of Viikki. The plot of the medieval village of Östervik was probably located close to the site of the manor.

Figure 4.4. Today most of the central area of the former landed estate of Vik is covered by modern built environment, but south-east of the manor there still are large open fields. They were originally fields and meadows cleared by the medieval peasants living in Östervik.

In 1556, the properties merged with the manor of Helsingfors were extended by a landed estate called Massby, which was founded in the neighbouring parish of Sibbo (Fi. Sipoo). Massby had been a large village settled by 18 freeholders. The result of the King's order is visible in the cadastral records kept by the bailiff: the whole village disappears from the records. However, the landed estate in Massby was closed down already in 1560. About half of the peasants were now given back their properties, but several of the farms were transferred to noblemen or mer-

8 Kerkkonen 1939: 66–73; Haggrén 2010; Salminen 2013: 139–140, 226, 273–274, 288–289.

9 KA: MHA: Helsinki B7 33/1–2.

10 Suhonen & Heinonen 2011: 19–21, 192–195, 211–213.

chants in Helsingfors.[11] The plots of the farmsteads were surveyed in 2007. Some of them are still occupied and some have possibly been destroyed, while one seems to be well preserved.[12]

In Borgå, there had been a royal manor close to the medieval town since the 14th century. In 1550, the manor was subordinated to the new manor in Helsingfors. In the same year, most of the plots and fields of the old town of Borgå were deserted when the people moved to Helsingfors. Gustaf Vasa soon realised the opportunities offered by this vacuum made up of former townspeople's properties. In 1558, the royal manor in Borgå was extended by a new landed estate founded in the southern outskirts of the former town area. This demesne, which was called Nygården or *the new manor*, overtook a large part of the fields and meadows that belonged to the town and probably also several of the plots in the town area. Nygården was later called Ånäs (Fi. Aunela), while the older manor was called Gammelgård (Fi. Vanhamoisio), *the old manor*.[13] Today, the area around Ånäs is in the middle of the modern town centre of Porvoo (Sw. Borgå).[14]

The case of Nygården in Borgå shows how Gustaf Vasa and his bailiffs made use of a deserted town and its properties. Historians have paid only minor attention to the way in which the old town area in Borgå was used and even less to other towns deserted in 1550. Actually, the case of Borgå was far from unique. Already before the town of Helsinki was founded, the bailiff of the royal manor of Kumogård (Fi. Kokemäenkartano) suggested that a new royal demesne should be established on the site of the parsonage of Ulfsby. The King followed this suggestion, and on 5 September he gave his order. Following this, the new manor was founded in the summer of 1551. The estate was formed by joining together the parsonage and properties owned by noblemen, including parts of the former town area of Ulfsby.[15]

In 1550, the bailiff of Åbo slott (Eng. Turku Castle, Fi. Turun linna), Olof Trotteson, pointed out that like the parsonage in Ulfsby, the parsonage or actually the former Franciscan convent in Raumo would be a suitable site for a royal demesne. The medieval parsonage in Raumo had been destroyed in a fire earlier, but starting from 1538, when the convent was laid down, its buildings and property were used as a parsonage. In 1551, the King ordered that a new manor should be established here. However, it was only in 1556 when the manor was properly founded. Now the Crown took over the buildings and properties of the old convent, but in the case of Raumo, the opportunity to reclaim the old town area situated next to the convent had already passed. In March 1557, the former townspeople of Raumo were permitted to move back from Helsingfors to their old town.[16]

The town of Ekenäs had hardly received its first royal privileges before the King ordered the townspeople to move to Helsingfors. A small urban settlement was probably established in the late 1520s, but the King gave Ekenäs its formal privileges first in 1546. The town was located on a sandy headland where there were hardly any fields. Later, in May 1558, Gustaf Vasa and Duke Johan founded a royal manor called Ny Raseborg or Ekenäs (Fi. Tammisaaren kuninkaankartano) in this location, but like in Helsingfors, all the agricul-

11 Nyberg 1931: 68–72.

12 Suhonen 2007: 84–88.

13 Salenius 1910; Allardt 1925: 140–141, 148–151; Selén 1996: 58–59.

14 Rosendahl 2003: 9–10.

15 Lehtinen 1967: 95–96.

16 Högman 1907: 78, 85, (in 1564 the parson was given the buildings back to use as a parsonage 154–155), 187–200; Lähteenoja 1946: 113–117; Papunen 1959: 159–162; Hockman 2015: 236–238.

tural activities related to the manor took place on the landed estate nearby. This was founded on the site of the hamlet of Ekenäs, previously settled by six peasants.[17] Today, the site of the manor is in the middle of modern town plots, while the plot of the landed estate and the medieval village is hidden in a 19th-century park where some parts of it might have been preserved.[18]

In Raumo, the Franciscan convent made up the grounds of the royal manor. In a way, this continued Gustaf Vasa's policy. For example, in Sweden he had previously confiscated a Franciscan convent in Jönköping, as well as a Carthusian monastery in Mariefred, including a large medieval estate called Gripsholm. On both of these sites he founded not only a royal manor but a castle. The old Cistercian monastery of Alvastra became a royal demesne already in 1527. Gustaf Vasa was a powerful and determined prince.[19] In Vadstena he ordered people living in the western part of the town to move away in 1544 when he founded a new castle there. In 1995–1998, when a large excavation was conducted in the courtyard of the castle, archaeologists found the remains of an almost complete medieval town quarter consisting of well-preserved plots abandoned in 1544.[20]

After some years, Helsingfors turned out to be a disappointment for the King. He had had a master plan according to which the profitable trade between Russia and western Europe would be directed via two new Swedish towns, Helsingfors on the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland and Askersund at the crossing of waterways in the middle of Sweden. Helsingfors was founded, but it never became as vital a node for northern European trade as the King had planned, and after some years people from older towns were allowed to move back. The plans for Askersund were soon abandoned and the merchants in the neighbouring small towns got off with a fright.[21]

When Helsingfors was founded in 1550, the people in four old towns were ordered to leave their homes and settle in the King's new town. In Borgå and Ulfsby, some of the old town area was merged with a royal demesne. Also in Raumo, the King seems to have had similar plans, while in Ekenäs, a royal manor was founded first in 1558, when plenty of the former townspeople had already moved back.

ANNO DOMINI 1556

The Crown's Castles and the Landed Estates Incorporated In Them

The administration of late medieval and early modern Sweden was based on castles and castle provinces. In Finland, six medieval castles and three royal manors formed the base of the Crown's administration. The castles were large economic units, and at least one landed estate was subordinated to each castle (see Table 4.1).

In the 1540s, the Castle of Åbo (Fi. Turku), the largest castle in Finland, had three landed estates. The oldest of them was the great landed estate of Stora ladugården (Fi. Iso latokar-

17 Takolander 1930: 36–38.

18 In the vicinity of the site of the manor, there are ruins of an early modern masonry building. The site was excavated in 1961. The ruins are hardly from the late 1550s or 1560s, when the royal manor was founded. Cf. Härö 1963.

19 Westlund 1949: 3–22; Regnér 2005: 208–210; Engkvist 2014: 72–76.

20 Hedvall 2002.

21 Jonasson 1993: 58–60.

Häme Castle
Ojois (Fi. Ojoinen)
Saris (Fi. Saarinen)
The Castle of Kastelholm
Kastelholms ladugård (Fi. Kastelholman latokartano)
The Castle of Olavinlinna
Gamla ladugården (Fi. Vanha latokartano or Aholahti)
Nya ladugården (Fi. Uusi latokartano or Heikinpohjanniemi)
The Castle of Raseborg
Raseborgs ladugård (Fi. Raaseporin latokartano)
Turku Castle
Runsala (Fi. Ruissalo)?
Stora ladugården (Fi. Iso Latokartano)
The Castle of Viborg
Stora ladugården (Fi. Iso latokartano)
Kuusisto Bishop's Castle
Kustö ladugård (Fi. Kuusiston kartano)

Table 4.1. Late medieval royal castles and landed estates in Finland, with the addition of Kuusisto Bishop's Castle.

tano). Runsala (Fi. Ruissalo) was mentioned in the 1540s, but it may have belonged to the properties subordinated by the castle already in the Middle Ages. Kustö (Fi. Kuusisto) was a landed estate that formerly belonged to the bishop of Åbo and was situated close to the old bishop's castle of Kustö.

In June 1555, when King Gustaf Vasa was in Åbo, he established a new landed estate called Lauste for the needs of the castle. Lauste was situated in St Karins parish and consisted of only one comparatively large farm. Next year, another landed estate based on the manor of Heikkilä was founded in the same parish. Heikkilä was located close to the castle, but on the opposite shore of the Aurajoki River, only 2 km from the town of Åbo. The manor was previously owned by Måns Nilsson till Ahtis, one of the mightiest noblemen in Finland in the early 1550s. Already from the beginning, Heikkilä, which was later in the 17th century called Lillheikkilä (Fi. Vähä-Heikkilä), was a large estate. In addition to the old manor, the three individual farms of Askais, Korppolais, and Vilkis, as well as a hamlet called Pisu, were annexed to the estate. Korppolais was owned by a rich merchant from Åbo and two of the four farms in Pisu were in the hands of freeholders, while the rest of these farms were settled by tenants of the Church. The estate was formed by eight farms altogether, of which only the manorial site of Heikkilä survived while the plots of the others were soon more or less cultivated and wiped from the landscape.[22] Today the former open fields around Heikkilä are part of the built area of Åbo, and none of the sites of these four medieval settlements deserted in the 1550s have been identified exactly (Fig. 4.5).

At the end of the Middle Ages, Häme Castle (Sw. Tavastehus slott, Fi. Hämeen linna) had two landed estates, Ojois (Fi. Ojoinen) and Saris (Fi. Saarinen). In 1556, the hamlet of Kauriala was annexed to the landed estate of Saris. A year later the peasants in Hätilä and Pintiälä faced a similar destiny when a new landed estate called Hätilä was founded on the eastern shore of Lake Vanaja. Almost twenty peasants lost their farms. In Kauriala there were four households, in Hätilä ten peasants, and in Pintiälä four farms. All of them were freeholders who were given other properties as compensation for their farms. Kauriala and Pintiälä were totally abandoned, while the plots of Hätilä became the economic centre of the new landed estate.[23] In the 19th and 20th centuries, military barracks, the railroad, and the built area of the town of Hämeenlinna have covered the sites of these two deserted hamlets.

[22] Oja 1946: 257–267; Nikula & Nikula 1987: 40.

[23] Vilkuna 1998: 85; 2003a: 40–41.

In 1986–1990, excavations were made on fields originally belonging to Pintiälä when a settlement site from the Viking Age and early Middle Ages was researched in Varikkoniemi in Hämeenlinna. The foundations of at least three buildings dating earlier than the middle of the 14th century were found during these excavations.[24] However, it must be emphasised that the excavated site in Varikkoniemi had been deserted for about 200 years before the landed estate was founded. The late medieval plot of the hamlet had been a slope close to the larger fields about 400 meters eastwards.[25]

The administrative centre of the Åland Islands (Sw. Åland, Fi. Ahvenanmaa) was the Castle of Kastelholm. South-east of the castle, behind the moat, there were wooden buildings already in the Late Middle Ages. Some foundations of these buildings have been found in archaeological excavations. On the other hand, in the north-west on the other side of the sound, the castle had a medieval landed estate with its economic centre only a couple of hundred metres from the castle. Today the site is called Ladugårdsbacken, or *barn hill*. The estate was originally parcelled out from the village of Kulla, located in the parish of Sund. In 1556, the estate expanded by annexing the neighbouring hamlets of Fastarsby, Väster Sibby, Lappböle, and rest of the hamlet of Kulla, as well as the parsonage of Sund. The parsonage, a part of Kulla, and properties in Lappböle were restored in 1562. The Crown compensated this loss by annexing two other hamlets, Tjudnäs and Björsnäs, to the landed estate. In Fastarsby there had previously been a small noble manor, one tenant farm, and three freeholders. Väster Sibby had previously been occupied by three free peasants, while both in Björsnäs and Tjudnäs, there were two freeholders.[26]

Figure 4.5. The site of the landed estate of Lillheikkilä (Fi. Vähä-Heikkilä) is close to the city centre of Turku today. There is one possibly medieval stone house left at the site.

Figure 4.6. The castle of Kastelholm on the Åland Islands. The open landscape surrounding the castle and the landed estate originates from the 1550s at the latest. During a short period, several medieval hamlets were annexed to the landed estate of the castle.

In 1556, another landed estate subordinated to Kastelholm was founded in Haga, a small village consisting of two tenants and four freeholders in the parish of Saltvik (Fig. 4.6). From the neighbouring village of Laby, one tenant and four other peasant farms were annexed to the new estate. In this case the remaining three freeholders in Laby were allowed to keep their old farms. Also one tenant farm from the village of Näs was annexed to the new manorial estate. Lady Anna Sluk received the medieval royal de-

[24] Schulz & Schulz 1993; Viitanen 1996; 2001.

[25] See KA: MHA: Hämeenlinna H89: 8/1–9.

[26] KA: MHA: Sund Kastelhom A 2d 118–119; Hausen 1934: 136–137; Ramsdahl 1988: 35–38; Palamartz 2004: 85–87.

Figure 4.7. The site of the landed estate of Näsby in Pojo.

mesne in Germundö in compensation for four tenant farms she had to give away when the landed estate of Haga was established.[27]

As a result of the expansion of the landed estate of Kastelholm, twelve farms in four hamlets were deserted in 1556 and 1562. For a long time, the names of the hamlets were preserved as place names of the fields and meadows belonging to the landed estate.[28] Björsnäs, Tjudnäs, and Väster Sibby were totally abandoned, as we can see from the cadastral maps made by the land surveyor Hans Hansson in 1650. The plot of Fastarsby, including a small manor, was still visible on these maps in spite of being abandoned. Even today, the site is called *Tomten*, meaning *the plot*.[29] In the case of Laby, it seems that the southern part of the medieval plot of the village belonged to the properties parcelled out to Haga manor. As in the case of Fastarsby, this area is still called *Tomten*.

In the beginning of the early modern era, the only castle in the province of Nyland was Raseborg. In March or April 1558, an accident took place in the old castle when some of the cellar vaults fell down. Duke Johan and King Gustaf decided to transport the residence and administrative centre from Raseborg to a more suitable place. In his letter to Duke Johan on 2 May, the King accepted a site in the outskirts of the small town of Ekenäs as the location of the new royal manor called Ekenäs or Nya Raseborg (Fi. Uusi Raasepori). The new residence was supplemented by a landed estate with the same name. The royal manor of Ekenäs was located close to the town, while the landed estate of Ekenäs (Fi. Tammisaaren latokartano) was founded on the plot of a village located less than a kilometre east of the town. Six peasants settling the small village of Ekenäs had to leave their farms in 1558 or 1559.[30]

In June 1556, King Gustaf Vasa made a transaction with a nobleman called Lydich Påvelsson. In this way, the Crown got the former noble manor of Näsby in Pojo (Fi. Pohja) parish, which was now settled by three tenants. In the following autumn or in early 1557, a landed estate subordinated to the Castle of Raseborg was founded here. Sometimes it was called Näsby and sometimes Pojo manor (Fig. 4.7). A single farm called Sonabacka, which was settled by a tenant, was also annexed to this new estate. In 1561, the royal demesne was closed down and the farms were settled by tenants again.[31]

In the middle of the 16th century, the Castle of Viborg (Fi. Viipuri) had two landed estates. Stora ladugården (Fi. Iso latokartano) was on a headland called Siikaniemi close to the castle. Another estate was in Ykspää in the parish of Viborg, which was a Church estate confiscated by the King already before the 1550s.[32] Also the Castle of Olofsborg (Fi. Olavinlinna)

27 Ramsdahl 1988: 35–38.

28 Cf. Hausen 1927: 175–182.

29 KA: MHA: A 2d 118–119, 130–131, 134–139; Hellberg 1987: 162.

30 GR 1558: 175; Hultman et al. 1929; Kerkkonen 1959: 296–298; Haggrén 2014: 24–25.

31 KA: 3057, 7ff.; Kerkkonen 1959: 294–296.

32 Paloposki 1967: 241–247.

in Savolax (Fi. Savo) had two landed estates called Gamla ladugården (Fi. Vanha latokartano) and Nya ladugården (Fi. Uusi latokartano), or the Old and New landed estate respectively. The former was later called Aholahti and the younger was known as Heikinpohjanniemi.[33]

As a result of the founding of new landed estates for the old castles, lots of settlements were deserted. In most cases, this took place in 1556 or practically simultaneously with the cases of Mankby and Esboby. At the same time, the mosaic of the traditional agricultural landscape around Åbo Castle, Häme Castle, and Kastelholm changed to the open fields typical of large manorial estates in western Europe. Today this landscape is best preserved in the vicinity of Kastelholm.

ANNO DOMINI 1556

The Year of Founding Royal Demesnes in Finland

A war between Sweden and Russia broke out in 1555. The Swedish army needed huge amounts of food and fodder. By the end of the year, King Gustaf Vasa had developed a master plan for maintaining his armies by reorganising the administration first in Finland and later on in the whole Swedish realm. Already in November he ordered the castellan of Olofsborg to look for suitable places for royal demesnes in his Castle Province of Savolax. In January 1556, the King's plans expanded over most of Finland. The King's idea was to establish new royal demesnes that were planned for bailiffs' residences, the Crown's depots, centres for local administration, and models of effective agriculture surrounded by new industrial plants. The Crown's old castles and the landed estates invaluable for the castles acted as models when these new royal demesnes were organised. In practice, the building of this system began in Finland and Norrland, the easternmost and northernmost parts of Gustaf Vasa's realm.[34]

Actually, this was not an entirely new system in 1556. Already in the Middle Ages, the Crown had owned some royal manors, but most of them had been donated to the Church or the nobility long before the era of Gustaf Vasa. In addition to the Crown's castles with their landed estates, there were only a couple of medieval royal manors left in Finland. The most important of them were those in Borgå, Kumo (Fi. Kokemäki), and Korsholm (Fi. Korsholma). All of them were administrative centres of a large province named after the manor.

In south-western Finland, the King's most important assistant was his son Johan. On 27 June 1556, the King appointed him as the Duke of Finland. The original Duchy consisted of Egentliga Finland (Fi. Varsinais-Suomi), Satakunda (Fi. Satakunta), and Tavastland (Fi. Häme). In 1557, also the Castle Province of Raseborg was merged with the Duchy.

Egentliga Finland (Fi. Varsinais-Suomi)

In 1556, the King and his son Johan, the Duke of Finland, founded several new royal demesnes in Varsinais-Suomi. The parishes of Bjärnå (Fi. Perniö), Halicko (Fi. Halikko), and Kimito (Fi. Kemiö) were organised under the new administrative centre when the royal

[33] Almquist 1919: 510–518; Pirinen 1982: 81, 434.

[34] Nyström 1936: 228–234; Vilkuna 2003b.

demesne of Bjärnå, later also known as Näse Gård, was founded close to the south-western border of the Castle Province of Åbo. Already in January the King had ordered the local bailiff to search for a site for the manor. Soon the bailiff found a suitable site and the new demesne was established in the autumn of 1556. Peasants in the hamlets of Näse and Barnböle, who were actually the Crown's tenants, were obliged to leave their farms. There were three farms in both villages. Some years later, in 1560, also a family living in the neighbouring hamlet of Krogsböle (Fi. Krootila) faced a similar lot.[35]

In the parish of Bjärnå, there had been a medieval royal manor called Helgö (Fi. Pyhäjoki) in the 14th century. Between 1441 and 1546, the manor with its fief of over 40 tenant farms, including those in Barnböle, Näse, and Krogsböle, formed a large property belonging to the Bridgettine monastery of Nådendal (Fi. Naantali). According to a cadastral map from 1692 and archaeological research made in the early 1990s, the main buildings of this medieval manor were located near a croft called Gammelgård (Fi. Vanhakartano) about one kilometre from the plot of the royal manor founded in 1556. In the 1640s, the main building of the manor was transported to a new site a few hundred metres east of its original site.[36]

Figure 4.8. Some of the foundations of the main building of the royal demesne of Perniö during excavations in 1993. Foundations made of large stones are typical for the buildings belonging to the royal demesnes founded by King Gustaf Vasa in the late 1550s.

The well-preserved ruins on the site of the 16th-century manor in Muntolannokka were identified in the early 1990s when a part of the plot was excavated, too (Fig. 4.8).[37] A deserted settlement site, probably the plot of the hamlet of Näse, was found in the vicinity in 1995, but the site of the hamlet called Barnböle is still unidentified.[38] In contrast to these two hamlets, the site of Krogsböle may never have been totally deserted.

King Gustaf and Duke Johan founded several other royal demesnes in Varsinais-Suomi, but no peasant farms were incorporated into them. In 1556, the Crown overtook Runa gård (Fi. Ruonan kartano) (Fig. 4.9), another medieval royal demesne that had some decades ago been donated to Lord Erik Fleming and his inheritors. In February 1556, a nobleman called Jacob Olofsson (Silfverspåre) made an exchange of properties and gave his manor, Juva in the parish of St Mårtens (Fi. Marttila), to the Crown.[39] Both were old manors and now be-

35 Litzén 1980: 190–191; Haggrén 1997: 33, 37.
36 Haggrén 1997: 33, 37.
37 Niukkanen 1997.
38 Haggrén et al. 1995.
39 Almquist 1919: 408–409.

came residences of the Crown's bailiffs. Already in early 1559, the residence in Juva, also called Nyby, was transported to a new site. This time a new royal demesne was founded on a previously uninhabited island in the parish of Pemar (Fi. Paimio). In contrast to all the other 16th-century royal demesnes, this manor called Engesholm practised only limited agriculture, having only meadows and a small garden but no fields (Fig. 4.10). The Crown compensated for this lack by overtaking a neighbouring hamlet called Meltola, settled by four tenants. Meltola functioned as a landed estate subordinated to Engesholm. Quite surprisingly, according to the tithes register, in this case the tenants stayed on their farms. Already in 1563, the manor of Engesholm was abandoned. The inventories were transported to Turku Castle, and this short-lived manor itself was left in ruins. The site is still called Herrankartano, or *nobleman's manor*, and as late as in 1681, some ruins, such as cellars, were visible on the site.[40] In 2005, the site was surveyed by Eeva Raike, who found some minor foundations of buildings there.[41]

Several royal demesnes were founded in the northern part of Varsinais-Suomi. In 1555, King Gustaf Vasa accused the castellan of Viborg, Måns Nilsson till Ahtis, of severe crimes, and soon afterwards all his properties were expropriated by the Crown. One of Måns Nilsson's manors was Helgå (Fi. Pyhe) in Virmo (Fi. Mynämäki) parish. Based on the King's orders, on 12 February 1556, a royal demesne was founded there. Another royal manor in the northern part of Varsinais-Suomi was founded in 1556 in Niittygård (Fi. Niittykartano) in the parish of Lemo (Fi. Lemu). In both cases, some arrangements took place in the following years. Already in 1557, the manor of Monnois (Fi. Monnoinen) became the residence of the local bailiff and the site of the royal manor instead of Niittygård. Both Niittygård and Monnois were among the properties Gustaf Vasa confiscated from the Church. In 1558, the bailiff's residence in Helgå was transported to a neighbouring manor called Saris (Fi. Saari) (Fig. 4.11). In the Middle Ages, Saris was owned by the Church, but before the late 1550s, it had for some twenty years been owned by Lord Ivar Fleming. A smaller tenant farm called Lill Saris (Fi. Vähä-Saari) was incorporated into the new royal manor. From now on, the manor of Helgå functioned as a landed estate under Saris, and Niittygård had a similar relationship to Monnois.[42]

Figure 4.9. Large fields still surround the manor of Runa gård today.

Figure 4.10. The site of the royal demesne of Engesholm today.

[40] Oja 1971: 102–110; von Hertzen 1973: 263–271.

[41] Raike 2005.

[42] Haggrén 2008: 62–74; Haggrén & Lounatvuori 2011.

Kari Uotila has carried out archaeological surveys and test excavations in Saris, finding cellars dating to the Middle Ages but mostly to the 16th century, as well as structures related to barns dating to the 17th and 18th centuries.[43] The case of Saris shows the difficulties in the search for structures related to medieval settlements on the plots of manors and royal demesnes with a relatively heavy building history. This is also the case in Esbo gård (Fig. 4.12). The plot of the manor is covered by thick construction layers. In contrast to Mankby, for example, it is much more difficult here to figure out the medieval topography and settlement structure of the site.

Figure 4.11. Saris was called manor, curia, already in 1295. In 1558, Saris became a royal demesne.

Åland Islands

In addition to the Castle of Kastelholm, there had been royal manors on the mainland of the Åland Islands during the Middle Ages. One of them, Germundö, was still in use until 1556, but for some reason it did not fit into the King's new system. Already as early as in 1546, a new royal demesne was established in Grelsby in Finström parish. The local bailiff Olof Trotteson took care of the practical work concerning the transportation of property and the founding of the new manor. There were eight freeholders and three large tenant farms owned by Lord Ivar Fleming, one of the few knights in Finland in the 1540s. In 1556, a neighbouring hamlet called Finström, which was settled by two freeholders, was annexed to the Crown's estate. The same happened to two peasants in Brantsböle, but here some of the properties of the hamlet were at first donated to the parsonage of Finström. Six years later, in 1562, the parsonage itself was annexed to the manor of Grelsby – but only for two years. In a similar way, after some years, with one exception, all of the other farms in Brantsböle and Finström were returned to their former owners. The final result in the case of Grelsby was that altogether twelve tenant or peasant farms were deserted.[44]

Figure 4.12. The main building of Esbogård is from the 1790s, but under the courtyard there are ruins of much older cellars.

Figure 4.13. The medieval fields of the hamlet of Liuxela are still cultivated today. Behind the fields in the background is the manor of Liuxela.

[43] Uotila 2008.

[44] Ramsdahl 1988: 36–37.

Satakunda

In 1558, when the town of Björneborg (Fi. Pori) was founded, the royal manor of Ulfsby was transported to the immediate vicinity of the town. The name of the new manor of Björneborg hinted about the Duke's plans to found a castle here. A huge amount of stones was indeed collected in Björneborg, but the building works never started. Both the town and the new manor were founded in the hamlet of Bärnäs (Fi. Päärnäinen), settled by four freeholders. In the beginning, the peasants stayed on their more or less shrunken farms, but by the end of the 1580s, all of the farms were already deserted.[45] Today the site of the royal manor of Björneborg is almost in the centre of the modern town of Pori, and in 1863, the parish church of the town was built on the site.[46]

A landed estate annexed to the manor of Björneborg was founded in 1557 in the village of Koivisto, which had six freeholders and six tenants. The geometrical measure in rods (Sw. stångtal, Fi. tankoluku) of fields of the village seems to have been 48, or twice as high as the normal maximum in Finland. This number is unique, and there were probably two hamlets called Koivisto, one of which was settled by freeholders while the other was owned by noble families.[47]

The old Castle Province of Kumo was very large, covering the whole province of Satakunda. An administrative centre was needed in the inland of the province, in Övre Satakunda (Fi. Ylä-Satakunta). Therefore a large new estate was founded in the village of Liuxela (Fi. Liuksiala) in the parish of Kangasala in 1556. In addition to that, the parsonage of the parish and altogether nineteen free peasants, or all the six peasants in Liuxela and four in Salmenkylä or Salmi, as well as nine of the fourteen freeholders in Leipi, lost their farms. The hamlet of Salmenkylä belonged to the church parish of Kangasala, even though it was part of the administrative parish of Birkala (Fi. Pirkkala). The new manor was built on a suitable site between all these former settlements, and it is here that the manor of Liuxela still stands today. Based on the map from 1696, the deserted part of the original village plot of Leipi can be located, surrounded by the fields in the eastern part of the estate of Liuxela, but knowledge related to the exact sites of the plots of the Liuxela and Salmenkylä hamlets has been lost and field survey would be needed to find them (Fig. 4.13).[48]

The new manors in Ulfsby and Björneborg, as well as in Kangasala, were not the only royal demesnes in the Province of Satakunda or Kumogårds län (Fi. Kokemäenkartanon lääni). The medieval bishop's manor of Kjuloholm (Fi. Köyliönkartano) was overtaken by the Crown in 1549. For some years, it was a kind of landed estate subordinated to the manor of Ulfby, but already in 1559, it was donated to a nobleman. The most famous of the royal demesnes in the Province of Kumogård was naturally the medieval administrative centre of the province, the royal manor of Kumogård (Fi. Kokemäenkartano), which still functioned as the residence of the local bailiff.[49]

[45] Suvanto 2001: 1575; Seppälä 2002: 128–130.

[46] Mökkönen 2002: iv, 3, 19, Appendix 7: 14.

[47] Lehtinen 1967: 100–101; Suvanto 2001: 1570–1575.

[48] KA: MHA: Kangasala H24 13/1; Jutikkala 1954: 82; Suvanto 2001: 506–507, 512, 760–770, 784–786.

[49] Almquist 1919: 424–426; Granit 1929; Jokipii 1973.

Tavastland (Fi. Häme)

In the late Middle Ages, the old village of Mustiala in the church parish of Tammela was divided between two administrative parishes, Porras and Lehijärvi. In 1556, a new royal demesne was founded on the site of the village. The six farms in Mustiala were settled by freeholders who were given other properties in compensation. In addition to this, a small tenant farm in Keikkala in Kalvola parish was annexed to the demesne of Mustiala (Fig. 4.14a–b). This farm was actually expropriated by the Crown already in 1542, and it seems that at first it was annexed to a landed estate of Häme Castle. In Sairiala in Tuulos parish, there had been a small noble manor in the late 15th century, but it was donated to the Cathedral of Åbo. In the 1530s, the Crown took over the former manor. It became a large tenant farm that was made the centre of a royal demesne in 1556. At the same time, the rest of the hamlet or four peasant farms were annexed to the manor and the freeholders who had lived there were forced to move away. Both of these royal demesnes were short-lived. Already in 1562, the Crown ceased its activities in both of these manors and they were donated to noblemen.[50]

Figure 4.14a–b. Large fields and open landscapes surround the manor of Mustiala and the former plot of the medieval village with same name. The first agricultural school in Finland, Mustiala Agricultural Institute, started its activities here in 1840. Häme University of Applied Sciences continues to offer higher agricultural education at Mustiala today.

In 1556, a third royal manor in Häme was founded on the properties of the parsonage of Hollola parish. A medieval royal manor had been located in the same parish until about 1540. Its location is not identified, but it probably stood in the vicinity of the parsonage. That would explain why the parsonage was transformed to a royal manor in 1556. During the next 15 years, the vicar lived in the manor, but in 1572, the royal manor was closed and the property became an ordinary parsonage again.[51]

Nyland (Fi. Uusimaa)

Esbo gård was not the only royal demesne in the Castle Province of Raseborg. In 1556, the King planned to establish a new town in the estuary of the Sjundeå River and decided to found a new royal manor on the site of a noble manor called Sjundby in Sjundeå (Fi. Siuntio) parish (Fig. 4.15). On 26 June 1556, he began a transaction of properties with Jacob Henriksson (Hästesko), and already during the autumn a royal demesne was founded. However, the King's plans changed, and in 1558 he chose Ekenäs instead of Sjundby for the site of the administrative centre

[50] Suvanto 1985: 763–769; Ojanen & Pohjakallio 1992; Sarvas & Suvanto 1992: 136, 140, 163–164; Alanen 2004: 140–141.

[51] Kuusi 1935: 152–157, 317–318.

of western Nyland. Jacob Henriksson got his property back and built a large stone manor there.[52]

In 1556, more or less simultaneously with his activities in Sjundby, the King founded another royal demesne in Laxpojo (Fi. Laakspohja) in Lojo (Fi. Lohja) parish. Laxpojo was a small village consisting of five freeholders and a tenant farm. In 1564, the manor was donated to a nobleman called Nils Bertilsson. He died soon afterwards and the manor was inherited by his half-brother Johan Boose.[53]

Figure 4.15. Sjundby was a medieval manor that became a royal demesne in 1556. In the beginning, the royal demesne of Esbo and a landed estate in Mankby were administered from Sjundby. Already in 1558, Sjundby was donated back to a nobleman named Jacob Henrichsson, who built a large main building there soon after that.

In the Middle Ages, there was a royal demesne called Kymmene gård (Fi. Kyminkartano) on the border of Nyland and Karelia. It was the centre of a fief consisting of several hamlets occupied by more than 40 tenants in total. In the early 16th century, the manor no longer had an administrative function, and it was left to a tenant not long afterwards. In January 1556, a reorganisation of the manor took place and Kymmene gård became an ordinary royal demesne again. A bailiff settled down there and the properties of the manor were extended by merging two hamlets, Hartola and Tamsala, with the manor itself. Both hamlets were previously occupied by four tenants who had to leave their farms. The site of Tamsa was probably located on the island of Kolkansaari, while Hartola was close to the manor itself.[54] Neither of the sites has been identified in surveys.

Ostrobothnia (Fi. Pohjanmaa)

In Ostrobothnia, the province of Österbotten (Fi. Pohjanmaa), only three – or, in practice, two – royal demesnes were established during the reign of King Gustaf Vasa. One of them was founded in Korsholm in the vicinity of the medieval castle of Korsholm. A landed estate belonging to the castle or manor of Korsholm was founded in Risö already in the early 1540s. In 1556, the Crown founded a new landed estate here by taking over the properties of the parsonage of Korsholm. As a result, there was a castle-like complex consisting of the manor of Korsholm and two landed estates, the older one in the south and the younger one in the north.[55]

The northernmost of the 16th-century royal demesnes was Pinnonäs in Pedersöre parish. Pinnonäs was a large farm owned by the local bailiff Hans Fordell, who got some benefits out of letting the Crown take over his estate. The estate was extended by two peasant farms. In 1561, this manor was given back to Fordell.[56] Derek Fewster conducted test excavations

[52] Brenner 1955.
[53] Almquist 1919: 449–450; Rein 1944: 68–69.
[54] Rosén 1960: 185–193.
[55] Almquist 1919: 364; Ström 1932.
[56] Jern 1977: 72–73.

at Nynäsbacken in 1989 with the aim of finding the site of the manor of Pinnonäs, but it is unclear whether the structures found belonged to the royal demesne or not.[57]

Savolax (Fi. Savo)

The administrative centre of Savolax was the Castle of Olofsborg. In addition to the two landed estates near the castle, there were two older royal demesnes in Savolax, namely *Rantasalmi* and *Kiiala* in Pellosniemi. They were both donated for a certain period, but rejoined the Crown's administrative organisation. An additional manor called Tavinsalmi was founded in 1543 in the recently colonised northern part of Savolax.[58]

Savolax did not belong to Duke Johan's duchy, but there were loyal bailiffs who followed the King's orders here. In 1556, Ture Bielke and Gustaf Fincke founded a royal demesne in each of the parishes in Savolax. When Sairila in Vesulahti parish was founded in July 1556, twelve peasants were ordered to leave their old farms. When the manor was established in Partala in Juva parish, five peasants faced a similar fate. While a new demesne was founded in Rantasalmi, seven peasants in Kinnunen lost their old farms, in addition to which the Crown's old manor in Rantasalmi was also used as a landed estate here. In Säminge (Fi. Sääminki) parish, Liistonsaari was already chosen as the site of a new royal demesne in 1555. Liistonsaari was close to the Russian border and fell out of use a year later, when a new manor was founded in Putkilahti on a site previously occupied by four peasants. All these changes took place in 1556. In addition to this, also Kiiala expanded slightly and Tavinsalmi was extended by one peasant farm. As a result, the Crown had now managed to plant a royal demesne in all the parishes in Savolax. The system turned out to be too expensive to maintain, and in 1562, three of the demesnes were abandoned. Only Putkilahti, Sairila, and Rantasalmi survived.[59]

The rural settlements in Savolax differed from those in the western parts of Finland. Here the settlements were far less sedentary. Because of the practice of slash-and-burn cultivation, the peasants often moved their farms to new locations after some years. However, most of the sites where new manors were founded were settled long ago. In Savolax the effects of the founding of royal demesnes were different to those in Nyland and Egentliga Finland, for example. The peasants who had to leave their farms were given new forests to colonise. There they could continue their traditional slash-and-burn cultivation. In the extensive forests of Savolax, there was far more room for the peasants to find new settlement sites than in the western provinces, where the peasants cultivated ordinary fields. No archaeological research has been carried out on sites of the royal demesnes or the rural settlement sites preceding the royal demesnes in Savolax. In 1997, archaeological test excavations were carried out on the presumed site of the Tavinsalmi manor in Hussoilansaari in Maaninka parish, but no structures or finds predating the 18th century were found.[60]

[57] Fewster 1989.

[58] Almquist 1919: 510–518; Pirinen 1982: 81, 434.

[59] Almquist 1919: 510–518; Pirinen 1982: 433–439.

[60] Palm & Selonen 1997.

Karelia (Fi. Karjala)

The easternmost castle province in Finland was Karelia, symbolised by the Castle of Viborg. The castle and most of the royal demesnes in the castle province are located in modern Russia. One of the three exceptions was Kymmenegård, which had previously been a part of the province of Borgå or Eastern Nyland. The two other exceptions were in Taipale or the modern parish of Taipalsaari, where the royal demesnes of Taipale and Yxnäs (Fi. Kirvesniemi) were located close to Lake Saimaa. Taipale was a small Crown demesne already before the 1550s. Yxnäs had previously been the local bailiff's manor, but when the bailiff fell in disfavour with the King, the Crown took over his properties. Both of these demesnes were comparatively small estates, not much larger than ordinary peasant farms, and they were soon handed over to be cultivated by tenants.[61]

Because of the local tax system in Karelia, it is hard and, in some cases, probably impossible to obtain detailed information on the farms annexed to the royal demesnes. It is therefore possible that some farms were deserted when the following demesnes were founded.[62] In the 1540s, a fortified manor was built in Kivinäbb (Fi. Kivennapa) not far away from the Russian border. A parish church and probably a parsonage were formerly located here, but in 1539 they were transported to another village. In 1556, the Russians conquered and burned down Kivinäbb, which was actually a rectangular fortress with high ramparts and a bastion in each of the four corners. Soon after 1560, a new parish church and a parsonage were built on the site. A landed estate called Vammelsuu in Nykyrko (Fi. Uusikirkko) parish was originally founded to support Kivinäbb, but it took until the early 1560s for any larger building activities to take place there. Soon afterwards Vammelsuu was subordinated to the Castle of Viborg as a landed estate.[63]

The royal demesne of Saviniemi in Jääskis parish had medieval origins. From 1523 to the early 1550s, it had been donated to noblemen, but in 1553, a royal demesne was founded here. In 1556, also another royal demesne was founded in Jääskis (Fi. Jääski).[64]

Archaeologically all these Karelian sites are poorly known except for Kivinäbb, where trial excavations took place in 2013. As a result, we know that this site was rather different from all the other royal demesnes in Finland. In contrast to almost all the other demesnes, Kivinäbb was actually a small fortification, while in other cases there might have been a small garrison but hardly any defensive structures. The only other exception was probably the manor of Helsinki, which had a small naval base, too.[65]

CONCLUSIONS

As a result of King Gustaf Vasa's policy, circa 270 farms were deserted in Finland between 1545 and 1562. In some cases, such as in Lappböle on the Åland Islands or Massby in Sibbo, at least some of the peasants regained their farms after a few years. This also happened in

61 Almquist 1919: 496; Katajala 2010: 85.

62 This could also be the case in Savolax, where taxation was carried out in a way similar to Karelia, but Kauko Pirinen (1982) has made a great effort to identify the farms annexed to the royal demesnes here.

63 Almquist 1919: 500; Katajala 2010: 85; Sorokin & Belskiy 2014.

64 Almquist 1919: 499–501; Ylönen 1957: 346–352.

65 Haggrén 2010; Sorokin & Belskiy 2014.

Table 4.2a. Farms annexed to the landed estates

	Free-holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Åland	21	0	6	2	1	30	
Egentliga Finland	3	0	2	4	1	10	
Nedre Satakunda	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Övre Satakunda	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Tavastland	16	0	0	0	0	16	
Raseborgs län	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Borgå län	22	0	1	0	0	23	
Ostrobothnia	1	0	0	0	1	2	
Total	63	0	9	6	3	81	0
Savolax	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Karelia	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Total	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Table 4.2b. Farms annexed to the royal desmenes.

	Free-holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Åland	12	0	3	0	1	16	
Egentliga Finland	2	7	4	5	1	19	
Nedre Satakunda	10	0	8	0	2	20	
Övre Satakunda	20	0	0	0	1	21	
Tavastland	10	0	2	0	1	13	
Raseborgs län	28	0	6	0	0	34	
Borgå län	18	9	0	0	0	27	
Ostrobothnia	0	0	1	0	0	1	
Total	100	16	24	5	6	151	
Savolax	30		0	0	0	30	
Karelia	1	0	3	1	1	5	
Total	31	0	3	1	1	35	

Table 4.2c. Farms annexed to the Crown's estates (total).

