CASTLES AND MANORS

LEFT. Georg outside Raseborg Castle. Photo: Elina Terävä 2014.
RIGHT. Georg at the Sacrification Church of Pyhämaa during University of Turku archaeology spring excursion. Photo: Anne-Mari Liira 2023.

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A VISIT TO SUNDHOLM

ABSTRACT

Sundholm manor in Uusikaupunki, Southwest Finland, exhibits the remains of an evidently medieval stone-built house. It is situated on a former small island with a surrounding moat constructed at a later date, making the site special. In written sources, the date of establishment or transfer of the manor to Sundholm is not clearly stated, but its first occurrence has generally been dated to the late 15th century. The general structural concept of the site has, however, been compared to fortified manors from earlier in the Middle Ages. During a field trip to Sundholm and its surroundings, measurements on the above sea-level height of the stone manor's foundations were conducted. In addition, a preliminary survey was carried out at the deserted Paalila village site, which was one of three tax-exempt noble farms in the area, along with Vanhakartano and Arvassalo, with Vanhakartano being the likely predecessor to Sundholm. The results are discussed with reference to the topography and earliest history of Sundholm manor, as well as to the research potential of the nearby medieval villages. The selection of the site and planning of the stone-built manor could, in principle, have been instigated before the 15th century, but later shore-level changes could have affected the project; still, a late 15th century dating is equally possible. The moat, however, is primarily a post-medieval construction whose function was rooted more in tradition and a symbolic sense of isolation rather than defence. The constellation of medieval farms in the vicinity constitutes an exciting topic for future research, which is exemplified by the correlation of surveyed visual observations and historical data at the Paalila site.

Keywords: Finland, manor, Middle Ages, Paalila, Sundholm, village

INTRODUCTION

Due to local interest in promoting the investigation of the Arvassalo area in Uusikaupunki, Southwest Finland (Fig. 1), the University of Turku conducted an inspection at the deserted Paalila medieval village site in July 2023. In October 2023, an archaeological field course was given the opportunity to use the Paalila site, as well as Sundholm manor, as its training locations for one day. In addi-

FIGURE 1. Location of the area. Map: Henrik Asplund.

tion to introducing students to the equipment used in field cartography, the other goal of the fieldwork was to gain insight into the early history of Sundholm manor as well as to the visible archaeological remains of Paalila village. At Sundholm, the focus was on the topography of the site, which is linked to sea-level changes during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. The Paalila site was surveyed to compare the observed remains with historical sources. What at first was a short field trip resulted in research questions concerning the construction period of the stone-built house and moat. In addition, clarifying the constellation of other medieval sites in the area was highlighted as another important topic.

The oldest parts of Sundholm manor (its cellars or bottom floor) consist of the remains of an evidently medieval stone-built house. The remains of a surrounding moat can still be seen in the landscape. The early history of the manor has been discussed on several occasions.[1] The interpretations of the manor's date of establishment have primarily relied on historical documents. The first know owner of Vanhakartano ('The Old Manor') in Arvassalo was Henrik Claesson Fleming in the late 15th century. The start of the construction of the stone house at Sundholm has been suggested to have begun soon after, during the time of Joakim Fleming, who died in 1495.[2]

Due to the topography of the site, the stone-built house surrounded by a moat has also been compared to earlier Swedish fortified manors from the 14th century.[3] In written sources, the date of establishment or transfer of the manor to Sundholm is not clearly stated, but its first occurrence has generally been dated to the late 15th century. There is, however, one document that mentions Sundholm already in 1411,[4] but as it is a 17th century copy, its validity can be put into question.[5]

One could speculate whether all of the villages mentioned in the document could really have existed already in 1411. If other villages or farms founded after 1411 are present in the document, the case of Sundholm could also be questioned. One example is Sikaniemi, as there does not seem to exist any mention of this village before the 16th century. The foundation of the Sikaniemi tenant farm on the meadowlands of Sundholm manor is mentioned in 1542.[6] However, there is some uncertainty about the history of Sikaniemi prior to the 1540s. It is possible that the manor's meadowlands in Sikaniemi were actually the remains of a previously deserted farmstead or small hamlet.[7]

TOPOGRAPHY OF SUNDHOLM

Sundholm is located on a small, former island, separated from land by a narrow strait – in fact, the name Sundholm translates to 'Strait-island'. At some point, the strait would have dried up due to land uplift, but it was instead turned into a moat (Fig. 2). Today, the moat is still clearly visible but mostly dry. However, in the early 20th century, the manor was still surrounded by water (Fig. 3).

During the field exercise day, students measured the height of the manor's stone foundation. Their objective was to generate exact data for comparisons with data on land uplift (and thus sea-level change) in the area, in order to date the earliest possible period of construction at the site, as well as to gain an understanding of the date of the moat. The measurements were combined with LiDAR data. The stone construction in the western part of the house was found to be erected on a rock surface. A visit into the westernmost cellars confirmed that they were not dug deeper into the ground, and that their floors were more or less in level with the base of the outer walls.

The mapping and measuring of the site's height above sea level (ASL) was conducted using RTK-GPS and a total station. As height calculations can be problematic in satellite cartography, the results were tested by comparing the result from a measurement of the actual sea level at Sundholm with data from the nearest mareograph at Rauma. The results differed by 17 mm (with a few mm variation during the nearest hours), which enhances confidence in the RTK-GPS results. Furthermore, the equipment was tested at the nearest fix point (KP 854332), where a height difference of 14 mm was recorded.

FIGURE 2 (left). Sundholm on a map drawn by Thomas Åquist from 1797. FIGURE 3 (right). The moat photographed in the 1920s. Photo: Ringbom (1928: 282).

FIGURE 4. Height measurements (N2000) of the lowest visible part of the stone foundation. The plan of the cellars according to Ringbom (1928: 279; cf. Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 112). Map: Henrik Asplund.

The results from the height measurements (Fig. 4) can be compared with current data on sea-level change in the area.[8] According to the results, the start of the planning and even erection of the stone-built house could, in theory, have been possible in the 14th century. The moat, however, is post-medieval.

SURVEY OF PAALILA

In addition to Sundholm manor, another area of note is the four medieval villages or farmsteads nearby: Arvassalo, Paalila, Sikaniemi, and Vanhakartano (Fig. 5). Out of these, at least Vanhakartano and Paalila included noble land properties, and all have historical connections to Sundholm manor.
During the field trip, a preliminary investigation was conducted at the deserted Paalila village site. The survey resulted in the recording of one stone heap (perhaps a clearance heap or something similar), two mounds (one with evident brick remains) likely related to building remains at the site, one stone-paved cellar, and the stone foundation of a small building (or the remains of a cellar underneath).

The total station recording of the structures was combined with LiDAR data to produce a more comprehensive topographical map of the area. The mapped structures can, to some extent, be compared to a late 18th century map (Fig. 6). All of the structures correspond to house plots and borders (fences). In particular, the match between the small house foundation and the plot of the soldier's croft ('Soldat torp' on the map) seems evident. Although now deserted, later building stages have been present at the site, which can be seen on maps from 1865 and 1920, for example. The correspondence of the mapped structures with the earlier map suggests, however, that the major outline of the village site could have been present since the late 18th century. One could also speculate whether this structure could have been initiated at an even earlier date, the pattern reflecting something from the time of establishment of the farms at the site.

DISCUSSION

Sundholm manor

At Sundholm, the earliest theoretical dating for the masonry at the site is based on the highest altitude of the base of the stone construction. However, the more understandable option would be to use the lowest altitude of the same walls, as they were probably constructed within the same sequence. In this case, the height that could be considered is ca. 4.00–4.30 m ASL. Furthermore, we must take yearly sea-level fluctuations into account, as they could easily contribute an extra meter or more, meaning that a more appropriate calculation could amount to around 3.00–3.30 m ASL. The earliest possible date – the elevation of the location of the construction site to 4.00–4.30 m ASL – is around AD 1200 (Table 1). However, it is unlikely that any construction would have occurred at this time. A slightly more probable period (a theoretical maximum), with the water level one meter lower, would date the site to the late 14th century, or around AD 1400.