	Free-holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Åland	33	0	9	2	2	46	
Egentliga Finland	5	7	6	9	2	30	
Nedre Satakunda	10	0	8	0	2	20	1
Övre Satakunda	20	0	0	0	1	21	
Tavastland	26	0	2	0	1	29	
Raseborgs län	28	0	6	0	0	34	1
Borgå län	40	9	1	0	0	50	1
Ostrobothnia	1	0	1	0	1	3	
Total	163	16	33	11	9	233	3
Savolax	30	0	0	0	0	30	
Karelia	1	0	3	1	1	6	
Total	31	0	3	1	1	36	

the case of most of the parsonages and several of the former noble manors, too. However, we can estimate that in the case of approximately 200 farms, the former occupants had to leave their farms for good. The Crown compensated most of the freeholders who lost their farms by allowing them to take over other properties, mostly deserted farms in the neighbourhood of the new royal estate. On the other hand, we can assume that tenants who lost their farms were employed in the new manors and demesnes in which there was a constant need for labour (see Appendix 4.1, Fig. 4.18 and Tables 4.2a–c).

Four old towns lost their privileges in 1550, and the townspeople were ordered to move to Helsingfors. The founding of a new royal manor and its landed estate in Vik resulted in the desertion of 24 farms in the early 1550s and one in 1556. In Raumo and Ulfsby, the vicars lost their parsonages when new Crown demesnes were founded in 1551. In Ulfsby, also some noble properties were annexed to the new estate. At least part of the former town area was included in the new royal demesnes first in Ulfsby and a couple of years later in Borgå, and possibly in Raumo and Ekenäs, too. In three of these cases the townspeople of the old towns were sooner or later allowed to move back to their old homes. However, in the case of Ulfsby, most of the old site was abandoned for good, as the new town of Björneborg was founded several kilometres closer to the sea (Fig. 4.16).

The founding of landed estates around the castles caused about 40 peasants to abandon their farms mostly in 1556. In the case of Kastelholm, one noble family, seven tenants, and sixteen freeholders had to abandon their homes for good when the landed estate of Kastelholm expanded and the new one in Haga was founded. The hamlets of Björnäs, Fastersby, Tjudnäs, and Väster Sibby, as well as half of Laby, were totally abandoned. The noble manors of Lauste and Heikkilä became landed estates for the Castle of Åbo. Heikkilä became a large estate into which seven farms or four small settlements were merged. As a result, the settlements in Askais, Korppolais, Pisu, and Vilkis (Fi. Vilkkilä) were more or less wiped away from the landscape. In 1556, three hamlets or small villages were laid under the landed estates of Häme Castle. Sixteen freeholders had to leave their farms. Hätiälä, the largest of these hamlets, was chosen for the site of the plot of the new landed estate, while Kauriala and Pintiälä were soon totally abandoned.

The most dramatic changes took place when the King founded new royal demesnes, especially in 1556. Already in 1545, eleven peasants had been forced to move away from their

Figure 4.16. The site of the medieval town of Ulfsby. After the desertion of the town in 1550, a large part of the former town was annexed to the new royal demesne of Ulfsby.

Figure 4.17. A road leading through the plot of the medieval village of Leipi. Half of the village was annexed to the royal demesne of Liuxela.

village when the demesne of Grelsby was founded on the Åland Islands. In 1556, twenty peasants in Upper Satakunta, six in Varsinais-Suomi, 33 in the Castle Province of Raseborg, 27 in the province of Borgå, about 10 in Häme, and almost 30 in Savolax, or in total about 125 freeholders and tenants faced this fate. The same happened to twelve peasants in Koivisto near Björneborg in 1558.

In most of these cases, the desertion was final. Another kind of settlement continued on those plots of former villages that were chosen for the sites of main and economy buildings of the new demesnes, but several of the sites were totally abandoned. In addition to Mankby, this was the case in Salmi, Liuxela, and half of Leipi in Satakunta (Fig. 4.17), Näse and Barnböle in Varsinais-Suomi, as well as Hartola and Tampsa close to Kymmene gård.

In addition to peasant farms, seven parsonages were affected by the King's policy when they were merged with the royal demesnes during the 1550s. In most of the cases, after several years the vicar was either given another property to compensate for the loss or the old parsonage back. The bishop's castle in Kustö, or actually the landed estate belonging to the castle, was taken over by the castellan of Turku Castle and later on used as a landed estate subordinated to the castle. In the late 1540s, Kjuloholm, a bishop's manor, also became a royal demesne or a landed estate.

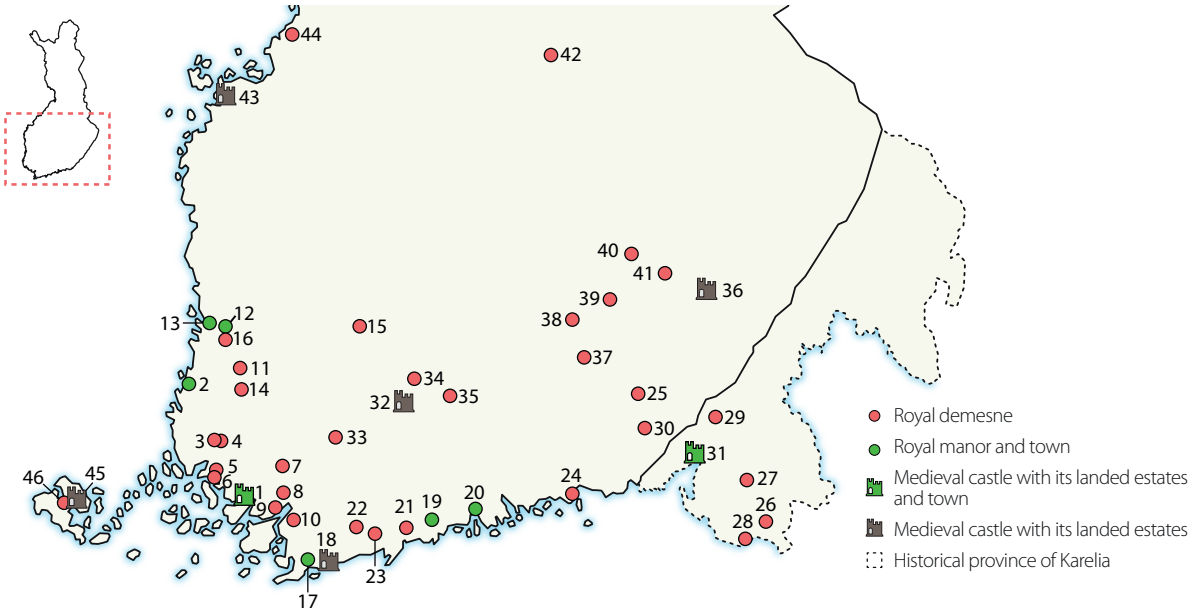

Figure 4.18. The royal castles with their landed estates and the royal demesnes in Finland in the late 1550s. 1 Turku Castle (+ Heikkilä, Kustö, Lauste, Runsala, Stora Ladugården), 2 Raumo, 3 Helgå, 4 Saris, 5 Niittygård, 6 Monnois, 7 Juva or Nyby, 8 Engesholm (+ Meltola), 9 Runa gård, 10. Bjärnå or Näse gård, 11 Kumogård, 12 Ulfsby, 13 Björneborg, 14 Kjuloholm, 15 Liuxela, 16 Koivisto, 17 Ekenäs (+ Ekenäs ladugård), 18 The Castle of Raseborg (+ Näsby, Raseborgs ladugård), 19 Helsingfors (+ Massby, Vik), 20 Borgå (+ Nygården), 21 Esbo, 22 Laxpojo, 23 Sjundby, 24 Kymmenegård, 25 Taipale, 26 Kivinäbb 27 Molagård, 28 Vammelsuu, 29 Jääski, Saviniemi, 30 Yxnäs, 31 The Castle of Viborg (+ Stora ladugården, Ykspää), 32 Häme Castle (+ Hätilä, Ojois, Saris), 33 Mustiala, 34 Sairiala, 35 Hollola, 36 The Castle of Olavinlinna (+ Gamla ladugården, Nya ladugården), 37 Kiiala, 38 Sairila, 39 Partala, 40 Rantasalmi, 41 Liistonsaari, Putkilahti, 42 Tavinsalmi, 43 Korsholm (+ Kosholm ladugård, Risö), 44 Pinnonäs, 45 The Castle of Kastelholm (+ Haga, Kastelholms ladugård), 46 Grelsby. (Map: Georg Haggrén and Maija Holappa.)

Table 4.3. The number of farms annexed to the Crown's new estates compared to the number of farms in Finnish castle provinces in the 1560s (*Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla* 1973: 258).

	Farms annexed	Farms total	Farms annexed %
Åland	46	1035	4.40%
Egentliga Finland	30	6968	0.40%
Satakunda	41	4454	1.00%
Tavastland	29	4536	0.60%
Raseborgs län	34	2591	1.30%
Borgå län	50	1871	2.60%
Ostrobothnia	3	3935	0.10%
Total	**233**	**25390**	**0.90%**
Savolax	30	2066	1.45%
Karelia	6	5879	0.10%
Total	**269**	**33335**	**0.80%**

The founding of about 50 new landed estates and royal demesnes caused about 270 farms to be abandoned (Table 4.3.). In Finland there were about 33,500 farms in the late 1550s, which means that the King's projects affected about 0.8% of all the farms, and three or four of the eight towns in Finland. The total number is not very high, but in some provinces, especially on the Åland Islands, almost 4.5% of the farms were at least temporarily annexed to the Crown's estates. In matter of fact, the total number was equal to the number of farms in a small or middle-sized parish. For example, in Esbo parish there were about 305 farms in 1560.[66]

In 1556, the medieval rural landscape consisting of wealthy villages was in numerous cases replaced by a manor surrounded by an open estate landscape – a landscape of power that is still visible today in, for example, Esbo gård, Kastelholm, Liuxela, Mustiala, Vik, and several other former royal demesnes or landed estates around the royal castles. In some rare cases, like in Mankby, this development resulted in the survival of an ancient monument, the well-preserved site of a deserted medieval village.

An analysis of the archaeological potential of these sites shows that, as ancient monuments consisting of well-preserved medieval rural settlement structures, the best preserved are Mankby and probably some of the sites like Fastarsby around the Castle of Kastelholm. In the latter case, only archaeological surveys can confirm the site's potential. Näse and Barnböle in Bjärnå, as well as Leipi, Liuxela, and Salmi in Kangasala, are also sites where future surveys might show well-preserved medieval rural settlement sites. Most of the other sites, such as those around the castles of Turku and Häme, are today situated in the middle of urban settlement and industrial areas. On the other hand, the area around Hartola and Tampsa in Kymmenegård has been influenced by large-scale fortification works and other military activities during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. This means that there are hardly any well-preserved structures like those in Mankby visible on the ground. However, as the case of Varikkoniemi in Pintiälä shows, it is always possible that structures and cultural layers have been preserved under the surface.

[66] *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla* 1973: 174–176.

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APPENDIX 4.1

Farms annexed to the landed estates and the royal demesnes 1540–1562.

ÅLAND, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Haga	Haga	1556	Saltvik	4	-	2	-	-	6	
Haga	Laby	1556	Saltvik	4	-	1	-	-	5	
Haga	Näs 2	1556	Saltvik	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Kastelholm	Väster Sibby	1556	Sund	3	-	-	-	-	3	
Kastelholm	Björsnäs	1562	Sund	2	-	-	-	-	2	
Kastelholm	Fastersby	1556	Sund	3	-	2	-	-	5	
Kastelholm	Lappböle	1556	Sund	2	-	-	-	-	2	
Kastelholm	Kulla 2	1556	Sund	3	-	-	-	-	3	
Kastelholm	Prästgård	1556	Sund	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Kastelholm	Tjudnäs	1562	Sund	-	-	-	2	-	2	
			Total	21	-	6	2	1	30	

ÅLAND, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Grelsby	Grelsby	1546	Finström	8	-	3	-	-	11	
Grelsby	Finström	1556	Finström	2	-	-	-	1	3	
Grelsby	Brantsböle	1562	Finström	2	-	-	-	-	2	
			Total	12	-	3	-	1	16	

EGENTLIGA FINLAND, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Heikkilä	Heikkilä	1556	St Karins	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Heikkilä	Askais	1556	St Karins	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Heikkilä	Korppolais 1	1556	St Karins	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Heikkilä	Pisu	1556	St Karins	2	-	-	2	-	4	
Heikkilä	Vilkkilä	1556	St Karins	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Kustö	Kustö	1528	Pikis	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Lauste	Lauste	1555	St Karins	-	-	1	-	-	1	
			Total	3	-	2	4	1	10	

EGENTLIGA FINLAND, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Bjärnå/Näse	Näse	1556	Bjärnå	-	3	-	-	-	3	
Bjärnå/Näse	Barnböle	1556	Bjärnå	-	3	-	-	-	3	
Bjärnå/Näse	Krogsböle	1560	Bjärnå	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Engesholm	Engesholm	1559	Pemar	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Helgå	Helgå 2	1556	Virmo	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Juva	Juva	1556	St Mårtens	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Meltola	Meltola	1559	Pemar	2	-	-	2	-	4	
Monäs	Monäs	1557	Lemo	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Niittygård	Niittygård	1556	Lemo	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Raumo	Raumo gård	1551/1556	Raumo	-	-	-	-	1	1	?
Runa gård	Runa gård	1556	Sagu	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Saris	Stor Saris	1558	Virmo	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Saris	Lill Saris	1558	Virmo	-	-	-	1	-	1	
			Total	2	7	4	5	1	19	

SATAKUNDA, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Björneborg	Bärnäs	1559	Ulfsby	4	-	-	-	-	4	
Kjuloholm	Kjuloholm	1547	Kjulo	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Koivisto	Koivisto	1558	Ulfsby	6	-	6	-	-	12	
Ulfsby	Ulfsbygård	1551	Ulfsby	-	-	2	-	1	3	1
Liuxela	Salmenkylä	1556	Kangasala	4	-	-	-	-	4	
Liuxela	Liuxela	1556	Kangasala	7	-	-	-	-	7	
Liuxela	Leipi	1556	Kangasala	9	-	-	-	-	9	
Liuxela	Pappila	1556	Kangasala	-	-	-	-	1	1	
			Total	30	-	8	-	3	41	

TAVASTLAND, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Hätilä	Hätilä	1556	Vånå	8	-	-	-	-	8	
Hätilä	Pintiälä	1556	Vånå	4	-	-	-	-	4	
Saris	Kauriala	1556	Vånå	4	-	-	-	-	4	
			Total	16	-	-	-	-	16	

TAVASTLAND, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Hollola	Prästegård 6	1556	Hollola	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Mustiala	Mustiala	1556	Portas	6	-	-	-	-	6	
Mustiala	Keikkala	1556	Kalvola	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Sairiala	Sairiala	1556	Tulos	4	-	1	-	-	5	
			Total	10	-	2	-	1	13	

RASEBORGS LÄN, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Esboby	Mankby	1556	Esbo	7	-	-	-	-	7	
Esboby	Esboby	1556	Esbo	10	-	-	-	-	10	
Ekenäs	Ekenäs	1558	Pojo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ekenäs ladugård	Ekenäs	1558	Pojo	6	-	-	-	-	6	
Laxpojo	Laxpojo	1556	Lojo	5	-	1	-	-	6	
Näsby	Näsby	1556	Pojo	-	-	3	-	-	3	
Näsby	Sonabacka	1556	Pojo	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Sjundby	Sjundby	1556	Sjundeå	-	-	1	-	-	1	
			Total	28	-	6	-	-	34	

BORGÅ LÄN, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Borgå	Ånäs/Nygård	1558	Borgå	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vik	Brakvik	1555	Helsinge	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Vik	Forsby	1551	Helsinge	2	-	-	-	-	2	
Vik	Västervik	1551	Helsinge	8	-	-	-	-	8	
Vik	Östervik	1551	Helsinge	12	-	-	-	-	12	
			Total	22	-	1	-	-	23	

BORGÅ LÄN, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Helsingfors	Helsingfors	155-	Helsinge	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Kymmene gård	Kymmene gård	1556	Pyttis/ Vecklax	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Kymmene gård	Hartola	1556	Pyttis/ Vecklax	-	4	-	-	-	4	
Kymmene gård	Tampsa	1556	Pyttis/ Vecklax	-	4	-	-	-	4	
Massby	Massby	1556	Sibbo	18	-	-	-	-	18	
			Total	18	9	-	-	-	27	

OSTROBOTHNIA, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Korsholma	Korsholma	1556	Korsholm	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Korsholma	Risö	1540s	Korsholm	-	-	-	-	1	1	
			Total	1	-	-	-	1	2	

OSTROBOTHNIA, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Pinnonäs	Pinnonäs	1556	Pedersöre	-	-	1	-	-	1	
			Total	-	-	1	-	-	1	

SAVOLAX, Landed demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

SAVOLAX, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Kiiala	Kiiala/Moisio	1555	Pellosniemi	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Liistonsaari	Liistonsaari	1555	Säminge	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Partala	Partala	1556	Juva	5	-	-	-	-	5	
Putkilahti	Putkilahti	1556	Säminge	4	-	-	-	-	4	
Rantakartano	Rantasalmi	1550s	Pellosniemi	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Rantasalmi	Rantasalmi	1556	Pellosniemi	7	-	-	-	-	7	
Sairila	Sairila	1556	Vesulahti	12	-	-	-	-	12	
Tavisalmi	Tavisalmi	1543	Tavisalmi	1	-	-	-	-	1	
			Total	30	-	2	-	-	32	

KARELIA, Landed estates				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Yxpää	Viborg, Yxpää	1540s	Viborg	-	-	-	1	-	1	
			Total	-	-	-	1	-	1	

KARELIA, Royal demesnes				Free holders	Crown's tenants	Noble manors or tenants	Church tenants	Parsonages	Total	Town areas
Estate	Hamlet	Founded	Parish							
Jääskis	Jääskis	1556	Jääskis	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Kivinäbb	Kivinäbb	1540s	Kivinäbb	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Saviniemi	Saviniemi	1553	Jääskis	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Taipale	Taipale	1540s	Taipale	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Vammelsuu	Vammelsuu	1556	Nykyrko	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Yxnäs	Yxnäs	1557	Taipale	-	-	1	-	-	1	
			Total	1	1	2	1	1	6	

Georg Haggrén & Ulrika Rosendahl

5 MANKBY
The Life Course of a Medieval Village Site

INTRODUCTION

Peasant villages were the foundation of medieval society in Finland as in the rest of Europe. Medieval rural settlements have only recently come into the focus of archaeological research in Finland. Systematic surveys of medieval hamlets and villages began in the early 21st century. In 2004, the well-preserved site of a medieval settlement called Mankby was found in Espoo, in the close vicinity of the capital of Finland, Helsinki. Only three years later, in 2007, a research project focused on the deserted medieval village of Mankby started.

When the Mankby project started, very little was known about what kind of archaeological remains these settlements had left in the landscape. The buildings of the peasants' farms were constructed of timber, and none of them had survived. The most visible monuments in the landscape are small cairns, the remains of oven foundations. Finnish villages and hamlets are documented in written sources, such as tax records, from the mid-16th century onwards, but the physical remains of these sites are often unidentified and covered by modern dwellings. In this regard, Mankby was an exception. Since 1556, when the village was deserted, it had remained almost untouched in the forest of Espoo manor, and already at an early stage it was clear that the site had a huge research potential.

After seven seasons of excavations at Mankby, 2007–2013, the research has generated a rich corpus of finds and a complex stratigraphy of overlapping structures and land use has been documented at the site. The excavation results are discussed thoroughly in the following articles in this volume, concentrating on the main excavated structures, the finds, and the scientific analyses made on the material. The aim of this article is to point out the main features of the Mankby village site as a whole and to sketch out the different phases of the village and discuss when the defined archaeological structures coexisted and interacted as a part of village life in Mankby.

The extraordinarily good level of preservation and the versatile information gathered during the excavations have made Mankby a very important site in the Finnish context. It materialises the medieval village in a tangible way and makes peasant life visible for both researchers and the public. Mankby has in many ways revealed new knowledge about rural settlement and has proven many assumptions related to the peasants' everyday life to be wrong or stereotypical. The archaeological fieldwork at Mankby has broadened our view of the medieval period in the northern Baltic region, and the site itself offers a remarkable glimpse into history.

THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE HILL OF FINNSINMÄKI

From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages

The Espoo manor area, which includes Mankby, has a long prehistory. It has been settled since the late Mesolithic. Originally a shallow sheltered lagoon-like bay offered good fishing opportunities for a continuous Stone Age settlement. Numerous sites dating throughout the Stone Age, approx. 8000–1800 cal BC[1] have been found on the sandy shores of this ancient inlet. Because of land uplift (about 3.5 mm/year), a remarkable amount of shore displacement has taken place here. The old inlet has long ago disappeared and only the small Mankinjoki and Gumbölenjoki Rivers are left, surrounded by meadows and fields. The hill of Finnsinmäki separated the ancient inlet from the seashore. Several prehistoric settlement sites and later the plot of the medieval village of Mankby have been located on the slopes of this hill. At the southern end of the hill, there is a famous Stone Age settlement site called Finns.[2]

Numerous traces of the prehistoric settlement have been found during the excavations at Mankby. Underneath the medieval structures and occupation layers, occurred thick cultural layers from late Stone Age or Early Metal Age radiocarbon dated to 2400–2000 cal BC.[3] During prehistory, the site has offered a sheltered seashore location suitable for both fishing and occupation. A large number of prehistoric ceramics and some other finds were collected during the fieldwork in Mankby, but excavating the prehistoric layers was avoided.

It seems that after the Early Metal Age, the site area was unoccupied for more than a thousand years, at least during most of the Iron Age. During the Middle Ages, or, more precisely, in the early 13th century at the latest, the site was settled again and a village called Mankby was founded here. It seems that the colonists of the Mankby village arrived from Sweden, like those of dozens of other medieval settlements in the coastal areas of Uusimaa (Sw. Nyland). In contrast to, for example, the settlements along the Espoonjoki River, there are no Finnish place names indicating an older Finnish settlement in Mankby. The site was suitable for medieval agriculture, and as time went by, the settlement in Mankby grew and became a small, wealthy village.

The village of Mankby seems to have been most prosperous in the Late Middle Ages, when it contained at least eight farms. Before the mid-16th century, some farms were abandoned, and in the 1550s, six farms remained occupied. In 1548, there were 30 adults in Mankby. This means that the total number of inhabitants can be estimated at about 50.[4]

With its eight farms, Mankby was, in Finnish terms, a large medieval hamlet and one of the largest hitherto found totally deserted villages in Finland. The reason for the desertion of Mankby was exceptional. This prosperous village was abandoned in 1556 when it was laid under a new royal demesne or landed estate, Esbo kungsgård (Fi. Espoon kuninkaankartano), and the peasants were forced to leave their farms.[5]

After the desertion in 1556, the former village plot of Mankby remained unsettled. The royal demesne, however, continued to use the site for minor production needs. In the excavation, the foundations of a drying barn from the demesne period have been identified on top

1 Revised general dating of the Finnish Stone Age from Tallavaara et al 2010: 253; Tallavaara et al 2014.

2 Kokkonen 1990.

3 Hela-2554, Hela-2555, Hela-2613.

4 Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008.

5 See Chapter 4.

of the medieval layers. The barn was erected in the late 16th century, and at some point during the 18th century, it was renovated and reused. Otherwise, modern impact on the site has been very slight, and the medieval layers in Mankby remained mostly untouched.

RECENT RESEARCH AT MANKBY AND OTHER MEDIEVAL RURAL SETTLEMENT SITES

The site of the village plot of Mankby was found in April 2004 when the area of Esbogård manor (Fi. Espoonkartano) was surveyed.[6] The well-preserved, deserted village plot was found on a warm slope covered by dense woodland. After some clearing of the vegetation, four roads and nearly 20 house foundations were clearly visible, and it was possible to get an overview of the village plot. This is very exceptional in Finland, in contrast to, for example, the many deserted villages in England. Usually, even in the best cases, only some foundations of ovens are visible and therefore it is nearly impossible to get an overview of the plan of any hamlet or village without excavations. A survey and a test excavation were conducted in Mankby in 2007, and large excavations started the following year. In total, 555 m^2 were excavated during the seven years of research. [7]

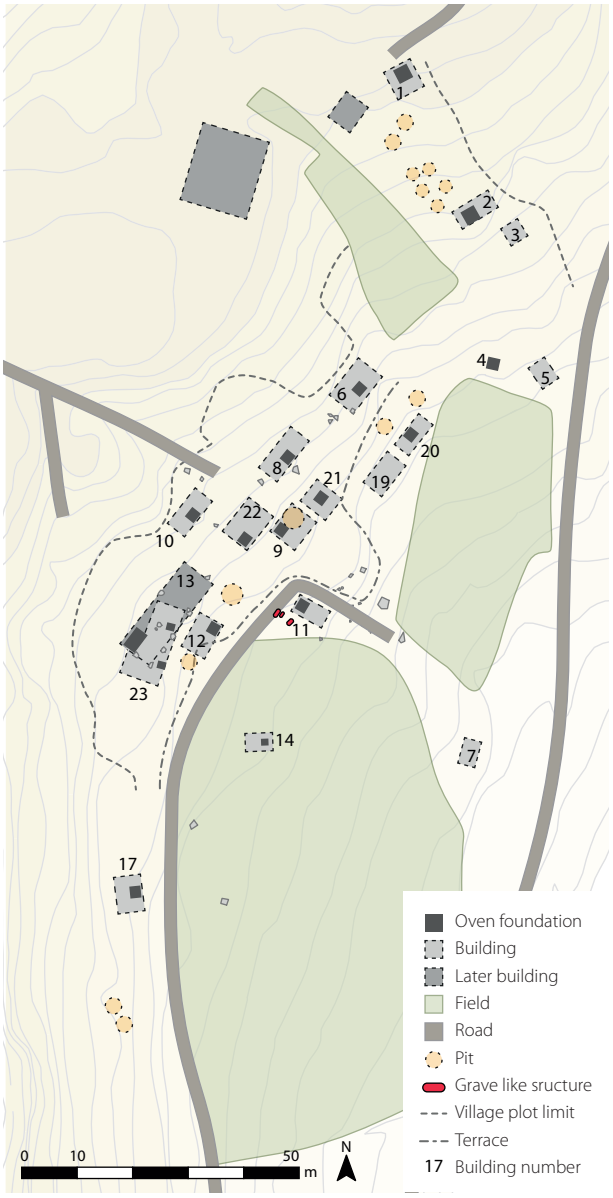

Figure 5.1. Map of the village plot of Mankby and its features. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

Before the 21st century, medieval rural settlements were seldom surveyed or excavated in Finland. The first systematic survey of medieval village plots in Finland was made by the Espoo City Museum in 2000. Systematic rescue excavations began in 2002, when the first rescue excavations took place in Gubbacka in Vantaa and Kauklahti (Sw. Köklax) in Espoo. After this, medieval settlement sites have been the focus of several systematic surveys. In addition, a number of rescue excavations, as well as some research excavations, have been carried out on the plots of medieval hamlets or villages. The majority of the excavations have taken place in the province of Uusimaa. There are two reasons for this. The first is the large scale of building activity around Helsinki or in the Finnish capital region. The second consists of the systematic research focused on medieval settle-

[6] Haggrén & Latikka 2004; Haggrén 2005b.

[7] See Chapter 6.

ment history carried out by archaeologists in the University of Helsinki, the City Museums of Espoo and Vantaa, and the Provincial Museum of Western Uusimaa.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE PLOT IN MANKBY

At the site of Mankby, more than 15 house foundations and fireplaces, as well as several roads, are still visible in the landscape, and the plan of the early 16th-century village can be reconstructed. Mankby is not a typical deserted settlement. Most of the deserted medieval settlements were poor and situated in marginal areas, whereas when Mankby was deserted, it was a wealthy village in a good location with plenty of natural resources.[8]

The village plot covers an area of about 150 m in length and 50 m in width on a slope of the Finnsinmäki hill. From the plot the landscape opens towards the south-east. To the south-west, west, and north-west, the high hill provides shelter from most of the winds. To the south-east, below the plot, were the two large fields typical of the late medieval two-year crop rotation system.

The village plot in Mankby (Fig. 5.1) has been cleared when the village was settled. This is evidenced by a low wall of stones on the border of the more or less levelled occupied area. About ten house foundations with fireplaces are still visible on the terrain. Three of them (buildings 1, 2, 4) are at the northern end of the plot. The most distinctive structure in all three houses is a large cairn, sized about 2.5–3.0 x 2.5 m, consisting the foundation of an oven. To their south, separated by a narrow field, there is a fourth oven foundation (building 6). In the vicinity of the three northernmost dwelling houses, there are two plain areas covered by small stones. They are probably floor constructions of some kind belonging to outbuildings (buildings 3 and 5) of the farms. A similar structure (building 7) is on the south-easternmost corner of the village plot.

In the middle of the village plot, there are four oven foundations. One of them is on the corner of a plain, rectangular area interpreted as the site of a dwelling house (building 8). Around this ancient fireplace, there is still plenty of charcoal in the ground. A bit higher

Figure 5.2. Two cairns, the remains of oven foundations on the sites of the buildings 10 (left) and 17 (right) in 2007. (Photos: Georg Haggrén.)

[8] Haggrén, Holappa, Knuutinen & Rosendahl 2010; Haggrén 2012.

on the slope, on the western border of the plot, there is another distinct oven foundation with a plain terrace interpreted as a dwelling around it (building 10, Fig. 5.2). Below building 8 is a larger building complex consisting of a pair of oven foundations and probably a cellar (building 9). According to test pit finds, this building and its oven date from the latest occupation phase of the site.

In the southern part of the village plot, there are several house foundations. The easternmost of them consists of an oven foundation with the wall foundations partly preserved (building 11), and to its west is another oven foundation (building 12). In the south-western corner of the village plot, there is an exceptionally large oven foundation (building 13). When it was excavated, it turned out to be the remains of a large drying barn belonging to the early modern royal demesne or a period after the desertion of the village. Under this drying barn, a large two-roomed cottage with a cellar was found (building 23). Most of the fieldwork at Mankby was conducted in the southern part of the village plot. Most parts of buildings 11, 13, and 23 have been excavated, whereas small test pits have been made in buildings 9, 12, and 22.[9]

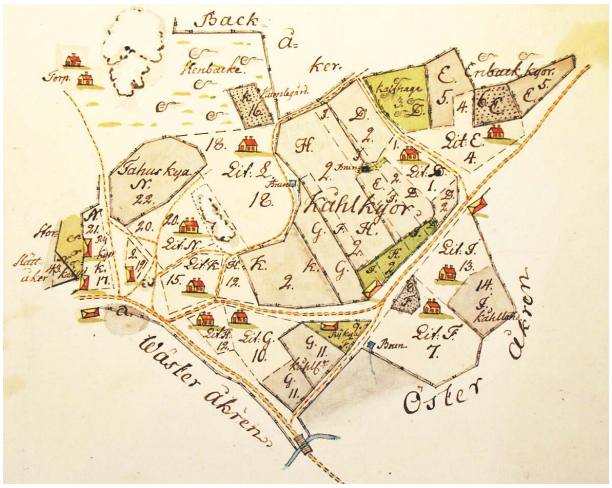

Figure 5.3. The plot of the village of Bemböle in 1766. (Finnish National Archives: The Archives of National Board of Survey: Espoo B7:2/18.)

In the central part of the village, a large depression visible in the ground was partly excavated and interpreted as a cellar pit, which was later filled with stones to prevent grazing cattle from falling in. A similar stone-filled structure was found south-west of building 12, but left unexcavated. The structure was identified as a possible well. It seems that all the cellars and wells have been purposefully filled and high oven structures levelled after the desertion of the village plot.

At the southern end of the village plot, there are two lone house foundations some dozens of metres away from the rest of the buildings. The southernmost one has a large oven foundation (building 17, Fig. 5.2), while the other one (building 14) is partly covered by stones cleared from the field nearby. On the basis of a small test excavation, building 14 has been interpreted as the remains of a medieval drying barn.

In addition to the foundations of almost 20 buildings, at least four hollow ways (Sw. *hålväg*) are also visible in the terrain. One of them leads from the northernmost corner of the village plot towards the rapids in the Mankinjoki River and the neighbouring village originally called Espoby. A second road rose to the west up the slope of the Finnsinmäki hill. A third road led eastwards towards the fields of the village, and a fourth one led from the village plot towards the south-west. Mankby was situated along the great coastal road connecting the Castles of Turku and Vyborg. It was the most important medieval highway in Finland. In the 17th century, this highway ran over the Finnsinmäki hill, but during the Middle Ages, it probably circled the hill and went through the open fields as well as the village plot. Here the terrain was much easier for travellers and allowed them to avoid the steep hillslopes.

[9] See Chapters 7 and 8.

The structures visible on the terrain show the late medieval plan of the village plot. They consisted of eight to ten dwelling houses, some outbuildings, and four ancient roads. A map of the plot of the neighbouring village of Bemböle, drawn as late as 1766, shows a structure quite similar to the plan documented in Mankby (Fig. 5.3). Based on this map, we can, for example, assume that there were a couple of wells close to the village plot in Mankby. Another typical feature shown here is the location of drying barns on the margins of the plot. This location was favoured, because in ancient rural settlements, drying barns and saunas caused a serious risk of fire.

Even if we could figure out the late medieval village plot in Mankby, we should keep in mind that during the Middle Ages plenty of changes took place in the structure of the plot. The excavations have shown that in the middle of the plot, there have been small fields that have later been deserted.[10] The excavations also revealed foundations of fireplaces that fell out of use long before the village was abandoned.

Large structures, such as two late medieval dwelling houses, as well as ancient fields, are presented in detail in the following chapters.[11] In addition, there are important structures that need to be discussed even though they do not offer enough material for separate articles. Without presenting them, it would be impossible to understand the development and dynamics of the settlement in Mankby. The results from the earliest excavated structures and occupation layers are needed when the occupation phases of the medieval village are reconstructed.

Figure 5.4. The earliest remains in the village found in the excavation of house 13 and 23. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

THE EARLIEST PHASES

The era of the first peasants in Mankby

The occupation phases interpreted on the basis of the excavations on the village plot of Mankby are mostly based on the results from the SW part of the plot where the westernmost of the two large excavation areas was located (Fig.

[10] See Chapter 9.
[11] See Chapters 7–9.

5.4). The earliest phases belonging to the 13th and early 14th centuries are visible only here. The lower slope in the east, where the eastern excavation area was located, seems to have been cultivated for decades before it was occupied during the 14th century. In any case, it has to be emphasised that the phasing is based on observations on the southern part of the village plot, and it is fairly sure that future excavations will complete and change the phasing of the whole village.

Figure 5.5. The oldest hearth found in Mankby. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

In contrast to the rich find material and well-preserved house foundations from the Late Middle Ages, the earlier structures are scattered and the cultural layers poor in finds. The archaeological material from the earliest occupation phases is scarce but nevertheless very valuable for interpreting how the area was colonised and the settlement founded. How old is the medieval settlement on the plot of Mankby? What kind of material culture does it represent? What kind of structure has the plot had? What kind of structural changes have taken place during different times? Is any growth or shrinking of the settlement visible? How many building phases have there been at Mankby?

The oldest structure hitherto found at Mankby is the foundation of a hearth (Figs. 5.4, 5.5). It is a 2-m-long and 1.5-m-wide, more or less rectangular structure made of stones (Ø 10–30 cm) laid on an artificial clay bed. On the corners of the outer range of the foundation there were four or five larger stones (Ø 0.3–0.5 m). The surface of these stones was heavily eroded because of the high temperature of the fire in the hearth. There was some reddish burned sand and fragments of broken stones between the fragile stones in the hearth. A charcoaled piece of timber was preserved on the southern side of the structure. There was probably originally a similar piece of timber also on the other sides of the hearth foundation, except for the west side, where a large stone with a diameter of almost 1 m was located. At the western end of the hearth, there was plenty of burned clay below the stones. Some of the clay was so heavily burned that it had turned to slag. The layer of burned clay lay against the already mentioned large stone in the west. This burned clay covered a hole that was 0.45 m deep and 1.0 x 0.5 m wide. The hole was filled with greyish sand, but at the bottom there was some clay burned on the site, as well as some charcoal. The fire may have been kept alive in this hole between the times when the hearth was used.

The charcoaled timber on the southern side of the hearth was dated by wiggle matching based on two AMS datings.[12] According to the wiggle matching carried out by Markku Oinonen, the tree was felled between AD 1177 and 1218 (95.4% probability). This is the hitherto oldest medieval structure dated at Mankby. This hearth has been used for a long time,

[12] Hela-3542, Hela-3543.

but it has been impossible to identify any other structures belonging to the same building. North of this hearth there was a cultural layer with an even surface, which was probably part of the same house (building 27). Building 27 represents the earliest phase (phase 1) of medieval settlement in Mankby.

Less than one metre to south-west of this foundation of a hearth in building 27 were the remains of another hearth (Fig. 5.4). Based on the stratigraphy, this hearth dates from a later phase (phase 2). Only a part less than 1 m wide of the western end of the hearth foundation has survived. The rest has been demolished during later building phases on the site. The foundations of a later oven, as well as younger walls, have been found in the same place. In addition to this, also some pits have been dug in the ground, resulting in the almost total destruction of the building in phase 2.

This hearth foundation was 1.2 m long. To the west there was a 1.2-m-long charcoaled piece of timber similar to the one that was found in the hearth belonging to phase 1. There was probably a piece of timber on each side of the hearth. The foundation itself was made of stones with a diameter of 5–20 cm. In contrast to the older hearth, there were no larger stones in corners or elsewhere in the hearth. The whole structure seems to have been a little lighter. Also here, two datings[13] were made on the charcoaled timber. In this case, the wiggle matching made by Oinonen gave a felling date between AD 1208 and 1255 (95.4% probability). The hearth foundation has probably been in a building (28) of the second settlement phase (2) of this medieval site. There was not much left of the cultural layers belonging to phase 2.

In the western excavation area or in the south-western part of the plot, there were some remains of burned timbers in the oldest cultural layers on the site. Some of them were laid on corner stones (Ø about 0.3 m) dug into the sterile sand. Based on three such stones, a 6.5-m-long and 5.5-m-wide room can be reconstructed (building 29). This building has been burned down, and some charcoaled remains of the lowermost timbers have been preserved especially in the north-eastern wall. The north-western wall was almost covered by a large 16th-century oven belonging to the drying barn, even if the corner stones of the burned building to the west and north had been preserved. The lowermost course of timber in the north-eastern wall was in a condition good enough for AMS dating. On the basis of two datings[14], Oinonen has wiggle-matched the felling date to a period between AD 1256 and 1284 (95.4% probability).

The hearths belonging to phases 1 and 2 are situated in such a way that it is practically impossible to connect them to this burned building, building 29. It is possible that this building has not had any fireplace, but it is more probable that the foundation of the hearth/oven has not been found. About 25% of this building is covered by the 16th-century oven, and the older fireplace might be under the large oven foundation. Another possibility is that any oven foundation was removed when later buildings were built on the same site. Almost in the middle of building 29, there was a 0.3-m-deep and 2-m-wide pit filled with yellow sand. This pit had an uneven bottom, and there were no structures or cultural layers, finds, or any other remains of human activities. This feature has been difficult to interpret, but a logical explanation is that the stones of the oven foundation were recycled when the fireplace was levelled. As a result, there was only an asymmetrical pit left. This building probably

[13] Hela-3540, Hela-3541.

[14] Hela-3544, Hela-3545.

had another room to the south-west, where more charcoaled timbers were found. Here they were in a layer of yellow sand, which probably belonged to the foundations of this building made of two rooms. The area of yellow sand closely follows the line of the reconstructed south-eastern wall of building 29. There was also a charcoaled timber along this line, but unfortunately it has not been dated. More than a half of the southern room has been demolished when a cellar belonging to building 23 was later built partly on the same site. Close to the north-western corner of the southern room were the remains of a destroyed fireplace, which was possibly located in this room. This building probably consisting of two rooms belongs to the third medieval occupation phase (phase 3) of the site.

During the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages, hearths located in the middle of the room were typical fireplaces in dwelling houses in Finland. In the early 15th century at the latest, at least in Turku, but probably also in the rural settlements of southern Finland, the oven replaced the hearth as a typical fireplace in dwelling rooms. The oldest ovens found in Turku are from the early 13th century. In contrast to the hearth, which was usually located in the middle of the room, the oven was normally built in a corner or along one of the walls.[15] In Mankby, the dwelling rooms dating to the 13th and early 14th century seem to have been equipped with hearths, while the late medieval houses had ovens.

In the western and northern parts of this western excavation area, there were some further remains of timber or wood on top of sterile sand. Unfortunately, it is difficult to connect them to the reconstructed buildings in phases 1–3. One possibility is that at least some of them are remains of timbers that have collapsed from the walls when building 29 burned down in phase 3. It is also possible that there has been an additional building phase here during the 13th century. Some earthenware[16] was found in the context containing these remains of wood.[17] This is an exception in the cultural layers belonging to these early phases. In all these early contexts, there were extremely few finds. They consisted of only some iron nails and other iron fragments, as well as some pieces of flint and burned bones, but no datable finds.

In phases 1–3, the excavated areas also revealed other structures than the remains of buildings. From the eastern part of the excavated areas, small fields[18] as well as some grave-like pits were found. Unfortunately, these phenomena are hard to date very precisely, but during the 14th century, they were replaced by a new occupation area related to the expanding of the settlement and its village plot.

EARLY AMBIGUOUS RITUAL SPACE WITHIN THE VILLAGE – GRAVES OR NOT?

In two other excavated medieval village plots in Espoo parish, Kauklahti (Sw. Köklax) and Finno (Sw. Finnå), apparently Christian graveyards were found during the excavations.[19] The finds were surprising, as it had been generally thought that the use of village cemeteries ceased already in the Early Middle Ages, at the point of Christianisation. These finds, however, prove that village cemeteries continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages – even

15 Seppänen 2012: 704–727; Mikkanen 2015.

16 KM 39160:145–147.

17 See Chapter 10.

18 See Chapter 9.

19 Haggrén et al. 2006 ; Haggrén 2008: 46–47.

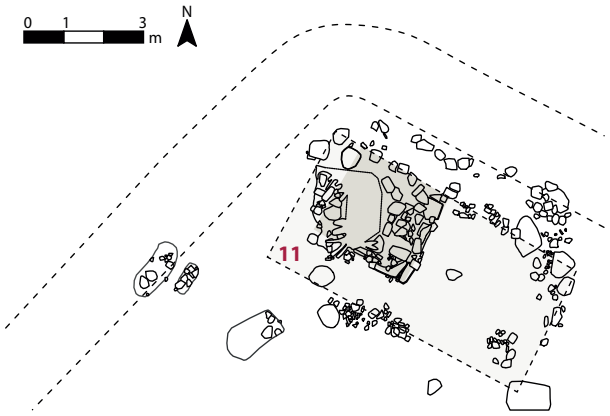

Figure 5.6. The grave-like pits southwest of building 11 were oblong structures containing stones. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

Figure 5.7. The westernmost grave-like pit during the excavation (left). Remains of a bovine cranium were found under the stones (right). (Photos: Hanna Kivikero.)

in areas with no clear continuity of a prehistoric burial custom.

The existence of these cemeteries has to be kept in mind when the material from Mankby is interpreted, especially since grave-like pits were found during the excavations. However, the possible grave material found at Mankby was not easy to interpret. No clear cemetery area was identified, but at the south end of the village plot, three structures were found that could be identified as possible graves (Fig. 5.6). No human bone material was recorded, but this is not unusual for graves in the acid Finnish soil. The reason why these features are interpreted as possible graves is their close resemblance to the graves from the Finno and Kauklahti cemeteries.[20]

The features were oblong pits dug in a SW-NE direction. They had rounded borders and stones on the surface of the soil fill. Two of the pits were quite similar in size; 1.5/1.6 m long, 0.7/0.8 m wide, and approximately 0.4 m deep. The third pit was significantly smaller; only 0.6 m long and 0.4 m wide, and dug next to one of the larger pits. The stones in the soil fill were about 20–30 cm in diameter. In one of the larger pits, they were located in the NE end, and in the other pits they were more evenly spread out (Fig. 5.7).

Finds from the grave-like structures were extremely scarce. A charred grain identified as barley from the fill of one of the pits was dated to AD 1226–1289 (95.4%)[21]. This dating links these structures to the earliest phases (1–3) of the village. Other finds from the fill included a whetstone, an iron nail, and some charred wood. In one of the pits, a bovine cranium had apparently been laid down under the stones. At the time of excavation, only the tooth enamel was preserved, but it lay an anatomically correct position, suggesting that the cranium had originally been intact. This can be used as an argument both in favour of and against the grave interpretation: on one hand, it might suggest that the grave-like feature was a carcass pit, but on the other hand, the Finno cemetery showed a conspicuous presence of bovine bone material in human graves, suggesting some kind of ritual practice including bovine meat or sacrifices.[22]

[20] Haggrén, Georg 2005a; Haggrén et al. 2006; see Chapter 8.

[21] Hela-2608.

[22] Kivikero 2015: 101.

However, the question of this practice remains open in the case of Mankby, but would be a most interesting theme for further research.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MEDIEVAL PHASES IN MANKBY

As a conclusion of the excavations in the south-western part of the village plot in Mankby, we can separate three early occupation layers and a building in each of them. *Phase 1* dates to the early 13th century and contains a building with a hearth (building 27). From *Phase 2* there is not much more left than a hearth from the middle of the 13th century (building 28). *Phase 3* dates to the late 13th or early 14th century and is represented by a two-roomed house that has been built in the late 13th century and destroyed in a fire (building 29).

In the 14th century, a large two-roomed cottage with a cellar (building 23) was built on the site of these early buildings. Building 23 represents *phase 4* in the south-western part of the plot of Mankby. According to the find material, this building was deserted in the beginning of the 16th century at the latest. This building, a possible manor house, is documented and discussed in a separate article.[23]

Some medieval fields on the village plot have also been excavated. Like building 23, the fields are analysed and discussed in a separate article.[24] These fields were cultivated during phases 2 to 3.

In the south-eastern part of the village plot, a late medieval building (building 11) was found. It belongs to phases 4 and 5 and is thoroughly discussed in a separate article.[25] In this part of the village plot, no clear older occupation layers from the earliest phases have been observed, but activities related to the settlement have taken place here already well before the 15th century.

Both building 23 and the small fields in the plot of the village were deserted long before the 1550s. Between the former field and building 23, a new building (building 12) with a large oven was founded. Since this building has not been excavated, discussion related to it is left for the future. One half of a simple cellar probably belonging to this building was excavated in 2008 and 2009 (Fig. 5.8). The size of the cellar was about 2 x 2 metres, and its floor level had been dug over 1 metre below the ground. The walls were probably made of timber frames based on bricks laid on the bottom of the pit. When the timber walls decomposed, the soil around the structure crashed down. Later on, the structure was filled with stones, resulting in only a depression on the ground at the site of the former cellar. Building 12 and the cellar represent *phase 5*. North of this cellar, a late medieval dwelling house (building 22) with an oven in the corner was found. The house has been founded on an artificial layer of sand fill-

Figure 5.8. A simple cellar filled with stones. (Photo: Georg Haggrén).

[23] See Chapter 7.
[24] See Chapter 9.
[25] See Chapter 8.

ing. The surroundings of this oven were excavated, but no datable artefacts were found. A couple of metres south of building 22, a large building (building 9) north of the excavated fields also dates probably to the late medieval phase 5. Only a small test pit was made there in 2007 to ensure that the cairn visible on the ground was a foundation of an oven.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL USE OF THE AREA

A drying barn in Mankby

The post-medieval phase in Mankby was, from 1556 onwards, radically different to the medieval and early-16th-century settlement. The desertion of the village, documented in the foundation letter of the royal demesne of Espoo dated to 27 August 1556, was an abrupt ending to the history of Mankby as a dwelling place. The abandonment took place quickly, and from 1557 onwards, the peasants of Mankby were to be found in the tax records of other villages in the vicinity.[26] This does not mean that the village plot was entirely unused after this date. According to bailiff's records dated to 1557,[27] the royal demesne used the plot of the former Mankby village for cattle shelters and other outbuildings in the first couple of years of its existence, but soon these functions were moved to a more practical location near the manor.

The property of Espoo manor and the former village of Mankby were mapped in 1779 (Fig. 5.9) and 1832 (Fig. 5.10). These maps not only offer valuable information related to the land use and landscape in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but also provide hints of early modern and even medieval land use. The archaeological data from surveys and excavations at Mankby can be supplemented with information based on these historical maps.[28]

Archaeologically, only one building that clearly belongs to the post-medieval phase has been detected. It is the remains of a large drying barn used for drying grain, which was a typical feature of Finnish agricultural practice.[29] The drying barn, referred to as building 13 at the excavation (Fig. 5.4), was erected on top of the medieval layers in the south-western part of the village plot, and has thus somewhat disturbed the underlying features.[30] Since the massive oven and the building foundation of large stones have been preserved in their original places in spite of the excavation, some of the medieval features are still covered by this early modern structure.

The building of the drying barn itself was large, 6.7 m wide and 25 m long. It was not fully excavated, but the large cornerstones are visible above ground, which makes it possible to estimate the full length of the barn. The southern part of the drying barn has been excavated. This part of the building formed the actual drying room. In the south-western corner, it had a large oven foundation, sized 4 x 2.6 metres and erected on a layer of yellow sand. To the west of the oven, there were signs of restoring next to the foundation, which indicated that the barn was originally erected at the end of the 16th century, but reused during the 17th and 18th centuries. In maps from the late 18th century, there are no signs of the barn left. It is apparent that soon after the middle of the 18th century, the use of the barn ceased.

[26] Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008.
[27] KA 3073: 49.
[28] Rosendahl 2015.
[29] Talve 1960: 479.
[30] See Chapter 7, Fig. 7.2.

Figure 5.9. A draft map over the estate of Esbogård manor made in the late 1770s. The deserted plot of the village of Mankby is close to the western border of the large fields sloping downwards to the River Gumbölenjoki in the middle of the map. The location of Mankby village plot marked with red symbol. (The Archive Center of National Board of Survey: Uusimaa Espoo 7:II.)

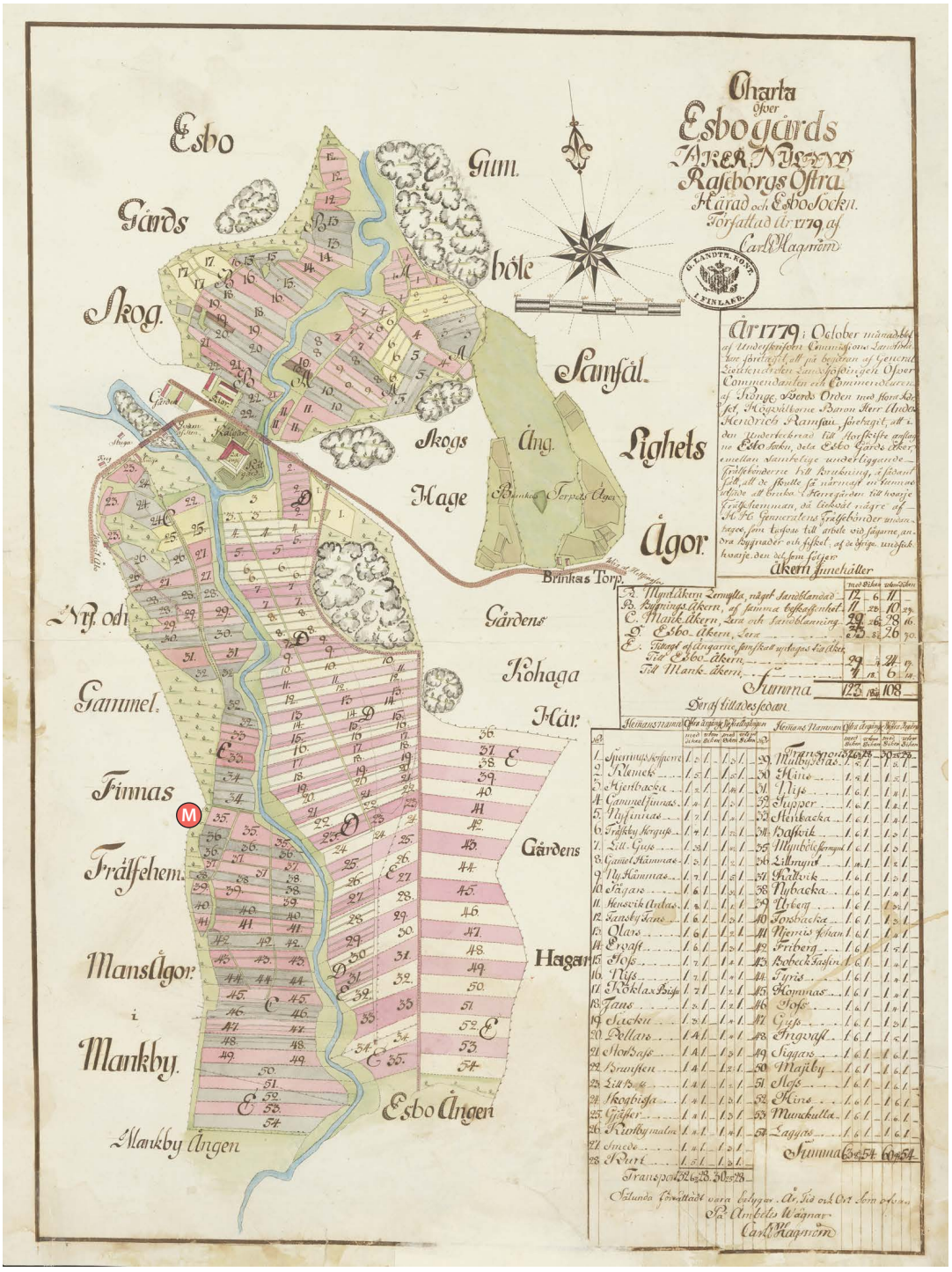

Figure 5.10. A planning map over the field of Esbogård manor made in 1779. The buildings of the manor in the northwest. The fields with pink stripes show both the medieval fields of the villages of Esboby and Mankby and some meadows prepared for clearing for culticvation. In the Middle Ages the River Gumbölenjoki in the middle of the map had been the border between the fields and meadows of the these two villages. The location of Mankby village plot marked with red symbol. (Finnish National Archives: The Archives of National Board of Survey: Espoo Espoo B7:9/1.)

In spite of this barn, the activity at the former village was not intense, and no dense cultural layers can be connected to the post-medieval period. As a curiosity, it can be mentioned that a carcass pit containing bones of both horses and cattle was dug inside the foundations of the drying barn after it was abandoned. The pit dates to the late 18th or 19th century. As the fields of Espoo manor reached the border of the former Mankby plot up to the 1960s, and higher up the slope to the west there were some crofters' cottages, the area was occasionally visited. Some finds near the topsoil have been connected to these later periods.

CONCLUSIONS

The well-preserved plot of the deserted medieval village of Mankby was found in 2004, and a systematic scientific research project took place there from 2007 to 2013. The fieldwork has resulted in a huge amount of invaluable data. It offers a basis for the detailed research of a medieval rural settlement in the northern Baltic area.

The village plot has been occupied at the latest by the early 13th century. After the colonisation period, development and changes have taken place in the structure of the plot. The archaeological record can be divided into different phases beginning from the earliest dwellings and ending in the centuries after the desertion of the village in 1556. A medieval village like Mankby was not static. On the contrary, there have been several changes in the activities and structures during the period of more than 300 years that the site was occupied. However, it must be underlined that only a small part of the plot has been excavated so far. In the future, Mankby offers plenty of opportunities for further research on the site – and a better understanding of a wealthy medieval rural settlement typical for southern Finland.

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Maija Holappa

6 ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION AT MANKBY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON MEDIEVAL RURAL SITES IN FINLAND

Archaeological interest in medieval sites started already at the end of the 19th century, when research concentrated on monumental buildings such as castles, churches, and cloisters. The beginning of medieval urban archaeology in Turku dates to this same period. For over a century, archaeological interest focused on medieval stone structures built by the elite in urban or semi-urban contexts. Research on medieval rural sites can be dated to the 1970s and 1980s, when the Universities of Turku and Oulu both investigated early land development, the former in Varsinais-Suomi (Sw. Egentliga Finland) and the latter in Ostrobothnia and the Tornio River Valley. Even though in the 1990s there were projects studying medieval rural settlements, it was not until 2000 when the systematic research of medieval village plots started and scholarly interest enhanced the position of these sites as ancient monuments protected by law. Espoo City Museum is the forerunner in this research, as it started the survey of rural settlements already in 2000, followed by Vantaa City Museum a few years later. The region of Uusimaa (Sw. Nyland, meaning 'new land') in southern Finland is the most extensively studied area, but comparable research have been conducted also in Varsinais-Suomi, Kymenlaakso, Pirkanmaa, and Päijät-Häme.[1]

In the region of Uusimaa, two important rescue excavations on medieval village plots took place in 2003, namely at Gubbacka in Vantaa and Kauklahti (Sw. Köklax) in Espoo. Gubbacka is the largest excavation conducted on a medieval village plot in Finland, as the uncovered area is more than 1,000 square metres, including the later research excavation by Vantaa City Museum.[2] In Kauklahti, the excavated area reached 620 square metres.[3] These projects were soon followed by excavations in Gunnarsängen in Hanko (2003–2006)[4] and Finno in Espoo (2006), where only the remains of a medieval field and part of village graveyard had survived due to modern land development[5]. These excavations were smaller in size but offered valuable comparative material for analysing the archaeological material at Mankby.

There is no uniform method used by Finnish archaeologists on excavations of medieval rural settlements. The chosen method is often a variation of the stratigraphic method or

1 See Chapter 1 and Haggrén 2009.
2 Niukkanen 2010: 20.
3 See Haggrén 2005.
4 See Jansson et al. 2010.
5 See Haggrén et al. 2006.

single context recording. Until the middle of the 1990s, excavations on rural settlements followed the method of technical layers familiar from prehistoric excavations, where layers of a preselected thickness are removed regardless of the natural stratification. The stratigraphic method was first adopted on urban excavations in Turku in the 1980s and further refined during the following decades.[6] The cultural stratification in an urban context can be several metres deep[7], whereas the shallow strata of the rural settlements held back the adoption of the stratigraphic excavation.[8] The stratigraphic method was used in a rural context for the first time at the Iron Age site of Mulli in Raisio between 1994 and 1997[9], soon followed by excavations in Perniö.[10]

Discussion on the stratigraphic method and cultural layers started actively at the end of the 1990s[11] and has continued since to some extent, especially in the context of urban excavations.[12] In contrast, methodological issues are rarely raised in the research of medieval rural settlements.[13]

The following chapter describes the method of excavation and documentation used in the Mankby project[14], focusing on the conditions and motives behind the selected manner of conducting fieldwork.

THE METHOD OF EXCAVATION AT MANKBY

Archaeological strata on rural medieval sites in Finland are often shallow compared to those found in an urban context. In Mankby, only a few depositions are more than 50 cm deep. Thin layers are often homogenous in composition and appearance, making the identification of layer boundaries difficult. Accordingly, the remains of built features are often modest, consisting of various ditches and simple stone structures forming foundations for hearths and wooden wall structures. Also the amount of artefacts is not as large as in urban deposits. Under these circumstances, the premises for the archaeological research of a medieval rural settlement are considerably different to those for the excavation and documentation of an urban site. In Mankby, these challenges were encountered by combining the methods of single context recording with the methods used on prehistoric excavations in Finland.

Prehistoric sites are frequently situated on sandy soils near the ancient shoreline. The occupational layers are thin and identification of the stratification is nearly impossible. Podsolisation has destroyed almost all organic remains, and find material consists mainly of scattered stone artefacts and ceramics. For these reasons, archaeological excavations are often performed in technical layers emphasising the accurate documentation of the finds.[15]

6 Saloranta 2003; Seppänen 2012: 36–62.
7 Seppänen 2008: 216.
8 See, e.g. Suhonen 2000: 71; on the other hand, Heinonen 2015.
9 On the method, see Suhonen 2000: 73–77.
10 Ylönen 1997: 69–73.
11 Asplund 1997; Kykyri 1997; Suhonen & Vuorinen 1997; Wahl 1997.
12 Kykyri 1999a; Saloranta 2003; Tuovinen 2006.
13 Suhonen & Vuorinen 1997; Heinonen 2015.
14 See also Haggrén et al. 2011.
15 See e.g. Pesonen 2013: 518–520.

Mankby resembles a Stone Age settlement in the sense of being located on sandy soil on top of a prehistoric shore formation and settlement.[16] The fertile silty loam of the former sea bed is located further down the slope and was preserved for agricultural use.[17] The sandy soil not only prevented the preservation of the thick occupational layers, but also destroyed the organic material and implements commonly used by the village peasants. For example, in the coastal town of Turku, the moist clayish layers have preserved rich find material consisting of various organic artefacts[18], whereas at Mankby, this material is completely missing.[19]

Even though the stratification at Mankby is not metres deep, it is possible to observe a clear stratigraphic order in the cultural deposits, and therefore the single context method was used during the excavation. The excavation of each identified layer or unit proceeded in stratigraphic order. In single context excavation, the whole identified unit is removed in a single event,[20] but at Mankby, the excavation within each unit proceeded in technical layers of 5 cm. Still, the presence of thin and in places unclear strata is not the reason behind the chosen method. The Espoo City Museum and the Summer University of Hanko (Sw. *Hangö sommaruniversitet*) have organised archaeological field schools at Mankby, and every season groups of amateurs took part in the archaeological work. Teaching and working with the amateurs, and at the same time controlling the progress of the excavation, was easier when layers of a specified thickness were removed at a time. It was also easier for the amateurs to adopt the method of excavating in technical layers, even though the laws of stratification and the method of stratigraphic excavation were explained and taught in the field.

The cautious method also helped the students of archaeology from the University of Helsinki who performed their training in field archaeology to adopt the method of single context research. All students were responsible for their own trenches and took care of the progress of the excavation, documentation, and presenting the results in the final report. Altogether 11 students did their excavation training at Mankby.

Also the collection of finds followed a method more familiar in the excavations of prehistoric sites. In a single context excavation, the finds are collected and documented within each unit and accurate measurements are not regularly taken.[21] The find material at Mankby is richer than often expected from a medieval rural site,[22] but the amount of finds is not nearly as large as in an urban context. The finds play an important role in the identification, interpretation, and dating of the exposed units. Observations of the activity within the village, as well as inside the structures, can be done through various distribution maps. In order to collect equal and comparable data, the trenches were divided into squares of 50 x 50 cm based on the coordinate system. All bulk finds, such as burned clay and bone, were collected from each square, and the removed soil was sieved for the collection of smaller finds. All datable material, such as pottery, coins, and metal objects, were documented in place with a total station. The method of excavating in small squares might sound like a slow and complicated process, but again it was easier for controlling the amateurs as well as for estimating the day's work and pace.

16 See Chapter 5.
17 See Chapter 9.
18 E.g. Suhonen 2003: 168–169.
19 See Chapter 10.
20 Kykyri 1999b: 33–34; Saloranta 2003: 56–60; Seppänen 2008: 211.
21 Kykyri 1999b: 34; Seppänen 2008: 218.
22 See Chapter 10.

Figure 6.1. Progress of excavation presented by the year each trench was opened. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

Before the archaeological excavation at Mankby started, the site was surveyed and 18 visible structures and other structural elements were documented. Later, after the site was cleared of trees and undergrowth and the features were exposed in excavation, the number of structures rose to 29. Some of them are definite houses with oven foundations and cornerstones still visible on the ground[23], whereas others are more unclear stone features and cairns. Due to the well-preserved structures and only minor later disturbance, Mankby is an exceptionally well-preserved medieval village site. From the very beginning of the project, the idea of establishing an archaeological park was presented, and in order to visualise life in a medieval hamlet for the visitors, larger structural elements discovered during the exca-

[23] See Chapter 7 and 8

vation were not dismantled but left in place. Therefore some of the occupational layers and features under these structures could be only partially exposed and studied, meaning that some connections between units could not be determined and interpretations remained uncertain. The best example is the large foundation of the later drying barn located in the SW part of the village, which was built on top of building 23.[24]

Following the seven fieldwork seasons, an area of 555 m^2 was excavated and approximately 224 m^3 of soil were removed (Fig. 6.1).

DOCUMENTATION OF THE EXCAVATION

Following the single context method,[25] all identified layers or units were treated equally and documented in a uniform manner.[26] Units were distinguished on the basis of their appearance, consistence, texture, function, location, and stratigraphy. Each unit was given a running number inside each trench. The unit number consisted of a letter symbolising the type of the unit (soil layer [Y], structural element [R], cut feature [KU]), as well as the trench number and the running number. So Y1-1 is a soil layer, R1-2 is a structure, and KU1-3 is a pit, all in trench 1.

All units were described and documented on sheets designed for the project and amended from one year to the next when a need for improvement was noticed. There were separate sheets for soil layers and built features. The language of the documentation was Finnish. The appearance, consistence, size, colour, and shape of the unit were described on the sheet. The top and bottom levels of the layer were recorded, as well as the find material exposed and samples taken from the unit. Special care was applied to understanding the stratigraphy. The surface (or interface) of a deposit was not treated as a separate unit, except in the case of a negative structure[27], meaning a cut feature such as a pit dug in the soil layer. All documentation levels were photographed and drawn on a plan to a scale of 1:20 presenting all visible units within the trench, even if they belonged to different phases. The top levels of the units were documented with a total station and marked on the plans.

As the excavations in trenches progressed at a similar pace, connecting the plans from adjacent trenches has not been a big problem. Observations and interpretations in one trench could be confirmed or adjusted in the other. In some places, excavation baulks were left between the trenches, especially if several seasons passed between the excavation of the areas or if the documentation was done by different persons. All noteworthy baulks and profiles were documented with section plans drawn to a scale of 1:20.

At the beginning of the project, several smaller trenches were opened, and later new areas adjacent to these were excavated. This presented the great task of combining the stratigraphic information from several areas with a large number of units. Furthermore, the evidence from a small trench is often restricted, as it is not possible to properly observe and identify deposits in a limited space and some features could be incorrectly interpreted or entirely missed. Due to this, larger excavation areas were preferred in the later part of the project. Since Mankby is a research project and not a rescue excavation, the excavation could be

[24] See Chaper 7.

[25] Kykyri 1999b: 35; Saloranta 2003: 59.

[26] Mankby excavation reports Haggrén et al. 2007–2013.

[27] Clark 2000: 103.

interrupted over the winter and continued again the following field season. Of course, this is not an ideal situation and should be avoided, since the covering and uncovering of the exposed levels is time-consuming work and may destroy layers, but sometimes it was necessary in order to finish the research in a uniform manner. As a result, large excavated areas revealed features and history that could not have been noticed or properly interpreted through small trenches.

In the seven fieldwork seasons, 644 units were documented, 118 plans drawn, and 1,300 photos taken.

OTHER METHODS USED AND TESTED

In addition to the archaeological excavation, geophysical methods were used in order to acquire more information on the structures and stratification in the village area. Before the field season of 2008, the southern part of the village plot was surveyed with ground-penetrating radar (GPR). An area of 1,000 m^2 was surveyed by Leo Koponen from Geo-Work Oy. The results showed new underground structures, some of which were visible on the ground and others buried deeper and possibly belonging to an earlier phase of the village. Based on the GPR data, the cultural stratification was mainly 50 cm deep. Some of these observations could be later confirmed in the excavations.

Part of the northern part of the village was surveyed with a magnetometer by archaeologist Wesa Perttola from the Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies at the University of Helsinki. The survey was conducted during two field seasons, 2012 and 2013, in an area of 730 m^2. The data revealed possible new oven foundations and a wall line, but excavation is required to confirm them.

During the centuries, the environment has changed from an open village site to meadow and finally to forest. The vegetation growing in the surroundings still testifies to medieval activities. In 2010, archaeologist Krista Vajanto performed a vegetation survey in the area identifying archaeophytes, which are plant species introduced to the area by people before the 17th century. Several species used in medieval times were found, some of them rarities, as well as a definite archaeophyte, *Arabis glabra* (tower mustard), growing just beside the excavation of a two-roomed cottage (building 23).

New methods for archaeological documentation were briefly tested in Mankby, as the students and researchers of the former Helsinki University of Technology[28] used a laser scanner (in 2012) and a drone for aerial photography (in 2013). Both methods were used in the modelling of the two-roomed cottage (building 23) in the southern part of the village. They present possibilities for archaeological study and documentation in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

The excavation and documentation method followed at Mankby was a combination of single context recording and methods used in prehistoric excavations in Finland. The importance of the interpretation of the soil layers was emphasised during the whole course of the project.

[28] Currently part of Aalto University.

The core of the research crew continued the work from the beginning of the project until the last field season, and a uniform level of documentation could be maintained through the years.

During the seven years of research, altogether 555 square metres of the village plot of Mankby were excavated, uncovering only the southern parts of the whole settlement. This is only approximately 5% of the whole village area. As often at medieval rural sites, also at Mankby, the stratification is in places thin, the building remains are modest, and the find material is composed mainly of scattered fragments of burned clay and iron nails. If excavation is conducted in small trenches, as at the beginning of the Mankby project, information on the structures and history of the village is at best thin, modest, and scattered. But as these small trenches were later combined into large excavation areas, the results of more thorough and detailed research can now be presented.

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Anna-Maria Salonen & Georg Haggrén

7 A MANOR HOUSE OF THE NOBILITY? Building 23

A TWO-ROOMED COTTAGE WITH A STONE CELLAR

On the south-western corner of the plot of the Mankby village there is an unusual medieval house complex consisting of three rooms and a cellar (building 23). It is approximately 15 x 5–7 metres in size and built on top of a terrace in a SSW–NNE direction. It is partly covered and demolished by the construction of a large mid-16th-century drying barn (building 13) in the same place (Fig. 7.1).

According to the finds, the medieval house complex is dated to the 14th and 15th centuries. This building represents an unusually big and rich building for a medieval village or hamlet. It consists of three rooms of which the northern and the southern were heated.. In the middle was an unheated room, which most likely functioned as an entrance hall. A rare feature in a Finnish medieval peasant settlement lies in the south-western corner: a cellar with a stone foundation and stone steps leading down. The structural elements of this house are not the only rare and interesting features of this building, since also the find material indicates a very wealthy family with possible connections to the Swedish aristocracy.

The building resembles a two-roomed cottage, which was the main form of peasant dwelling house in Sweden during the 16th century and in Finland from the 17th century onwards. However, some examples of earlier two-roomed cottages have been found both in Sweden and Finland. The definition of a two-roomed cottage is a one-storey, or in some cases two-storey, building that consists of two heated rooms situated at both ends of an unheated entrance passage.[1] According to records from the 17th century, one of the heated rooms was normally used as the dwelling room. The oven of this room was used for cooking and was thus bigger than the oven in the other room. The other heated room was often smaller and used as a guesthouse or storage room.[2] In the earliest two-roomed cottages, the entrance passage had a door or at least a passage on each side, so the building could be entered from both sides.[3]

The history of the two-roomed cottage is not clear. During the Middle Ages, it was not unusual to build two buildings facing one another and then connect them with an entrance passage. The buildings may have varied in width and height. This kind of building was the prototype of a two-roomed cottage, and it was in use in northern Russia already in the

1 Beronius Jörpeland 2011: 59; Seppänen 2012: 815.
2 Beronius Jörpeland 2011: 61.
3 Talve 1979: 38; 1990: 46; Seppänen 2012: 815.

Figure 7.1. Building 23 and mid-16th-century drying barn (building 13). Rooms indicated with numbers. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

12th century and in Sweden a bit later, in the 13th century. The entrance hall was adopted in Finland most likely from Sweden during the late Middle Ages.[4] The oldest known two-roomed cottages found in the mainland of Finland are dated to the 1430s in Turku.[5] A couple of two-roomed cottages from the 14th century have been found on Kökar in the Åland Islands.[6]

It has been suggested that the idea of a symmetrical building with two rooms located on both sides of the entrance hall derives from the architectural ideologies of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, but it seems that the idea actually predates them. In Sweden, there are historical documents suggesting that the building style of the two-roomed cottage originates from France. The two-roomed cottage was especially popular during the 16th century in noble manors and royal demesnes.[7] Lena Beronius Jörpeland has suggested that the two-roomed cottage represents an idea of what an upper-class dwelling ought to be like.[8]

Building 23 was revealed during excavations in 2008–2013. It covers multiple excavation areas that have been excavated both at the same time and separately. The excavations were carried out by many different people during six years, so gathering up all the information is like piecing together a jigsaw puzzle. At the beginning of the excavations, it was not clear whether the different rooms belonged to one building or whether there were multiple buildings. This is why the rooms were given different building numbers, 23 being the southern heated room, 24 the northern heated room, 25 the cellar, and 26 the unheated room in the middle. However, to simplify things in this article, the building is dealt with as a whole, building number 23.

This paper discusses the structures and finds of building 23 and its interpretation in the rural context. The building is also compared to other similar buildings in Finland as well as in Sweden.

4 Korhonen 1999: 182–183.
5 Seppänen 2012: 815, 817.
6 Gustavsson 1995.
7 Korhonen 1988: 23–24; Seppänen 2012: 814–815.
8 Beronius Jörpeland 2011: 63.

THE ROOMS OF THE BUILDING

The building consists of three rooms and a cellar (Fig. 7.2). The two rooms on both ends of the building are heated. The room in the middle of these two is an unheated room, probably used as a passage between the heated room spaces[9] or as an entrance hall. The three rooms share a common wall foundation on the eastern side of the rooms. The wall foundation is made of natural stones with a diameter of 20–30 cm, on top of which a wooden wall construction has stood. The wooden parts of the walls are not preserved, but they have most likely been made out of logs. In the middle of the wall foundation of the unheated room space, on the outside of the building, there are a couple of bigger stones that are interpreted as the remains of a doorway or a staircase in front of a doorway. The W and N walls have not been detected, since the N wall is located outside the excavation areas and the W wall might be under the 16th-century oven. It is also possible that there was no stone foundation underneath the W wall lying higher up the slope. During the Middle Ages, the walls may have been founded directly on the ground, using only birch bark as insulator.[10] A foundation like this does not necessarily leave archaeological traces. The roof has most likely been an open gabled roof made out of birch bark and supported with long and heavy wooden poles lying on the birch bark. This has been a typical roof type used in Finland possibly from the Iron Age until at least the 17th to 18th centuries.[11]

Figure 7.2. Building 23 (wall lines marked in green) and building 13 (in yellow). The rooms indicated with numbers. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

[9] E.g. Seppänen 2012: 814–815.

[10] Vuorinen 2009: 43.

[11] Talve 1990: 42–43; Seppänen 2012: 781–787.

The size of the building is approximately 60–65 m^2. Both of the heated rooms are 20 m^2 in size and the unheated entrance passage is 20–25 m^2. The exact sizes of the rooms are difficult to estimate, since the only preserved wall foundations are the E and S wall foundations. The walls between the rooms are not preserved, but their location is inferred by the location of the ovens. They are thought to have been situated in the corners of the rooms, not in the centre, since the ovens are partially built against the outer walls of the building.

The heated rooms have most likely had wooden floors. It is known that wooden floors were used already during the late Iron Age. The earliest signs of wooden floors in Finland are from the Mulli dwelling site in Raisio. The site is dated to the late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, and in the 11th or 12th century, some floors seem to have been constructed straight on the ground, not using any joists or sand layer underneath the floor planks.[12] During the Middle Ages, wood was a common floor material at least in Turku, where the floors are made on a sand layer or joists and insulated with clay or birch bark.[13] In building 23, at least sand layers are used as a floor foundation. Some of the stones in the unheated entrance hall could be interpreted as stones supporting wooden joists, but it is not clear whether they are related to building 23 or to an older building underneath it.

The whole building seems to have been demolished in a fire, since the collapse layer contains a lot of coal, burned clay (see Appendix A), and burned stones, and also some of the finds seem to have been subject to fire. The most severe fire seems to have been in the entrance/porch area where the layers right above the interpreted floor level contained a lot of charcoal. Otherwise the collapsed units were concentrated on the outside of the building and contained most of the finds as well.

The Northern Heated Room (24)

One of the two heated rooms of building 23 is located at the northern end of the building. The room space was not excavated entirely, leaving one or possibly two northernmost metres of the room untouched. The exact size of the room is not known, since the wall foundations are only partially preserved. The size of the room and the untouched area can therefore only be estimated. However, assuming that the building represents a typical two-roomed cottage, both of the heated rooms should be the same size. The size of the southern heated room is estimated to be 4 x 5 metres.

What is left of the room is a part of the E wall foundation, the sand layer below the floor layer, and the foundation of an oven (Fig. 7.3). This oven was located in the south-eastern corner of the room, and it was 2.5 x 2.0 metres in size. The oven was covered by a massive collapse layer that contained a lot of severely burned clay. This indicates that the room and its oven were destroyed in a fire. Under the collapse layers, the preserved foundations of the oven were found in surprisingly good condition. The foundation of the oven was made of stones dug into the ground. The fireplace was surrounded by stones on the northern, eastern, and western sides. In the western part of the oven there was a flat clay layer of 0.7 x 0.7 metres that was interpreted as a stove surface. This flat structure in the oven would have been suitable, for example, for baking bread. Based on the stone structures found around the oven, it seems that the western and southern sides of the oven were open. As an addition joined

[12] Vuorinen 2009: 132–133, 181–185; Seppänen 2012: 682.

[13] Seppänen 2012: 681.

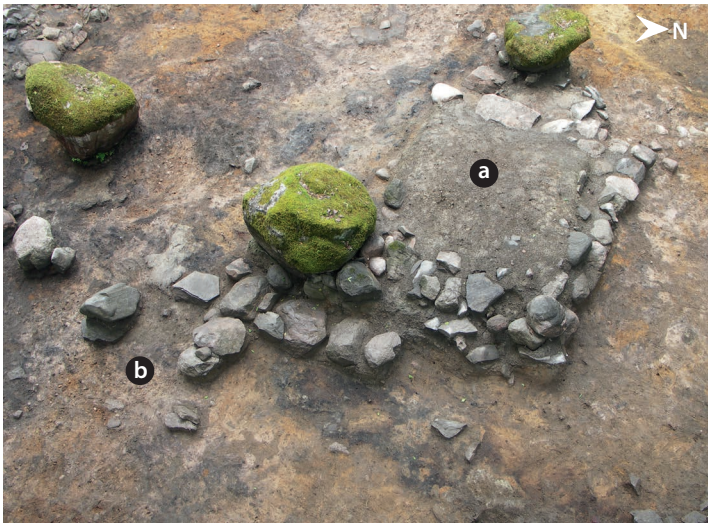

Figure 7.3. The oven (a) of the northern heated room (24). The stove surface is located on the west side of the oven and the room opens to the north. The unheated entrance hall (26) is on the southern side and the two rock piles (b) outside the E wall foundation are the supposed foundation of an entrance. The big stones covered in moss belong to the building 13. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

to the main structure of the oven in the west, there was a square space of 0.5 x 0.5 m, consisting of a flat level of red-burned clay, probably another 'heating space' for preparing food. The southern side could have been built against the S wall of the room, but unfortunately the foundations are completely destroyed. A somewhat messy zone in the sand layers is left from the foundation stones removed from their place. The wall structure was probably demolished at the latest when the big 16th-century drying barn (building 13) was constructed.

The northern room has most likely had a wooden floor, as there were large concentrations of coal on the surface of a mixed sand layer interpreted as a floor foundation. These concentrations seemed to form 'shadows' of floor planks, formed when the building was demolished in a fire. The collapse units contained most of the finds of this room. Among the ordinary finds, such as burned clay, pieces of flint and quartz, iron nails, and horse-shoe nails, more remarkable finds were discovered indicating food preparation and the wealthy resident of the house. The find material[14] consists of grey earthenware, red ware, a bronze mount with floral decorations, pieces of Bohemian glass beakers dating to 1350–1500, an iron key, and an enamelled strap-end made out of bronze.[15] The strap-end is decorated with a coat of arms, showing a lion rampant on blue ground. This decoration is especially interesting, since it is similar to the coat of arms of the Swedish royal House of Bjälbo.

The Unheated Room in the Middle (26)

Between the two heated rooms is an unheated room, which probably functioned as an entrance hall. There is not much left of this room. The only preserved parts are the E wall and most likely a floor layer. The room measures approximately 5 metres from south to north and 4.6 metres from east to west. The size of the room is estimated on the basis of the preserved remains of wall foundations. Under the collapse units of the oven of the northern room was a dark brown layer that consisted of coal, sand, and clay and continued to the south of the oven structure, covering almost the entire entrance hall. This unit is interpreted as the floor layer.

[14] For the find material in building 23 see the Appendices A–G.

[15] Bronze mount KM 39465:6, glass beakers KM 201114:164, KM 2011014:206, iron key KM 2011014:175, enamelled strap-end KM 2011014:1–2.