AD	M asl (N2000)
1000	5.35
1100	4.90
1200	4.30
1300	3.65
1400	3.05
1500	2.47
1600	1.85

TABLE 1. Estimate of sea-level change in the Uusikaupunki area, AD 1000–1600. Table: Jussi Kinnunen (based on Vuorela et al. 2009: Figure 57).

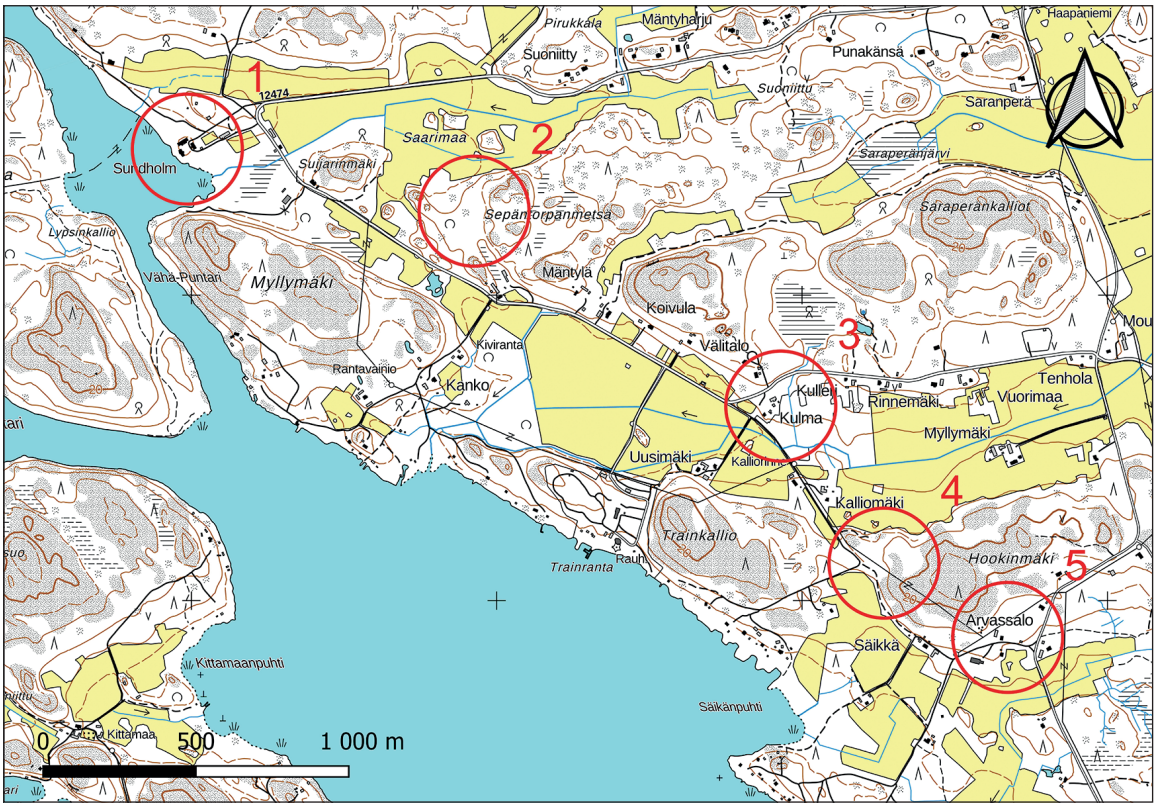

FIGURE 5. The location of 1– Sundholm, 2– Sikaniemi, 3 – Vanhakartano, 4 – Paalila, and 5 – Arvassalo shown on a basic map by the National Land Survey of Finland. Map: Henrik Asplund.

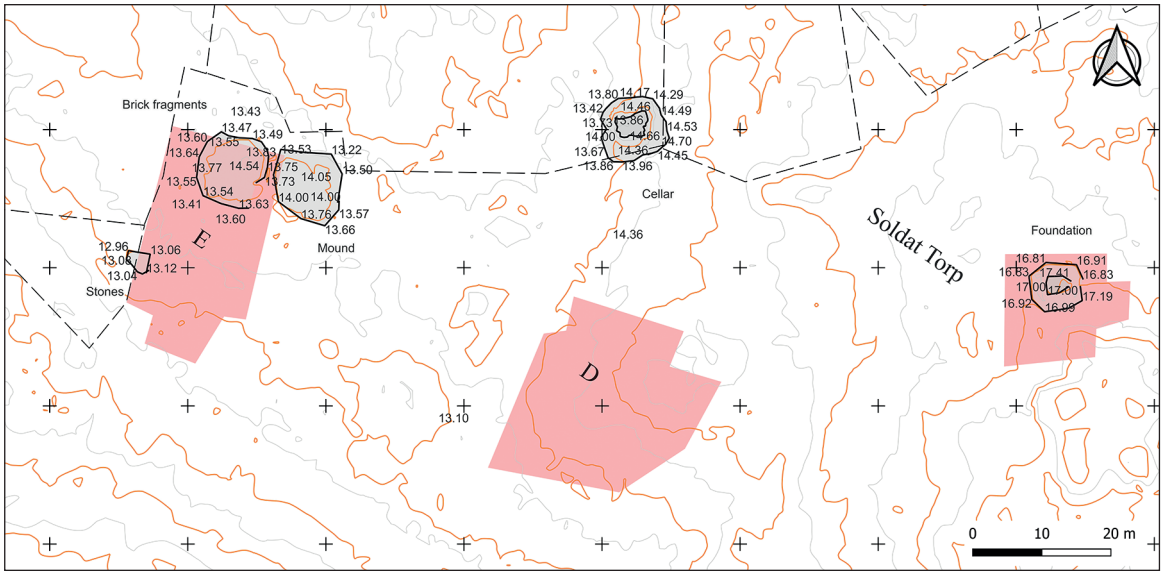

FIGURE 6. Visible structures documented at the Paalila village site compared to borders/fences (dashed lines) and parcels shown on a map by Thomas Åquist from 1797. Map: Henrik Asplund.

With respect to land upheaval, one factor that adds to the dating issue is the long-standing discussion on irregular sea-level changes in the Middle Ages. This is related to the Little Ice Age, which began roughly around the 14th century. Starting from that period, there is evidence of lower sea levels in some regions. For example, in the Lake Mälaren area in Sweden, the lowering of the sea level accelerated during the 14th century; later, the sea level seems to have risen again.[9] These medieval sea-level fluctuations have also been discussed in Finland. In the case of castles, for example, there is evidence of walls evidently suffering from and being partly rebuilt due to rising water levels in the late 15th century and 16th century.[10] The phenomenon has been discussed in some other cases as well, often in relation to the dating and/or possible dating of contexts close to the seashore.[11]

If we consider that the site constitutes a fortified manor cut off by a strait – a topographical choice common in the 14th century – one could speculate whether the choice of site and even its construction could have been instigated at that time. This is a possibility if the circumstances favoured this option. Later, if sea-level fluctuations adversely affected the plans for the site, the project could have been seriously delayed. In any case, a late 15th century dating, as suggested by historical documents, remains an equally relevant option.