The preserved remains of the E wall consist of stones approximately 50 cm in diameter. Approximately in the middle of the wall construction, a pair of large flat stones supported by smaller stones was laid on the outer face of the wall. These stones have been interpreted as the foundation, or the remains of the foundation, of an entrance (Fig. 7.3).

A discoloured layer under the collapse layer is interpreted as the remains of the floor. The floor of this room has most likely been earthen, mixed with some clay. Like the other rooms of the building, this room contains indications that the building was demolished in a fire. Especially here the floor layer contains a large amount of charcoal and burned stones, and there is an 'in situ' burned clay layer at the northern end of the room. Maybe the fire begun from the oven just behind the northern wall of this room.

The finds of the middle room consist mainly of iron nails and flint flakes, but there are a few finds that suggest a wealthy house owner. Iron spurs[16] and a piece of a tripod cauldron made of bronze[17] were found in the collapse unit of the wall foundation. The spurs might indicate a nobleman, and a cauldron made out of bronze is not a typical find from a medieval peasant dwelling.

The Southern Heated Room (23)

At the southern end of the building is a heated room (Fig. 7.4). The building has a stone foundation, and the S and E wall foundations are the only preserved structures. The S wall foundation consists of large stones approximately 20 x 50 cm in size. The stones are set in one line that runs in a WNW-ESE direction. This wall foundation has not been fully preserved, or it has never been very massive, since only five stones are left. Some of the smaller stones most likely belonging to the wall foundation were found in the collapse units. It is not clear whether the big stones at the southern end of the cellar belong to the S wall foundation or not. These stones deviate from the line, but they do not seem to be in their original place.

The E wall foundation, however, is much heavier. It connects the three rooms, and at the location of the southern room, it has two rows of stones, approximately 50–70 x 50 cm in size. The second row might have been built to support the main wall foundation, since it is built on the edge of a terrace. Another interpretation for the double stone row is that there might have been an earthen bank to insulate the wall. The E wall runs in a SSW-NNE direction. The walls have collapsed to the outside of the building, and these collapse units contain most of the finds, as was the case in the northern room.

Figure 7.4. In front the southern heated room (23) and to the left the cellar (25) filled with collapse layers. (Photo: Anna-Maria Salonen.)

A problem considering the interpretations of this room is that we have not found the W and N walls. The W

[16] KM 2010058:67.
[17] KM 2010058:52.

wall might have been located in the place of the cellar's E wall. The lack of information about these walls makes it difficult to estimate the size of the room, but it seems to have been more or less 4 x 5 m.

The room space contains layers of yellow sand mixed with pieces of coal. Only the uppermost layer was clean. The sand has most likely been brought from other parts of the hill of Finnsinmäki, since the ridge is naturally sandy. The yellow sand layers are located only inside the room, which indicates that the layers are related to the floor. Since the sand is very clean and there are almost no finds inside the building, it is probable that there has been a tight floor construction on the sand layer. Thus, the sand has functioned as an insulating foundation for a wooden floor, and it has also been an easy way to grade the floor foundation. Similar sand layers have been found, for example, in Turku, where the sand layers have been used as foundations for wooden floors since the 14th century,[18] and also in the medieval church of Espoo, where the sand layer has been used to grade the floor level.[19]

The oven of this room space was completely demolished. It was located in the north-eastern corner of the room. The fireplace was oriented from SSW to NNE, and its borders were not clear. It consisted of small natural and split stones with a diameter of 10–30 cm.

This room contained a lot of interesting finds, such as a candle holder, four knives, three fragments of glass beakers, an amber bead, two fragments of a stoneware jug produced in Siegburg, and 19 fragments of grey earthenware.[20] An interesting feature regarding the finds is that most of them were found outside the building, especially in the south-eastern corner of the building. The greatest amount of finds was from the collapse unit of the walls. Because most of the finds are concentrated in the south-eastern corner of the building, it could be suggested that some kind of dump was located here but not recognised during the excavations in 2010. All the domestic waste, such as shards of ceramics, was found in the layers close to the building but outside the room space. Finds from the inside the room consisted of only two possible mounts, a timber dog, two arrowheads, one table knife, and one knife (Fi. puukko).[21]

The Cellar (25)

On the western side of the southern room, there was a cellar. This cellar is very interesting because it has a foundation made out of stone and there are stone steps leading down to it. This kind of stone structure is very unusual in medieval peasant buildings found in Finland.

The cellar was covered with 60-cm-thick, black, stony, and sticky collapse layers. The stickiness of the layers might indicate a high content of organic material in the soil. This could mean that the cellar might have had a sod roof or the upper wall constructions of the cellar might have been wooden. It is also probable that the walls of the southern room collapsed on the cellar, because there are no collapse units inside the room. The collapse layers

[18] Seppänen 2012: 682.

[19] Hiekkanen 1988: 39.

[20] Candle holder KM 2010058:476, knives KM 2010058:460, 469, 555, KM 2011014:98, glass beakers KM 2010058: 507, 508, KM 39465:69, amber-bead KM 2010058:509, Siegburg jug KM 2010058:485, 486, grey earthenware KM 2010058:489–506, 537.

[21] Mounts KM 39160:178, KM 2010058:536, timber dog KM 39160:182, arrowheads KM 2010058:458, KM 2011014:97, table knife KM 2011014:98, knife KM 2010058:555.

in the cellar contained a massive amount of rocks that could have formed the wall foundations of the building.

Once the stony walls of the cellar were discovered, the interpretation of the structure could be confirmed. The cellar has been dug in the natural sandy soil of the Finnsinmäki ridge. The stones of the wall were put at the bottom of the cellar pit and piled against the cut of the pit. The S wall of the cellar was the only wall construction that was entirely revealed. The N wall and the northern parts of the E and W walls were under the oven construction of the 16th-century drying barn. The remains of the walls consisted of two or three layers of both natural and split stones, which were piled up without mortar. The wall remains were approximately 50–100 cm high (Fig. 7.5).

Figure 7.5. The eastern wall of the cellar. (Photo: Anna-Maria Salonen.)

A light sandy layer bordered the cellar, and on top of the bottom of the cellar pit, several flat stones were laid on the sand. This was interpreted as the youngest period of use of the cellar. The light sandy layer with the flat stones may have acted as the space and foundation on which the shelves or barrels were placed. In the middle of the cellar was a layer of dark discoloured sand. There were no signs of, for example, any wooden, clay, or stone floor, so the sandy layer must have been the original floor level (Fig. 7.6).

Figure 7.6. The floor level of the cellar. The shelves have been located at the sides of the cellar, which is seen in the picture as the area of light sand and stones. The darker area is interpreted to have been the actual floor level. (Photo: Anna-Maria Salonen.)

The darker soil led to the stony stairs leading to the cellar. The stairs were covered with sandy soil, which has most likely formed at the stage when the plot was not in use after the building was deserted. The stairs contained three steps made of flat, split, and natural stones. Smaller stones were put underneath bigger ones to grade the steps. The steps were 60 cm wide, 40 cm deep and 20 cm high. The stairs descend from east to west to the north-eastern corner of the cellar. The stairs themselves were an astonishing find, but they also hinted at the location of the N wall of the cellar. Assuming that the stairs would have been located at the northern end of the cellar, the room would have been 1.5 metres wide and 3 metres long.

The height of the room space is hard to estimate, since the upper wall structures have not been preserved. The stony walls reach approximately 50–100 cm underneath the floor level of the southern heated room, but since the cellar is located outside the building (and thus not underneath the southern heated room), the floor level does not define the height of the cellar.

Figure 7.7. The iron tip of a shovel. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Most likely the cellar was high enough to enable people to stand inside the cellar.

Finds from the Cellar

Not many finds were found in the cellar, but the few items found indicate a wealthy owner, in line with finds from the other rooms of the building. The finds date the cellar to the 14th–15th centuries. Most of the finds came from the collapse units containing massive amounts of burned clay, which has been used to seal the walls of the buildings. The finds include a bronze finger ring, two bronze mounts, two pieces of Bohemian glass beakers dating to the 14th–15th centuries, a shard of a stoneware jug produced in Siegburg, a spokeshave, a piece of grey earthenware, and some iron nails and pieces of flint.[22] From the units from the period of use, there were not so many finds: a piece of an annular buckle, one seashell, and the iron tip of a shovel.[23] (Fig. 7.7) A rare type of find consisted of the shells of freshwater pearl mussels (*Margaritifera margaritifera*), six of which were found in the collapse units and one in the units of the period of use. They are evidence of pearl hunting in the Mankinjoki River, but it has also been suggested that the shells were used to feed chickens.[24]

The Ditch Outside the Building

Along the southern end of the building, there was a 0.8-m-wide ditch, which was 5.5 metres long but continued into the profiles of the excavated area (see Fig. 1). The ditch runs in the WNW–ESE direction and was filled with multiple fill units. The fill layers of the ditch did not contain many finds, only a few pieces of flint. On the bottom of the ditch, there has most likely been a wooden lining. Fragments of it were found at the southern end of the ditch. The ditch continues outside the excavation area at both ends, so its function is not clear. Stratigraphically it is older than building 23 and may therefore be linked to an older house located on the same spot.

It is known that ditches were used to drain the toftlands and plots. The archaeological material of Turku has revealed examples of wooden gutters used to drain the land. Some of these gutters seem to have led inside the buildings.[25]

[22] Ring KM 39465:74, mounts KM 39465:1, 39160:211, Bohemian glass beakers KM 39465:79, 80, stoneware jug KM 39465:91, a spokeshave KM 39465:88, grey earthenware KM 39465:92.

[23] Buckle KM 39465:2, shovel KM 39465:4 (Fig. 7.7).

[24] Valovirta, e-mail 20 March 2014.

[25] Vuorinen 2009: 45.

DWELLING HOUSES, SHOPS AND CONVENTS

The two-roomed cottage found in Mankby is a rare find in its context. Although not many medieval rural hamlets or villages have been excavated in Finland, no other two-roomed cottages that are dated to the 14th to 15th centuries have been found in peasant settlements. The closest equivalents to this building in Finland are found in Turku and in the Franciscan convent on Kökar in the Åland Islands.

Turku

Three medieval two-roomed cottages have been found in Turku. They are all dated to the 15th century. The size of these houses is much like the two-roomed cottage in Mankby. The length varies from 10.2 to 12.8 metres and the width from 4 to 5 metres. These houses also had a wooden floor built on a sand layer and walls built on a stone foundation.[26]

The most different feature in these houses is the small size of the entrance passage compared to the entrance hall in Mankby. The entrance halls in Turku are only 1.5–2.4 metres, whereas in Mankby, the entrance seems to form a room of its own with its dimensions of 4.5 m (width) and 5 m (length). Also in the cottages in Turku, one of the bigger rooms has been interpreted to have functioned as a shop. The shop has not always been heated.

Also the find material is somewhat more concise than at Mankby. The finds of the two-roomed cottages in Turku consist of a small amount of ceramics, some shards of vessel glass, and two silver coins.[27]

The context of these two-roomed cottages is very different from Mankby. Turku was a town already in the beginning of the 14th century,[28] and so the two-roomed cottages have most likely functioned partially as shops.[29] Still, the building type is definitely the same as in Mankby, and thus makes an interesting comparison.

Hamnö, Kökar

In the Late Middle Ages, a small Franciscan convent was founded on Hamnö in Kökar. About 100 m south of the chapel and the entire convent, two two-roomed cottages were excavated in the 1980s and 1990s. In both of these buildings, there has been a heated room at both ends separated from each other by an unheated entrance or porch. The so-called southern house consisted of a genuine two-roomed cottage structure 18 m long and 8 m wide, completed by a store room at one end and a stone cellar at the other end. The so-called south-western house was also a two-roomed cottage with a length of 17 m and a width of 6 m. The find material from these two-roomed cottages consisted of some coins from the late 14th and early 15th centuries, as well as some shards of ceramic and glass vessels.[30]

The settlement site in the immediate vicinity of the Franciscan convent on Hamnö is far from an ordinary rural context, but it shows that two-roomed cottages were known in Finland already during the 14th century. One of the most interesting details in comparing

[26] Seppänen 2012: Liite 1: RA77, RA80, RA159.
[27] Seppänen 2012: 219, 227–228, 325.
[28] See, for example, Seppänen 2012.
[29] Seppänen 2012: 221, 326.
[30] Gustavsson 1995: 20–25.

this site with Mankby is the stone cellar, which in this case was built of masonry. In this case, the stone stairs led into the cellar from outside the building.[31]

Sweden

In Sweden, the two-roomed cottage was a common dwelling building in the countryside during the 17th and 18th centuries. The two-roomed cottage is a one-storey building that consists of three rooms, two of which are heated. The heated rooms were used as dwelling rooms, and they were situated at both ends of an unheated entrance passage. Typical for the two-roomed cottages in Sweden during the 17th century was that one of the heated rooms was used as the main dwelling room and the other functioned as a guesthouse. The fireplace of the main dwelling room was used as the baking oven and was thus bigger than the one in the guesthouse.[32]

It is suggested that the symmetrical building style of the two-roomed cottage derives from the ideologies of the upper-class dwelling house in Sweden during the 17th century. One suggestion for the reason for two dwelling rooms in one cottage is the law passed in Sweden in 1674, according to which every farmer was obliged to have a guesthouse on his farmstead.[33]

However, several remains of older two-roomed cottages dating to the Late Middle Ages have been found in Sweden. In contrast to the 17th- and 18th-century dwellings, the older houses were not occupied by peasants but the lower nobility. In the parish of Film in Uppland, there is a site called Ekenäs, where the foundations of a large two-roomed cottage type are still visible. In this case, there has been a cellar at both ends of the building. The foundations of the walls are much broader than those in Mankby, and here the building has had two floors with a room for a staircase in front of the entrance hall. This timber building was deserted during the Late Middle Ages, when the property was overtaken by an aristocrat called Nils Erengislesson (family of Hammersta). Sigurd Rahmqvist has shown other similar examples of Swedish two-roomed cottages made of timber and often combined with a cellar. In most of these cases, the wall foundations are lighter than those in Ekenäs. They have been timber buildings dating to the 14th and early 15th centuries and consisting of only one floor, like the one in Mankby. Most of them were manor houses of the local lower nobility, but the earliest known example is from the 13th-century royal palace of Alsnöhus in Uppland, where the foundations of a similar structure, although one made of masonry, have been found.[34]

A MANOR HOUSE OF A NOBLE FAMILY?

The type of an excavated building cannot always be determined archaeologically, since all the wall foundations are not always preserved or the excavation area does not cover the whole building. Still, compared to the excavated medieval building material in Finland, the two-roomed cottage seems unique.

31 Gustavsson 1995: 20–25.
32 Beronius Jörpeland 2011: 59.
33 Beronius Jörpeland 2011: 59–60.
34 Rahmqvist 1996: 273–277.

The find material, size, and structure of the two-roomed cottage in Mankby differ from the living standards of ordinary peasants in Finland in the Late Middle Ages. In the 1540s, the farms in Mankby and Esboby were settled by freeholders or free peasants who paid their taxes to the crown. There are no signs of any noble landownership in these two villages. In all of Espoo parish, there was only one noble manor and a couple of tenant farms in the early 16th century. In the 1540s, Espoo was a parish totally dominated by freeholders, but was it always like that?

In the early 16th century or before the Reformation, the nobility owned only 3.1% of the farms in Finland.[35] Even though the number of medieval noblemen was small, it decreased in the Late Middle Ages. For example, in Småland in Sweden, it has been estimated that this decrease was almost 50%.[36] In Finland, dozens of noblemen lost their noble status during the 15th and early 16th centuries. In Varsinais-Suomi, according to the cadastral records from 1540, there were dozens of former noblemen living in their former manors among the freeholders. On the Åland Islands, more than ten noble families lost their noble rights in the late 1530s and 1540s.[37] The cadastral records in the Castle Province of Raseborg differ from those in Varsinais-Suomi and on the Åland Islands, and there is no information on former nobility available. However, on the basis of data from other Finnish provinces and, for example, from Småland in Sweden, it is likely that a similar development took place also in the Castle Province of Raseborg and the province of Uusimaa (Sw. Nyland). What if the two-roomed cottage was a manor house inhabited by a noble family instead of peasants?

As a matter of fact, the last peasant in Mankby, the only one who was allowed to stay in the hamlet even though he was obliged to move his buildings and plot to a more marginal site on the outskirts of the former village, was Vincentius Jacobsson. He was a wealthy peasant and a tradesman who frequently visited Tallinn on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Finland. Vincentius or Fincius was a trusted person in the parish of Espoo, and in 1571, he was one of the two commissioners who made an inventory in the royal demesne of Espoo. He also witnessed the charter by his seal, which was not like a peasant's or merchant's seal, but a seal with a real coat of arms. [38] For a peasant to use this kind of personal seal is extraordinary[39]. The motif of Fincius' coat of arms was a horn similar to that the noble family of Horn. Do we have here a distant relative of the wealthy noble family of Horn, a family who owned several large estates in Finland (Fig. 7.8)?[40]

Figure 7.8. Vincentius (Fincius) Jacobsson's seal 1571. Finnish National Archives. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

35 Orrman 1984.
36 Hansson 2001.
37 Anthoni 1970: 250–271.
38 KA 3331: 51.
39 Ruuth 1891: 327, Taf. 18.
40 Cf. Blomstedt 1918; Suvanto & Mäkelä-Alitalo 2004.

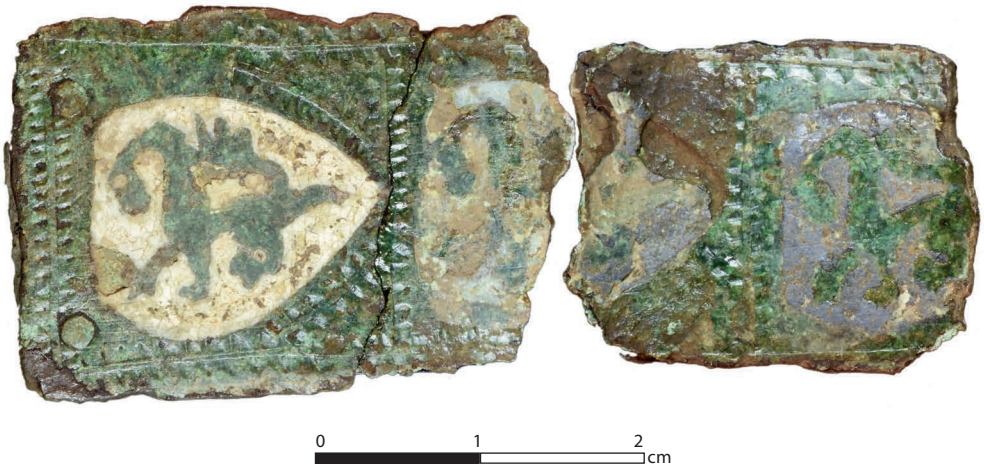

Figure 7.9. An enamelled strap end with three coats of arms depicting a *lion rampant* on blue ground or *Azure a lion rampant Argent*. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Bronze tripods, Rhenish stone ware, and humble Bohemian glass beakers were imported items, which must have been fairly expensive and were certainly exclusive imports that each and every peasant could hardly afford. However, single pieces of such vessels have been found also in other hamlets and villages, even though the number of especially glass beakers is extraordinary high in Mankby.[41] One of the glass finds from the two-roomed cottage is from a beaker decorated with blue glass threads, which makes it different from the ordinary glass of the peasants.

Much more unusual, and in Finland unique indeed, is the enamelled strap end made of bronze (Fig. 7.9).[42] On the basis of the form of the three coats of arms, it can be dated to the 14th century (about 1320–1420).[43] The motif is a *lion rampant* on blue ground or *Azure a lion rampant Argent*[44], which is, in fact, the motif of the coat of arms of the family of Folkunga, also known as the Bjälbo family.[45] This was the royal family of Sweden beginning from 1250 and Valdemar Birgersson, the oldest son of Earl Birger. The last family members on the Swedish throne were Magnus Eriksson (1319–1364) and his son Håkan Magnusson (1362–1364). In 1362, Håkan became a joint king of the Swedish realm, but by then his father had already lost the favour of the aristocracy. In 1364, both Magnus and Håkan were dethroned in Sweden. Håkan was still the king of Norway, and also his father soon found refuge there. However, after the middle of the 1360s, the political power of the family of Folkunga was lost, even though Håkan's widow Margareta, the daughter of the Danish king Valdemar Atterdag, became the queen of Sweden in 1389.

In the late 13th century, King Magnus Birgersson's brother, bishop Bengt, who was the Duke of Finland in 1283–1291, used a coat of arms quite similar to that on the strap end found in Mankby. Even more interesting is the fact that in the next generation, King Birger Magnusson's brother, Valdemar Magnusson, the Duke of Finland, Nyland etc. in 1302–1318,

41 Haggrén & Terävä 2013.

42 KM 2011014:1, 2 (Fig. 7.9).

43 Raneke 1982: 99–100.

44 Leena Tomanterä pers. comm. July 2012; Steven Ashley, e-mail 5 July 2012.

45 Wilhelm Brummer, e-mail 15 August 2012; Petteri Järvi, e-mail 7 July 2012, 22 August 2012.

Figure 7.10. The seal used by King Birger Magnusson's brother Valdemar Magnusson, the Duke of Finland, Nyland etc. between 1307–1317 (Hausen 1900).

had a similar coat of arms.[46] In his ducal title we have the earliest known mention of the province of Uusimaa (Fig. 7.10).

The strap end found in the two-roomed cottage could have had a similar function as the badges worn by the clients and supporters of the royal house of Plantagenet in England[47]. A heraldic pendant with a similar motif have been found from Koroinen close to Turku.[48] A logical interpretation is that the wealthy building housed a noble family who supported the Folkunga family. However, another and less exciting interpretation is that the strap end was only a beautiful dress accessory with no political symbolism.

According to Andreas Koivisto, some finds interpreted as the belongings of a nobleman have also been found in the village of Gubbacka in the neighbouring parish of Helsinge. Perhaps another former noble family lived there?[49] The archaeological records at Mankby and Gubbacka force us to reconsider the existence of the nobility in such rural areas in which there are no traces of noble land ownership in the beginning of the early modern era.

CONCLUSION

A large two-roomed cottage with a cellar dating to the Late Middle Ages was found at the southern end of the village plot of Mankby. The well-preserved foundations of this building offer a valuable addition to our sources related to medieval material culture in rural environments in Finland.

The large dwelling house with its stone cellar, as well as some of the finds, reflect a relatively high standard of material culture. The occupants of the house have obtained items imported from distant countries, but no really exclusive things. In addition to the large dwelling house, their status may be indicated by the enamelled strap end with a coat of arms, possibly that of the royal Swedish family. Do we have here a small manor house settled by a noble family who supported the royal family of Folkunga in the 14th century, but lost its noble status during the Late Middle Ages? If so, the case is hardly unique.

46 Hausen 1900: 1, tab. I.
47 Cf. Powell Siddons 2009.
48 Immonen 2015, 382–383.
49 Koivisto 2012: 286.

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Tarja Knuutinen

8 A SINGLE ROOM COTTAGE FROM THE LATE 15TH AND EARLY 16TH CENTURIES
Building 11

EXPECTATIONS AND EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF BUILDING 11

The site of building 11 was among the first to be excavated in the beginning of the Mankby project in 2007. The site, situated at the eastern end of the village area, had several structures visible on the surface. There were the remains of a house with a large oven and a shallow path or road right next to the northern wall of the house. On the northern side of the road was a small terrace, some 7 x 10 metres in size, which was interpreted as either a yard belonging to the house or the site of an outbuilding. The area on the western side of building 11 was also interpreted as a yard belonging to the house, possibly with a road passing through the village centre, or even a part of some kind of village green.

Before the excavation, there were no clear expectations concerning the date of the structures. The phases of the village site were unknown, except for the fact that it was quickly abandoned around 1556 when the royal demesne of Espoo (Sw. Esbo) was founded.[1] However, since the structures were well visible on the surface, it was anticipated that the house would belong to the later phase of the village site, the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Also the other elements visible on the surface seemed to belong to the same phase (Fig. 8.1).

In the first year of the Mankby project, the plan was to map the village site and make minor test excavations in selected areas. On the site of building 11, a small test trench was opened in order to obtain a cross section of the edge of the small terrace on the northern side of the road, the road itself, and, most importantly, the structures belonging to building 11. During the following years, the excavated area was enlarged so that the

Figure 8.1. The site of building 11 before excavations. (Photo: Tarja Knuutinen.)

[1] See Chapter 5.

Figure 8.2. Building 11 after excavation. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

total excavated surface was some 95 m², covering all of building 11 and the road track on the northern side of the house together with the large area interpreted as a yard of the house and/or village green to the south, west, and north of the house. Only undisturbed structures – the foundation of the oven and parts of the remaining wall foundations – were left intact and unexcavated, to act as landmarks for visitors to the planned archaeological park (Fig. 8.2).

The results of these excavations are presented in this article, which focuses mainly on the structural features, dating, and function of building 11.

A SINGLE ROOM COTTAGE WITH A MASSIVE OVEN

Building 11 is situated on the south-east corner of the village plot. The natural topography of the area slopes gently down towards the east, but the slope has been partly terraced with sandy fills[2]. Also building 11 is situated on a low terrace: the eastern part of the house extends to the eastward-ascending slope, which has been elevated some 0.3 metres to create an even surface for the building. The house itself has been approximately 4.0 x 7.0 metres in size (28 m²), the longer axis running in a SE-NW direction. In the NW corner of the house stood the remains of a massive oven, which was badly damaged by large birches growing in the middle of it. Before excavation, the remains of the oven – an approximately 0.5-metre-high heap of stone and earth – was the only structure visible above the ground. During the excavation, also the remains of stone footings and a possible floor layer were found, but no remains of the upper parts of walls or the ceiling. There were no signs of fire or any other sudden reason for abandoning the house. Considering its late dating, it is probable that the house was dismantled and all the reusable parts moved to a new place when the village was abandoned.[3]

The house has consisted of only one room and thus represents a very typical Finnish house form, a single room cottage, which has been widely used at least from the Early Middle Ages until the late 19th century.[4] Based on the artefacts found in the house, together with a radiocarbon dating of an unburned bone fragment[5] from the oven structure, the house has been in use during a period between the late 15th and early 17th centuries. It is known that the village was abandoned in 1556, so the house belongs to the final stage of the Mankby village.

2 More on the terracing see Chapter 9.

3 See Chapter 5.

4 E.g. Valonen 1984; 1994: 18–20; Vuorinen 2009: 27, 46–47; Seppänen 2012: 813; Laakso 2014: 76 and referred literature.

5 Hela-1566.

Wall foundations

Although parts of the structures related to the house were badly damaged or totally missing, it seems that the foundations of the walls have varied in different parts of the building. At least the W and N wall, together with the western part of the S wall, have had stone foundations (Fig 8.3 a, b, c). The stone footings of both the S and N wall were built on a foundation ditch filled with clay, but the remaining stones of the W wall were placed directly on the moraine. The foundation stones of the W wall were partly missing, perhaps being removed in some later phase after the village was abandoned.

The N wall of the building was situated right next to the road that passes the house from the north. In the west, the foundations were at the same level with the road surface, but the eastern part of the wall, as well as the building's floor surface, were some 0.3 metres higher than the road, which slopes down along the natural topography of the area. The eastern part of the N wall was founded on an approximately 1.0-metre-wide sand bank, on which two rows of small stones were laid. By the NE corner of the oven structure, the wall's foundation layer changed into heavy clay.

Based on the morphological features of the building's N wall, it can be suggested that the wall foundation had a certain structure where the lowest parts of the foundation and wall were covered with an earthen bank (Fi. multiaispenkki), built as insulation against draught from underneath the wall. This kind of structures are well known from ethnographical material in Finland,[6] but less from the archaeological record.[7] Usually the earthen bank covered the bottommost timbers, but in the case of building 11, it seems that the fill was packed between two stone rows, above which the timbers were placed. During the second year of the excavations, a thick stone packing was removed from the wall line. The location and spread of the stones indicate that they have originally been part of the stone footing of the N wall and that at the wall's eastern end, part of the stone footing has been considerably higher than the usual one or two courses. The elevated part of the stone footing has evened out the natural, eastward-sloping topography of the site (Fig. 8.4).

Figure 8.3. Foundation structures related to the walls of the house. a = the western wall, b = the northern wall, c = western part of the southern wall, d = stone setting in the south-east corner of the house, e = possible corner stone in the south-east corner of the house, f = oven. Alternative locations of the wall lines have been marked with different colours. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

6 E.g. Vuorela 1975: 333. Talve 1980: 34; Valonen 1994: 69–70.

7 Pietilä 1997: 129; Vuorinen 2003: 193; 2009: 50, 87; Seppänen 2012: 643–645 and referred literature.

A possible counterpart for the structure in building 11 can be found in the archaeological record of Old Helsinki (Sw. Helsingfors), where a similar wall structure with sandy fill between two distinctive rows of stone footing has been found.[8]

In the north-east corner of the building, there was a large cornerstone, and in the area of the E wall, there was a large amount of small, sporadically scattered stones. There were also sporadic remains of lightly charred wood, possible remains of wooden planks, found in the supposed wall location. However, these cannot safely be interpreted as remains of the E wall. Most probably the charred wood remnants are related to the dismantling of the house. In the south-east corner, there were also two possible stone structures that could be related to the corner of the E and S walls. One of these was a small rounded stone structure – possibly a destroyed post-hole – and the other a large natural stone (Fig 8.3 d, e).

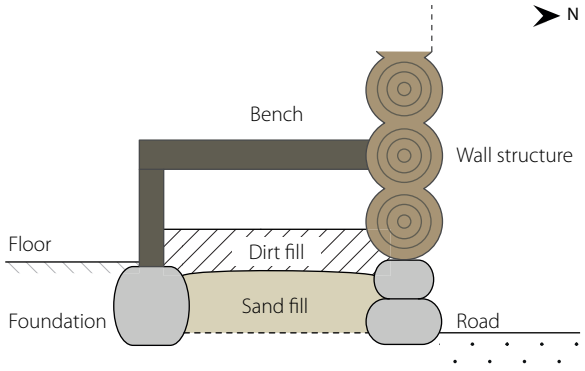

Figure 8.4. Reconstruction and cross-section of the structure of the northern wall. (Drawing: Tarja Knuutinen and Maija Holappa.)

Even though the western part of the S wall was well preserved, the wall's exact location is not clear. The remaining part of the wall foundation consisted of tightly packed small stones that were laid on the heavy clay filling of a foundation ditch, but the rest of the foundation was missing. The direction of the preserved wall foundation fits well with the rounded stone structure in the south-east corner of the house, but also with the possible corner stone in the south-east corner of the house. Altogether, the location of the E and S walls cannot be easily deciphered with the help of the remaining structures. As presented in figure 8.3, there are at least two possible orientations for the house, and these may represent two separate building phases of the same building.

Based on the varying foundation structures, it seems that the house might also have had two different kinds of wall structures. At least the W and N walls, together with part of the S wall, have most likely been corner joint timber structures on a stone footing. More problematic are the eastern and south-eastern walls, where no signs of any kind of foundation were found. Also here, the walls could have been of corner joint timber, but lain directly on the ground. This kind of timber walls are known both in archaeological and ethnographical material up until the 20th century.[9]

The oven

The large oven structure was situated in the north-west corner of the house, the mouth of the oven opening towards the E wall (Fig. 8.3 f). The total dimensions of the rectangular oven were approximately 3.0 x 2.5 metres, the east-west axis being longer. The upper parts of the oven were badly destroyed by large trees growing through the structure, and the shape of the oven's upper part is difficult to decipher.

[8] Heikkinen 1994: 227.

[9] Vuorinen 2003: 190–191; 2009: 35, 48; Seppänen 2012: 629.

Underneath layers of stone, burned clay, and shattered bricks belonging to the destroyed upper part of the oven, an approximately 0.3-metre-high wall made of stones, bricks, and clay mortar was found. The location of the structure indicates that it has been part of the back wall of the firebox. Based on the remains of the oven's upper structure and the lack of lime mortar, it has consisted both of stones and bricks plastered with clay mortar. The remaining bricks were situated in an area where the upper structure of the firebox would have collapsed. A few larger, almost fully intact bricks were also found in the layers on the backside of the oven. The relatively small amount of bricks indicates that they were used only as an additional material along with stones, or that the valuable material was dismantled and collected for reuse when the building was abandoned. The use of bricks as building material for ovens is known in Turku *(*Sw. Åbo*)* already in the 14th century, and a contemporary counterpart for the oven can be found at the village site of Gubbacka in Vantaa (Sw. Vanda*).*[10]

In front of the supposed place for the oven's firebox there has probably been a stove surface, on which embers could be drawn for cooking. The front part of the oven was founded on flagstones and larger cornerstones laid on a heavy clay bed. In the middle of the oven's front was a stoneless area framed by the flagstones. The area was approximately 1.0 x 1.0 metres in size and covered with a layer of burned clay, underneath which the bottom structure made of fist-sized stones and sand was revealed. At the front edge of the structure, also a small amount of lime mortar was found. Despite the fact that the use of lime mortar for plastering oven foundations is known in the archaeological material from Turku and the Gubbacka village plot in Vantaa,[11] the total amount of mortar found in the oven was so small that it is impossible to say whether it was used for this purpose also in building 11.

The front structure was only slightly elevated and was situated some 0.2 metres above the floor level. Based on the location of the structure, together with the very small amount of soot and coal deposited in it, it is unlikely that it was related to the actual firebox. According to ethnographical material, elevated, clay-plated stove surfaces are common features in Finnish rustic ovens.[12] There is also archaeological evidence of such structures from medieval buildings.[13] The stove surfaces were usually built on timber frames surrounding the front and sides of the oven. However, also structures made of stone are known.[14]

The foundation of the oven was attached to the north-west corner of the building. The foundation stones were laid on a thick layer of clay that extended also underneath the wall foundations in the north-west corner. There were no remains of a wooden frame underneath or around the oven's foundation. The collapsed layers of the oven walls, as well as the building's wall foundations, were covered with thick clayey layers, which show that clay was used not only in the foundations, but also for plastering the western and northern sides of the oven. The excavated layers consisted of both burned and unburned clay, indicating that the clay covered the outer parts of the oven walls and the fire heated only the parts tucked between the stones.[15] It is possible that burned clay has also been used as a temper to make

[10] Ratilainen 2010; Tevali 2010: 81; Seppänen 2012: 715–716, 719.

[11] Tevali 2010: 77; Seppänen 2012: 715.

[12] E.g. Valonen 1994: 19.

[13] Tevali 2010: 69, 79; Seppänen 2012: 715; Laakso 2014: 75 and referred literature.

[14] E.g. Kolehmainen 1996: 73.

[15] Vuorinen 2009: 118; see also Mikkanen 2015: 50.

the clay plastering fireproof.[16] Based on the amount of burned clay (see Appendix A) together with layers of unburned clay covering both the oven structure and the wall foundations in the north-western corner of the building, it is likely that clay has been used to isolate the wall timbers from the heat produced by the oven. The use of clay as an isolation material between oven and wall structures is known at least from the medieval village of Gubbacka in Vantaa.[17]

The Floor(s)

In building 11, only one definite floor layer was found. The adobe-type floor was made of tightly packed sandy clay that covered almost the whole inner area of the building except for the narrow passage between the oven and the southern wall. During the second year of excavation, a stone packing covering the area in front of the oven was removed. The location and form of this stone packing suggest two possible interpretations: a secondary stone pavement in front of the oven and in the northern part of the house or a deliberately demolished and levelled stone structure. The stones could be related either to a stone pavement in front of the oven or the bottom structure of a wooden floor. The distinctive structure used in the N wall indicates that the building has had a wooden floor at least at some point. The earthen embankment (Fi. multiaispenkki) has been used to stop the draught especially on floor structures where the floor planks were elevated from the ground with bottom structures made of wood or stone.[18]

INTERPRETATIONS ON THE FUNCTION AND INTERIOR OF THE BUILDING

Liisa Seppänen has analysed the arguments commonly used in interpreting the function of a house on the basis of the archaeological record. According to her analysis of the medieval buildings excavated in Turku, the commonly used attributes, such as the existence of a fireplace, the size of the building, or the materials and methods used in flooring or walls, cannot be generically used as definitions for certain building types or functions. The function of the buildings might have altered during their lifespan and materials might have been reused after destruction or dismantling of the building.[19]

Even though the same problems are present also in rural contexts, interpreting the function of a certain building is perhaps somewhat easier at rural sites than in urban contexts where the rate of stratification and reuse of the buildings have been more pronounced. In the case of building 11, the interpretation of the function seems evident, mostly because the building has been excavated wholly and the remaining structures were distinct. Also the lifespan of the building has been limited and there has been only one, possibly two construction phases. The massive oven equipped with a stove surface has been suitable for baking and cooking, and together with artefact finds, it suggests that the building has been used as a dwelling.

[16] Kolehmainen 1981: 21. Also clay tempered with organic material has been used in oven structures, see Laakso 2014: 75.

[17] Tevali 2010: 73, 75.

[18] Valonen 1994: 69–70.

[19] Seppänen 2012: 810–813.

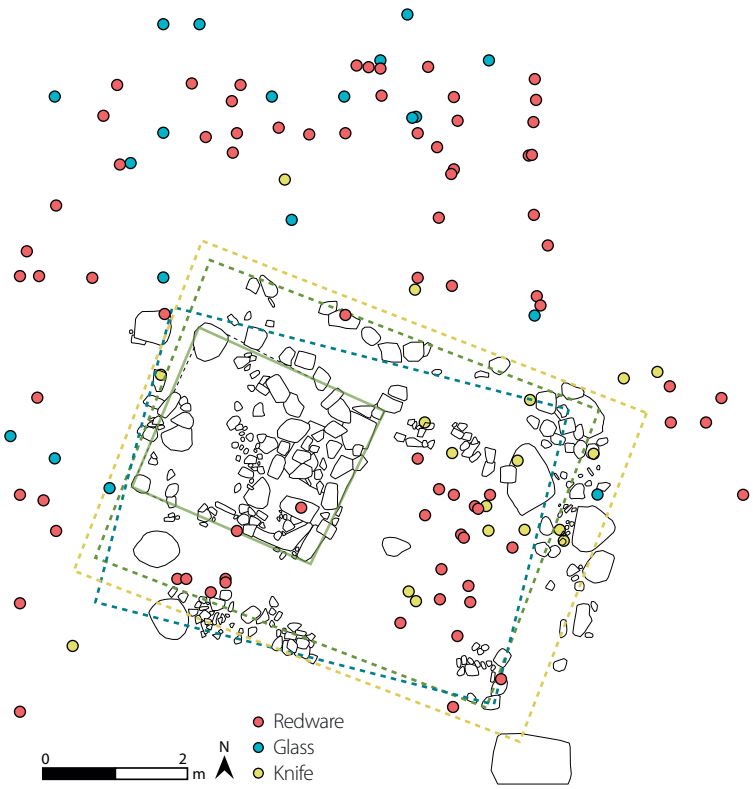

Figure 8.5. The distribution of the redware pottery, knives, and window glass in and around building 11. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

Figuring out the house's interior is more difficult, since, except for the wall foundations and the lowest part of the oven, there were few archaeological features related to the house's structural details. Also the total number of artefacts found inside the building was very low compared to the number of artefacts found outside the building. It is interesting to note that there were no artefacts found on the clay floor surface, but all the finds were deposited in the contexts above it. This can be interpreted as a further argument for the presence of a secondary wooden floor.

The most important artefact groups were redware pottery and nails. The redware fragments were found in two distinctive areas: the southern side of the oven and the area covering the middle part of the floor surface (Fig. 8.5). Approximately half of the fragments could be identified as pieces of a heating vessel or tripod pot.[20] In Finnish ethnographic studies, ovens with low-lying stove surfaces have been connected with the western cooking tradition, where food was cooked on a stove instead of being stewed in the oven as in the eastern cooking tradition.[21] Together with the burned and unburned bone[22] found from the front of the oven and above the hearth surface, the fragments of tripod pots indicate that food preparation took place in the building.

The concentration of redware fragments in the SW corner of the building, in the area of the narrow passage between the oven and southern wall of the building, is interesting especially when compared to the absence of finds on the clay floor surface in the area. It is known from ethnographic material that fixed bench structures or platforms were built next to the oven and used for working and sleeping.[23] Based on the lack of clay flooring, the small space in the SW corner of the building was used for some other purpose than the rest of the interior, and it is possible that there has been some kind of platform or surface related to working, cooking, or storing next to the oven also in building 11.

[20] On redware found at the site, see Chapter 10.

[21] Vuorela 1975: 318; Talve 1980: 37; Valonen 1984: 155; 1994: 19; On archaeological evidence of the eastern oven tradition, see Korkeakoski-Väisänen 2000; 2002; Laakso 2014: 75.

[22] See Chapter 11, Figs. 11.2, 11.3.

[23] Talve 1980: 41; Kolehmainen 1981: 86; Valonen 1994: 19.

Figure 8.6. An exceptionally large and decorated table knife found in a context related to the N wall of building 11. The knife's shaft is equipped with engraved plates made of bone together with bronze rivets and fittings. When found, the knife was in several pieces that were connected during conservation. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

One of the most interesting groups of artefacts were the knives, including seven table knives, one knife (Fi. puukko), and four blade fragments found in contexts inside the house. In addition, three table knives and two knives were found in contexts outside the house.[24] Nine of the knives and blade fragments were found in the vicinity of the northern wall and two in the middle of the floor area (Fig. 8.5). The structure of the northern wall foundation indicates that there has been a fixed bench running along the wall and covering the earthen embankment used as an insulation layer (see Fig. 8.4). This could explain the amount of table knives in the area. The fixed benches were used as seats for working and eating, but also as sleeping places.[25]

However, it could be suggested that some of the knives were purposely placed underneath the wall structure as a ritual deposits.[26] The borders of the house were considered as the most vulnerable places against threats from the outside and sharp metallic objects as powerful protection against evil.[27] In this case, the vicinity of the road passing the northern wall could explain the deposition of knives underneath the northern wall. Especially one exceptionally elaborate knife[28] (Fig. 8.6.) found in the filling of the northern wall structure, near the NE corner of the oven, could be deliberately deposited. The knife is exceptional among knives found at Mankby because of its size and rich decorative features.[29]

Table knives have been interpreted as luxury items in Finnish medieval rural contexts, but as Haggrén and others[30] have shown, the interpretation is problematic. The knives could also indicate their owner's activities in trade, as well as the opportunity and desire to demonstrate social status.[31] The same applies to another artefact group found in building 11, namely the window glass.

A small amount of window glass was found around the building, with the majority of the shards located some metres away from the building. Some of the shards have grozed edges, so they could date earlier than the 17th century.[32] From the 14th and 15th centuries,

24 On Mankby's knives see Haggrén et al. 2011; Chapter 10.
25 E.g. Vuorela 1975: 304, 333; Talve 1980: 41; Valonen 1994: 69–70.
26 Hukantaival 2007: 70–71, see also Chapter 10.
27 Hukantaival 2007: 70 and referred literature.
28 KM 2009032:1, 2 (Fig. 8.6).
29 See also Haggrén et al. 2011: 15.
30 Haggrén et al. 2011: 17–20.
31 Ibid.
32 Haggren 1994: 285; see also Chapter 10.

windows are known mainly from churches, but also from profane buildings such as manors, castles, and townhouses, and from the 16th century onwards also from rural sites.[33] According to Haggrén, glass windows were fairly common, for example, in Old Helsingfors in the early 17th century at the latest.[34] Liisa Seppänen has suggested that in the first phase, the small glass windows had not so much a functional value as a symbolic value, as they signified the owner's wealth. As the availability of glass increased and the price fell, windows gradually became more widely used. In Turku this would have taken place during the 17th century.[35]

The shards of window glass found in medieval buildings have been interpreted as the signs of a declining smoke cottage tradition and the appearance of ovens equipped with chimneys.[36] According to Seppänen, the appearance of ovens equipped with chimneys took place in Turku during the 16th and 17th centuries at the latest.[37] In Old Helsingfors, chimneys were built from the beginning of the town's history in the mid-16th century, since they were deemed mandatory in all buildings.[38] Based on the remaining oven structure, it is impossible to say whether building 11 actually had a chimney, but the date seems very early for that.

The location of windows cannot be easily concluded based on the structural features of the house or by the spread of the glass (Figs. 8.3 and 8.5). All but two of the shards were found at the western to north-western side of the house, where no windows could have been located because of the oven structure. Instead, the structural features of the building give some clue to the location of the door. Based on ethnographic material, the spatial organisation of a single room cottage remained relatively stable during centuries. The oven was commonly located in the corner of the same wall as the door, but especially in buildings with a cold porch, the oven could have been built on the opposite wall.[39]

In the case of building 11, the oven could not have been situated next to the door. There is only a narrow passage between the southern wall and the oven, and the space must have been too small for a door opening on the W wall (Fig. 8.3). In addition, the structure of the northern wall, together with the height difference between the road surface and the wall foundations, indicates that the door opening has not been located on the northern wall, either. Based on this, the door must have been located on the eastern or southern wall.

The door opening was probably elevated so that there were two or three timber courses underneath the doorway to stop the draught. There is no clear evidence of any kind of porch structure or doorsteps outside the building's walls. However, the missing part of the stone footing in both the S and E walls could indicate the location of the doorway. It is also interesting to note that there are very clear concentrations of artefacts, mostly nails, but especially next to the S wall also pieces of redware, around both of the gaps. Considering the topographical conditions of the site, the southern side of the house seems a more probable place for the door than the sloping and stony eastern side. However, based on the relatively scarce archaeological material gathered from Finland, it has been suggested that in single

33 Haggrén 2000: 85–86; Koivisto 2010: 104–105; Seppänen 2012: 771–781; see also Chapter 10.

34 Haggrén 1994: 283, 285; 2000: 86.

35 Seppänen 2012: 780–781.

36 Seppänen 2012: 704–705; see also Mikkanen 2015: 46.

37 Seppänen 2012: 723–724.

38 Heinämies 1989: 80; Heikkinen 1994: 231–232; Seppänen 2012: 724. See also Mikkanen 2015: 48.

39 Talve 1980: 36–37, 41; Seppänen 2012: 721–722 and referred literature; see also Mikkanen 2015: 43.

room buildings, the door opening would have been located in the middle of the gable.[40] In this case, the door opening would have been located on the E wall of building 11.

THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE BUILDING

The location of building 11 is interesting in terms of the spatial and temporal development of the village plot. The house has been built in the south-eastern corner of the plot, in a place where a road from the east leads to the village. From the south-western side of the house, another road heading south begins, so the house has actually been located at the crossroads. There are no signs of earlier buildings on the site, but other structures and features related to previous use of the area were found.[41] They show that there have been at least two phases of activity in the area before building 11 was built.

From the south-west corner of the house, partly underneath the wall foundation, a grave-like feature was excavated during 2008 and 2009. The rectangular pit was approximately 1.5 x 0.7 metres in size and placed in a SW-NE direction. The remains of a cow's skull were found in the filling of the pit, but there were no signs of inhumation. At the eastern end of the pit, there was a stone setting consisting of one larger and three smaller stones. Later on, two similar features were found on the north-western side of the first one.[42] Grains of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) found in the first pit were dated to the 13th century, so the feature is considerably older than the house and belongs to phase 2 or 3 of the village plot.[43] Therefore it cannot be interpreted as a ritual deposit related to the building.[44]

At the northern side of the house and the road, underneath the layers related to the yard and road, a small field was revealed together with two or three ditches. The field dates to the same phase as the grave-like features. According to the radiocarbon dated grains of barley and rye, the system has been cultivated from the late 13th to the mid-14th century, during phases 2 and 3.[45] Also a hearth found west of the building was dated to the same period.[46]

Another hearth and cultural layer found on the western side of the house were dated to the 15th century and thus represent phase 4 of the village. Besides the hearth, there were no clear structures belonging to this phase, but the cultural layers indicate intensive use of the area. After this, the area has been terraced with sand. Later on, three post-holes have been dug through the sandy fill. There are no absolute datings for the terracing or the post-holes, but stratigraphic conditions put them in the same phase[47] with the construction and use of building 11. It is possible that the post-holes are the remains of a light outbuilding related to building 11.

On the northern side of the building 11 was located a badly damaged stone setting, which was founded on a similar clay bed as that used in the wall foundations and the oven struc-

40 E.g. Seppänen 2012: 752.

41 See Chapter 9, Fig. 9.1.

42 See Chapter 5.

43 On the phases of the village plot, see Chapter 5.

44 Buried animals interpreted as intentional deposits related to buildings have been found, for example, from Raisio Mulli and Turku. Vuorinen 2003: 193; 2009: 85, 153; Hukantaival 2007: 66–67.

45 Chapter 5.

46 See Chapter 9.

47 Phase 5 of the village plot, see Chapter 5.

ture of building 11. Together with the northern wall of building 11, the structure formed a narrow passage for the road. A bone fragment from the foundation was dated to the period 1490–1603 cal. AD,[48] the dating being almost identical to the one from the oven in building 11. It is interesting to note that from the contexts related to the stone setting, three fragments of a redware pot were found, including one fragment of a handle. Moreover, on the eastern side of the stone setting, there was a small and shallow waste pit from which a large amount of bone fragments and fish scales was collected. Together these finds indicate that the stone setting was some kind of a fireplace used for preparing food. Since there were no wall-like structures around the setting, it would have been an outdoor hearth or oven.

The dating of the road passing between the house's northern wall and the outdoor fireplace is problematic. The road consisted of several thin, sandy layers representing the road surface at different times. Stratigraphic analysis of the road layers is only of limited help, since the layers were somewhat mixed, as indicated by a large amount of prehistoric ceramics found in the topmost layers and a coin from the early 16th century found in the bottommost part of the road layers.[49]

However, stratigraphic conditions date the road as younger than the 13th-to-14th-century field system to its north, since one of the drainage ditches coming from the field was located underneath the bottom layer of the road. Based on this, the road would date to phase 4 or 5 of the village plot.[50]

SIMPLE BUILDING FOR SIMPLE LIVING?

An example of a late medieval building at a rural site

Building 11 offers us a glimpse of the residential arrangements at a late medieval and early modern rural settlement. The relatively small and modest building dated to the late 15th to mid-16th century represents the last phase before the abandonment of the village in 1556. It differs considerably from the larger and more elaborate building 23, a two-roomed cottage excavated on the western side of the village plot and dated to the 14th and 15th centuries.[51] Building 11 was placed in an area where the village fields and activities related to them were located earlier. After the end of cultivation, the area was reworked and the terracing enhanced to be more suitable for building and living. In this sense, the building represents possible expansion and change in the spatial organisation of the village that took place during the 15th century.

The excavated structural features place the building in the continuum of an architectonic tradition that had lasted hundreds of years since the late Iron Age and early medieval times. However, certain features better known from urban and high-ranking medieval sites in Finland show that during the 15th and 16th centuries, the ways of building changed on rural sites. Architectonic and decorative ideals were adopted by peasants from vicarages,

[48] Hela-2001.

[49] The coin (KM 2008044:3) was originally identified as an aurto of Erik of Pomerania, minted between 1395 and 1436, but later reidentified as an imitation minted by Gustaf Vasa in the mid-1530s. Personal statement (e-mail) from Frida Ehrnsten, 4 November 2015.

[50] See Chapter 5.

[51] See Chapter 5.

manors, castles, and towns. Artefacts such as table knives and glass windows show that the same happened with other material culture.

The use of bricks in oven structures is known from the town of Turku already in the 14th century. In peasant architecture, the use of stones as building material persisted up until the 18th and 19th centuries. As the oven structure of building 11 shows, bricks were used alongside stone already in the 15th century at Mankby. The relatively low amount of whole and shattered bricks found from the oven structure indicates that they were used as an additional material and only in the upper part of the oven structure. On the other hand, the found material most likely represents only a part of the total amount used in the oven, for most of the intact bricks were probably collected for reuse when the building was dismantled.

The dismantling of the building makes it difficult to decipher how the interior of the house was organised. The structure of the northern wall and the artefacts found suggest that at least that wall was equipped with a fixed bench used as a place for eating and sleeping. Based on the structure of the northern wall, there was also an elevated wooden floor secondary to the excavated adobe-type floor.

Found shards of glass windows suggest that at least part of the building's windows were equipped with glass. Whether the glass windows were connected with another novelty, an oven equipped with a chimney, is impossible to say because of the poor preservation of the oven structure. Another important artefact group related to the use of the oven is redware pottery. Fragments originating from tripod pots can be related to ethnographic information on the use of ovens equipped with stove surfaces. Fragments of redware pots were also found outside the building, in contexts related to a possible outdoor hearth or oven, which indicates that food was prepared outside the house at least occasionally.

CONCLUSIONS

This article focuses on the analysis of the structural features, dating, and function of a small single room cottage located in the medieval village of Mankby. Based on the radiocarbon datings and artefacts found in contexts inside the building, it has been in use from the late 15th century until the abandonment of the village in 1556. The age of the building, together with its location in relation to the contemporary and earlier activities of the village plot, show that the building represents expansion and reorganisation of the village's spatial structure.

Based on structural analysis and artefacts, building 11 represents an interesting mixture of traditional and novel characteristics. The small and modest building together with an outdoor hearth represents a tradition several centuries long, but the artefacts show that the inhabitants of the house were wealthy enough to purchase window glass and fine table knives, artefacts traditionally interpreted more as luxury items in a rural context of the 15th and 16th centuries. In this sense, building 11 can be seen as a representative of the wider change that took place in society during the turn of medieval and modern times, reflected also in the material culture.

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9 ANCIENT FIELDS IN THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE OF MANKBY IN ESPOO

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture formed the basis of the economy in medieval Finland. Traces of agriculture and cultivation were revealed from the medieval village of Mankby during the excavations between 2007 and 2013.[1] Several cultivation layers and ancient field plots dated to the 13th century were found. The research of ancient fields in Mankby has increased our knowledge of cultivation in Finland in early medieval times.

Ancient fields are known from several sites in Finland, but dating them can be challenging, as they have been used either for centuries or during different time periods. The most thoroughly investigated medieval fields have been found in Turku (Sw. Åbo) near the cathedral,[2] Valkeakoski Rapola,[3] and Gunnarsängen in Hanko (Sw. Hangö).[4] Fields dated to the Iron Age have been studied in Mikkeli Orijärvi.[5]

The aim of this paper is to present the ancient fields of the medieval deserted village of Mankby, as well as to analyse and interpret collected archaeobotanical data from the fields. Archaeobotanical samples were collected during the excavations. Carbonised grains and seeds represent harvested cereal crops and their associated weeds. Despite the fact that the amount of archaeobotanical remains is rather small, the results based on the data can be used to draw conclusions about the economy of the medieval village of Mankby. The results of this study are discussed and compared with other contemporaneous fossil fields and the archaeobotanical material found in medieval fields in Finland.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE SITE

The vegetation and settlement history of southern Finland has been recorded from six continuous sediment cores from small lakes.[6] According to the pollen data, forest clearing, associated with sporadic, small-scale cultivation, is visible from the Early Iron Age (500 BC) onwards. Open cultural landscapes with permanent settlements, cultivated fields, and pastures

1 See Chapter 5.
2 Pihlman 2010.
3 Vikkula et al. 1994.
4 Jansson et al. 2010.
5 Mikkola 2010.
6 Alenius 2011; Alenius et al. 2014.

gradually became visible in the latter part of the Viking Age, between AD 940 and 1100.[7] Pollen analysis from Lake Hannusjärvi in Espoo shows agrarian expansion from AD 1000.[8]

Environmental and geological factors in Espoo are very favourable for cultivation. One important factor is the climate, which in this region is characterised as a maritime and continental climate, where summers are long and sunny, but slightly cooled by the sea, and winters are cold and dry.[9] Another important factor is the fact that medieval fields in Mankby are situated on loamy silt soils,[10] which are known to be the most fertile soils for cultivation.[11] It is therefore not surprising that the Mankby area has been under intensive use since the 13th century, and as can be seen in the historical maps from 1779 and 1832,[12] the neighbouring areas of the village were cultivated then, as they are even today.

FOSSIL FIELDS IN FINLAND

Fossil fields are not very common phenomena in Finland. To date, approximately 15 sites with fossil fields have been revealed in archaeological excavations. Asplund has gathered information on fossil fields or plough marks in Finland, and he states that these remains are difficult to date, but most of them are from the Late Iron Age (AD 800–1150/1300).[13]

Medieval fossil fields are even fewer in number, but one is known from Gunnarsängen in Hanko[14] and one from Finno in Espoo (Sw. Esbo)[15]. The fields of Gunnarsängen, Finno, and Mankby all represent cultivation in permanent fields in small villages in southern Finland within the early medieval period, approximately AD 1200–1300. Several fossil fields are also known from the medieval town of Turku, where their dating also falls within AD 1200–1300.[16] Signs of fossil fields have been reported from the medieval town of Rauma,[17] namely from the Kalatori area (Fish Market), Kauppatori area (Market Square), and Kuninkaankatu (King Street). According to the radiocarbon dating,[18] the fossil field in Kalatori dates from the 14th century. The datings of the fields in Kauppatori and Kuninkaankatu are uncertain, but most probably they belong to the period AD 1300–1400. The deserted orthodox village in Papinniemi Uukuniemi has revealed field clearing cairns, which can be related to cultivation dated to AD 1600–1700.[19] However, cultivation in Uukuniemi has a longer tradition, according to the cereal grains[20] that were radiocarbon dated and gave a result that falls into AD 1400.[21] Mikkeli Orijärvi also has to be mentioned here, as it is the largest and most

7 Alenius 2014: 101.
8 Alenius 2011: 107, 112–113.
9 Kalliola 1973: 67.
10 Map of Quaternary Deposits in Espoo: http://kartat.espoo.fi/IMS/en/Map
11 Kalliola 1973: 69, 77.
12 See Chapter 5, Figs. 5.7 and 5.8.
13 Asplund 2008.
14 Jansson et al. 2010.
15 Haggrén et al. 2006.
16 Pihlman 2010: 16.
17 Hiekkanen 1983: 47; Koivisto et al. 2012: 7.
18 Oinonen 2010.
19 Laakso 2014: 91.
20 Lempiäinen, M. 2008.
21 Laakso 2014: 86.

thoroughly studied Iron Age field system in Finland so far.[22] Orijärvi represents the eastern Finnish tradition of slash and burn, in addition to permanent field cultivation, and the use period of the five different fields is rather long, from AD 600 to 1200.[23]

Typically fossil fields are recognised by the presence of dark, crossing plough marks on light mineral sand. The size of the fields at the above-mentioned sites of Gunnarsängen, Finno, and Mankby are not comparable, because Gunnarsängen is the only site where the field was totally excavated. The excavated surface of the field is approximately 113 m^2 in Mankby, 35 m^2 in Finno,[24] and 150 m^2 in Gunnarsängen[25]. At Mankby and Gunnarsängen, the fields are partly bordered by ditches, and furthermore, at Gunnarsängen, bedrock composed a natural border of the field.[26]

From the Late Iron Age onwards, it seems that fields were designed: stones were removed from the planned field area and some boundaries like ditches and stone fences were established.[27] This was done in order to utilise the cleared area for a longer time than earlier. However, the field was not under cultivation all the time, but was left fallow according to the method of the two-field system. One important feature of the fields consisted of ditches, which have an effect on productivity especially in damp soils and fields on low lands. Ditches had an important role in reducing the dampness and the risk of frost on the fields, but in spite of this, it has been noted in historical sources that the use of ditches was not appropriate even in the 18th century.[28] At least at Mankby, as well as at Orijärvi, there were several shallow ditches connected to the fields.[29]

THE MEDIEVAL FIELDS IN MANKBY

During the excavations, a homogenous, compact, and moist layer of clayish brown sand with remains of organic material was revealed. At first, the identification of the layer was unsure, and only when yellow sandy soil with distinctive, crossing plough marks was found below it, this layer could be interpreted as a cultivation layer. Similar layers were identified in four adjacent trenches, and altogether 113 m^2 of the field were studied.

The cultivation layer was approximately 5–25 cm thick and located 10–30 cm below the modern surface. Despite the thin layers, at least two separate phases of cultivation and possibly three field plots could be identified, separated by ditches belonging to a drainage system. Only the southern limit of the field could be determined, as the field layers extended beyond the excavated areas in the west, north, and east (Fig. 9.1).

The field is located on the eastern limit of the village, on top of a low terrace formation still visible on the ground. The yellow sandy soil found under the field formed a mattress-like layer clearly visible on the baulk. Below it, a leached horizon (horizon A) was discovered, testifying to an earlier ground level in the area. The limits of the fill were found in the west-

22 Mikkola 2010: 27–28; Vanhanen 2012: 55.
23 Alenius et al. 2008.
24 Haggrén et al. 2006.
25 Jansson et al. 2010: 75, 84.
26 Haggrén et al. 2010; Jansson et al. 2010.
27 Welinder et al. 1999: 277–278.
28 Soininen 1974: 113.
29 Mikkola 2010: 26; see Chapter 5.

Figure 9.1. Plan of the excavated areas, structures and the cultivation layers in Mankby, and the distribution of barley and rye. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

ern and southern part of the excavated area, and its depth increased towards the north and east up to a thickness of 30 cm. The leached horizon and the morphological features of the sand indicate that the sloping terrain was artificially modelled in order to create a levelled field terrace.[30]

From the field system, altogether four radiocarbon datings have been made, including charred grains of both rye (*Secale cereale*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) from the two identified cultivation layers, together with one grain of rye from the fill of a ditch crossing the field area (Table 9.1 and Fig. 9.2). One of the datings gave a very early start for the cultivation,

[30] For terracing in Mankby, see Haggrén et al. 2010; for other medieval sites, see Heinonen 2011.

No	Context	BP	cal. AD, OxCal 95.4% probability (Reimer & al. 2013)	Sample	ID No.	Note
1	Field layer	687 (24)	AD 1270–1308 (71.4%), 1361–1386 (24.0%)	*Hordeum vulgare*	Hela-2610	
2	Field layer	723 (24)	AD 1256–1298 (95.4%)	*Secale cereale*	Hela-2611	
3	Field layer	1011 (33)	AD 970–1053 (95.4%)	*Secale cereale*	Hela-2612	High ^{13}C content
4	Fill of a ditch	565 (30)	AD 1306–1364 (54.2%), AD 1384–1426 (41.2%)	*Secale cereale*	Poz-70138	

Table 9.1. Radiocarbon datings from the field layers.

but proved to be unreliable because of a high 13C content and is therefore not used.[31] Two other samples from the field layer date the cultivation period of the system between the mid-13th century and the early 14th century.[32] A sample from the ditch fill supports this, for it dates the ditch fill to the beginning and middle of the 14th century.[33] This indicates that the field system fell out of use during the first half of the 14th century, after which the drainage ditches were no longer maintained and they filled up with soil.[34]

After the field was abandoned, altogether three houses were built on the former field area, buildings 9 and 22 in the northern part and building 11 in the south-eastern corner.[35] A later pit cellar cut the south-western corner of the field, and the southern edge was further levelled with a sand layer. In the central part, where the field layers were thickest, the surface was dried or hardened by embedding smaller stones into the field layers. Across the central part towards the south, several later post-holes cut the field layers. Some of them may belong to a lightweight outbuilding connected with building 11 and others to a fence separating two house yards.

Find material recovered from the cultivation layers consists mainly of pottery, iron nails, burned clay, and animal bone. The assemblage reflects the disturbance caused by tillage and later occupational activities, as the material consists of both prehistoric and medieval material. The plans illustrating the distribution of burned and unburned bones show a clear concentration of material in the central part of the field, which might indicate the use of compost as a fertiliser.[36] The smaller amount of burned clay and tile testify to an unbuilt open area in the central part of the village. (See Appendices A–B.)

ARCHAEOBOTANICAL ANALYSES

Material and Methods

Samples for archaeobotanical analysis were collected during the excavations from all contexts that could be recognised as fields and plough marks. The recovered areas of the fields,

31 Hela-2612.
32 Hela-2610 and Hela-2611.
33 Poz-70138.
34 See Chapter 8.
35 See Chapter 8.
36 See Chapter 11, Figs. 11.2, 11.3.

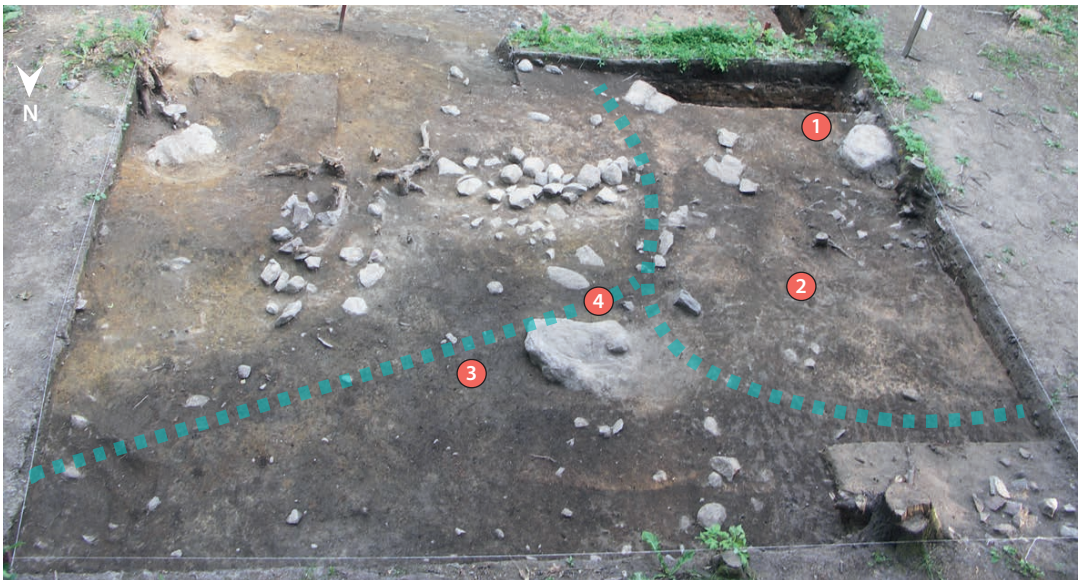

Figure 9.2. The field layers in trench 12 divided by ditches (marked with blue). The location of the radiocarbon dated samples marked with red. (Photo: Georg Haggrén.)

as well as the amount of samples, were small. Only 8 samples have been analysed from the ancient field layers. The sample volume from all contexts was 2 litres. A bigger volume would have been difficult to collect due to the thin cultural layer of the field. The soil of the samples varied from clayish sand to brown sand mixed with charcoal. The total amount of sample volume from the fossil fields was approximately 16 litres.

The carbonised plant material was extracted from the samples by using water flotation and two sieves with mesh sizes from 0.25 mm to 1 mm. Flotation was performed two or three times, or until no further carbonised material floated to the surface of the water. The remaining sediment was searched roughly for small artefacts, bones, and sherds, then discarded. After floating, the organic material, i.e. the archaeobotanical material, was left to dry in a fume cupboard in the laboratory.

The dried organic material was sorted under a stereoscopic microscope using light compression forceps. The charred seeds, grains, and all other identifiable plant remains were picked out for further identification. Charcoal was collected from each sample, but only in a cursory manner. Uncarbonised seeds were not collected, but they were reported, as they most likely represent modern contamination. The total content of the 1 mm sieve was scanned, whereas 10% of the material from the 0.25 mm sieve was analysed. Countable remains like grains and seeds were totally quantified, while the proportions of, for example, charcoal, bark, and unidentified organic lumps were only estimated.

Results

The 8 samples with a total sample volume of 16 litres contained 275 charred remains from 14 different plant species or plant families, among which only two crop plants were present. The other remains belonged to the groups of weeds and coniferous trees. The amount of cereal grains from the samples was rather small, but the results provide information on the cul-

tivated crop. The identification of plant species was based on publications by Cappers et al. and Beijerinck.[37] The nomenclature of scientific plant names is according to Hämet-Ahti et al.[38]

Cereals

Only two species of crop plants were found in the samples: rye (*Secale cereale*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). Most of the cereal grains were charred and badly damaged, so the majority of them were assigned to the Cerealia category. Rye was present slightly more often in the samples than barley: altogether 10 grains of rye and 3 grains of barley were found. Altogether 37 grains had to be left unidentified, so that it is impossible to estimate which of the above-mentioned crop species was in a major role in the fields. However, the archaeobotanical data from all studied soil samples from Mankby shows that rye is more common than barley (see Fig 9.1).

Weeds

The most dominant species in the samples from the Mankby fossil fields are the charred nutlets of sedges, (*Carex* sp.), which grows everywhere and in almost all kinds of habitats. Other weed species in the samples from Mankby are goosefoot (*Chenopodium rubrum/glaucum*), fat hen (*Chenopodium album*), chickweed (*Stellaria media*), and sheep´s sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*), all of which thrive in nutrient-rich soils with a high nitrogen content, as Henriksen & Robinson have noted.[39] A small number of grass weeds were found as well, and there were some unidentifiable fragments that were assigned to the category of grasses, Poaceae.

COMPARING THE RESULTS FROM MANKBY TO FOSSIL FIELDS IN FINNO, GUNNARSÄNGEN, AND ORIJÄRVI

The archaeobotanical results from Espoo Finno are poor in general, and in the samples taken from fossil fields, there were only 66 seeds of raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*).[40] These seeds must be considered as contaminants, as they were not charred and were found in addition to recent birch (*Betula* sp.) seeds. Nevertheless, there are four grains of rye (*Secale cereale*), which were recovered from the samples taken from a structure interpreted as a drying barn from the 16th century.[41] The rye grains belong to a later period than the fossil field, but they might give an idea of the species cultivated in the area.

In Hanko Gunnarsängen, the archaeobotanical remains from the fields consisted of one grain of oat (*Avena sativa*), one of wheat/clubwheat (*Triticum aestivum/compactum*), and one of rye, as well as two grains of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*).[42]

37 Beijerinck 1947; Cappers et al. 2006.

38 Hämet-Ahti et al. 1998.

39 Henriksen & Robinson 1996: 7; on the habitats of plants in contemporary Finland, see also Hämet-Ahti et al. 1998.

40 Lempiäinen, M. 2006.

41 Haggrén et al. 2006.

42 Jansson et al. 2010.

The vast majority of grains from the fossil fields in Mikkeli Orijärvi consists of barley, oat (*Avena* sp.), rye, and wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) were also present, but rather sporadically compared to barley.[43]

Comparison of Mankby, Finno, Gunnarsängen, and Orijärvi shows that all four cereals growing in Finland are present in the early medieval period.

CULTIVATION HISTORY

Archaeobotanical data of cultivated crops from the Late Iron Age and early medieval sites in Finland shows that barley plays a major role in crop fields.[44] Rye is underrepresented in the archaeobotanical material in general, and it is usually assumed to be a late introduction, appearing for the first time in Finland in the Early Iron Age, 100 BC.[45] Moreover, rye was rather rare in Finland even in the Late Iron Age (AD 800–1000).[46] At the early stage, it has been estimated that rye grew as a weed in barley fields or that the crops were a mixture of barley and rye.[47]

However, rye became popular rather quickly during the Middle Ages, and by AD 1550 it was the most common crop especially in the coastal area of Finland, namely in Varsinais-Suomi and Uusimaa.[48] Rye cultivation was pioneered by bigger farms, castles, and manors, as well as royal demesnes. Cultivation trends in Uusimaa can be derived from the tithe records and bookkeeping of the demesne of Espoo from the 16th to the 17th centuries, which provide rather detailed information about agriculture, animal husbandry, and other sources of livelihood in Espoo parish.[49] During the 16th century, the main crop was rye, followed by barley and oat, while wheat was cultivated rarely.[50] Between 1560 and 1569, 81.5% of the harvest of the demesne in Espoo consisted of rye and 14% consisted of barley, and according to Ramsay, this ratio seems to describe the other demesnes in Finland already from 1555.[51] Another example from Uusimaa is the royal demesne of Raasepori (Sw. Raseborg), where rye was the main cultivated crop already in the 1550s, and by AD 1556, only rye was cultivated.[52] It seems evident that at least the coastal areas of Finland were pioneers in rye cultivation in the Swedish realm at the beginning of the 16th century.[53] However, Vilkuna[54] has mentioned that also in Häme (Sw. Tavastland), rye was cultivated on a large scale in the 1550s on fields owned by the Häme Castle and its royal demesnes.

The reason for rye cultivation seems to be the fact that the rye crop was usually successful, while barley crops failed more easily. The annual yield of the fields had to cover the household's own use, tax payment, and surplus left for trading, and therefore most of the

43 Vanhanen 2012.
44 Häkkinen & Lempiäinen, T. 1996; Lempiäinen, T. 2005: 112; Vanhanen 2012: Appendix 1.
45 Seppä-Heikka 1986.
46 Lempiäinen, T. 2005.
47 Behre 1992: 141-156.
48 Orrman 2003: 96; Haggrén 2010: 144-147.
49 Ramsay 1984b: 109.
50 Ramsay 1984b: 110; 1984a: 303.
51 Ramsay 1984a: 93-94.
52 Haggren 2010: 144-147.
53 Myrdal 1999: 38–39; Orrman 2003: 96-97.
54 Vilkuna 1998: 99-101.

household's effort focused on the cultivation of the village fields. In the 16th and 17th centuries in Espoo, the main income of a farm consisted of harvest, and Ramsay notes that the oldest fields were those near the houses and on which peasants had to pay taxes.[55] Harvest was obtained from small plots that people had cleared in the immediate vicinity of their houses. These fields were also named according to their location: home field, barn field, sauna field, stable field, and so on. In addition to cereals, also flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), hops (*Humulus lupulus*), and pulses like broad bean (*Vicia faba*) and pea (*Pisum sativum*), as well as cabbages (*Brassica* sp.), were cultivated on those smaller fields. Additional harvest was obtained from swidden fields, which were cleared in the communal inland forests.

In southern Finland, the economy was based on crop husbandry of arable fields, which was practiced mainly by using two-field crop rotation until the 20th century.[56] In this tradition, half of the land was sown to crop and half left fallow. In more detail, the two-field system was based on the tradition where only one cereal species was rotated at a time, as Soininen notes.[57] The two-field system required less manuring, as it was needed only every other year, when the field was fallow. Soininen has mentioned that the most suitable fertiliser for rye was cattle manure, which was mixed with twigs and peatland mud.[58]

A very important phenomenon in traditional agriculture was the system for open fields, in which the larger fields owned by a village or a demesne, for example, were divided into narrow strips. These strips were cultivated by individual peasants from the village. This kind of field division was most probably applied to the larger fields of Mankby as well. In Uusimaa, the province where Espoo parish is located, the earliest written sources concerning open field division date from the beginning of the 15th century.[59]

Rösch has noted that the average yield of medieval fields did not exceed 500kg/ha and the ratio of seed sown to seed harvested was about 1:3. For example, a field sized 100 m² would have yielded approximately 5 kilograms of grain.[60] There is a difference between permanent fields and swidden fields, as the latter yielded more harvest than the former due to the better soil conditions in slash-and-burn fields.[61] Vilkuna has made calculations based on preserved tithe accounts on the consumption of cereals and malts in AD 1550 in Häme Castle. Based on them, the average daily per capita consumption of flour was 0.7 kg and that of malts 1.9 kg.[62] It must be kept in mind that Häme Castle was wealthy and food was more readily available than in average royal demesnes in Finland, which means that the per capita consumption was also higher. However, the calculations from Häme Castle provide an idea against which the results from Mankby can be estimated.

Haggrén has estimated that in AD 1550, the population of Mankby was some 50 inhabitants. The annual yield from the fields should be approximately 12,800 kg of flour and 34,580 kg of malts to supply the consumption needs of people in Mankby.[63] Based on this, the fields

55 Ramsay 1984b: 110.
56 Soininen 1974: 88.
57 Soininen 1974: 77, 81.
58 Soininen 1974: 111.
59 Orrman 2015: 201-209.
60 Rösch 1996: 65.
61 Soininen 1974: 116; Seppälä 2009: 101–102.
62 Vilkuna 1998: 205.
63 Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 135.

should be at least 94 hectares in size. The fossil fields found in Mankby could not fulfil the need for grain, but it can be assumed that there was enough fertile land for cultivation next to the village, as can be seen on the maps from 1779.[64] These fields provided the main supply of grains to the inhabitants of Mankby, and smaller 'home fields' inside the village provided supplementary harvest, which could consist of cereals, as well as legumes, vegetables, and other useful plants like flax, hemp, or hops.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the stratigraphy and radiocarbon datings, the fossil fields in Mankby were cultivated from the mid-13th to the early 14th centuries, during phases 2–3 of the village.[65] At that time, the area was in the eastern part of the village, whereas the houses were located in the western and south-western part of the village plot. Later, when the village grew, the fields were abandoned and the old field was occupied by at least four new buildings. Later activities have disturbed the field layers, and particularly in the southern and western parts, several post-holes and superimposed large stones cut through the field layers. Especially in the northern part, it seems that smaller stones embedded into the field layer have been used to dry or harden the level to suit the new function of the area as a village yard.

Based on a comparison of the known fossil fields in Finland from the Iron Age to medieval times, it can be generally stated that fossil fields were designed. The field area was cleared of stones, and boundaries like ditches and stone fences were established. Also natural terraces were used as boundaries, and sometimes, as at Mankby, they were artificially enhanced. Designed fields are a sign of permanent fields, which were intended for cultivation over several generations. Fields in the middle of the village provided supplementary harvest, while the economy was based on the harvest gained from the swidden fields in the forests.

Even though the size and number of the archaeobotanical samples taken from the field layers in Mankby was sufficient, the number of plant species was very small and no definite interpretations of cultivated crops can be made solely based on the results from the fossil fields. Nevertheless, the analysis of the plant material from Mankby in general shows that rye was the dominant cultivated crop in the medieval village of Mankby.[66]

On the basis of archaeobotanical sources, it seems evident that barley was the most common and widespread crop from the beginning of cultivation history until the Middle Ages in most parts of Finland. However, the archaeobotanical results from Mankby indicate that already in the 13th century, rye had an important role in cultivation. Moreover, it seems that rye has been of great importance through the centuries in Mankby, and according to the historical sources from the 16th century onwards, rye was the most popular crop especially within the coastal area of Finland. In this area, rye cultivation was pioneered by peasants of manors, royal demesnes, and castles of the Swedish realm. In other parts of Finland, rye played a minor role until the 18th century, when it became the most common crop on a large scale.

However, the cultivation of crops was rather versatile in the Middle Ages; all main crops were cultivated, but local differences did occur. It seems that at least in the coastal area of

[64] See Chapter 5, Fig. 5.7 and 5.8.

[65] See Chapter 5.

[66] See Chapter 12.

Finland, different villages specialised in different crops according to the soil type in the area and the cultivation tradition. Perhaps the cultural background of the inhabitants was also a factor in choosing suitable crops for cultivation.

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Elina Terävä

10 FINDS FROM MANKBY
Everyday life and work in the village with a hint of luxury

INTRODUCTION

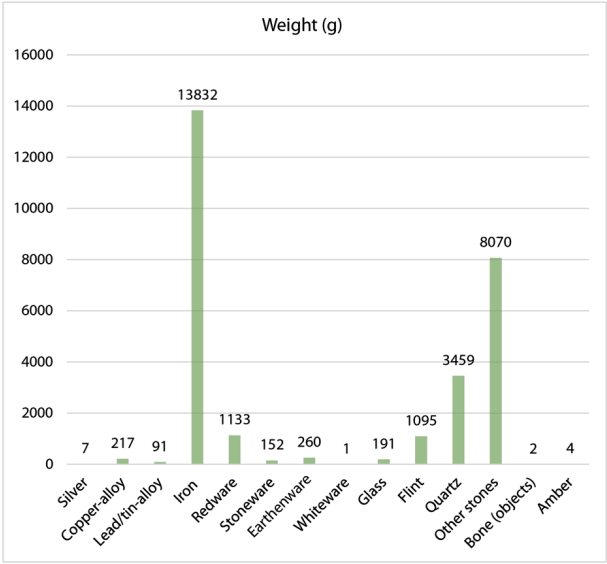
According to the general image of archaeological material found in medieval villages, not very many objects would be found and especially precious items would be absent. Excavations carried out at Mankby have shown that this is not true. The find material collected from 2007 to 2013 is surprisingly rich and diverse, revealing many sides of the everyday life of people in the village. But not every period of the village is equally represented in the find material. Some of the finds are hard or impossible to date exactly and not every find has a context that could be dated indisputably. Most of the finds belong to the period from the 14th to the 16th century. Even though some of the excavated layers can be dated to the 13th century, they are quite empty of finds.