In some cases, changes in residential locations seem to have been induced by certain individuals, new generations, or new owners. Changes in ownership could have been manifested in the alterations to the landscape or architecture of the sites.[12] In the case of Sundholm, such a period of change could have been seen during the establishment of the ownership of Vanhakartano by the Fleming family. In the late 15th century, it could also have been related to the ambitions of Joakim Fleming. Perhaps his father held on to Vanhakartano until his death in around 1490, and Joakim intended to establish his own legitimacy by erecting a manor site of his own. What is strange, however, is that Vanhakartano as a toponym ('The Old Manor') occurs already in the aforementioned document from 1411, which would imply the existence of some kind of concurrent second site.

The moat

The moat has garnered much interest and has even been presented as a medieval construction.[13] In Northern Europe, many moated sites are medieval, often constructed in the 13th or 14th century, although even post-medieval sites do occur.[14] What is irrefutable, however, is that the moat could not have been dug in the Middle Ages, due to the low-lying location vis-à-vis the evidence of sea-level change (Fig. 7). The dredging of the strait could, of course, have started already before the area was drained, but it is more likely that the actual digging of parts of the moat could have been initiated perhaps in the late 16th century or the 17th century at the earliest, when the water level reached around 2 m ASL. The finalisation of the moat is likely even younger.

The idea of the moat being a later replacement and addition to the former strait due to land uplift has been presented earlier by Jutikkala & Nikander.[15] The young date of the moat has also been noted by Lovén.[16] In the case of Sundholm, the upkeep of the surrounding water strait is recent, but the very idea of a fortification surrounded by water seems to have gained a symbolic status already in the 14th century.[17] A moat is a typical aristocratic feature, found in connection with manors and other residences. Its function can be considered both military and social in nature. In addition to improving the defence of a site, it also helps separate noblemen from the rest of society, making it into a 'social fortification'.[18]

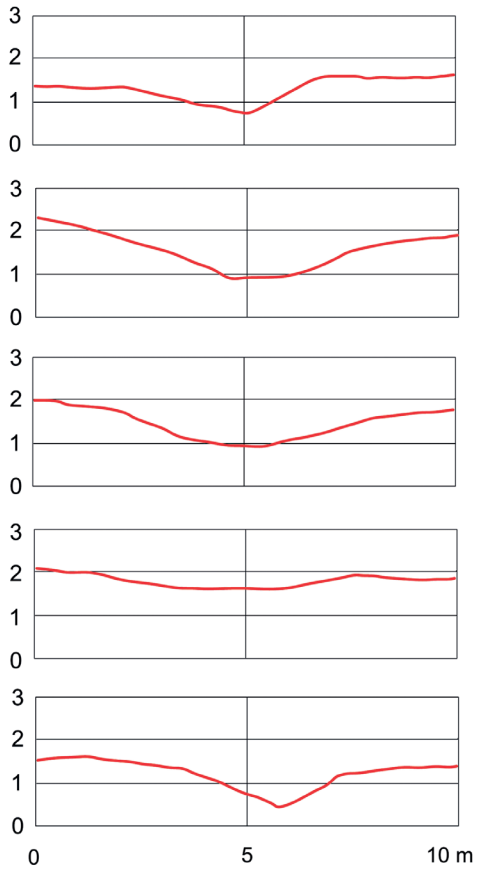

FIGURE 7. Five profiles (cross-sections) of the moat at Sundholm, based on LiDAR data (N2000) from the National Land Survey of Finland. Map: Henrik Asplund.

As the moat was dug during the post-medieval era, the protective military function of the construction is dubious. With regard to its practical defensive function, it remains unclear whether the surrounding peasant population could have posed such a threat to the manor that some kind of defence was needed against any local dissatisfaction.[19] This is, of course, a possibility, as the very idea of building at such a site must have been centred around achieving separation from the local peasantry.[20] One could, however, question whether a couple of meters of water could have acted as a real, practical defence, even from angry locals. In that case, it should have been combined with other defensive structures.

An equally relevant interpretation is that the dredging of the canal could have been done with some other purpose in mind. One cannot rule out a sense of romanticism with regard to the old landscape, possibly including gardens, rustic bridges, and other such features. In addition, the upkeep of the surrounding water passage could have been based on local tradition. As the original position of the manor was evidently chosen with isolation in mind, perhaps the long-term upkeep of this situation – even symbolically – could have mattered much more than any sense of military defence.

Vanhakartano, Paalila, Arvassalo

The general idea is that Vanhakartano ('The Old Manor') was the predecessor to Sundholm. A new location for the living quarters and administration of the manor would have been chosen at some point during the 15th century, at the latest. The isolated location, away from the peasant village sites, seems to be typical of medieval, stone-built manors in Finland as well as in other parts of Northern Europe, where a gradual shift towards a more private spatial location for aristocratic residences has been recorded.

With regard to the location and/or role of Vanhakartano, there seems to be some inconsistency in how these are interpreted, at least in the Cultural Environment Service Portal maintained by the Finnish Heritage Agency. At the time of writing, the location of Arvassalo village is registered as an archaeological site under the name of 'Vanhakartano' and described as the predecessor to Sundholm.[21] If not a misinterpretation, this accentuates the need for a reassessment of the medieval village constellation in the area.

The actual Vanhakartano village site (under the title of 'Wanha kartano eller Gambla Gård' on the 1694 map and 'Gammelgård' on the 1797 map) is located approximately 1 km northwest from Arvassalo village, and it is generally accepted as the old manor site.[22] According to Eric Anthoni, Vanhakartano was owned by the Tavast family in the 15th century.[23] It was transferred to the Fleming family through marriage, after the union of Henrik Claesson Fleming and Valborg Jönsdotter Tavast.[24] After the manor was transferred to Sundholm, the old manor site continued to be operated by tenant farmers.[25]

Paalila village, located in the vicinity of Vanhakartano, is first mentioned in the previously discussed document from 1411, and again in 1465.[26] The village was at least partly held by tenant farmers, most likely already under Vanhakartano manor, but the village also featured noble land.[27] During the 1510s and 1520s, Ivar Joakimsson Fleming, the owner of Sundholm after his father Joakim, acquired land in Paalila, partly through exchange and partly through purchase. The cadastral registry from 1540 mentions that the village includes both peasant land and tax-exempt land owned by 'herr Ivar', i.e. Ivar Fleming.[28]

Arvassalo village – or the name Arvassalo – is first mentioned already during the 1360s and 1370s in several documents regarding the ownership of Kittama island located near Sundholm. According to Anthoni, the counterparts of the 14th century dispute over the ownership of Kittama island were all members of noble families, suggesting that, even then, there already was noble land in Arvassalo.[29] In addition, Arvassalo is mentioned in 1374 among the tax-exempt land holdings of Ernst von Dotzen, the governor of the provinces of Turku and Vyborg.[30] However, it is unclear if the name in the 14th century documents refers to the actual Arvassalo village, or to the land properties located on Arvassalo island, which later became the noble estate of Vanhakartano manor, as e.g. Anthoni and Haggrén suggest.[31]

Unlike Paalila, there is no sign of tax-exempt or noble land in the village of Arvassalo in the cadastral registries of the 1540s.[32] During the 17th and 18th centuries, Arvassalo was a clearly separate cadastral unit from Sundholm and Vanhakartano. The farms of Arvassalo were incorporated into the manor estate of Sundholm as late as 1820.[33] In fact, already in the 16th century, Vanhakartano and Paalila were defined as a special cadastral unit (*gärdelag* in Swedish and *verotalokunta* in Finnish), and in the 1694 map, they are described as not having any border between them, and that they form a unified whole '*under rå och rör*', meaning that they both enjoyed the same tax exemption as Sundholm did.[34]

The difference between the cadastral status of Arvassalo village and the cadastral complex with tax-exempt noble land formed by Vanhakartano, Sundholm, and Paalilla further reinforces the notion that they have a strong historical connection dating back to at least the 15th century. Consequently, it seems that the historical records from late 14th century mentioning Arvassalo do not specifically refer to the Arvassalo village, but rather to a complex of noble land properties around the later Vanhakartano manor site and Paalila village. However, the current understanding of the early formation of the noble land ownership in the area is still somewhat unclear and would benefit of closer archaeological investigation of the medieval and historical settlement sites and their surroundings.

CONCLUSIONS

The visit to Sundholm and the surrounding area highlighted issues related to the history of the manor and the medieval farms. Based on the height measurements and current knowledge on land uplift, Sundholm manor might have an early medieval history, but fluctuations in water levels may have affected the project. The moat, however, is primarily a later construct, and its military function can be disputed. Instead, the upkeep of the surrounding water passage could have promoted the manor's symbolic isolated position and been, above all, a question of tradition.

The mapping of the Paalila site exemplifies the information gathering potential of small fieldwork efforts. While this may have not revealed any vital evidence of, for example, the medieval history of the village, it is still a small step forward in understanding the physical and archaeological nature of the site. More generally, the archaeological potential of the medieval site cluster still remains unexplored. This first attempt at combining field-mapping results with historical data is a start, but the possibility of proper archaeological investigations remain to be evaluated in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Pentti Ahtiainen was the key person in initiating the project in the Arvassalo area, and he kindly shared his vast knowledge of the historical documents related to the topic. As part of the data collection and interpretations related to the sea-level change in the area, we would like to thank Jussi Kinnunen for his help. We would also like to thank Kari Uotila and one anonymous referee for their helpful comments on our article.

Henrik Asplund is a research fellow at the Department of Archaeology, University of Turku. As a close colleague of Georg, it is a great pleasure to contribute to this Festschrift.

Tarja Knuutinen, an archaeologist currently working as a doctoral researcher in the University of Helsinki. I got to know Georg first in the early 2000s as a teacher of historical archaeology in Helsinki. Since 2006 I have had the opportunity to work on several research projects led by him, such as the excavation projects of the Raseborg Castle and the medieval village of Mankby. During the past 20 years, Georg has become a dear colleague and a friend, whose vast knowledge, and all the support and encouragement he has offered over the years, I greatly appreciate.

NOTES

1 E.g. Gardberg 1989; Haggrén 2004; Jutikkala & Nikander 1941; Lovén 1996; Mattisson 1986; Ringbom 1928.
2 Alifrosti 1999: 191; Gardberg & Dahl 1989: 34; Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 113; Lovén 1996: 322; Mattisson 1986: 113; Ringbom 1928: 279.
3 Haggrén 2004: 12.
4 DF 1365.
5 Alifrosti 1999: 169; Lovén 1996: 322.
6 KA IF fol 5v; Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 112; cf. Haggrén 2004: 12. See also Roos 1958.
7 Cf. Haggrén 2004: 12.
8 Vuorela et al. 2009. The report by Vuorela et al. (2009) is currently regarded as the most thorough examination of the topic, reneving earlier calculations of land uplift in Southwest Finland (cf. Glückert 1976).
9 Miller & Robertsson 1982.
10 Uotila 1998: 149–50; 2000; 2004: 286–7.
11 E.g. Asplund 2000: 73–4, 81; Hiekkanen 1983: 39–42; 1988: 60–4; Knuutinen 2018: 89–95.
12 Hansson 2006: 186.
13 Gardberg & Dahl 1989: 34, 36.
14 Hansson 2006: 191.
15 Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 114.
16 Lovén 1996: 322.
17 Hansson 2006; Lovén 1996: 458.
18 Hansson 2006: 191–4.
19 Lahtinen 2013; cf. Rosendahl 2007: 114.
20 Rosendahl 2007.
21 Finnish Heritage Agency, Cultural Environment Service Portal, reg. number 1000018628.
22 KA, Archives of National Land Survey of Finland, MHA U A110:48/1–2, Vanhakartano: Välimatkojen mittauskartta koskien Sundholmin yksinäistaloa sekä siihen myöhemmin liitettyjä taloja ja Arvassalon yksinäistaloa (1694–1694) https://astia.narc.fi/uusiastia/kortti_aineisto.html?id=2528669613; KA Archives of National Land Survey of Finland MHA U A110:48/3–12, Vanhakartano: Kartta käsittäen nykyisen Arvassalon ja Sundholmin yksinäistalojen alueet sekä piirirajankäynti (1765–1765) https://astia.narc.fi/uusiastia/kortti_aineisto.html?id=2528669745; KA, Archives of Sundholm manor, XIV KARTAT, 427, Sundholm: Charta öfver Sundholms Sätesgårds Åkrar Belägen i Åbo Höfdinge Döme Wehmo Härad och Nykyrckio sockn affattad år 1797 af Thomas Åquist (1797–1797) https://astia.narc.fi/uusiastia/kortti_aineisto.html?id=1503840283; Gardberg & Dahl 1989: 34; Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 112–3; Lovén 1996: 322; Mattisson 1986: 113.
23 Anthoni 1970: 169–71; cf. Ringbom 1928, where it is suggested that Vanhakartano, at some point, belonged to the Djäkn family.
24 KA IF fol. III ”*Henrich Fleming bleff gipt till Gambla Gård på Arffuasalo öö*”; see also Ringbom 1928: 279; cf. Lahtinen 2008: 33 ”Along with the property came the estate of Arvassalo, and it seems that the couple made it their principal residence, because the sources say, Henrik ‘was married to *Arvassalo manor*’,--”.
25 KA IF fol. VI; Haggrén 2004: 12.
26 DF 1365, see the discussion above; DF 3277/SDHK 44033.
27 E.g. Haggrén 2004: 12–3; Lagus 1860: 181.
28 KA IF fol. 6, fol. 8v.; DF 5779; DF 6095; KA 485, f. 112. See also Lagus 1860: 181.
29 Anthoni 1970: 85–6.
30 DF 762, DF 770, DF 811; DF 831 / SDHK 39693, see also DF 846.
31 Anthoni 1970: 85–86; Haggrén 2004: 11.
32 KA Voutikuntien tilit (*Bailiffs' accounts*), Varsinais-Suomen Voutikuntien tilejä, 485, f. 113.
33 Jutikkala & Nikander 1941: 112.
34 KA, Archives of National Land Survey of Finland, MHA U A110:48/1–2; SLS Förvaltningshistorisk ordbok, *'under rå och rör'*.

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Abbreviations

DF = Diplomatarium Fennicum database, http://df.narc.fi/

KA = Kansallisarkisto (National Archives of Finland)

SDHK = Svenska Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk

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A BRICK WITH A RUNIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE EPISCOPAL CASTLE OF KUUSISTO, SOUTHWEST FINLAND

ABSTRACT

A brick with a runic inscription was discovered in the 1980s during excavations of the Outer Bailey II of the Episcopal Castle of Kuusisto in Southwest Finland. In this article we present a transcription for the characters executed in medieval futhark and propose an interpretation for their purpose. A comparison with 27 other known medieval cases from Scandinavia shows that most of the inscribed bricks come from Denmark and are mostly from ecclesiastical contexts. The interpretation of the inscription ᚱᚢᚦᛁᛚ – **ruþil** – *ruthil*, remains speculative, but it may have had an apotropaic purpose and been executed by someone involved in brick making, perhaps from southern Scandinavia. In the context of Finnish archaeology, the find is the first medieval runic inscription written in a Scandinavian language, as well as the first medieval runic inscription from a non-urban setting. Consequently, the Kuusisto find, and its interpretation significantly expand the understanding of runic literacy in medieval Finland.