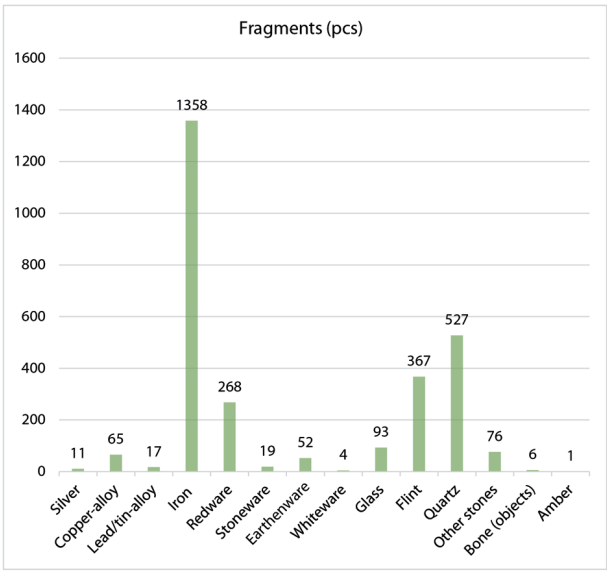
The finds include numerous pieces of objects that do not belong to the context of the medieval village. Under the layers related to medieval living, a prehistoric settlement has been found. When the lowest layers of the medieval village were researched, it was inevitable that also prehistoric finds were collected from the site. Most of these finds are pieces of prehistoric ceramics. Some of these could be from vessels used in the Early Metal Age or Pre-Roman Iron Age, from about 1000 BC to AD 500,[1] and one of the prehistoric shards has been radio carbon dated back to the Stone Age, 2200–2000 BC.[2] In addition to ceramics, also quite a lot of quartz flakes have been found in the prehistoric layers. There are also stone objects that clearly originate from the Stone Age, but they come from contexts indicating that these objects were brought to the site later, perhaps during the period of the medieval village.

Also younger finds have been discovered mostly in the top layers of the excavations. Some of these are connected with a drying barn used until the 18th century or other younger activities on the site. Most of these finds are pieces of ceramic vessels and shards of glass from bottles and windows. Also six fragments of clay pipes[3] dating from the 17th to the 18th century have been found in different contexts. There are some metal objects, too, which belong to the Modern or Early Modern periods. As for metal objects, it is usually very hard to date them if the context is mixed, because most of the tools and other metal items used have not changed very much between the Iron Age and the 20th century.

1 Lavento, pers. comm. 2010.
2 Hela-2613.
3 KM 2008044:471; KM 2010058:195, 582; KM 2011014:266, 364; KM 39465:122.

Even though the prehistoric and early modern or modern finds at Mankby are interesting and deserve more attention, this article concentrates on the objects that tell something about the medieval village. In this article, the find material is divided into subgroups to make it easier to discuss objects related to different aspects and parts of life. The find material from Mankby mostly consists of rather small fragments, so some identifications of objects are unsure and not every object is identified. The fragmentation is a result of the fact that most of the finds are from occupation layers, not from backfills or refuse pits. As seen in Tables 10.1 and 10.2, most of the finds are objects or fragments of iron, and they have all been X-rayed by the National Board of Antiquities during the research years. The comparable large share of iron finds could be related to increased iron consumption in the Middle Ages.[4] Also the stone material collected during the excavations is quite sizable, but all these stones do not belong to the medieval contexts and cannot be considered as objects. It is notable that when the totality of the find material is considered, fairly small amounts of other metals than iron have been found, as well as ceramics.





Tables 10.1 and 10.2. Quantities of materials found in the village during 2007–2013. Slag, bones, burned clay, and pieces of bricks are not represented in the tables. Some of the pieces of metal objects, shards of redware and glass, as well as stones, do not belong to the medieval context, but separating these finds from the medieval finds is nearly impossible.

LIVING AND BUILDING

Pieces of burned clay and bricks, which represent the most common finds in the village, provide information about the structures of walls and hearths (see Appendices A–B). During the excavations from 2007 to 2013, over 342 kg of burned clay and over 214 kg of pieces of bricks were collected. All pieces from the top layers were not collected and researched, especially if the material was considered to be the remains of quite modern, hard-burned bricks. Material found in some layers has been difficult to identify as either very hard-burned clay or pieces of not very hard-burned bricks. Even though burned clay is a more common remnant of structures in the medieval village, it seems that homemade bricks were used at least as an additional material with stones.[5]

[4] Karlsson 2015.

[5] See Chapter 8.

Living and building	
Window glass	52
Nails	396
Rods of nails	92
Pieces of clench bolts	36
Iron strips and fragments of plates	106
Timber dogs	1
U-shaped staples	4
Rods	75
Pieces of chains	1
Links or rings	11
Door bolts?	1
Hasps?	2
Padlocks	2
Keys	7
Candlesticks	1
Strike-a-light steels	1
Flint	366
Quartz	527

Table 10.3. The amount of finds considered to be remains of habitation in the village, related to buildings and furniture as well as everyday tasks.

Quite many of the pieces of burned clay have marks on their surface indicating that the clay was pressed against something, such as stones or wood used in structures. There are quite a lot of remains of depressions caused by stalks of hay, grass, or seeds. Some of the pieces also have depressions caused by human fingers, perhaps originating from the process of sealing buildings or hearths. Interesting pieces have also been found in the excavations in connection with building 22. These pieces have depressions caused by some kind of net on their surface. Most of the pieces were collected from and around excavated hearths and around wall lines of the buildings. Especially the collapsed layers of the cellar (building 23) included lots of burned clay with a large amount of depressions on the surface of the pieces.

One find group related to buildings consists of pieces of window glass (Table 10.3). Some of the pieces are found quite near the surface or in the layers related to the kiln from the 18th century, but some of these shards seem to be related to building 11, dated to the 16th century.[6] These pieces are greenish and their edges are grozed, which was the typical way of shaping window glass before the use of the diamond become more common in the 17th century.[7] The 16th century is considered to be quite early for buildings in the countryside to have glass windows,[8] but not impossible. In another well-researched medieval village in Finland, Gubbacka, shards of window glass have been found that could indicate the use of glass windows in rural settlements too. Cames made of lead have not been found at either Mankby or Gubbacka, but this might only be due to lead having been recycled.[9]

In the category of objects that could be related to buildings, the most common finds from Mankby are fragments of forged iron nails. It seems that nails and rods of nails have been found almost everywhere in the village, but in connection with building 23, more nails were found outside than inside of the eastern wall (see Appendix C). The shapes and sizes of the nails vary widely and the heads, for example, can have a flat, pyramidal or square, rectangular, or rounded rectangular shape. Some nails might not have had a head at all.[10] Several clench bolts or fragments of bolts, such as roves, have been found, but some of these finds are hard to separate from pieces of nails. According to Ian Goodall, clench bolts could have been used in timber constructions of double thickness, like doors and covers.[11]

6 Ibid.
7 Haggrén 1994: 285.
8 Haggrén 2008: 85–87.
9 Haggrén 1994: 285; Koivisto 2010: 105.
10 Goodall 2011: 163–164.
11 Goodall 2011: 164.

Plenty of pieces of iron strips and plates have been found in different contexts. Unfortunately most of these iron pieces are so fragmentary that their original function is almost impossible to determine, but many of them may very well be parts of bindings, hinge straps, corner brackets, and other fittings from structures or furniture. One strip[12] has been on the corner of an object or structure, perhaps a chest or door, but it can be newer, because it was found near the base of the kiln. Perhaps related to the building or the structures of the two-roomed cottage (building 23), a long, rectangular staple[13] with straight back and pointed two-turned end was found. It is a so-called timber dog, which may have had various uses in woodworking, one of them shoring heavy timbers in building.[14] Other finds related to buildings are, of course, U-shaped staples. Among the find material there are also many pieces of rods, which could originate from timber dogs, staples, or other objects related to building and furniture.

Some pieces could originate from chains. One find[15] consists of a link attached to some kind of staple. Others are single links or rings that could possibly come from something else than chains. One link[16] is a bit smaller and made of copper alloy, so it could be could be part of a garment accessory. Bigger iron links and chains consisting of these could be used for a multitude of purposes and they could be related to buildings, the tethering of animals, or the attachments of pots or buckets.

There are also finds related to locking or closing mechanisms of doors, gates, or chests (Fig. 10.1). One artefact could be a door bolt.[17] A figure-eight-shaped, angled hasp with hooked end was perhaps used for locking a chest with a padlock,[18] and one other find could be a stapled padlock hasp.[19] Pieces of padlocks have also been found. One of these is a so-called barrel padlock with a rectangular hole for the key where the shackle has not been preserved.[20] Another is an oval-shaped closing plate from a padlock with copper brazing.[21] Two of the keys[22] found fit padlocks, but not the locks found. This type of padlock keys seem to have been used quite widely around the Baltic Sea, and the

Figure 10.1. A padlock (a) and two padlock keys (b, c). (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

12 KM 39160:78.
13 KM 9160:182.
14 Goodall 2011: 161.
15 KM 2009032:227.
16 KM 2009032:398.
17 KM 2010058:468; see Goodall 2011: 226–227.
18 KM 2010058: 536; see Goodall 2011: 168, 220–221.
19 KM 39160:364; see Goodall 2011: 256–257.
20 KM 2011014:371 (Fig. 10.1a).
21 KM 2010058:14.
22 KM 2009032:419 (Fig. 10.1b); KM 2010058:135 (Fig. 10.1c).

dating of archaeological contexts of this key type varies between the Late Iron Age and the 16th century.[23] The rest are keys of different sizes that were turned in the lock, passing any ward or collar before throwing or lifting the bolt.[24] Two of these keys[25] are only fragments of keys where no bits have been preserved, only D- or oval-shaped bows and a part of the shaft. This type of key has been used for long periods, and some of the keys found at Mankby may not be medieval. The smallest of the keys could be used, for example, in the locks of chests. One key[26] is quite big, 9 cm long, and it could have been used in a door or gate, for example.

Candlesticks can also be related to buildings and working areas. Only one candlestick has been found,[27] and it is socketed with a straight stem. Candles could be impaled on a pricked spike, which in its simplest form can be a tapered rod.[28] This type of candlestick is very hard to identify among the fragmentary pieces of rods found in the village. Geoff Egan has noted that at English medieval sites, objects related to lighting are relatively scarce at rural sites compared to urban sites. He thinks the reason for this is either that rushlights were used in the countryside or that rural people focused their active life in the hours of available sunlight,[29] perhaps because candles were expensive.

One group of objects needed in everyday living consists of fire-making equipment (see Appendix D). One strike-a-light steel[30] has been found quite close to the hearth inside building 24. Other finds that could be considered as remains of fire-striking are fragments of flint stone. Some of the flints are from the prehistoric context, at least one flint is considered to be a fragment of a tool[31], and one bigger flint[32] could be a core rather than a flake. Quite many of the flakes are burned, which could be related to making fire. It seems that the flints are not especially concentrated near the hearths, but many of them are found inside the northern room of building 23 and outside the walls of building 23. According to Riina Koivisto, at Gubbacka, flint flakes were not found near the hearths, which could be due to the buildings having been cleaned up. At Gubbacka, the garbage was situated between the buildings, for example.[33] It could be that also at Mankby the insides of buildings were cleaned and some of the garbage was thrown outside the walls of the buildings. It is also good to keep in mind that people probably carried fire-making equipment with them, which is why these artefacts have perhaps drifted farther than the actual place where they were used.

Quite a lot of quartz flakes have been found inside the village, but as noted earlier, these mostly belong to the prehistoric settlement under the village. Still, some of the pieces of quartz are found in the layers considered to be dated to the Middle Ages. Quartz has also been used for fire-striking in medieval times,[34] even though it is not as good a material for this purpose as flint. The advantage of quartz is that it can be found in local areas, whereas flint had to be imported, for example, from Russia, the Baltic countries, southern Scandinavia, or

23 Leskinen 1995: 34, 47, table of pictures 15, a–c.
24 Goodall 2011: 240.
25 KM 2011014:175; KM 39160:27.
26 KM 2009032:258.
27 KM 2010058:476.
28 Goodall 2011: 299.
29 Egan 2005: 203.
30 KM 2011014:157 (see the back cover).
31 KM 2010058:346.
32 KM 2010058:452.
33 Koivisto 2010: 106, 110.
34 Koivisto 2011: 68.

Tools used for handicarts	
Knives with a whittle tang (Fi. puukko)	27
Fragments of knives?, type unidentified	7
Fragments of objects with blades?	5
Spokeshaves	1
Pieces of whetstones	57
Augers?	2
Awls?	12
Needles?	7
Thimbles	2

Table 10.4. Tools and artefacts related to handicrafts. Some of these objects are related to everyday chores in the medieval village, whereas others could indicate more specific work or activities people have practised for their living.

central Europe. Making fire is not the only possible use for these stone flakes: they could have been used as tools in medieval times as well as in the prehistoric period, especially for skin and leather working.[35]

One thing that could be seen as part of built heritage are prehistoric axes found in the village. According to Finnish folklore, prehistoric objects were used as magical objects and placed, for example, under the foundations of walls and hearths during construction.[36] The finds from Mankby include one stone axe made of slate[37] and one stone chisel[38], both of which belong to an earlier period than their find contexts. The stone chisel was discovered in a layer interpreted as medieval, whereas the axe is from a context that may suggest it has been brought to the area later in modern times from some Stone Age site near Mankby. The stone axe seems to be unfinished, perhaps broken already while the hole for the shaft was drilled.

EVERYDAY TASKS IN THE VILLAGE

Different kinds of tools are, of course, needed for everyday life and work in the village (Table 10.4). The most numerous tools represented at Mankby are knives (Fi. puukko), which are personal objects used as both tools and eating utensils. All the knives at Mankby interpreted as multifunctional tools have a whittle tang inset wholly inside the shaft, while table knives[39] have a flat scale or full tang. If the tang of the knives is not preserved, one way to separate knives used as tools from table knives is by the delicateness of the blade.[40] However, the blades of table knives can sometimes be very massive, as in some table knives among the find material of Mankby. Knives with a whittle tang are known already from the Iron Age, and the use of this kind of knives has continued until the early modern age.[41] Quite many of the knives discovered seem to be very worn out[42] (Fig. 10.2), so it seems that knives in the village were used up (see Appendix F). Because some of the finds interpreted as knives are from broken objects, they could possibly originate from shears or scissors, which have blades of similar size to knives. There are also small fragments from the blades of some tools. At

35 Svensson 2008: 160–161.
36 Hukantaival 2007: 67.
37 KM 39465:181.
38 KM 2009032:589.
39 See section 'Table culture and food preparation' in this article.
40 See Ruusuvuori 2009: 14–17.
41 Haggrén, Rosendahl & Terävä 2011: 14.
42 KM 2009032:534 (Fig. 10.2a).

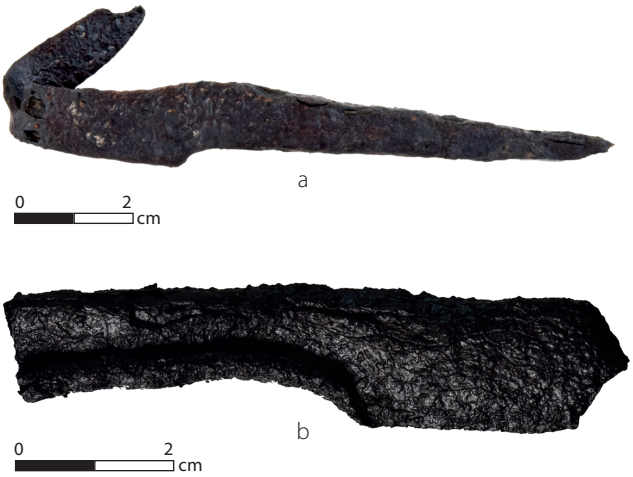


Figure 10.2. An example of a worn-out knife (a), and a knife fixed by blakcsmith (b). (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Figure 10.3. The nalbindings needle. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

least two of these[43] could originate from axes. One find related to woodworking is a spokeshave used to shave and smoothe wood.[44]

One find group related to grinding and honing tools with blades consists of whetstones. Quite a large number of stones has been found with marks of processing, mostly identified as whetstones. Most of these are slate, but there are also a few pieces of sandstone and a couple of pieces of granite that could have been used as whetstones. In addition to medieval sites on land, whetstones are found in medieval wrecks, like the late-13th-century wreck of Egelskär,[45] so these stones could have been imported as ship ballast.

There are several thin iron sticks interpreted as tools. The sticks taper towards at least one end, and in some objects the other end is flatter and broader. One of these thin objects with a leaf-shaped end is an auger[46], and a twisted tip[47] could originate from an auger too. Some of these tools are partly twisted in the middle, but this might be just a decorative feature. These objects could be awls used perhaps for leather, wood, or bone working.[48] Finds related to textile working are needles and thimbles. Most of the possible needles are very fragmentary pieces of thin circular-sectioned shanks, but there is one iron needle in which the eye is preserved[49] and one nalbindings needle[50] made of bone, used for example for knitting mittens and socks (Fig. 10.3). Two domed thimbles have been found (see Fig. 10.16),[51] both cast of copper alloy and with possibly drilled pits on the surface.[52]

A rare find from Mankby that could be related to agriculture (Table 10.5) is a straight-mouthed spade-iron[53], which was found inside the stone cellar (building 29). According to

43 KM 2008044:67; KM 2011014:162.
44 KM 39465:88; see Goodall 2011: 26.
45 Wessman 2007: 143; Tevali 2010: 5, 9–10.
46 KM 39465:62.
47 KM 2008044:410.
48 See Ottaway & Rogers 2002: 2728–2729; Goodall 2011: 68.
49 KM 2011014:217.
50 KM 2008044:281 (Fig. 10.3).
51 KM 2009035:5, 634.
52 See Egan 1998: 265–267.
53 KM 39465:4; see Chapter 7, Fig. 7.7.

Livelihood	
Spade-irons	1
Sickles	5
Shears?	1
Hoes?	1
Fishing hooks	1
Arrowheads	5
Lead bullets	3

Table 10.5. Tools and other finds related to livelihood practised in the village, like agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and hunting.

Ian Goodall, in medieval Britain, spade-irons of this form are found in 14th-century and later contexts.[54] Fragments of sickle blades show that stalks were cut, and there is also one arched blade[55] that could originate from a sickle or perhaps from shears. One find could be a fragment of a tanged hoe[56], probably used for some other purpose than gardening.[57] Animal husbandry is evidenced mainly by the bones found in the village.[58] Other finds indicating the keeping of chickens in the village could be shells of freshwater pearl mussels (*Margaritifera margaritifera*, Fi. jokihelmisimpukka or raakku), because it is known that these shells were crushed and fed to chickens to ensure their supply of calcium. Of course, these shells also show that shellfish were gathered for pearls or food.[59]

Fishing and hunting are evidenced by one possible fishing hook[60] and some arrowheads (Fig. 10.4). Four of the arrowheads[61] are quite alike, so slender that they were probably used for hunting with a hand bow. One of the arrowheads[62] is of the so called *Dalarna* type, which is typical at Scandinavian sites and was used probably in both crossbows and hand bows, being suitable for hunting as well as part of the equipment of soldiers.[63] There are also lead bullets suitable for handguns, which could be dated to the 16th century. One of these bullets[64] has probably been morphed in shooting and one[65] is not totally finished and has thus perhaps never been used. Handguns became part of a soldier's equipment in Finland during the 16th century, but were probably not used for hunting at this time.

Figure 10.4. Two types of arrowheads found in Mankby. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

The art of blacksmithing needed more specialised skills. An interesting group of finds are unfinished and repaired objects that tell about the manufacturing of metal objects needed in everyday

[54] Goodall 2011: 79.
[55] KM 201058:573.
[56] KM 2009032:292.
[57] Goodall 2011: 79–80, 90–91.
[58] See Chapter 11.
[59] Valovirta, pers. comm. 20.3.2014.
[60] KM 2010058:153.
[61] KM 2010058:458 (Fig. 10.4a); KM 2011014: 97; KM 39160: 282, 311.
[62] KM 2009032:587 (Fig. 10.4b).
[63] Terävä 2015: 11.
[64] KM 2011014:198.
[65] KM 2011014:173.

Blacksmithing	
Iron bars	8
Unfinished iron objects	4
Possible leftovers of making iron objects	17
Slag	54, 300 g

Table 10.6. Finds related to blacksmithing in the village.

life (Table 10.6). The preparation of objects is indicated by a knife[66] in which part of the blade has been turned into a shaft, perhaps after the original shaft was broken (Fig. 10.2). Also a small fragment of bronze plate[67] was found, which could be a sealant of a cauldron. In medieval times, metal objects could be repaired several times during their lifespan and metal was also often recycled for making new objects. This can also explain why some tools probably used in the village are totally absent among the find material. There are three unfinished heads of nails or roves[68] and one long piece of iron[69], which looks like an unfinished tool or an object used in building. Interesting finds are iron plates or spits that have marks of cutting or thrusting. Two spits[70] have marks of having been held with pliers. These finds, as well as one piece that clearly has thrusting marks on the head[71], could be chisels used for cutting iron, punches for making holes in hot iron, or drifts used for enlarging, opening out, or smoothing the hole made in the iron.[72] The finds also include eight small iron bars[73] (Fig. 10.5), which confirm that raw iron was brought to the village at least for making small objects. Some of these bars seem to be almost the same size as bars in the wreck of Egelskär, dated to the end of the 13th century.[74] One material related to metallurgy is slag, almost 54 kg of which was found in the excavations. Most of this is iron slag, indicating working with iron, but there are also quite a lot of pieces of burned clay that have morphed in the heat to look like slag (see Appendix E). It seems that most of the slag is found in and around buildings 13, 24, and 25. Perhaps the blacksmith worked somewhere near them? Also quartz found in medieval layers near these buildings could be the remains of ironwork.[75]

Even though many of the objects needed in everyday life were probably made in the village, there are also some items that had to be imported (Table 10.7). Many of these products are related

Figure 10.5. Two of the iron bars found. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

66 KM 2008044:485 (Fig. 10.2b).
67 KM 39465:207.
68 KM 2011014:71; KM 39160:308, 310.
69 KM 2010058:481.
70 KM 2008044:127; KM 2008044:283.
71 KM 2008044:261.
72 Goodall 2011: 9–11, 16–19.
73 KM 2009032:512 (Fig. 10.5a), 513 (Fig. 10.5b).
74 Wessman 2007: 144; Tevali 2010: 9-10.
75 Svensson 2008: 164.

Trade	
Possible lead seals from bolts	6
Weights	1
Medieval coins	11
Jettons	1

Table 10.7. Finds related to trading.

Figure 10.6. Possible lead seals. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

Figure 10.7. Simple formed weight. (Photo: Elina Terävä.)

to table culture, which is discussed in the next section. One thing imported in medieval times was textiles, the most widely imported product in Finland after salt.[76] Unfortunately, textiles do not normally survive in the acid soils of Finland. However, items that do survive, if not recycled, and that are specifically connected with the export of textiles, are lead cloth seals from bolts. These seals were usually round plates with two parts that were pressed together so that the fabric was caught between them. In medieval times, these seals guaranteed the quality of the fabric, and they can be used to trace the origin of the imported fabric and research international fabric trade.[77] There are possible lead cloth seals[78] from Mankby (Fig. 10.6), but none of them has been definitely identified, and the question of trade communications is still open.[79] These items might also represent other objects, such as buttons or mounts of clothing[80] or weights. There is one rectangular piece of lead with scratches[81] (Fig. 10.7), which could be a simply-shaped weight of 9 g. This could perhaps have been used in a scale with pans, but also as a steelyard suspension weight, as there are two holes in the artefact.[82]

Coins and jettons can also be considered as objects related to trade and contacts the villagers have had outside their living area. Eleven medieval or early modern silver coins have been found in the village, minted at least in Tallinn, Stockholm, and Malmö. Almost all of these are dated to the first part of the 16th century. There is also one jetton[83] minted in Nuremberg and dated to the 16th century.[84] Jettons, which were used as implements in counting with an abacus, were used in Europe from the beginning of the 13th century, but according to

76 Taavitsainen 1994: 339.
77 Egan 1998: 261–265; Taavitsainen 1994.
78 KM 2009032:343 (Fig. 10.6a).
79 Egan, pers. comm. 2010.
80 KM 2009032:367 (Fig. 10.6b).
81 KM 2008044:2 (Fig. 10.7).
82 See Egan 1998: 301–322; Ottaway & Rogers 2002: 2952–2954.
83 KM 2008044:1.
84 Ehrnsten, pers. comm. 8.5.2015.

Gunnar Holst, they never became very commonly used in the North and are found mostly in towns where foreign traders have been active.[85] It seems that in Finland they are not very common finds in rural contexts, but some are known from sites like the royal demesne of Perniö.[86] As for English medieval rural sites, Geoff Egan thinks that a few found jettons would rather have been circulated than used in working out accounts.[87]

There are also other types of material found in the village that cannot be obtained in the northern Baltic area and that needed to be imported by ship from other places to which the villagers had access or contacts. Flint was one material probably brought as ballast on ships to the shores of Finland. Another is probably the limestone found in the village. Some of the pieces found contain fossils, which is typical for limestone from Estonia and Gotland, for example, whereas the domestic limestone in Finland is much older and has no fossils. Limestone is known to have been brought from Estonia to Finland already in medieval times, even though it has been mined also in southern Finland. Mostly limestone was used for burning lime, and burned lime was used to make mortar for buildings. Some pieces of mortar have been found in Mankby, for example, in connection with the structures of building 11,[88] but the amount is quite small.

Not every object found in the village can immediately be recognised. Some fragments may have had meaning for people in medieval times, but their function is hard to understand nowadays. One of these findings consists of five dome-shaped fragments of clay[89] (Fig. 10.8), which are geological formations, but for some reason found in rather large quantities at medieval settlements like Mankby, Mårtensby in Vantaa, Kyrkoby in old Helsinki Parish village, and Nyköping and Söderköping in Sweden. One very small piece of rock crystal[90] has been found, which could represent the remains of some kind of human activity, such as making jewellery.[91] Especially in the northern part of the village, some small yellow balls of sulphur were found. Sulphur could be used for making gunpowder, but also for medical purposes.

Figure 10.8. A dome-shaped fragment of clay. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

TABLE CULTURE AND FOOD PREPARATION

As mentioned earlier, a remarkable number of knives has been found at Mankby. Included in the category of knives used as multifunctional tools there are several pieces that are consid-

85 Holst 1975: 17, 42.
86 Vuoristo 1997: 141.
87 Egan 2005: 200.
88 See Chapter 8.
89 KM 2007053:62; KM 2008044:508 (Fig. 10.8); KM 2009032:685; KM 2011014:193 ja KM 39465:81.
90 KM 201058:230.
91 Svensson 2008: 170.

Table culture	
Fragments of table knives?	31
Rivets perhaps from table knives	2
Fragments of copper-alloy cauldrons	3
Fragments of a handle made of iron?	1
Shards of redware	268
Shards of earthenware/ lowburned ware	52
Shards of whiteware	5
Shards of stoneware	19
Shards of glass beakers	24

Table 10.8. Finds related to table culture. The identification of some fragments of table knives and ceramics presented in this table is somewhat unsure. These fragments could also originate from other objects.

ered to come from table knives used in eating, examples of which are known from medieval sites in Finland from the 15th century onwards (Table 10.8). Some pieces match together, so the number of individual knives represented might be about 24 (see Appendix F). Some of the pieces are very fragmentary and could, of course, come from the same knives: for example, two of the finds are bronze rivets[92], which by their form and size could be from the shaft of a scale knife. Mostly these table knives have a flat scale tang, but one[93] has a massive iron shaft, which is a feature known from the 16th century onwards[94], and one knife[95] has a whittle tang, but because of the slenderness of the knife, it is more probably related to table culture than other activities. Only in two knives[96] have organic plates from the shafts survived. Some of the knives found have been highly decorated. Special finds related to decoration are two bronze fittings[97] from the end of the shaft.[98]

Other metal finds related not so much to table culture as to food preparation are three fragments from the rims of cauldrons cast of copper alloy.[99] They probably originate from three quite small cauldrons with a mouth diameter of only 12–15 centimetres. Geoff Egan proposes that cast copper-alloy cooking vessels would have been among the most expensive items owned by peasants.[100] One plate with two large rivets[101] could be a fragment of an iron handle strap, perhaps originating from a bucket or a cauldron.

Also ceramic pots were used in cooking. Most of the ceramics found at Mankby are pieces of redware from different kinds of vessels, like tripods and bowls (see Appendix G). From the 12th century onwards, redware is the most dominant and widespread ceramic product in western and northern Europe.[102] In medieval times, vessels made of redware were mostly tripods, but concomitant with adopting more refined table manners, the diversity of vessel types increased in the 15th and 16th centuries.[103] As all the table knives found at Mankby prove, the inhabitants of the village were clearly familiar with a more sophisticated dining culture, and the use of various types of vessels is likely. From the most fragmentary pieces, it is difficult to identify the type of the vessel, but some pieces from the rims, handles, or bases of vessels can reveal the function of the vessel, as well as sooty surfaces of pieces that

92 KM 2008044:273; KM 2011014:213.
93 KM 2009032:3.
94 Haggrén, Rosendahl & Terävä 2011: 15–16.
95 KM 2010058:133.
96 KM 2009032:1, 2 (see Chapter 8, Fig. 8.6), 525.
97 KM 2008032:210; KM2009032:399 (see the back cover).
98 Further reading Haggrén, Rosendahl & Terävä 2011: 12–23.
99 KM 2009032:336; KM 2010058:52; KM 2010058:117.
100 Egan 2005: 201.
101 KM 2011014:99.
102 Gaimster 2007: 18; Haggrén 2008: 78.
103 Elfvendahl 1999: 40–52; Niukkanen 2007: 26.

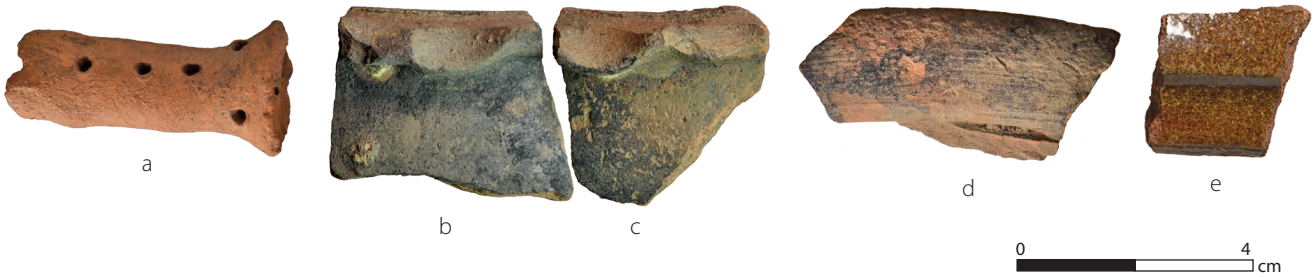


Figure 10.9. Shards of redware. Decorated handle (a), shards of originally decorated tripod (b, c) and shards probably from Dutch tripods (d, e). (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

indicate the vessel having been used for heating rather than serving food. A total of 92 of the shards found at Mankby are considered to be from tripods or other vessels used for heating. These pieces are glazed on the inner surface and quite many of them have a sooty outer surface. Some are pieces of feet or handles[104] of pots. Especially interesting are three pieces[105] of tripod with original finger-moulded decoration outside the rim of the vessel, probably dating from the period 1450–1550 (Fig 10.9).[106] Eleven of the shards found are thought to be from bowls or plates, based on their form. Some of these have trailed slip decoration (Fi. bolus-koristelu). These kinds of vessels became more common in the last part of the 16th century.[107] According to Marianna Niukkanen, after medieval times, decorated bowls might mostly be used by poorer urban inhabitants and peasants.[108] Not all pieces of redware found at Mankby are medieval; there is also younger material among the shards mentioned. The problem with redware is that it has been used for a long time and vessel types have not changed very much during these centuries. Thus, the fragments are sometimes very hard to date.

Redware was imported to the village, as the six shards[109] identified as Dutch tripods testify (Fig. 10.9). The Netherlands was an important producer of redware in the Middle Ages and vessels made there can be identified by their form and quality, although similar ceramics were also produced on the Danish isles, the coastline of western Scania, and the Lübeck and Mecklenburg coast.[110] Redware was also produced and imported to southern Scandinavia, Stockholm, and Tallinn from northern Germany, and redware is known to have been made in several coastal areas of the Baltic Sea at least from the 15th century onwards.[111] As Mankby clearly seems to have had trade contacts with Tallinn and Stockholm, redware could have been imported from or via these towns to the village.

Unfortunately, historical records do not tell so much about the origins of redware vessels, which can also be produced in small local potteries. According to historical records, redware was produced in Turku in the 16th century, but probably already at the end of the 15th centu-

[104] KM 2009032:240 (Fig. 10.9a).
[105] KM 2009032:575 (Fig. 10.9c); KM 2011014:189; KM 2011014:204 (Fig. 10.9b).
[106] Russow 2006: 174–175; Russow, pers. comm. 2010.
[107] Augustsson 1985: 91; Niukkanen 1994: 315.
[108] Niukkanen 2007: 30.
[109] KM 2009032:146 (Fig. 10.9d), 267 (Fig. 10.9e), 546, 547, 627; KM 39160:88.
[110] Gaimster 1999: 62; 2007: 20.
[111] Gaimster 2007: 20; Johansson 2007: 50; Kock 2007: 63; Russow 2007: 73–74.

ry.[112] One way to try to track the origin of redware found in archaeological excavations is by analysing the chemical elements of shards using methods like *PIXE* and *SEM-EDS*. Some of the shards found at Mankby have featured in the redware research of Elisabeth Holmqvist-Saukkonen, Andreas Koivisto, and Riikka Väisänen,[113] which has compared shards found at Gubbacka, Tallinn, and Mankby. According to this research, the redware of Mankby has a different origin than the vessels from Gubbacka and Tallinn. Some of the analysed pieces from Mankby might represent domestic pottery.[114]

Other ceramics that might have been produced domestically include low-burned earthenware or earthenware (see Appendix G). Some of the shards found in the village could represent local hand-formed rural ceramics[115], like the broken fragment of a foot of a low-burned tripod (Fig. 10.10).[116] According to Aki Pihlman, local hand-formed rural ceramics have been used in Turku and other urban or central areas until the end of the 14th century. Pihlman explains the existence of these pieces in these contexts by close contacts with peasants.[117] It seems that the tradition of production of this kind of ceramics in Finland goes back to the Iron Age, but similar ceramics might have been produced until the modern age at least in eastern Finland.[118] Finds from Gubbacka also include this kind of pieces from vessels that were probably locally manufactured. These shards have been dated to an age of about 500 years with the thermoluminescence method.[119]

Most of the gray earthenware found in Mankby, totally 29 shards, seem to originate from one or more highly-profiled vessels decorated with wavy and straight lines (Fig. 10.11).[120] These were all discovered from contexts related to building 23 and seem to be from a jar or jars used in cooking. Ceramics with similar characteristics are thought to have their roots in Slavic ceramics, but it has been produced outside of Slavic-speaking lands too. According to Mats Roslund, the quality and shape of the rim of the shards of Mankby refer to east-

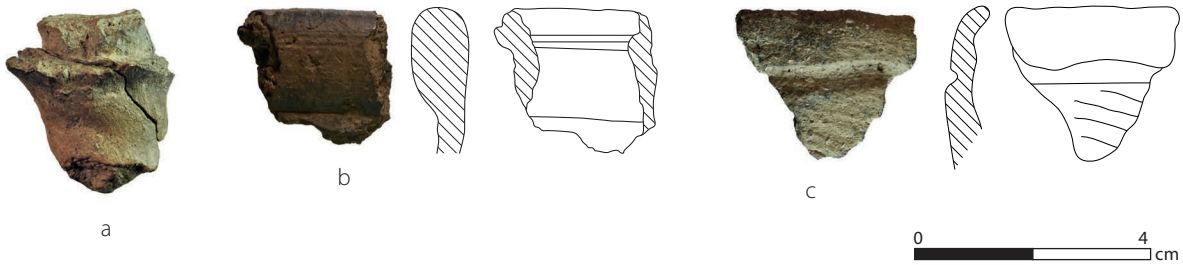


Figure 10.10. Shards of possibly local handmade ceramics. (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl. Drawings: Elina Terävä and Maija Holappa.)

[112] Tulkki 2003: 209, 216.

[113] The project related to analysing shards of redware from these sites as well as from Turku is still going on and new results are planned to be published in 2016.

[114] Holmqvist-Saukkonen, Koivisto & Väisänen 2013.

[115] KM 2009032:461 (Fig. 10.10b); KM 39465:92 (Fig. 10.10c).

[116] KM 2009032:321 (Fig. 10.10a).

[117] Pihlman 2003: 199–200.

[118] Enqvist 2005: 3.

[119] Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 344; Hel-TL04208, 500±70 BP.

[120] KM 2010058:498; KM 2011014:113; KM 39165:501, 502, 504 (Fig. 10.11).

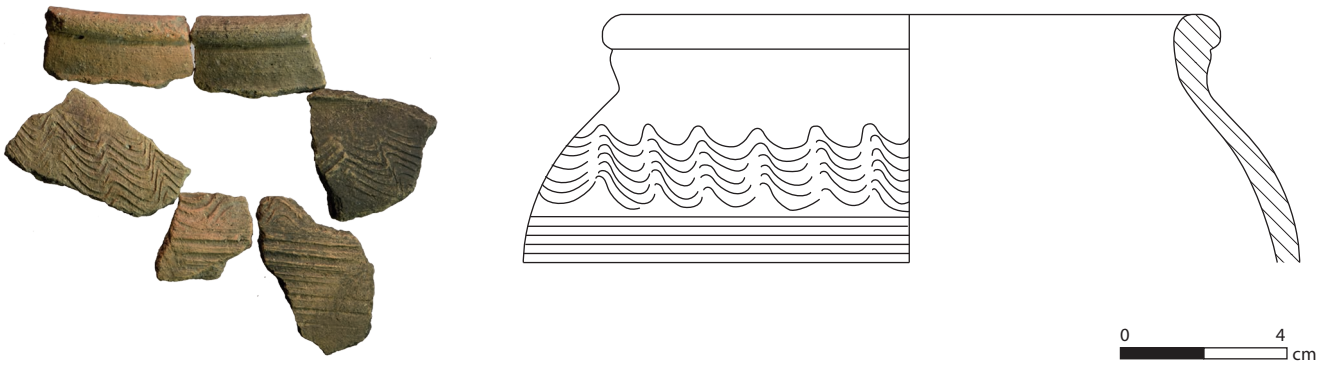


Figure 10.11. Shards of earthern ware vessel found from excavation of house 23. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl. Drawing: Elina Terävä and Maija Holappa.)

ern, local ceramic tradition and these shards could not be determined as Baltic Ware (Sw. Östersjökeramik),[121] even though some similar finds from Western Uusimaa have been named as Baltic Ware.[122] Similar pieces with finds of Mankby are found from the sites in Estonia,[123] and it is not impossible that these vessels or a vessel have drifted to Mankby via trade contacts to Tallinn. Johanna Enqvist dates Karelian ceramics with straight or wavy ornamental lines to approximately 1000–1300/1400 AD,[124] and according to Mats Roslund Baltic Ware was produced during roughly the same period.[125] In Turku there are some shards considered to be this 'Baltic type' and Aki Pihlman notes that in the oldest layers of the town these shards are absent.[126] However, this kind of ceramic material found in Finnish medieval sites should be analyzed more carefully to configure the origins and dating of these vessels.[127]

A more familiar find group from urban sites and from castles, manors, and parsonages consists of pieces of stoneware (Fig.10.12). Recent research at rural sites has proven that even peasants owned service vessels made of stoneware.[128] However, in Mankby quite a small amount of stoneware was discovered – although it is clear that these shards are not only from one single vessel (see Appendix G). Fourteen of the pieces are from vessels made in Siegburg, of an annealed type dated from the 14th century to the middle of the 16th century.[129] Some of these pieces originate from jugs used for drinking, which is perhaps the most common type of vessels produced. Judging by the finds, pieces from altogether six different stoneware vessels were collected in the excavations of the village in various places. Four shards found in different contexts related to buildings 13 and 23 originate from the same jug made in Siegburg.[130] Pieces of two other vessels have been found in connection with these

121 Roslund, pers. comm. 23.11.2015
122 Enqvist 2006; Laakso 2014: 49–55; also Roslund 2001: 54.
123 See Tvauri 2000: 104–105; Tvauri 2005.
124 Enqvist 2006: 413.
125 Roslund 2001: 53–54.
126 Pihlman 2003: 198; 2005: 3–4.
127 Laakso 2014: 49–55.
128 See e.g. Kadakas & Väisänen 2012.
129 Russow 2006: 45.
130 KM 39160:42 (Fig. 10.12b), 43, 68 (Fig. 10.12a); KM 39465:91 (Fig. 10.12c).

same buildings.[131] In the eastern part of the village, two matching shards[132] were found in the field layers, but they belong to a different vessel than the pieces of the foot[133] of a similar vessel found nearby. Another two pieces found in connection with building 11 may originate from one single vessel, possibly produced in Rhineland.[134] It is interesting to note that there are no sure identifications of either early stoneware made in Lower Saxony or proto-stoneware, even though these types have been found at Köklax *(*Fi. Kauklahti*)*, a contemporary medieval site two kilometres from Mankby. Köklax seems to be a somewhat special site in terms of ceramics, as rather many pieces of stoneware were discovered in the excavations there in 2002 and 2003.[135] Another researched medieval site where a notably large amount of shards of stoneware has been found is Gunnarsängen in Hanko, but otherwise this is not a typical find category for archaeological excavations in villages inhabited prior to the 16th century.[136]

Also five shards[137] of one whiteware vessel were found in a possible cellar pit in the middle of the village. The vessel had very thin walls and was glazed on both surfaces. These shards might also come from a vessel of eastern origin, since this ceramic type is not known in the Swedish material.[138]

Figure 10.12. Shards of stoneware from different vessels. (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

[131] KM 2010058:485 (Fig. 10.10d), 486 (Fig. 10.10e).
[132] KM 2009032:45 (Fig. 10.10f), 680.
[133] KM 2009032:314, 424.
[134] KM 2008044:20, 396.
[135] Haggrén & Hakanpää 2002; Haggrén et al. 2003; Haggrén 2005.
[136] Haggrén 2009: 75; Jansson et al. 2010: 76.
[137] KM 2009032:213, 214, 215, 644.
[138] Bäck, pers. comm. 5.5.2015.

Medieval drinking culture in the village is evidenced by jugs, but also by some shards of glass beakers dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries. Before the last season in 2013, at least 13 different medieval beakers were recognised.[139] In the summer of 2013, three more shards were found[140], all from excavations related to building 25, and there are now probably 15 different beakers. Most of these beakers are almost colourless, simple vessels belonging to the Bohemian tradition. One shard[141] has remnants of a blue glass thread decoration (Fig. 10.13), and there is at least one piece[142] with optical decoration. One shard[143] is a bit newer, interpreted as originating from a *passglass* dated to the 16th century. It seems that peasants started to imitate the material culture of upper classes at a rather early stage and made an effort to obtain fine products, like glass beakers and decorated table knives, for their tables.[144] This forms quite a significant contrast to the situation in England, for example, where, according to Geoff Egan, shards of glass vessels are not found in excavated medieval villages.[145]

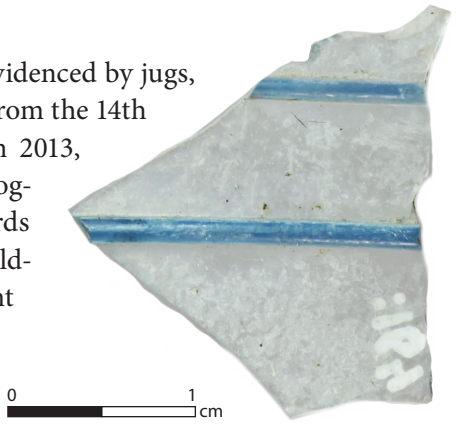


Figure 10.13. A shard of a glass beaker with blue glass wire decoration. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

ITEMS CARRIED BY HUMANS AND THEIR HORSES

Some finds found in the village are considered as personal items, which belonged to and were used by one owner at one time and were carried on their person (Table 10.9). One category of such personal items is formed by knives, which were discussed earlier. One find related to sharp-edged objects that were carried is a small cup-formed object made of bronze and covered with leather.[146] This seems to be a reinforcement from a scabbard, and similar objects have been used in scabbards of daggers in York from the second half of the 14th century onwards.[147] Of course, the find from Mankby can also belong to the scabbard of a bigger and finer knife, like the decorated table knife[148] found in building 11.[149]

Even though in a peasant context like Mankby, carrying a dagger or other such object is unlikely, it is not totally impossible. There are other finds that could be related to a person carrying marks of higher status than just that of an ordinary peasant. One find[150] was revealed as a real surprise during conservation: it was an enamelled strap end made of bronze

139 Haggrén & Terävä 2013: 44.
140 KM 39465:69, 79, 80.
141 KM 2011014:164 (Fig. 10.13).
142 KM 39160:370.
143 KM 2010058:550.
144 Haggrén & Terävä 2013.
145 Egan 2005: 201.
146 KM 2009032:6.
147 Ottaway & Rogers 2002: 2904.
148 KM 2009032:1–2, see Chapter 8, Fig. 8.6.
149 See Chapter 8.
150 KM 2011014:1, 28 (Fig. 7.9).

Personal items	
Reinforcement of a scabbard	1
Strap ends of copper alloy	3
Fragments of decorated leather strap	1
Mounts probably from leather straps	9
Fragments of decorated copper-alloy plates	6
Other fragments of copper-alloy plates	12
Copper-alloy fasteners of dresses	6
Iron pins	1
A clasp from book/ dress accessory	1
D-shaped buckles	4
Rectangular buckles	2
Rectangular double buckles	1
Oval-shaped buckles	2
Circular buckles	4
Pins from buckles	3
Annular brooches	3
Finger rings	2
Beads	4

Table 10.9. Personal items found at Mankby. Some finds identified as certain types of buckles are just small fragments, so the interpretation is uncertain. Some of these finds can also originate from horse equipment.

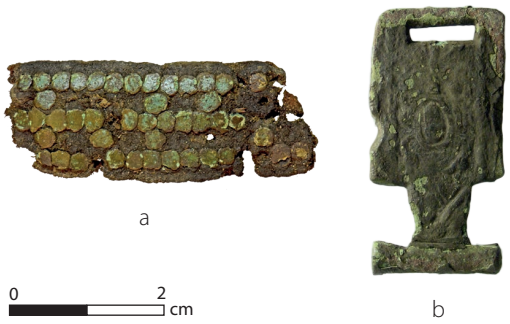


Figure 10.14. A leather strap with decoration (a). A possible book clasp (b). (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl and Elina Terävä.)

with a lion rampant on blue ground or '*Azure a lion rampant Argent*', dating about between 1260 and 1420.[151] This decoration could be related to the coat of arms of the Swedish royal family of Folkunga.[152] There are some other strap ends[153] that probably also originate from leather straps. One find is a piece of a leather strap[154] with decoration made of small copper-alloy rivets on its surface (Fig. 10.14). Interestingly, a similar strap has been found in a grave dated to the Crusade period in the Kirkkomäki cemetery in Kaarina (belonging to present-day Turku).[155] Circular iron mounts with cylinder-shaped copper-alloy rivets[156] probably originate from a decorated leather strap, too. Similar but bigger mounts have also been found in a warrior's grave of the battle of 1361 in Korsbetningen outside Visby in Gotland, Sweden. Moreover, the mounts of Mankby were found quite near the buckle[157], which also has an equivalent in one grave in Korsbetningen.[158] One fragment[159] from Mankby could originate from a decorated bar-mount with central lobe of a type usually used in straps.[160]

Among the find material are several thin copper-alloy plates, some with foliage or geometric decoration and some with holes for rivets struck or bored through the plates. These could originate from the straps or other clothes carried by human or horse, but they can also be from other fine objects. There are

[151] See Chapter 7, Fig. 7.9.
[152] Ashley, pers. comm. 5.7.2012; see also Chapter 7.
[153] KM 2009032:495; KM 39465:1.
[154] KM 2009034:4 (Fig. 10.14a).
[155] Tomanterä, pers. comm. June 2009; Asplund & Riikonen 2007: 38.
[156] KM 2008044:427, 431.
[157] KM 2008044:473.
[158] Thordeman 1939: 120–128.
[159] KM 2011014:356.
[160] Egan & Pritchard 1991: 209–214.

also finds definitely originating from clothing, like small fasteners made of copper alloy. Five of these[161] are accolades made of thin metal wire and one is a flowerlike plate with a hook.[162] There is also one thin iron object[163] with quite a big mesh at one end. This could be a pin used for fastening a garment.

One decorated object[164] (Fig. 10.14) has undated equivalents in Domburg in the Netherlands, and these are interpreted as pieces of clasps used in books.[165] The find could be a fragment of a hook-clasp fastening, a type used since the turn of the 16th century,[166] but it could also be part of a dress accessory. Fragments of medieval books have mostly been found in ecclesiastical contexts in Finland.[167] Thus, a medieval village would be rather an odd context for discovering fragments of books, which makes some other interpretation more probable.

Various buckles made of iron or copper alloy have been found in the village. The most massive of these could originate from horse equipment rather than human accessories, even though buckles from sword belts or other heavy-duty items can also be of the same size.[168] According to Ian Goodall, D-shaped buckles were the most common in medieval times,[169] and these seem to be most common also at Mankby. Rectangular buckles were not so common,[170] but some are found in the village. A buckle similar to one of the rectangular buckles[171] has been found in Korsbetningen near the hips of a soldier.[172] Thus, this find can date back to the 15th century, but the same buckle type has been used up to the early modern age. The making of this kind of buckle is considered to have been high-level handicraft, and mostly these buckles were used in harnesses.[173] One rectangular piece[174] of copper alloy is from a double-framed buckle. The oval-shaped buckle[175] discovered near the eastern wall of building 11 is very well preserved. Similar shoe buckles are known from Amsterdam and from Dutch wrecks dating to the 18th century.[176] Small buckles[177] with circular frames might have been used in shoes. For example, finds from Turku include quite a lot of strap shoes with buckles dating from the 14th to the 16th century.[178]

161 KM 2008044:111, 298; KM 2010058:126, 323; KM 2011014:118.
162 KM 2011014:308.
163 KM 2008044:59.
164 KM 2009032:574 (Fig. 10.14b).
165 Krüger 2002: 97–98; also Krabath 2001: 101–111.
166 Harjula 2011: 243.
167 Harjula 2011: 241; Harjula 2015b.
168 Egan 2005: 55.
169 Goodall 2011: 339.
170 Ibid.
171 KM 2008044:473.
172 Thordeman 1939: 121, 128.
173 Egan & Pritchard 1991: 95; Goodall 2011: 339.
174 KM 2008044:299.
175 KM 2008044:282.
176 Baart et. al 1977: 172–174.
177 KM 2008044:65, 142; KM 2009032:196.
178 Harjula 2008: 52–57, 92–93.

Figure 10.15. An annular brooch with text 'ANRVE'. (Photo: Ulrika Rosendahl. Drawing: Maija Holappa.)

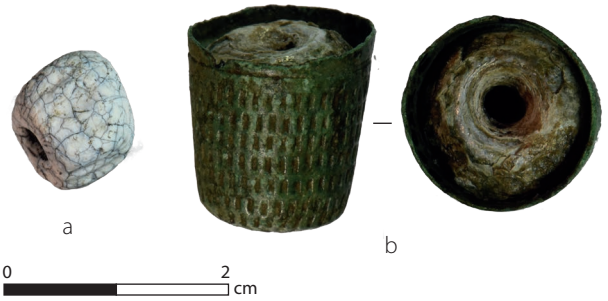


Figure 10.16. Thimble with a bead and a bead. (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

There are also two or three annular brooches made of copper alloy. The most interesting of these is an annular brooch (Fig. 10.15)[179] from the 14th century with the text 'ANRVE M…'. In Finland, seven brooches of this kind have been found. Four of these have been dated to the 14th century, the others have been lost after discovery. Five of the brooches had the text Ave Maria. No brooches with the text 'ANRVE' have been found in Finland or Estonia, but three are known from Denmark with this text, unfortunately without any information about the context of these detector finds. The brooches with this text are interpreted as belonging to a larger group of finds that are thought to relate somehow to the Annunciation or to have some magical meaning.[180]

The finest brooches functioned as decoration in clothing, but also some modest jewellery has been discovered in the village. Two finger rings of bronze have been found. One is a simple ring[181] and the other[182] has a rectangular base on which are preserved some remnants of a substance used to glue a stone or piece of glass to the ring. Two glass beads (Fig. 10.16)[183] have been discovered in the village, one[184] inside a thimble, where it was stuck before ending up in the ground. One very robust or worn-out bead[185] is made of amber. The smallest of the beads found is made of bone.[186] Especially beads made of amber and bone could originate from rosaries, which seem to be a part of everyday life in Finland at least until the end of the 16th century.[187]

The finds include two pendants[188] made of lead or tin alloy. Both of them have a circular frame, inside of which there is a cross. Similar pendants are known at least from Tartu, Estonia.[189] In York, similar objects have also been found and are interpreted as harness pendants.[190]

[179] KM 2009032: 444 (Fig. 10.15).
[180] Heindel 1986: 70; Egan & Pritchard 1991: 247–255; Valk 1999: 85–86; Højmark Jensen 2005: 27–28, 86, 122–123; Immonen 2009a: 261–262; 2009b: 118–119.
[181] KM 39465: 74.
[182] KM 2008044: 537.
[183] KM 2008044: 450 (Fig. 10.16a); KM 2009032: 5 (Fíg. 10.16b).
[184] KM 2009032: 5.
[185] KM 2010058: 509.
[186] KM 2011014: 50.
[187] Hiekkanen 2006: 35–37.
[188] KM 2007053:81; KM 2008044:301.
[189] Aun 2004: 38–39.
[190] Ottaway & Rogers 2002: 2962–2965.

Horse and riding equipment	
Horseshoe nails	295
Horseshoe nails used in winter	58
Rods of Horseshoe nails	5
Ice shoes for horses	1
Horseshoes	5
Spurs	1
Iron spur fittings	6
Harness pendants?	2
Twisted fragment perhaps from a bit	1
Strap loops	1
Looped strap guide?	1

Table 10.10. Finds related to horses and riding.

The use of horses in the village is evidenced also by some other finds (Table 10.10). Quite many of the iron finds in Mankby are different types of horseshoe nails, which were probably used also for other purposes than fastening horseshoes. There are many different forms of heads, but the rods of these nails are usually flat. Some of the rods are totally straight, which could indicate that these nails were either not used or that they were pulled out of the horseshoe and straightened during this operation.[191] Some horseshoe nails have slightly cross-shaped heads. These nails were used in the winter to prevent the animal from slipping on ice or snow. Also one ice shoe[192] (Fi. viskari) used in a hoof has been found, as well as two three-branched objects[193] that were used by humans to prevent falling down on slippery roads. Some fragments of horseshoes were also found.

More surprising finds related to horses and riding (Fig. 10.17) from the village are a piece of a spur[194] and spur fittings made of iron. Five shell-shaped harness pendants[195] or their fragments have been found, as well as one leaf-shaped pendant[196] which has equivalents at least in England from a context dated to the 13th and 14th centuries.[197] Pendants of this kind, made of copper alloy, are parts of finer horse equipment,[198] but there is no doubt that making these buckles from iron has demanded high-level craft skills. A fragment of an iron strip[199] made by twisting three bars together could come from a bit,[200] for example, but the find is so fragmentary that identification is difficult. One find[201] discovered next to a harness pendant[202] could be a strap loop used, for example, for

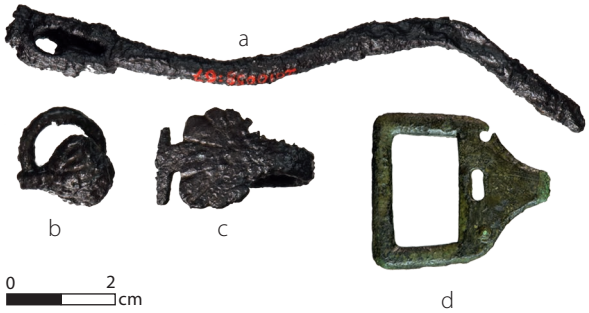


Figure 10.17. Some horse equipment: A piece of spur (a), harness pendants (b, c) and a strap guide (d). (Photos: Ulrika Rosendahl.)

191 Wallander 1998: 226–227.
192 KM 2009032:142.
193 KM 2008044:222; KM 201058:479 (see the back cover).
194 KM 2010058:67 (Fig. 10.17a).
195 KM 2008044:51 (Fig. 10. 17b).
196 KM 2008044:216 (Fig. 10. 17c)
197 Ellis 1995: 134–138, 148–149; Goodall 2011: 380–381.
198 Goodall 2011: 366.
199 KM 2008044:199.
200 Ottaway & Rogers 2002: 2956–2961.
201 KM 2009032:453.
202 KM 2009032:454.

joining straps to cheek pieces.[203] An object[204] with a rectangular frame and a possibly broken hook on the other side might be a looped strap guide. These were attached to the bit, and the leather harness strap passed freely through the loop.[205] The closest equivalents for this find seem to be made of iron, but the object found in Mankby is cast of copper alloy.

PEOPLE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS BEHIND OBJECTS

Discussion Related to Livelihood, Trade, Contacts, and People Behind Objects

The study of objects enables interpreting the organisation of life and social networks and obtaining information on the people of the village. This section presents some aspects of life at Mankby based on the archaeological finds mentioned in the former sections. This discussion is not intended to be comprehensive, but to introduce some ideas about living and consumption culture in the village.

As seen in Tables 10.1 and 10.2, fragments of iron dominate the find material of the village. This may reflect the amount of iron consumption in the medieval village. According to Catarina Karlsson, the consumption of iron increased after the 11th century in Sweden, and objects of new types appear as iron is used for making bigger and stronger tools.[206] Iron is used for objects like horseshoes and agricultural tools that wear out quite rapidly.[207] This explains why the consumption of iron stands out also in the archaeological material of Mankby. The increased consumption of iron objects has definitely led to a need to make some objects in the village. There is archaeological evidence for the manufacture of at least small iron objects, like rivets or nails. Also everyday tools needed in agriculture and handicrafts were probably homemade rather than imported.

Items made of leather and fabric, like clothes, were probably partly homemade, as well as objects made of wood or bone. At least fixing broken artefacts must have been done in the village, and the tools found could have been used for that. An interesting question is how much of the consumables were made by the villagers themselves and whether a particular villager was specialised in leatherworking, for example. According to Janne Harjula, shoemakers are known from the countryside in Finland at least from the 15th century onwards, but the issue is difficult to assess because of the lack of written and archaeological sources. Harjula suggests that there might be a distribution of shoes between Turku and its surroundings, as possibly indicated by one-piece shoes found in the town area of Turku.[208] Because remnants of handicraft items are not very well preserved in the village, it is hard to interpret the intensity of these activities any further.

Even though many aspects of livelihood and handicraft are represented in the find material, some items are also missing. For example, spindle whorls and loom weights related to textile manufacture have not been found at all. It could be that the village has specialised in the production of certain handicrafts, causing perhaps a surplus that enabled the import

[203] Goodall 2011: 366, 378–379.
[204] KM 39456:103 (Fig.10. 17d).
[205] Goodall 2011: 366, 379.
[206] Karlsson 2015.
[207] Karlsson 2015: 212–213.
[208] Harjula 2008: 158; also Harjula 2015a: 159–170.

of other things needed in everyday life, like textiles.[209] This could explain why some tools needed to make certain categories of products are not found. However, missing finds can be explained in several other ways as well, such as the recycling of material, the cleaning of the village and houses, and objects used for long periods drifting away from the village along with the people using them. This is suggested by the absence of some objects that are definitely needed in everyday life, but not included in the find material at all or just in very small quantities. Of course, organic materials like wood, which was probably used to make many objects, do not survive in the acidic soil, so objects made of such materials are not visible in the corpus of finds. The use of wooden vessels could explain, for example, why ceramics is not as common a find group in the village as it could be. However, the shards of vessels found, as well glass as ceramic shards, suggest that mostly only a few pieces from single vessels are found. This can be interpreted as meaning that garbage was cleaned from the houses excavated and placed somewhere else, perhaps in a waste pit not yet found during the excavations carried out at Mankby.

However, it seems that the village was not totally self-sufficient and that trade had at least some role in the livelihood of the village. The peasants in Mankby obtained some surplus from their crops, livestock, or catches, enabling the import of different kinds of products. This activity can be revealed by the find material. Coins, lead seals, raw iron, table knives, glass beakers, window glass, ceramics, flint, and limestone are the most evident finds related to trade and import, but of course other material not as easily recognised as 'foreign' could have been transported to the village, for example, as ballast in ships.[210] Some of the imported objects can be connected to certain manufacturing locations, like Bohemia (glass), Siegburg (stoneware), and Nuremberg (jetton) in central Europe, as well as Tallinn and Sweden (coins). From these manufacturing areas, products were transported or drifted with people to Hanseatic towns. According to Georg Haggrén, merchants in these towns probably handled the trade and delivered these items to customers further away.[211] These products could be transported by ship to towns or market places in southern Finland. The people of Mankby, who might also have sold their own products at these markets, may have accessed these items this way. The villagers could also have had direct contacts with Tallinn, because the distance to the central Hanseatic city was not that long and travel by sea might have been easier than travel by land to the towns of Turku or Porvoo, for example. The limestone and flint found and used as ballast in ships, as well as coins minted in Tallinn, could indicate rather close contacts between the southern and northern shores of the Gulf of Finland.

The Hanseatic League and its trade connections have had an important role on the route of the commodities to the shores of the Baltic Sea. The Hanseatic material culture is clearly visible also in the find material of Mankby. It is very interesting that the villagers have imported not only necessities, like salt, but also objects that are less important for living and surviving and meant more for showing off. Inhabitants of Mankby have clearly valued table manners, and it is clear that the rising trade and consumption culture of medieval times had also reached the villagers, not only people living in cities, castles, and manors.[212] It is even more interesting that this seems to have happened before the mid-16th century, which

[209] Svensson 2008: 160.

[210] Mehler 2015: 367–368.

[211] Haggrén 2015: 329.

[212] Haggrén, Rosendahl & Terävä 2011; Haggrén & Terävä 2013.

is usually considered as the period when consumption culture changed and reached also ordinary peasants.[213]

According to Geoff Egan's research on medieval England, a homogeneity of material culture can be recognised across England.[214] There are no 'rural' finds that would be absent from cities, for example. However, in Egan's research, the rural contexts also include manors and castles located in the countryside, so this research does not tell so much about differences in material culture between peasants and nobility. In Finland, recent studies like the excavations of Mankby have proven that even in some rural villages, people have had access to so-called 'luxury' items and contacts between rural areas and cities are clearly visible, even though the consumption of peasants is probably very moderate compared to the consumption of nobility.

However, the richness of the find material, especially some personal items, equipment related to riding, and sophisticated tableware, might indicate that there were other residents in the village than ordinary peasants. Especially the use of finer items related to clothing can be seen as signalling prosperity and a certain social status inside the local community.[215] Of course, some objects could be left behind by a visitor, but also some structures in the village seem a bit out of the ordinary for peasant inhabitants. The village or a part of it could at some point have been inhabited by nobility, which would explain the specialties among the find material.[216]

CONCLUSIONS

The find material from Mankby includes various finds representing different sides of everyday life. There are a lot of finds related to buildings and habitation, as well as objects indicating everyday tasks, livelihood, work, and handicrafts. Rather many fragments related to medieval table culture and dining are also found, as well as personal items related to dressing and decoration, with some riding equipment, too. There are finds very typical for medieval rural sites excavated in Finland, but there are also some specialties among the find material that hint at slightly wealthier inhabitants in the village who might have belonged to a higher social class than ordinary peasants. Whoever lived in the village certainly had resources and interest in keeping up with new consumption habits and Hanseatic material culture.

Unfortunately, dating the find material is difficult in some contexts. It is hard to interpret whether life in the village has at some point been a bit wealthier and at other times concentrated more on survival with no extra resources for 'luxury' consumption. Another problem considering the find material is that most of the finds are very fragmentary, so the identification of objects has been very difficult. There are also many objects certainly needed in everyday life but not represented – or at least not identified – among the find material from Mankby. Perhaps future research will help to resolve the problem of missing and unidentified finds.

[213] Haggrén 2009.
[214] Egan 2005.
[215] Svensson 2008: 269.
[216] See also Chapter 7.

However, it is certain that the find material from Mankby has revealed many new sides of rural material culture in medieval Finland. The picture of the medieval countryside has become much lighter and wealthier than the vision formerly held by researchers. The lives of the villagers were tied strongly to the international Hanseatic culture. Research on Mankby has played a pivotal role in changing old assumptions about rural life in medieval Finland.

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11 ANIMALS AND WASTE
An osteological study of the hamlet

INTRODUCTION

Domestic animals provided a supply of milk products and meat. Animal products – wool, leather, and hides – were also used to make clothing, and animal manure used on the fields. All this activity was seasonally dictated, and the pace of life was set by the birth of new animals and the slaughter of animals that could not be provided for.

The bone material at rural sites is almost always culturally disposed. The material comes from butchery and food waste, which could be allowed to build up over a longer period or recycled regularly.[1] This means that the bones could be piled in a certain place that could make the waste an easy target for foraging dogs and rats. This, in addition to the rate of decomposition, would influence the preservation of the material. Food waste could also be fed to pigs, which are known to eat anything, or it could be disposed on the fields as fertiliser.

The bone material was collected between 2007 and 2013. Out of all bones, 60% were unburned and the rest were burned. Out of the whole material, 53% originated from crania, mostly consisting of teeth. The unburned bones had alterations on the outer structure due to weathering, which might explain the large number of teeth in the material. The environment could also affect the decomposition of small and brittle bones, such as bones of fish, birds, and young animals. These groups are infrequently found at Mankby. The reasons for this are difficult to state, because it is impossible to know the ratio of food waste originally deposited to that which is found today.

BONE MATERIAL AND ITS PRESERVATION AT MANKBY

Bone is a connective tissue with a direct vascular and nerve supply, constructed of calcium phosphate and organic salts. Bones can also be classified by their visual appearance into two types: cancellous/spongy bone and compact bone.[2] These different types of bone react to the environment in different ways. For example, spongy bone has a porous structure and thus tends to break more easily than compact bone.

The large number of teeth (ca. 53%) in the material indicates that probably quite a large amount of the original bone material that was deposited in the Mankby hamlet during the

1 Jones 2011: 148.
2 Kardong 1998: 175.

Table 11.1. Weathering data collected during 2010–2013. The more detailed studies were made in 2012 and 2013. 0 = no alteration, 1 = slight alteration and 2 = severe alteration to the bone structure.

Weathering	2010	2011	2012	2013
No	85%	88%		
Yes	15%	12%		
Grade 0			68%	47%
Grade 1			17%	26%
Grade 2			15%	27%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 11.2. The number of bone fragments of identified taxa at Mankby. The figure shows the relations between burned and unburned bones in the material.

Taxon	Unburned	Burned
Cattle (*Bos taurus*)	1322	42
Sheep *(Ovis aries*)	1	
Goat (*Capra hircus*)	1	
Sheep/goat - O/C	212	37
Bovids (*Bovidae*)	474	1
Pig (*Sus domesticus*)	85	34
Horse (*Equus caballus*)	3	
Hare (*Lepus timidus*)		1
Possible beaver (*Castor fiber?*)		1
Seal (*Phocidae*)		1
Chicken (*Gallus domesticus*)		1
Galliforms (*Galliformes*)	1	
Large anatid (*Anatidae M*)		1
Anatids (*Anatidae*)		2
Birds (*Aves*)		6
Anseriformes		1
Pike (*Esox lucius*)	1	22
Perch (*Perca fluviatilis*)	238	1
Percid (*Percidae*)	164	
Cyprinids (*Cyprinidae*)		6
Gadids (*Gadidae)*		1
Bone fishes (*Teleostei*)	410	44
Total number of fragments	2912	202

time people were living there has been lost due to diagenetic influence from the environment. The teeth can be thought of as a key feature because of the high density and low porosity of the bone (enamel), which means that chemical alterations from the environment are minimal.[3] In other words, tooth enamel is the bone substance where alterations tend to occur last. As Lee Lyman points out, climate can have a strong diagenetic influence on bone and the effects and rate of chemical alterations that could take place.[4]

The effects of weathering on bones were studied during the last four years of excavation, the last two years in more detailed manner (see Table 11.1.). The weathering of bone is a process in which the temperature and moisture of the environment affects the condition of the bone. Bones weather both on the surface and in the subsurface layers. The rapidity of this process depends on the size and density of the bone, the species and the immediate environment in which the bone is deposited.[5]

Table 11.1 shows that the majority of the bones studied appears to be unaltered. However, this is misleading, because almost all of these unaltered bones are cranial bones, more specifically teeth (68% in 2010, 74% in 2011, 67% in 2012, and 47% in 2013). The more detailed studies reveal that there are roughly equal amounts of slightly and severely altered bones.

As seen from Table 11.2, the number of birds at the site is relatively low. Also the number of fish bones identified is low. The large number of fish in Table 11.2 is due to the large number of fish scales, which were counted as fish bones. One might assume that the surroundings of the hamlet would be attractive hunting grounds for the inhabitants. One explanation for the lack of fish and birds is that the bone substance of these animal groups is much more brittle and can be crushed or decompose faster that the compact bone material of mammals. The fish and bird bones seem to have been preserved mostly in a burned state, which alters the bone

[3] Sillen 1989: 212; Carlson 1990: 545.
[4] Lyman 1994: 418.
[5] Behrensmyer 1978; 1982; Gifford 1981.

structure. When bone burns, the organic material disappears and the harder, inorganic material survives.

The preservation of the bone material can also be viewed through the age distribution of the animals. Animals were often bred and raised in the hamlets. They could then either be consumed in the hamlet or be taken to markets and sold to towns, for example.[6] This would mean that there should be a diversity of young and old animals at the site. This is not the case at Mankby. Young animals are absent, with the exception of some younger pigs. Younger animals tend to have a less dense bone structure due to the fact that it has not yet fully calcified. This would mean that bones from younger individuals would have decomposed faster and would already be absent from the material that was collected during the excavations.

The environmental conditions seem to vary in different parts of the site. For example, a small pit consisting of some 400 unburned perch and percid scales was found near house 11. This would indicate good preservation circumstances in that particular context.

DOMESTICATES AT MANKBY

Seasons were a part of the rhythm of life in a hamlet. The duties of a peasant would include taking care of the animals of the farm in order to secure butter, cheese, eggs, meat, wool, and muscle power for pulling ploughs. The main reason for keeping domestic animals during the Middle Ages is thought to be the procurement of manure. Manure was essential for preserving the sedentary lifestyle of peasants who relied on the crop from their fields. Seasons would also dictate the times of sowing, ploughing, harvest, the birth and slaughter of animals, fishing, and hunting. The domestic animals identified in the bone material from Mankby are cattle, sheep, goat, pig, horse, and chicken.

Three horse teeth were found in the later phases of buildings 23 and 25. The teeth, as well as finds of horseshoes along with horseshoe nails and spurs, indicate that horses were kept in the hamlet. Horses were thought to be more efficient for pulling purposes, because one horse was enough to pull a cart or a plough, in contrast to cattle that would need to be paired for that purpose.[7] Horses could also be shoed for use during wintertime. Special shoe nails would be used for this purpose. These nails have been found at Mankby,[8] which means that horses would have been a part of the winter workforce.

Cattle were a good source of pulling power, but also a source of milk, hides, and meat. Milk would have been processed into butter, which was an important taxation product and would keep longer than fresh milk.[9] Milk production demanded that animals be bred in order to keep the females producing milk. Young animals would be slaughtered almost immediately after birth, which would occur in the spring. The other occasion for slaughter would be in the autumn. At that time, it would be calculated how much fodder there was for the winter and how many animals could thus be kept. Animals could be fed with hay, but also with leaves, cereals, peas, and dried grass.[10] The majority of the bone material at Mankby

6 E.g. Vretemark 1997.
7 Langdon 1986: 9; Bläuer 2015: 96;
8 See Chapter 10.
9 Olsson 1958: 130–131.
10 Alströmer 1992: 29–30.

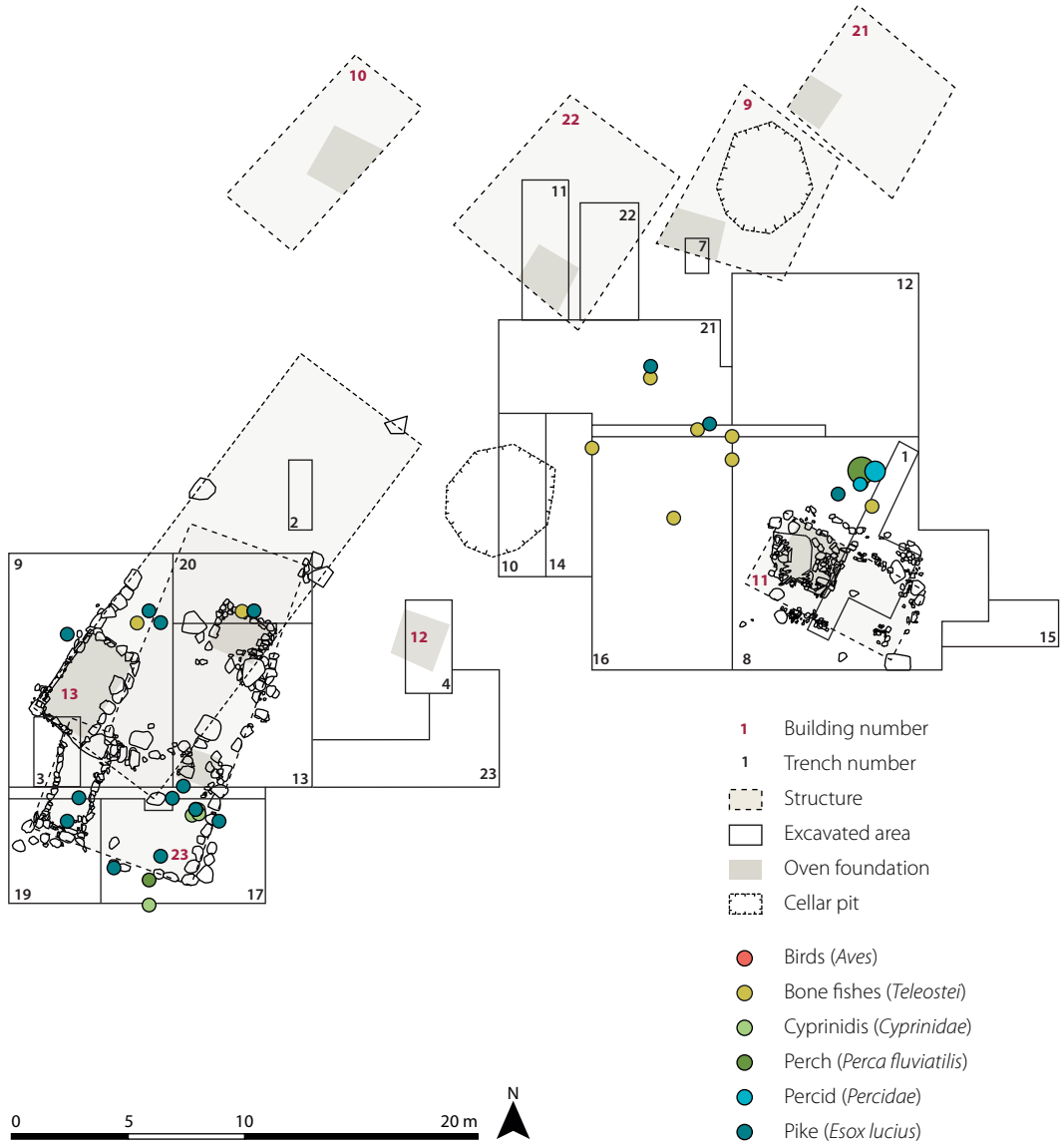

Figure 11.1. The spatial distribution of fish and bird bones at Mankby. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

comes from cattle. This seems to be typical at Finnish sites independent of social class.[11]

Single sheep and goat bones were identified from the hamlet material. However, only a fraction of all the sheep or goat bones could be identified to species. Sheep and goats could be used for their milk, skins, wool, bones, and horns.[12] The milk could be processed into cheese, which would keep longer, and the wool would be used in textiles. At least all wool from sheep was used in textile production, and the different sorts of wool would be separated, such as wool from the neck and the back. The wool would have been of a coarse quality, suitable for durable clothing and sails.[13]

[11] Bläuer 2015: 85.
[12] Hallander 1992: 10.
[13] Ibid.

Pigs are mostly considered to be meat producers for the community, but their skins and bones could also be used. They could be fed almost anything and slaughtered at a relatively young age. At Mankby, the pig bones that could be age-determined were from individuals under the age of two. This follows the same pattern that can be seen in the hamlet of Mårtensby (Fi. Martinkylä) in Vantaa[14] and the medieval and post-medieval town of Turku[15]. Pigs could also reproduce several times a year, which means that the unwanted amount of piglets would have been consumed. This, in turn, would result in very young piglets in the archaeological material. At Mårtensby there are piglets in the material,[16] but none have been identified at Mankby. This is probably due to reasons of bone preservation, because the juvenile skeleton is brittle and would decompose faster than bones of adults. Teeth from both sows and boars were identified at Mankby.

The meat from the animals would be preserved mainly by drying or salting. It would then be available for use around the year. Fresh meat would be eaten when the animals were slaughtered, mainly during autumn and spring. Especially the parts that could not be preserved would be used as quickly as possible, such as offal.

Domestic birds could also be kept by peasants, but they were not included in the lists of taxed livestock, so there are no indications in the historical records of the amounts of birds kept.[17] There are some chicken bones from Mankby, implying that chickens were included among the domestic animals of the hamlet. The main produce from the chickens were eggs, but their manure and meat could also be used.

HUNTING AND FISHING IN THE HAMLET

Fish and birds would be caught mostly between spring and autumn. They could also be dried or salted to keep for later use. The birds identified at Mankby were seabirds. Fish species were restricted to pikes, carp fishes, and perches, with the exception of one gadid bone.

The found fish bones are mainly burned, with the exception of a large number of unburned scales. Perch bones and fish scales were found north of building 11 in a small pit dated to the 16th century or earlier (Fig. 11.1). The deposit might have been a pit for gut or scale waste, although a fragment of a nalbindnings needle made of bone was found in the same context.[18] Pike and cyprinid bones are found in all of the excavated areas. The gadid bone was found north of building 11. Unidentified bird bones were found outside building 23.

Both birds and fish could be caught by nets in the nearby areas. Fish traps and hooks, as well as seine and ice fishing, were additional methods for catching fish. The main fish species found at Mankby, i.e. pikes, carp fishes, and perch, thrive in shallow waters, which means that they could be caught nearby in rivers and small lakes. Gadids are caught in the sea and could end up at Mankby either by being fished by the inhabitants themselves or as supply bought elsewhere. The gadid bone is a cranial bone (dentale), which would imply that the fish in question was not brought to the hamlet in dried or salted form. Imported fishes had often their head cut off when they were prepared.

[14] Kivikero 2012a; 2012b; 2015.
[15] Tourunen 2008: 141.
[16] Kivikero 2012a; 2012b; 2015.
[17] Bläuer 2015: 146.
[18] See Chapter 10, Fig. 10.3.

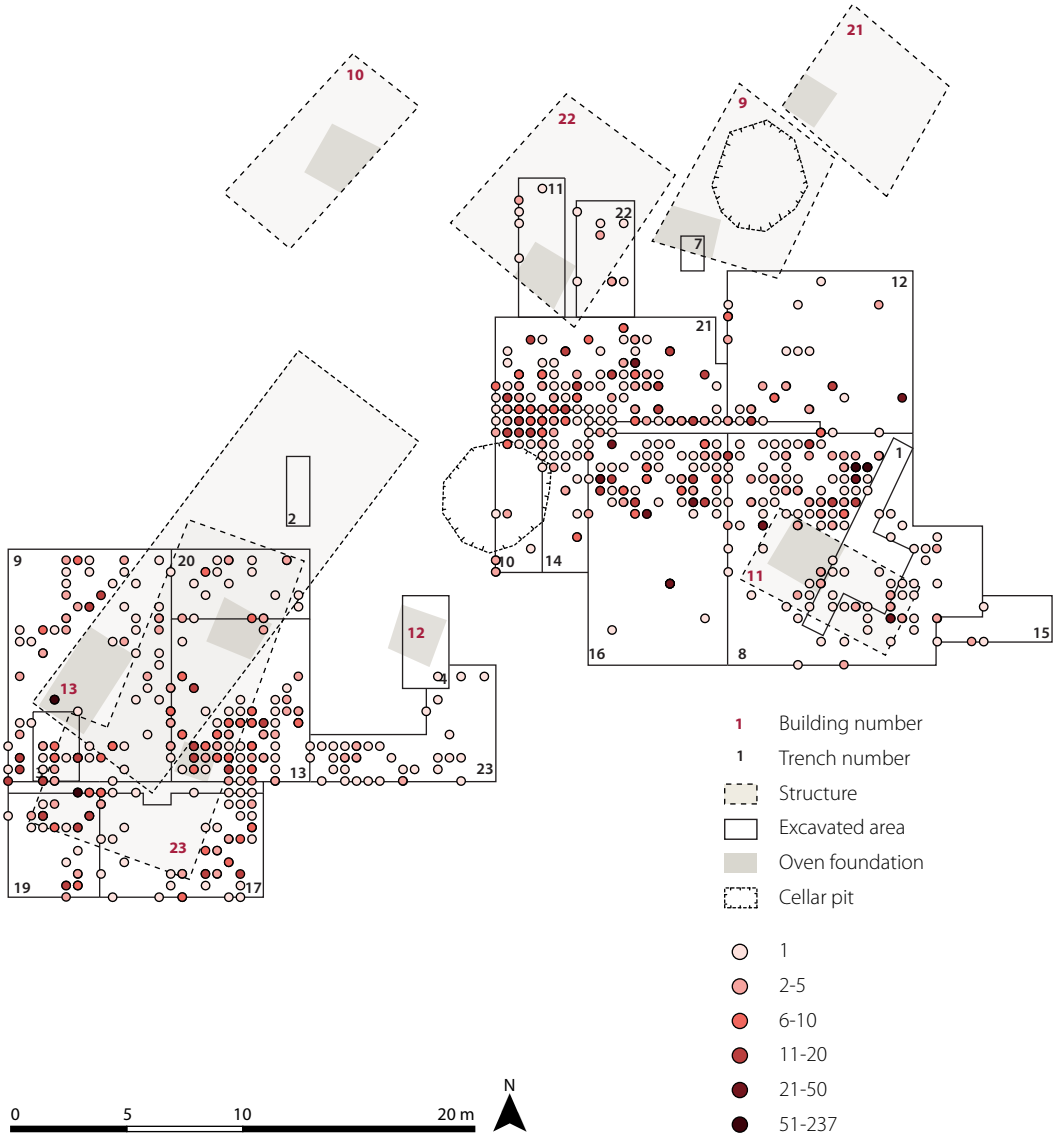

Figure 11.2. Spatial distribution of burned bone fragments. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

There is also some evidence of hare, a possible beaver, and a seal amongst the osteological material. Hares could be hunted in nearby forests with the thin arrowheads found during the excavations. The seal bone found at Mankby was a burned phalange, which could have been part of a skin. One can only speculate how the skin ended up at Mankby. It could have been caught by locals or bought, perhaps together with the finer ceramics and glassware.