Keywords: brick, Kuusisto Castle, literacy, Middle Ages, rune

INTRODUCTION

A brick with a runic inscription was discovered in the 1980s during excavations of the Outer Bailey II of the Bishop's Castle of Kuusisto in Southwest Finland. A photograph of the brick piece, along with other bricks from the site, was published in 1994 by Leena Venhe, who was working on the brick material at the time.[1] However, the inscription was never interpreted or published. The brick was subsequently rediscovered during Ratilainen's doctoral dissertation research and was further studied and analysed for her *Dies Medievales* 2022 conference paper, which focused on the marks, traces and carvings made on the bricks in the fortifications belonging to the bishop of Turku, in Koroinen and Kuusisto.[2] The publication of Professor Haggrén's Festschrift provided an opportunity to finally disseminate the results of this fascinating discovery. In this article, we present a transcription of the characters inscribed in medieval futhark and offer an interpretation of their purpose. Furthermore, a comparison is made with 27 medieval runic inscriptions on bricks from Scandinavia.

FIGURE 1. Kuusisto Bishop's Castle from the Southeast. Photo: Hannu Vallas, 1999. Archives of the Department of Building history, Hannu Vallas Collection, Finnish Heritage Agency.

The Episcopal Castle of Kuusisto is located approximately 15 km south-east of the medieval town of Turku. During the Middle Ages, the castle served as the primary stronghold of the bishop of Turku, symbolising the ecclesiastical authority that existed independently of secular power.[3] The castle was situated on an island, close to the main sea routes and safeguarded by the archipelago (Fig. 1). The earliest evidence of the bishop's residence at Kuusisto dates from 1295. The construction of the stone castle commenced in the early 14th century, with brick becoming the predominant material employed in the 15th century. By the end of the Middle Ages, the castle, comprising three baileys and several towers, constituted an impressive feature of the coastal landscape. In 1528, the castle was ordered to be dismantled and subsequently employed for the acquisition of building materials for the benefit of the Swedish Crown.[4] The initial archaeological excavations at the site were conducted by Reinhold Hausen in 1877. Subsequent excavations have been conducted on numerous occasions, mainly due to the necessity of continual restoration works, which remain a current requirement.[5] During the fieldwork conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, a considerable quantity of brick material, including roof tiles, was gathered from the site.[6]

The use of brick as a building material was first introduced to the mainland of medieval Finland in the second half of the 13th century. It would currently appear that the earliest episcopal fortification at the cape of Koroinen in Turku and the Crown's castles at Turku and possibly at Viipuri were among the earliest sites to utilise brick. Several archaeological sites dating from the 14th and 15th centuries have yielded evidence indicating that brick was used much earlier and on a more widespread basis in medieval Finland than had previously been assumed. It is also evident that the bishop, who presided over the sole diocese in the region during the Middle Ages, was a major agent in the dissemination of brick use in medieval Finland.[7]

In Scandinavia, the practice of runic writing persisted throughout the medieval period. A considerable number of medieval inscriptions have been identified through archaeological excavations or during building archaeological studies in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. These inscriptions were usually created on carvable materials, including bone, ceramics, leather, metal, mortar, stone, and wood. The objects or structures on which they were carved also exhibit considerable variation.[8] The content of the inscriptions ranges from invocations to commercial correspondence, and from writing exercises to love letters.[9] From the 12th century onwards,[10] unfired bricks offered a suitable surface on which to inscribe runes. To date, a total of 28 bricks bearing runic inscriptions, of which 27 are of a medieval date, have been entered in the open rune database of

Uppsala University.[11] We are pleased to announce the addition of the first brick from Finland to the assemblage.

Finland is regarded as situated on the periphery of the runic writing culture. The limited number of artefacts with runic inscriptions from the Late Iron Age, including a genuine runestone from Hitis, Kimitoön parish, southwest archipelago,[12] are believed to be imported items and were most likely not carved by Finnish locals.[13] Nevertheless, four objects of everyday use with runic inscriptions have been identified in Turku from the medieval period, which are believed to have been created locally.[14] Furthermore, the disputed cross of Sund from the Åland Islands bears a secondary inscription, which is thought to date from the late medieval period.[15] The use of runic-like characters persisted well into the modern period. They were employed in rune staff calendars and used as owner's or maker's marks (Fi. *puumerkki*, Swe. *bomärke*) as well as in coats of arms.[16]

THE BRICK PIECE, ITS CONTEXT, DATING, AND APPLIED METHODS

The inscription from Kuusisto was carved into the flat, upper surface of the wall brick. In this context, the term 'upper' refers to the surface that was smoothed out during the clay moulding process. The original dimensions of the brick are 12 centimetres in width. The runes are positioned in a transverse orientation on the opposite end of the flat surface, allowing for readability from that perspective. If the inscription had been applied to an ordinary brickwork, it is probable that it would have been concealed within the masonry. The height of the runic characters is 4.5–7 cm, although the dimensions are not original for all of them, as the brick is broken from both long ends.[17] The total length of the inscription is 5–5.2 cm. The text is not centred in space. It is possible that the carving tool was not a knife, as the edges at some points are perhaps too wide and round (Fig. 2 and Table 1, No. 28).

The brick was originally discovered within the north-east corner of Outer Bailey II, situated at a considerable depth within layer XII.[18] According to Uotila, the construction of the bailey is likely to have occurred between the years 1410 and 1440.[19] The stone pavement, which covered extensive areas of the bailey, was likely laid in the late 15th century.[20] However, only a portion of the area (half of square 8 and square 9) located in the corner of the curtain wall and the tower, in which the loose brick was found, was covered with the stone pavement. Furthermore, neither of these squares were covered with a wooden level of an age older

FIGURE 2. The inscribed brick, measuring 12 cm in width. Photo: Tanja Ratilainen.

	SIGNUM	C	LOCATION	YR	WRK	CON	CONTEXT 2	BT	LOC	DIR	MOR	BRICK cm
1	Sö ATA322-4394-2011	S	Strängnäs	1973	E	CO	?	WB	UFS	L	Y	19 x 14.5 x 10
2	Vg 237	S	Lödöse St Mary's church	1918	E	CO	Depth 70 cm, close to the inside of the E wall of the choir of the younger brick church	WB	UFS	L3R	Y	(6,5) x 12.5 x9
3	Vg Fv1973; 201A	S	Skara	1972	E	UR	Brick oven 1.5 m under ground. HIDDEN	WB	UFS	L	Y?	27 x 12 x 9–10
4	Vg NOR2001; 28	S	Årnäs (Aranäs)	2000	E	C	Rubble layer, which belonged to a larger stone building	WB	UFS	S 2R	?	(13) x (12.5) x 8.5?
5	U ALSNÖHUS;50	S	Alsnö hus	1916	E	M/C	?	WB	UFS	S2R**	Y	27.5 x 9–9.5 x 9
6	Vs 6 †	S	Västerås	?	?	CA	Sacristy cellar? In brickwork?	WB	?	?	?	?
7	Vs 7 †	S	Västerås	?	?	CA	?	WB	?	?	?	?
8	Ds Vg236 (Vg 236 X DsVg236)	S	Gestads socken	?	F	F?	?	WB	UFS	L	Y	(10) x 12 x (3.7)
9	DR 59 (DK MJy94 MJy 94)	D	Øm	1921	E	CL	?	WB	UFS	SE	?	14 x 11.5 x 9
10	DR 60 (MJy 95 DK MJy95)	D	Øm	1921	E	CL	?	WB	UFS	?	?	7.5 x 5.8 x 5
11	DR 136	D	Ravnkilde 3	1935	E	M?	Found among rubble that may come from the manor house	RB?	UFS	?	?	(10) x (6.7) x (5–5.2)
12	DR 168 (DK NJy14 NJy 14)	D	Astrup	1908	R	CH	?	WB	UFS	L	?	25 x 13 x8.5
13	DR 244 (DK Sj57) Sj 57)	D	Nykøbing	1841	?	CH	Originally set in the frame of the walled door on the south cross side of church. VISIBLE	WB	S	L	L	27.95 x 14.3 x 8.5
14	DR 252	D	Ledøje	1888	R	CH	?	WB	UFS	L	Y	27 x 13 x 8–9
15	DR 257	D	Søborg 2	1894	E	CH	80 cm from the SE corner of chancel, 16th course above ground. VISIBLE	WB	S	L	Y	17.9 x 1.8 x 7.8
16	DR 367	D	Lösens socken	1864	R	CH	Found in a nave vault. HIDDEN	WB	UFS	L	L	27 x 14 x11
17	DR DKMJy97 (DK MJy97 MJy 97)	D	Øm	1978	S	CL		?	in two pieces	?	?	?
18	DR DKSj8	D	Dronningholm	1937	E	C	Castle rampart, in the NW part in cleared terrain.	WB	S	L	?	?
19	DR DKSyd8	D	Dannemare kirke	1895	A	CH	Found during dismantling the church after a fire	WB	UFS	L***	Y	19 x 13 x 8
20	DR EM85;439A	D	Vejby kirke	1956	R	CH	Part of the altartable? LIKELY HIDDEN*	WB	UFS	S2R	?	34.5 x 17 x 7.5
21	DR EM85;439B	D	Vejby kirke	1956	R	CH	Part of the altartable? See No. 20. LIKELY HIDDEN	WB	UFS	L	?	28 x 17 x 8
22	DR EM85;439C	D	Nørre Løgum kirke	1960	R	CH	In the E side of the triumphal wall. LIKELY HIDDEN	WB	UFS	L	Y	25.2 x 0.7 x 7.5–7.7
23	DR EM85;459F	S	Lund	1944	E	UR		?	LS	?	?	7.5 x 4.8 x 2.5
24	DR Til1	D	Øm 4	1939	E	CL		WB	UFS	L****	Y	28.5 x 13.8–14.3 x 9–9.5
25	N 5	N	Eidsberg kirke	1880-81	RE	CH	Found during rebuilding	2B	?	?	?	?
26	N 6	N	Eidsberg kirke	1880-81	RE	CH	Found during rebuilding	?	?	?	?	?
27	N A9	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
28	Fi Ku u 1 / KM87051	F	Kaarina / St. Karins	1988	E	C	Archaeological XII, square R8-9	WB	UFS	S	N	(-) x 12 x (-)

TABLE 1. Inscribed bricks from Scandinavia. Compiled: Tanja Ratilainen.

C – Country: S – Sweden, D – Denmark, N – Norway, F – Finland; **YR – Year when found; WRK – Work during which brick was found:** A – After fire, E – Excavation, F – Random find, R – Restauration, RE – Rebuilding; **CON – Context:** C – Castle, CA – Cathedral, CH – Church, CL – Cloister, CO – Convent, M – Manor, M/C – Manor/castle, UR – Urban; **BT – Brick type:** WB – Wall brick, RB – Rib brick; **LOC – Location on the brick:** UFS – Upper flat side, S – On the side, LS – On the levelled surface; **DIR – Direction:** L – Lengthways, S – Sideways, L3R – Lenghthways in 3 rows, S2R – Sideways in 2 rows, SE – Sideways on the other end; **MOR – Mortar:** Y – Yes, L – Likely, N – No.

	RUNE cm	INSCRIPTION	OTHER	OLD WEST NORSE	ENGLISH	INTERPRETATION	DATING
1	10.5–13	**ᛅ^b^rrbm^n^ʀt^u^(l)^(t)-…**	no	**…**	…	?	1100–1500
2	3–3.5	**…(b)(æ)(s)(t)æ ¶ …þæris ¶ …uþsiro**	no	**…**	…	?	13th or 14th c
3	11	**rimus**	no	**…**	…	Name or single word	14th c
4	6.5	**…-ᛅt- ¶ …f--…**	no	**…**	…	?	beg. of 14th c
5	?	**bouæ ¶ (b)ouæ**	no	**Bófa(?) Bófa(?)**	Bófi(?) Bófi(?)	Male name	13th c
6	?	[**-uþfk- kob- ahfus**]	no	**…**	…	?	1100–1500
7	?	[**fuþork fuþoro-k hk-b**]	no	**<fuþork> … …**	<fuþork> …	First 6 characters and ?	1100–1500
8	7.5–8	**…ria**	no	**[Ma]ría**	Mary	Saint / Name	13th c
9	9–10.2	**ke(t)il**	no	**Ketill.**	Ketill.	Male name	1172–1550
10	3.4	**… (-)æ(s)i**	no	**…**	…	?	1172–1550
11	1	**peder**	no	**Pétr.**	Pétr.	Male name / Saint	1250–1400
12	7–7.5	**fuþor(k)**	no	**<fuþork>**	<fuþork>	First 6 characters	1150–1400 / c. 1200–1250
13	5.5–6	**iuuuuhhhihht**	no	**…**	…	?	end of 12th c / 1160–1300
14	?	**al(-)naet : ri**	no	**<al-naet> rei[st](?)**	<al-naet> carved(?)	?	end of 12th c / 1175 –1200
15	5–5.5	**þæn : fyrst^æ**	no	**Þann fyrsti.**	The first.	a word	end of 12th c / 1175–1200
16	5–6	**eko : sum : lᛅ^pis**	no	**Ego sum lapis.**	I am a stone.	a sentence	1100–1500 / 1200–1300
17	?	**(æ)(ø)**	no	**…**	…	Uncertain if runes;	1100–1500 / 1172–1550
18	?	**þprup/þ{K}ru{K}**	no	**…**	…	?	1175–1300
19	5–6	**----(ᛅ^k)(k)h**	human figure	**…**	…	?	1175–1225
20	?	**o^lof ¶ o^lof**	The bow of a ship or arches	**Ólafr Ólafr**	Ólafr Ólafr	male name	1100–1500
21	?	**fuþø(r)k(h)(ᛅ)**	no	**<fuþorkhn[iᛅs]>**	<fuþorkhnias>	?	1100–1500 /
22	4.5	**tihlsten**	no	**tiglsteinn**	Brick	word	1160–1300
23	3.2–3.3	**uþo-**	no	**<[f]uþo[rk]>**	<fuþork>	First 6 characters	1100–1500
24	?	**-þorkh**	some traces	**<[fu]þorkh>**	<fuþorkh>	First 6 characters	1000–1400 / 1172–1550
25	?	**§A … olafs … §B …to ~ mik**	?	**§A … Ólafs … §B [se] ttu(?) mik**	§A … Ólafr's … §B placed me	Male name and sentence	1100–1500
26	?	**§A þo^rfyts §B …-its…**	?	**§A Þorfinns §B …**	§A Þorfinnr's §B …	?	1100–1500
27	?	**ᛅ ria k**	?	**A[ve] [Ma]ria g[ratia]**	Hail Mary full of grace	Invocation	1100–1500
28	4.5–7		no	**ruthil**	…	word	Medieval

TABLE 1. Inscribed bricks from Scandinavia. Compiled: Tanja Ratilainen.

* 5 incised bricks, 3 whole stones and a few fragments, 4 skulls and skeletal remains were found when the altar collapsed during a restoration. The altar block had been hidden under an oak panelling; ** On both ends of the brick; *** Only half of the space is applied and devided by a line. In the other half there is a human like figure carved horisontally; **** On the upper corner along the long side. A list of references and publications on the runes can be found at the end of the article.

than the stone pavement. (Fig. 3.) Suna states that the squares closest to the curtain wall were subject to disturbance at a considerable depth below the surface.[21] It is therefore not possible to determine with certainty whether the brick is older than the structures. However, the coins discovered in layers VI and below suggest that the brick may originate from the 14th century.[22] For the time being, it seems reasonable to conclude that the brick with the inscription is likely to date from before 1528, that is, before the castle was dismantled.