The seal and hare bones occur in the field layers and are part of the later phase of Mankby. Seals are also mentioned in the Bailiff's account books of the Castle of Raseborg during the 16th century as a supply of blubber (and possible export goods).[19] The seal bone at Mankby might be part of the same blubber industry that was recorded at Raseborg.

[19] E.g. KA 2979.

WHAT HAPPENS TO ALL THAT WASTE?

It has been suggested in some studies[20] that peasants did not have access to meat in the same way that it was consumed in high-status environments. This would mean that people in hamlets would have followed a mainly vegetable-based diet with some additional meat. Eating very little meat would also mean no large-scale need for disposing of bone material. This is often thought to be the explanation for why so little bone material is found at village and hamlet sites. This interpretation is not without problems, especially regarding the bone material at Mankby. One has to take into consideration the biostratinomic factors that affect the decomposition of organic matter, as well as the scavenging of food waste by other animals.

Food waste could be dealt with in different ways: for example, it could be fed to pigs and/or dogs or spread as fertiliser on the fields. Feeding on bone waste can be seen in some of the bones recovered at Mankby, which have gnaw marks from pigs or dogs. As omnivorous animals, pigs could be fed with almost anything from garden waste to food waste. At least one of the pigs at Mankby had consumed foods that came from marine environments, such as fish, seabirds, or seals. This could be seen in the isotope value of one pig humerus that was sampled. The consumption of, for example, fish by pigs could be one explanation for why there are so few fish and bird bones on the site. Also the preparation of food (in this case meat in all forms) and the way the animal is butchered and the waste disposed of affect the preservation of the bones.[21]

The spatial distribution of burned and unburned bones at Mankby indicates that the bone material was treated differently. Burned bone has high concentrations north of building 11, in the field area (Fig. 11.2). House 11 is almost empty of burned bone. The bone substance more or less follows the edges of building 23 scattering also inside the house. Unburned bones mostly follow the walls of the different buildings (Fig. 11.3), indicating the need to dispose of fresh food waste from the inside of the houses, probably to avoid having pests come in and unwanted odours.

MANURE MATTERS – FOOD WASTE AS FERTILISER

One of the biggest problems in traditional agriculture is the shortage of manure. Animals were important producers of manure, but because of this shortage, animal-based manure could be mixed with other substances.[22] At least in Hertfordshire in England, farmers experimented with other sorts of fertilisers than traditional manure. At the beginning of the 19th century, Arthur Young recorded how the Hertfordshire farmers used burned bones as fertiliser in pastures and unburned bones on fields.[23] Unburned bones were especially good for clay soils, because the bones would make it easier for water to pass through. Raw bones were considered to be long-lasting as manure. The best way to use them was to lay them in rather large heaps and cover them with dung, whereby the sinews and flesh hanging about them would rot, and when the ground was ready to be ploughed, the bones would be car-

[20] E.g. Albarella 2009.

[21] Jones 1986; 1990; Colley 1990.

[22] Talve 1979: 56–57.

[23] Young 1804: 167–168.

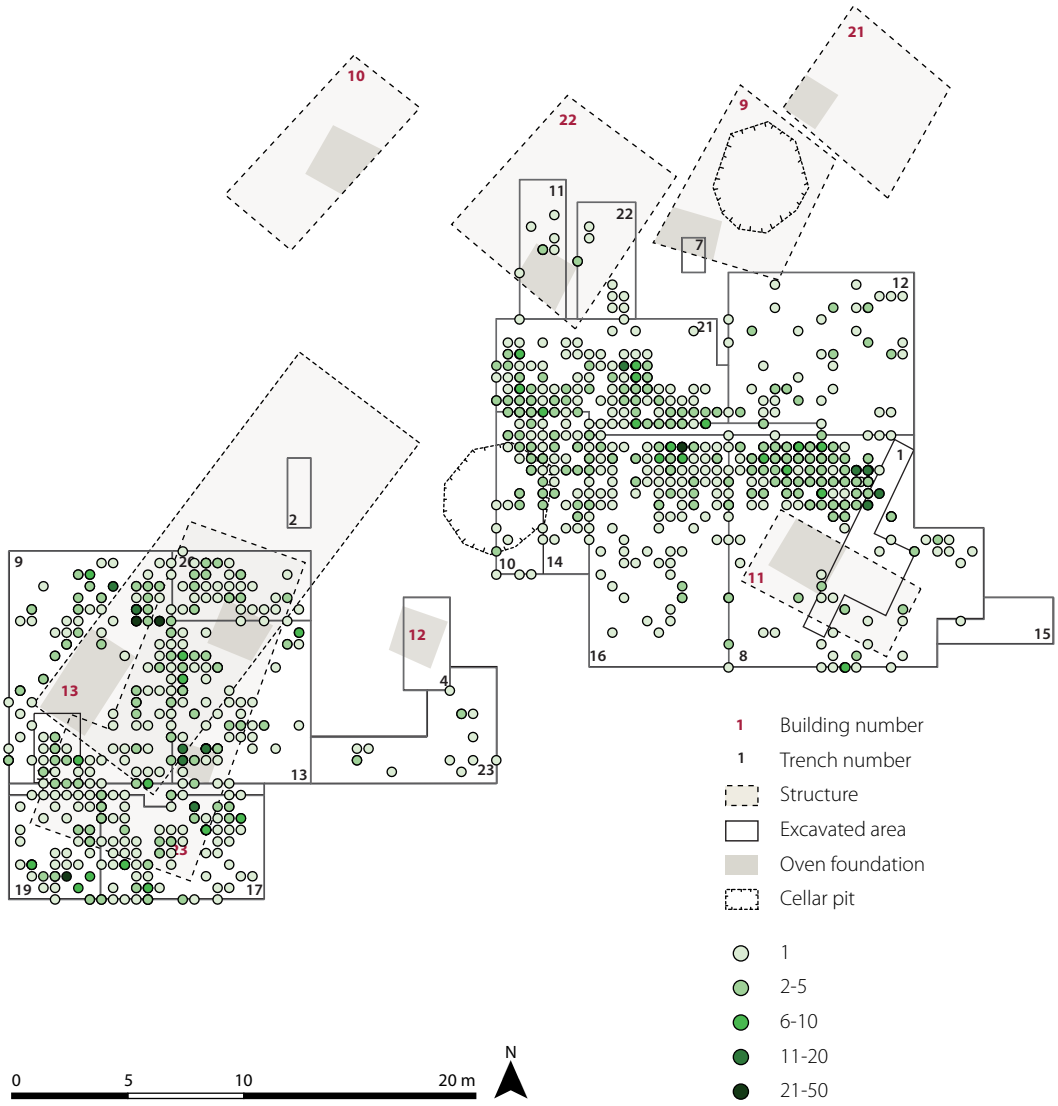

Figure 11.3. Spatial distribution of unburned bones. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

ried over and spread and ploughed in immediately, otherwise they would be carried away by dogs, rooks, etc.[24] Bone material was also recorded as working well in acidic soils.[25] This means that people could have used food waste as fertiliser on their fields already during the medieval period.

Also other animal-based produce was thought by farmers to be good manure for the soils. Hair was proven to be better than lime or malt-dust.[26] Ashes would be used to open and loosen the soil, but not to feed the soil.[27]

For medieval people, all matter was constituted of four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. These elements had qualities associated with them: hot, cold, dry, and moist. Waste also

[24] Young 1804: 168.
[25] Hall 1921: 158–159.
[26] Young 1804: 173.
[27] Young 1804: 165.

had these qualities: pottery and ashes were hot and dry, vegetable matter cold and moist, animal bones cold and dry,[28] and dung would be hot and moist.[29] Depending on what kind of soil the farmer had to work with, it could be balanced with the right sort of fertiliser.

Contexts identified in the middle of the hamlet had remnants of tillage and were interpreted as field layers.

The layers are either sand, sand mixed with clay, or clay mixed with sand, and they contain small amounts of unburned or burned bones. According to the farmers in Hertfordshire, unburned bones are good for clay soils. According to the bone distribution in the contexts, there are both unburned and burned bones in the contexts containing clay with sand soils. The only layer where unburned bones are a majority is the one which contains sand and coal. Food waste in form of animal bones could also have been transferred to the fields.

CONCLUSIONS

Bone preservation is one of the key issues in the study of the bone material from Mankby. The bone structure and the abrasive effect of the soil influence the preservation of the bone material. A large number of bones identified at Mankby were teeth, which, together with weathering studies and the lack of fragile bones, implies that the environment had a substantial effect on the material.

The animal bone material from Mankby indicates a variety of domestic animals present in the hamlet. The main purpose of having animals in an agricultural society was to secure fertilisation of the fields through manure. Other substances could be mixed with the manure to increase the amount of fertilisers used on the crops. Bones could be among these.

The fields would also need to be ploughed. Cattle and horses could be used for this purpose. Small amounts of horse teeth could be identified near building 11; cattle bones are found everywhere at Mankby. Cattle could also be useful as milk producers. The milk would be processed into butter, which in turn could be used for tax payment. Pigs were mostly a source of meat, and sheep were used for their wool and horns. The skins from all animals could be processed and used.

Chickens were the main producers of eggs in the hamlet. They could also be a supply of feathers and lean meat. Feathers and meat could also be supplied from the seabirds identified at Mankby. Other animals that could be caught in the surrounding environment were pikes, perches, cyprinids, hares, and beavers. Gadids and seals would be caught farther away in the archipelago or the Baltic Sea.

The small amount of bone waste at Mankby can be interpreted in different ways. Either the peasants could not afford to eat meat, which results in a sparse amount of bone material. It could also mean that the rate of bone preservation is so poor that all the brittle bones, such as the juveniles and birds and fishes, have decomposed. Bones could also be lost from the material through scavenging by pigs and dogs, or bones could have been transported to fields a bit farther away as part of the fertiliser.

[28] Seymour et al. 1975: 254, 565, 827.

[29] Jones 2011: 152.

The complexity of the waste disposal system in hamlets is a key issue in understanding and interpreting osteological material. The distribution of unburned and burned bones indicates that the different bone types were treated differently. Unburned bones were preferably tidied outside of the buildings to prevent pests from getting inside the houses.

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Mia Lempiäinen-Avci

12 PATTERNS OF EVERYDAY LIFE Archaeobotanical Research in the Medieval Village of Mankby

ABSTRACT

This article concerns carbonised plant macrofossils from the medieval village of Mankby in Espoo. Macrofossil analyses were carried out on soil samples collected from different archaeological contexts, the most important and fruitful of which were the building contexts and the fossil field layers. The datings of the contexts range from the 13th century to the mid-15th century. The archaeobotanical material consisted mainly of charred coniferous needles, cereal grains, and arable weeds. The results show differences in the preserved materials from different contexts from different time periods. The occurrence and distribution of archaeobotanical material is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeobotany is the study of preserved plant remains (seeds, fruits, leaves, wood, charcoal, and impressions in pottery) called macrofossils derived from archaeological contexts.[1] The analysis of plant macrofossils offers possibilities to reconstruct the structure of ancient food economy and the natural environments of the site. Therefore it is essential to carry out detailed archaeobotanical analyses at individual sites.

In the medieval village of Mankby, excavations were carried out during seven summer seasons from 2007 to 2013.[2] Soil samples for macrofossil analyses were taken systematically by the archaeologists working in the field. This is the largest archaeobotanical analysis carried out at a medieval rural site in Finland so far. In the medieval village of Mankby (fig. 12.1), several building structures and a fossil field were discovered. The main focus of this article is on the archaeobotanical results derived from a two-roomed cottage (building 23) and the stone cellar,[3] as well as a single room cottage (building 11).[4] The fossil field data is discussed here only briefly.[5]

1 For example, Renfrew 1973, 1991; Zohary & Hopf 1993; Jacomet & Kreutz 1999.
2 See Chapter 5.
3 See Chapter 7.
4 See Chapter 8.
5 See Chapter 9.

The scope of this article is on the archaeobotanical material, which reflects the patterns of everyday life throughout the centuries in the medieval village of Mankby.

Studies of macroscopic plant remains in Espoo have been carried out previously also at Mankåker,[6] Suomenoja Finno,[7] and Kauklahti Saka.[8]

DESCRIPTION OF THE VEGETATION IN PRESENT-DAY MANKBY

A vegetation inventory to determine the present-day plant assemblage at the site was carried out in 2010.[9] The excavation area, at present, is a forested site, with conifers and deciduous trees. The shrub layer consists of raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*), red elderberry (*Sambucus racemosa*), alpine currant (*Ribes alpinum*), and gooseberry (*Ribes uva-crispa*). The undergrowth includes blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*), bedstraw (*Galium* sp.), buttercup (*Ranunculus* sp.), sedge (*Carex* sp.), sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), common nettle (*Urtica dioica*), dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*), vetch (*Vicia* sp.), stitchwort (*Stellaria* sp.), avens (*Geum urbanum*), sticky catchfly (*Silene viscaria*), red campion (*Silene dioica*), and common speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*), as well as greater celandine (*Chelidonium majus*) and tower mustard (*Arabis glabra*).[10] The shrubs are likely to be remnants from the 19th-century settlement period of the site, whereas the undergrowth mostly represents common forest and meadow species in the area, with the exception of greater celandine and tower mustard, which are archaeophytes, i.e. plant species that invaded Finland before the 17th century through human actions.[11]

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The samples were collected from pits, post-holes, hearths, building contexts, fossil field layers, and one grave, as well as other cultural layers. A total of 155 soil samples from Mankby have been floated and analysed (Fig. 12.1). The sample volume was generally 1.5 to 2 litres, with the exception of a few smaller samples from the thinner cultural layers of some contexts, in which the volume was 0.5-1 litres. Sieves with mesh sizes of 2, 1, and 0.25 mm were used for floating.

The soil samples consisted mainly of brown sand, but some samples collected from burned contexts contained significant amounts of charcoal and ash. All samples were floated, processed, and analysed by the author at the University of Turku, Herbarium (TUR). The plant remains were identified by comparison with modern reference material in the Herbarium (TUR) and from literature.[12]

All charred seeds, grains, and all other charred plant remains and some charcoal were picked out of the floated soil samples, but uncarbonised seeds were not collected, as they

6 Lempiäinen, M. 2010.
7 Lempiäinen, M. 2006.
8 Lempiäinen, T. 2002; 2003.
9 Haggrén et al. 2010.
10 Ibid.
11 Suominen & Hämet-Ahti 1993:2–3.
12 Beijerinck 1947, Cappers et al 2006.

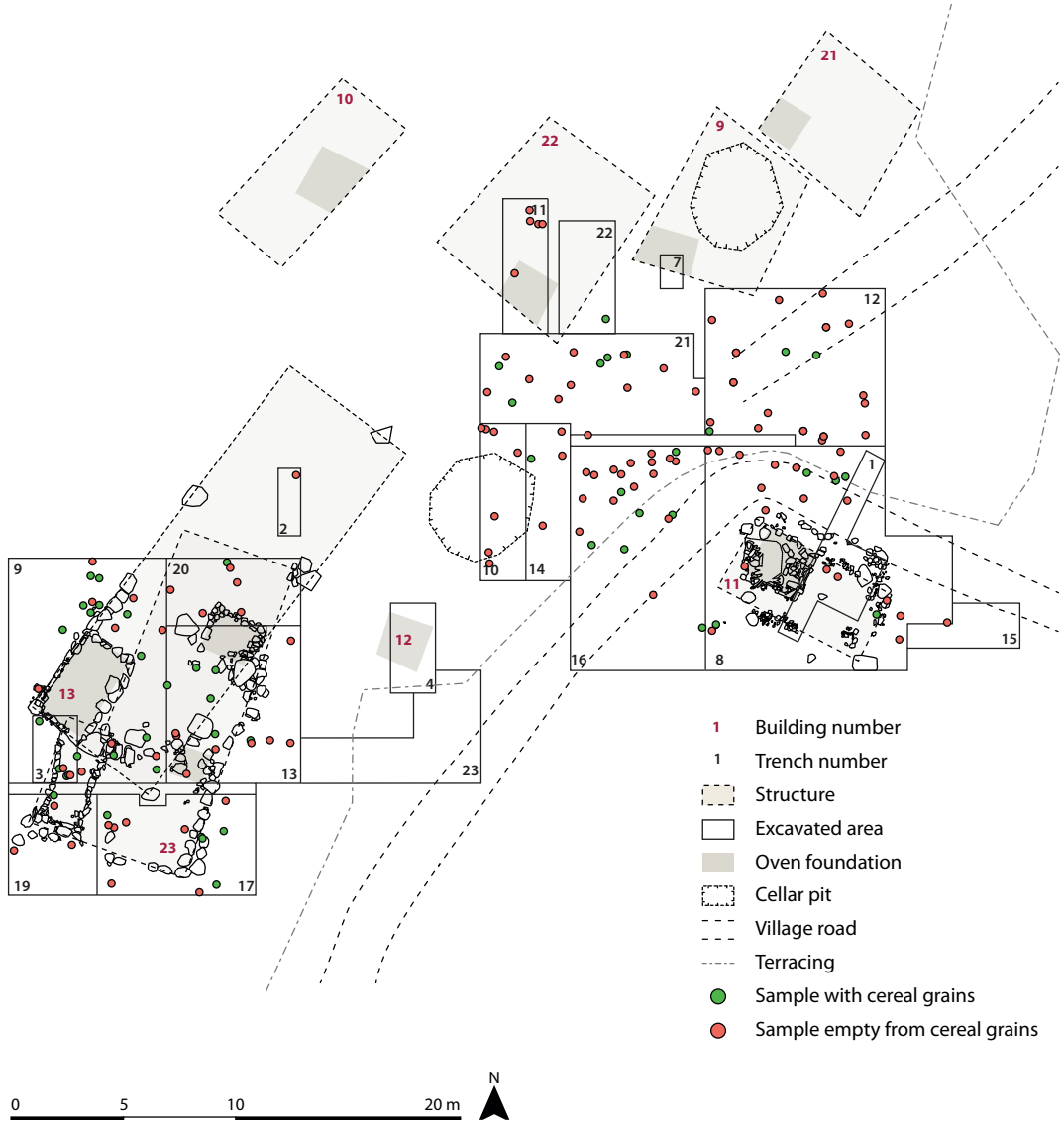

Figure 12.1. Distribution of all macrofossil samples taken during the excavation. (Map: Maija Holappa.)

most likely originate from modern vegetation. The preservation of the archaeobotanical material varies from poor to moderate, due to the fact that the charred macrofossils in the samples were often rather badly damaged in fire. Grains, seeds, and entire needles were counted, while fragments of needles were left uncounted.

RESULTS

A total of 7144 remains of charred seeds, grains, and coniferous needles were counted. The data is dominated by the charred needles of Norway spruce (*Picea abies*). Rye (*Secale cereale*) plays a major role among the cereals and fat hen (*Chenopodium album*) is the most common weed in the data.

Figure 12.2. Rye grains (*Secale cereale*) from the cellar of the two-roomed cottage. (Photo: Mia Lempiäinen-Avci.)

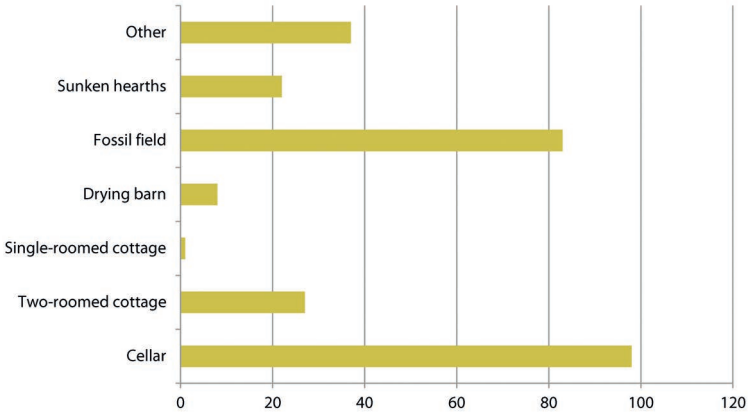

Table 12.1. Number of charred cereal grains in Mankby.

Cereals

Altogether 276 grains were found at Mankby. The data from Mankby consists of 148 rye grains (*Secale cereale*), 32 barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) grains, and one glume base of barley. Oat (*Avena sativa*) and wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) are absent. The amount of grains that could not be identified to species level due to poor preservation is very high, being 95 grains in total. The dominating feature in all damaged and broken unidentified grains is that they are fragile and puffed, so all characteristic features for species identification are lost.

The largest concentration, namely 98 grains (Fig. 12.2), was found in the stone cellar adjacent to the two-roomed cottage (building 23). A cluster of 27 charred grains was derived from the two-roomed cottage, where rye and barley grains were scattered on the floor area near the ovens. In the two-roomed cottage, some grains might derive from the younger, mid-15th-century context, during which time the drying barn had been built overlapping a part of the structures of the two-roomed cottage.[13] However, the radiocarbon dating of two grains belongs in the same period with the two-roomed cottage, not the drying barn.[14] The smallest number of grains was derived from the single room cottage, where only one grain of rye was found.

From the fossil field area, altogether 83 grains were found, and the two hearths from the fossil field revealed 22 grains. Other contexts, such as pits and cultural layers, contained altogether 31 grains (Table 12.1).

Arable weeds

A total of 327 seeds of 16 arable weed taxa have been identified at Mankby. Most of the species belong to the annuals traditionally growing in fields or other cultural habitats. However, there are some species linked also to the traditional cultivation of rye, namely bromes (*Bromus secalinus / Bromus hordeaceus*) and cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*), which

[13] See Chapter 7.

[14] Sample 13-85a Poz 70147 and sample 13-85b Poz 70148.

were mainly found in the cellar (Fig.12.3). Some seeds of brome were also found in the fossil field and near the two-roomed cottage.

Fat hen (*Chenopodium album*) dominates the data with more than 200 seeds. The amount of other weed species, such as chickweed (*Stellaria media*), corn spurry (*Spergula arvensis*), sweetscented bedstraw (*Galium odoratum*), false cleavers (*Galium spurium*), common fumitory (*Fumaria officinalis*), and nipplewort (*Lapsana communis*), is much smaller. Most of the fat hen seeds were found in the fossil field and the hearths in the fossil field area, as well as in the single room cottage. However, other weeds were found mainly in the two-roomed cottage, cellar, and fossil field.

Figure 12.3. Charred cornflower achene (*Centaurea cyanus*) found together with the grains from the cellar. (Photo: Mia Lempiäinen-Avci.)

Collected wild plants

The amount of seeds from collected fruits at Mankby is small. Three raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*) seeds and one seed of forest strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*) were found in the floor area of the two-roomed cottage (building 23).

Meadow and pastureland weeds

The number of meadow and pastureland weeds is 88 seeds representing 13 different taxa. Most common are the parsley family (*Apiaceae*) and true grasses (*Poaceae*). Seeds of other plant species are scarce in the material, such as pale persicaria (*Persicaria lapathifolia*), violet (*Viola* sp.), meadow buttercup (*Ranunculus acris*), and figwort (*Scrophularia nodosa*). The largest number of seeds of meadow and pastureland species was found in the single room cottage, while smaller amounts were found in the fossil field and other contexts such as post-holes and cultural layers.

Hydrophytes

Altogether 85 seeds representing species preferring damp and wet habitats were found among the samples. Most common were the seeds of oval sedge (*Carex ovalis*). In general, the sedge family was present in the samples that derived from the fossil field and mixed cultural layers. Woodrush (*Luzula* sp.) and wood club-rush (*Scirpus sylvaticus*) were only found near the wall of the two-roomed cottage together with some seeds of sedges.

Woodland and shrubs

The most abundant remains in this ecological group were the needles of Norway spruce (*Picea abies*), which dominated the whole archaeobotanical material at Mankby (Table 12.2). Only intact needles were counted, but sometimes the amount was only estimated, because in some cases the entire sample consisted only of charred needles. Remains of other coniferous trees consisted of juniper (*Juniperus communis*) and pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), which were present in small amounts in the fossil field and hearths. Fragments of hazelnuts (*Corylus*

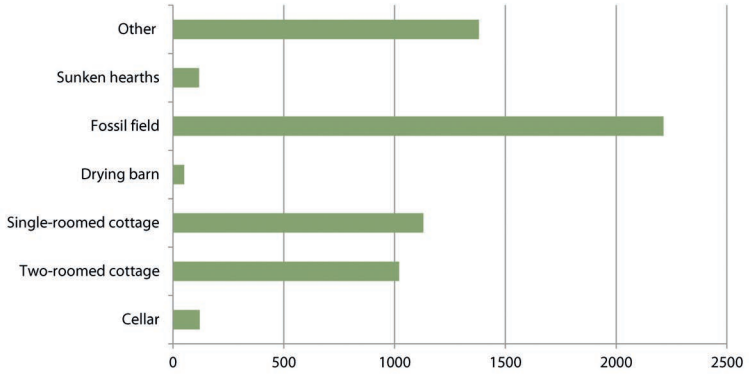

Table 12.2. Number of charred spruce needles in Mankby.

avellana) were found scattered on the floor area and in the fireplaces of the two-roomed cottage. Some fragments were retrieved also from the fossil field.

Indeterminate

A large amount of plant remains was so badly damaged that they could no longer be identified to any plant taxa. As was the case with the cereals, the seeds were also puffed. Altogether 313 seeds were left unidentified. Most of the unidentifiable seeds derived from the fossil field, but a large amount of damaged seeds also came from cultural layers and pits.

DISCUSSION

The patterns of life in medieval villages are linked to cultivation, crop processing and food preparation, collecting plants from the natural environment, and using plants in different ways. The main result of the research is that the archaeobotanical data shows differences in the preserved materials from different contexts. The characteristic trait of the data is the presence of certain plant species connected to certain activity areas in the village.

As can be seen in the distribution of the cereals (Fig. 12.1), there is a difference between the two-roomed cottage, cellar, single room cottage, and fossil fields and hearths within the village. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that the above-mentioned contexts date to different periods of time within the history of Mankby.

Cultivation can be located to the fossil fields. However, the dominating feature are the indeterminate seeds, while recognizable cereals and arable weeds are equally represented. According to the radiocarbon dated and analysed grain material from the fossil fields, cultivation took place in the fields from the mid-13th century until the end of the 14th century. Large clusters of spruce needles can indicate that the woodland was cleared for cultivation use and the fields were manured.

The hearths found in the fossil field area are dated to the same period as the fields, from the mid-13th century to the end of the 14th century.[15] The majority of the identified grains consists of rye, with only fat hen and nipplewort representing arable weeds. Few needles and seeds of juniper and Scots pine were found, spruce needles being very common in the hearths.

Harvest storage can be traced to the stone cellar, where the dominating ecological group is the cereals, of which rye is in a major role and barley in a minor role. Seeds of brome, cornflower, and false cleavers were also found in the cellar, and these three species together with rye are assumed to indicate winter rye cultivation.[16] The abundant presence of arable weed

[15] See Chapter 8.
[16] Grabowski 2011.

material and the rye seeds in the cellar indicate that either the crops were not cleaned before storing or the cleaning was not thorough due to the primitive methods and tools used. According to the archaeological finds, the cellar is dated to the 14th–15th centuries,[17] and it may be assumed that the archaeobotanical materials from the cellar have the same date. However, some layers in the cellar were collapsed, so some of the plant remains can also have a different origin and date.

The two-roomed cottage belongs to the same period as the cellar,[18] and the distribution and the variety of cereals and arable weeds falls into the same category with the cellar. Along with the rye and barley grains, also hazelnut and remains of raspberries and forest strawberry were clustered on the floor area near the ovens. All these plant species are probably remains of food processing, which took place in the area of the two-roomed cottage. Some hydrophytes found in the two-roomed cottage seem to derive from the context next to the wall, so this could indicate that there was a damp place near the wall. Huge amounts of needles and unidentified seeds were mostly found in the oven and the floor area of the cottage. The needles might originate from spruce branch brooms commonly used to sweep ashes from the oven before baking.

The interpretation of archaeobotanical material derived from the layers of the drying barn area is complicated. As Salonen has noted, the mid-16th-century drying barn is slightly younger than the two-roomed cottage.[19] The drying barn was built partly on the structures of the two-roomed cottage, which is why, as long as the plant remains are not radiocarbon dated, it remains uncertain whether some of the cereals and arable weeds originate from the drying barn.

The single room cottage dates to the late 15th and early 16th centuries. A village road ran by the cottage, and on the western side was a yard that belonged to the cottage.[20] According to the archaeobotanical data, most of the meadow and pastureland weeds were found in this cottage. This might indicate storing fodder for the livestock. Some of the seeds could have ended up in the house from the road and yard along with people walking into the house. With the exception of one single grain of rye, there were no remains of cereals, so crops were not stored or processed in this house. Again, the needles might originate from spruce branch brooms used to clean the oven.

The category named "other" includes cultural layers, post-holes, and a grave. Archaeobotanical data categorised under this topic might partly belong also to some other category, such as the houses, fossil fields, or hearths. No exact distinction could be made in the case of some soil samples, which is why a rougher categorisation has been applied. All plant remains under this categorisation were found scattered around the village area, mostly in undefined cultural layers. All contexts revealed only small amounts of plant remains. Therefore, the general picture of the patterns of everyday life in Mankby would still remain as presented above.

Archaeological layers in Mankby have remained intact, as indicated by the fact that hardly any remains originating from present-day vegetation were found in the samples. Only a few uncharred raspberry and birch (*Betula* sp.) seeds and spruce needles were found.

17 See Chapter 7.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 See Chapter 8.

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeobotanical data supports the archaeological results and interpretations of the excavated buildings from the medieval village of Mankby. According to the data, there is clear evidence of early rye cultivation in the medieval village of Mankby, lasting for several centuries. The results of the archaeobotanical analysis reflect the patterns of life on a longer time scale, throughout the whole history of Mankby, from the mid-13th century until the mid-16th century.

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APPENDIX A
Distribution of Burned Clay

(Map: Maija Holappa.)

APPENDIX B
Distribution of Tile

(Map: Maija Holappa.)

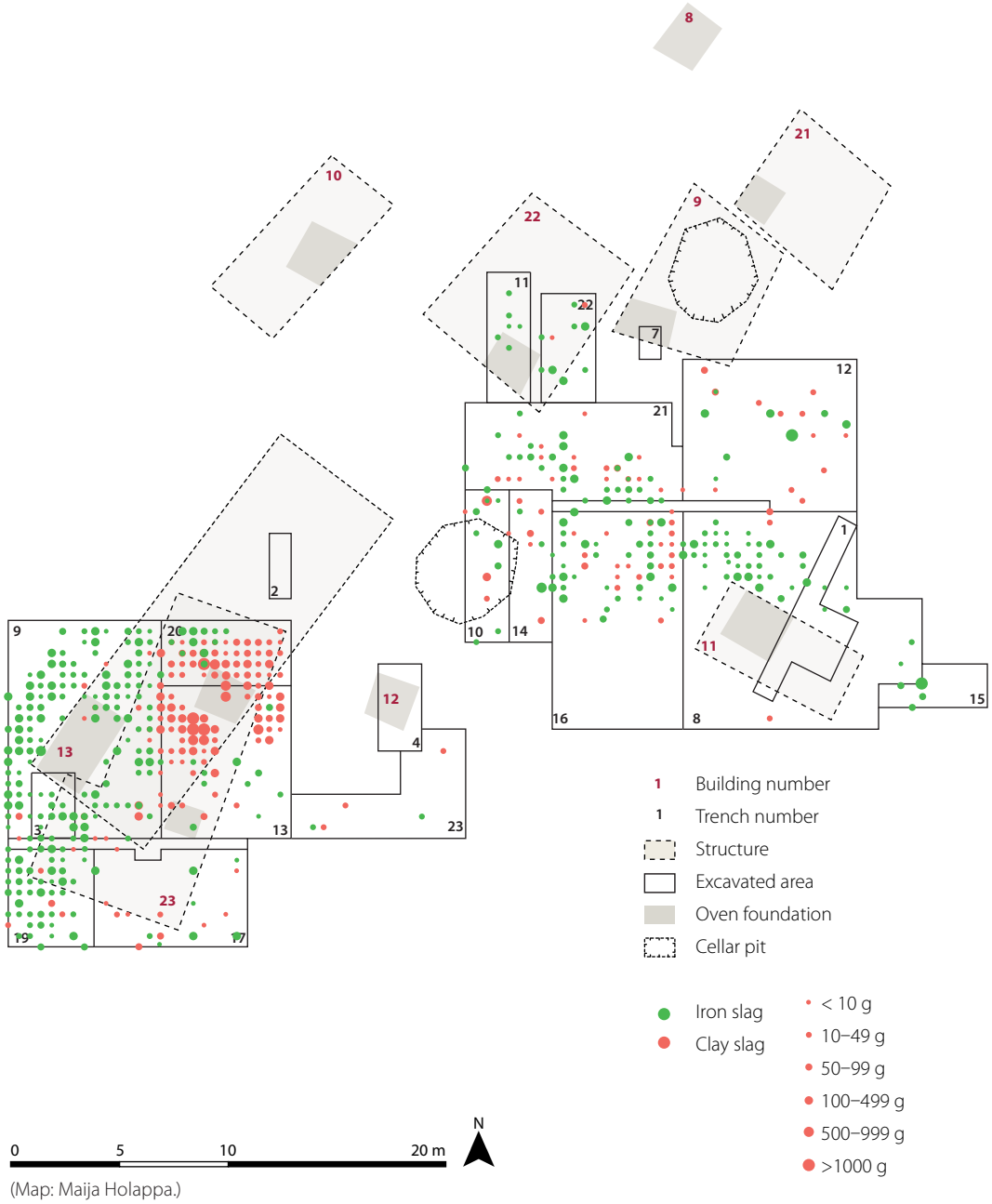
APPENDIX C
Distribution of Iron Nails

(Map: Maija Holappa.)

APPENDIX D
Distribution of Flint

(Map: Maija Holappa.)

APPENDIX E
Distribution of Slag

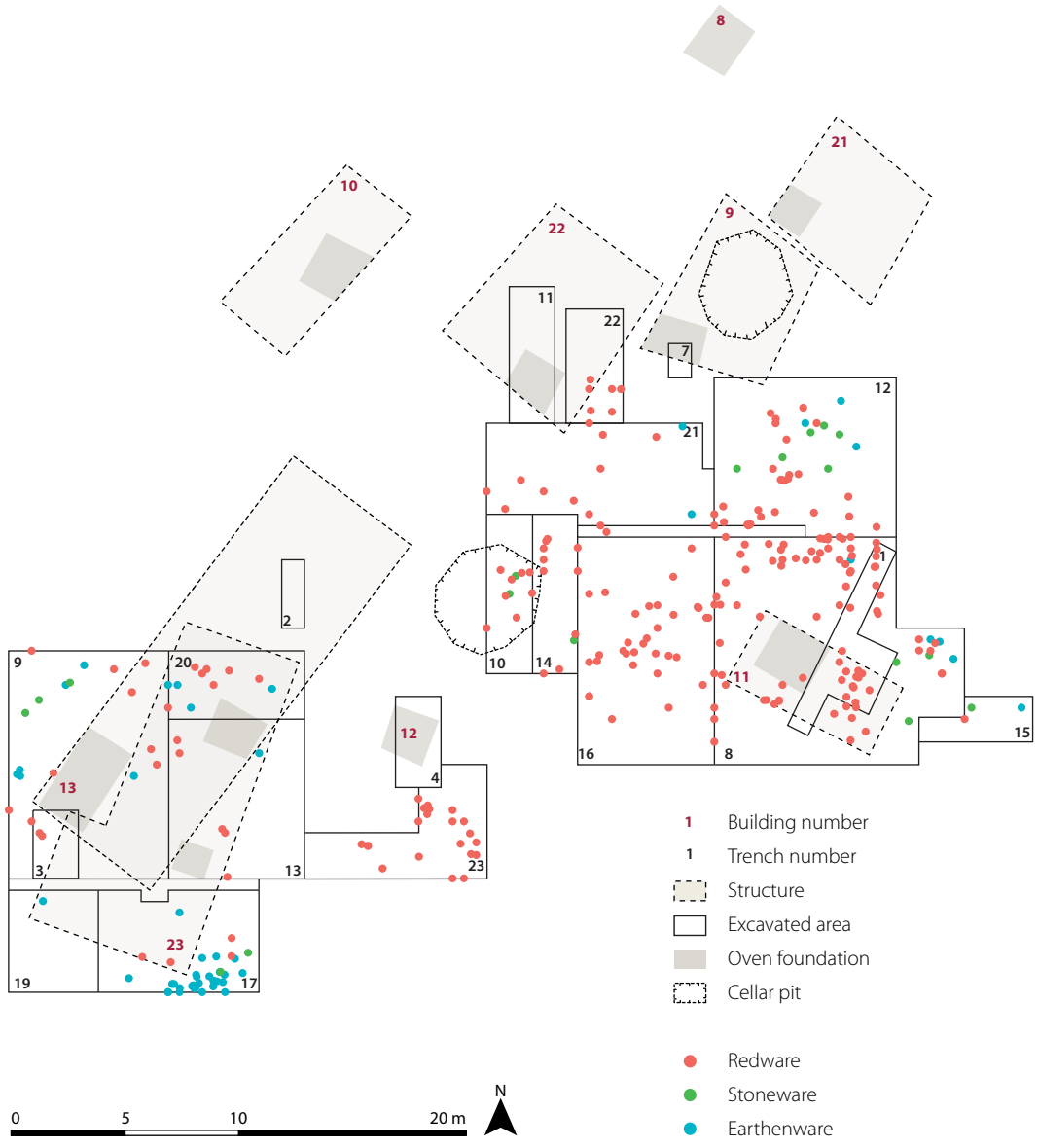


(Map: Maija Holappa.)

APPENDIX F
Distribution of Knives and Glass Beakers

(Map: Maija Holappa.)

APPENDIX G
Distribution of Ceramics



(Map: Maija Holappa.)

In August 1556 a village of six farms was abandoned in Espoo in Southern Finland. Mankby, as the village was called, had been a prosperous dwelling place since the 13th century, but all this changed when king Gustav Vasa decided to found a royal demesne nearby and incorporated the fields of Mankby in the new estate. During a rapid desertion process, the peasants moved to new homes, and the old village plot became uninhabited until this day.

During seven years of excavations, 2007–2013, archaeologists from Helsinki University and Espoo City Museum have unveiled remains of the village of Mankby. This volume presents the results of this research, sheading light on many different aspects of medieval life. The main excavated structures, the results of the scientific analyses and the artefacts found during the excavations are presented in this volume, as well as the medieval settlement structure of the region and its prehistoric predecessors.

Mankby has shown to be one of the best preserved village sites in Southern Finland, and the research on this site has updated our view on medieval peasants and their life conditions. The studies discuss new aspects on dwellings, contacts, trade, subsistence, diet and social structures. The village and its rich find material reflects the historic phenomena of its time: the medieval Swedish colonisation of the Finnish coast, the influence of the Hanseatic League and the dawn of early modern society. The results of the research in Mankby offer both micro-historic glimpses into the past and insights into the larger picture of history.

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