To define the runes and determine their order of carving, the brick surface with the inscription was cleaned with a brush, photographed in detail, and subjected to visual analysis. A 3D model of the inscription was created using photogrammetry in RealityCapture[23] software. Subsequently, the Cloud-to-Mesh Distance tool in CloudCompare[24] software was employed to generate a distance model of the brick surface. This model represents the distance from the vertices of the 3D model to a mesh representing a flat brick surface, which was derived from a subsample of the 3D model. The resulting model illustrates the depth of the inscription. (Figs. 4–5.)

The brick was also analysed with a pXRF analyser among a total of 158 bricks, redware pieces, and clay samples from Turku, Koroinen, and Kuusisto.[25] The analysis was conducted on February 3rd, 2023, utilising a Niton XL3t 950 GOLDD+ portable X-ray fluorescence (XRF) device belonging to the Turku Museum Centre. The analyses were performed with the 'TestAllGeo' mode, which per-

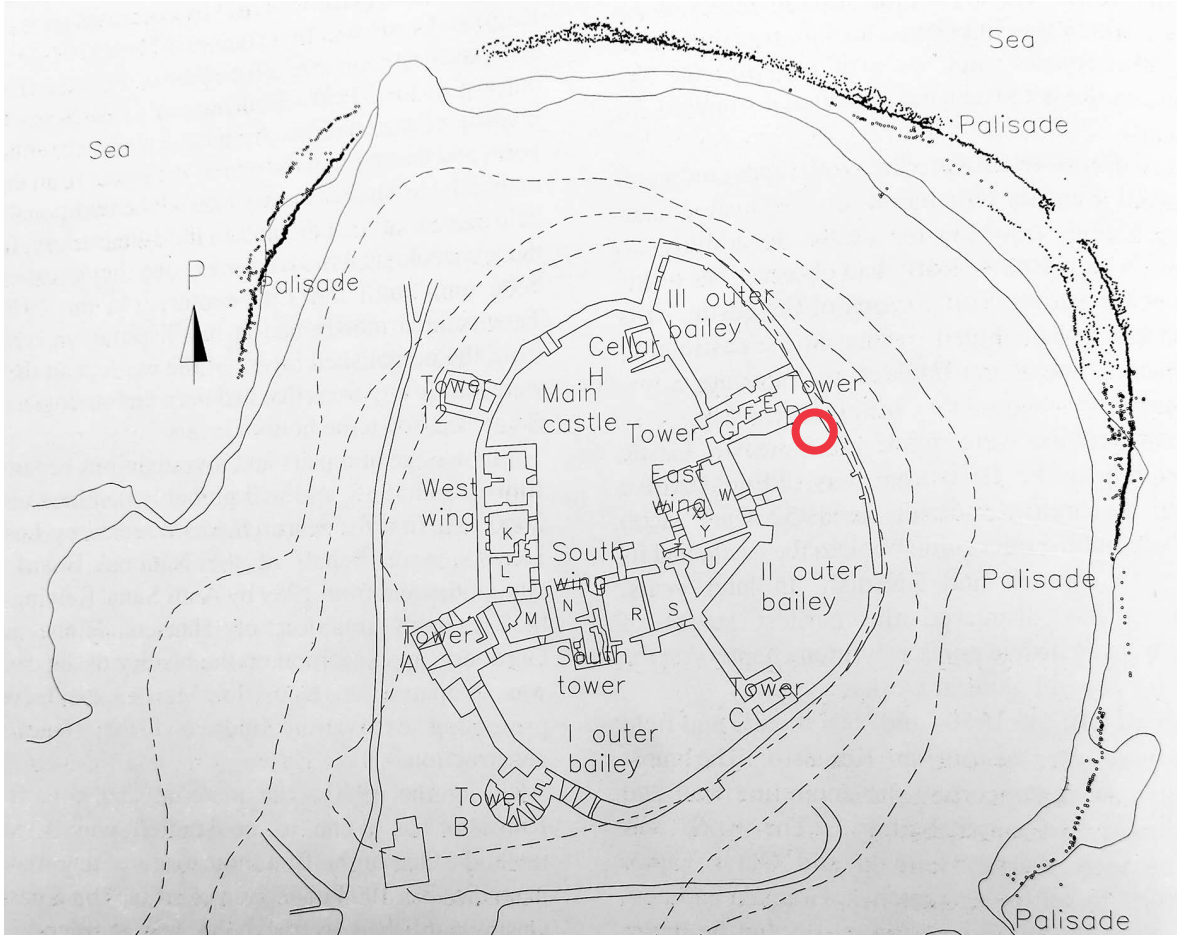

FIGURE 3. Plan of Kuusisto Castle. The area in which the brick was found is indicated by a circle. The original map was published in Uotila (1998: 90) and has been modified by Ratilainen.

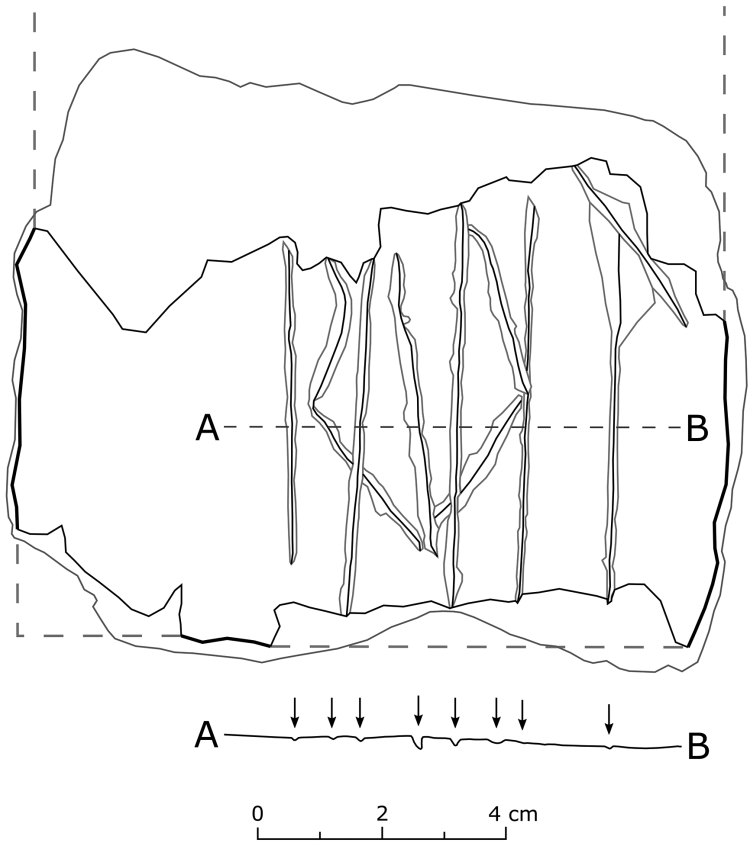

FIGURE 4. A drawing made based on a surface model of the inscribed brick, illustrating the fractured end and the depth of the incised characters. The black thickened line shows the original surface of the brick. Drawing: Jere Leppänen.

mits the examination of powder, mineral, and ore samples without initially determining whether the samples would be most effectively analysed with the Mining or Soil mode. The total analysis time was 120 seconds, with an analysis time of 40 seconds for all three filters. The 'TestAllGeo' mode employs both the Compton Normalisation calibration (for soil analysis) and the Fundamental Parameters calibration (for mining analysis) to ascertain the suitability of the soil calibration and to determine whether the total metal content exceeds the threshold for Compton mode. If the sample is suitable for analysis via soil mode, the analyser will present the results from both soil and mining modes in a unified list. If both calibrations contain the same element, the mode with the lower detection limit will be displayed.[26]

RESULTS

Interpretation of the script

The inscription is executed using medieval *futhark* script. The following order of runes can be discerned: ᚱᚢᚦᛁᛚ. The transliteration of the script is **ruþil**. The order of inscription of the characters is as follows: The sequence of characters begins with **r**, then **u**, then the lower diagonal branch of the character **þ**, then **i**, then the remainder of the character **þ**, and finally **l**. It is notable that the inscription is packed tightly without space between characters, which may be a result of the inscription process. As a result, the vertical strokes and branches of the various characters have become intertwined. Nevertheless, most of the characters have been inscribed individually, except for the first part of the **þ**, followed by the **i**, and then the last part of the **þ** (Fig. 2). This order of inscription of the components of the characters on the brick seems to be plausible. The inscription appears to represent a complete unit of characters, as evidenced by the presence of unused space both before the first rune

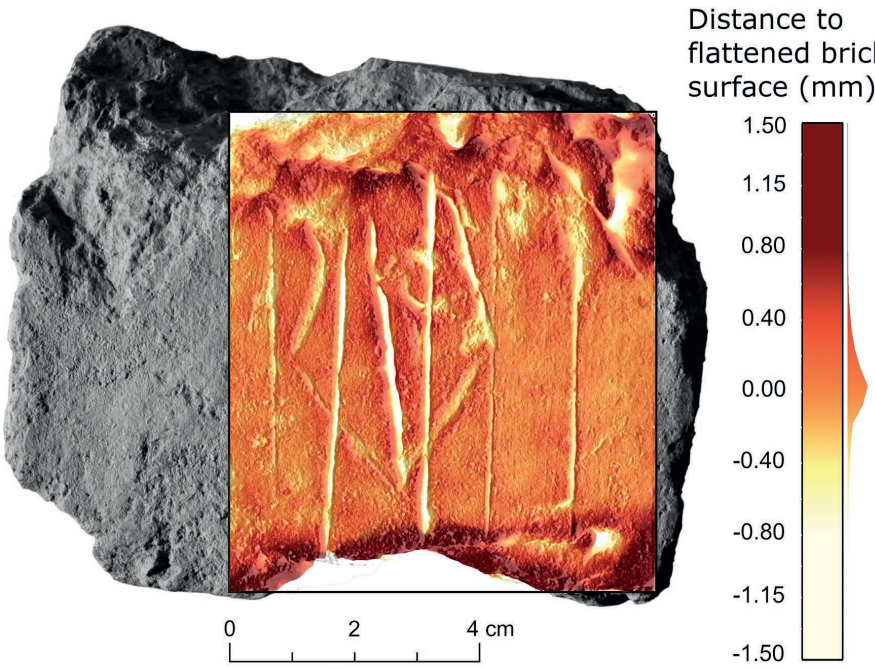

FIGURE 5. The distance model illustrates the depth of the characters. Model: Jere Leppänen.

and after the last rune. The characters **u** and **þ** have been carved with greater depth than the other characters (see Figs. 4–5).

The transcription of **ruþil** may be a word that appeared in Old Danish as *ruthil* or *rythil*, and *rydhil* in Old Swedish, meaning 'elevation' in a broad sense. The term has been employed as a topographical designation, denoting a hill (Fi. *mäki, kukkula*) or mound (Fi. *kumpu*), as well as in reference to other physical formations, such as swelling (Fi. *kyhmy*), wart (Fi. *syylä*), or scab (Fi. *rupi*) on a human or animal, particularly a horse.[27]

pXRF results

The elemental values alone, as determined by pXRF analysis, are insufficient for establishing whether the clay was obtained from a local source. However, when considered alongside reference material and other bricks from Kuusisto, Turku and Koroinen, it appears to align with the category of wall bricks produced from local clay.[28]

COMPARISON TO OTHER BRICKS WITH INSCRIPTIONS

Of the 27 inscribed medieval bricks, 17 originate from Denmark, seven from Sweden, and only three from Norway. The bricks are typically associated with an ecclesiastical context, including eleven parish churches, six cloisters or convents, and two cathedrals. Five bricks were recovered in association with a castle or manor house, and in only three instances were they retrieved from urban or rural contexts (Table 1).

In only six instances is the original position of the brick within the structure reasonably well documented. Two of these were visible within the masonry structure. In the case of Nykøbing church (Table 1, No. 13), the inscription on the long narrow side of the brick was located on the southern portal of the church. However, the written message is devoid of any discernible meaning. An additional case, situated in a less visible location, is illustrated by the example of Søborg church (Table 1, No. 15). In this instance, the brick was positioned at a height of sixteen courses, near the south-east corner of the chancel. The inscription *Þann fyrsti*, translated as 'the first', was discernible on the narrow side of the brick. In the remaining four cases, it is likely that the letters carved on the flat side of the brick were concealed during the construction process. Firstly, an inscription on the brickwork of the nave vault of Lösen Church, which reads *Ego sum lapi*s, 'I am a stone' (Table 1, No. 16). Secondly, a brick was utilised in the foundation of an oven discovered in Skara with a name or a single word script *rimus* (Table 1, No. 3). Thirdly, two bricks bearing inscriptions (the name *Olafr* and the initial six letters of the futhark) were probably incorporated into an altar structure in Vejby Church (No. 20–21). Fourthly, in Nørre Løgum Church, a brick with a script *tihlsten*, 'brick', was originally situated on the east side of the triumphal wall (Table 1, No. 22).

All the inscriptions that have been identified thus far were inscribed on wall bricks and most of them were inscribed on the upper flat surface of the bricks prior to firing. The material does not include any moulded bricks or roof tiles. In only three instances was the inscription carved on the elongated narrow side of the brick. Most of the inscriptions were inscribed in a lengthwise orientation on the largest surface of the brick. In a total of four instances, the text was inscribed in a transverse direction, while in a couple of cases, this occurred even on two or three rows. (Table 1)

Of note is the fact that, out of a total of 27 inscriptions, 12 remain undeciphered. A significant proportion of the inscriptions are legible, yet their content appears to be devoid of any discernible meaning. The most common words inscribed are names, comprising eight cases. The majority of these are male names, including Ketil, Olafr and Petr. It is equally plausible that Olafr and Petr are derived from the names of saints, as is the female name Mary.[29] It is noteworthy that the name Olafr appears on three separate occasions. In four instances, the initial six characters of the futhark were inscribed. In four instances, the words or sentences are present. The inscription from Oslo is unambiguously a Latin invocation, '*Ave Maria Gratia plena*' (Table 1, No. 27).

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

The XRF analysis indicates that the inscribed brick discussed in this paper was likely manufactured using local clay. It seems reasonable to suggest that the individual responsible for inscribing the brick was a person involved in the brick-making process for Kuusisto Castle. It can be inferred that the runes were carved on the fresh surface of the brick, and that the script was visible for a period during the manufacturing of the brick. It is unclear whether the complete script has survived, as the brick is broken and there would have been space for at least two additional rows above the existing script. Given that the brick in question was of the typical wall brick variety, it seems reasonable to posit that the individual responsible for inscribing the runes had a basic understanding of masonry structures and was aware that the visibility of such writing would be limited within the walls of Kuusisto Castle. Indeed, it is possible that the concealment of the script was deliberate,[30] with the act of inscribing being of greater importance than the long-lasting visibility of the script. A slightly offhand execution of the script does not support the hypothesis that the primary function of the script was to be left on display. As previously noted, there are few examples from Scandinavia where the original location of

the scripted brick is known. However, similar contexts, such as a wall, an oven, a foundation, or an altar, suggest that the act of concealment was also a factor.[31]

The runic scripts discovered thus far in Turku appear to serve an apotropaic function, namely the expulsion of evil or the prevention of its intrusion into daily activities. Furthermore, the runic scripts in Turku exhibit a shared reliance on the Latin language and a convergence of Catholic beliefs and folk religion. In most cases, the writing surface was made of wood, specifically the stave vessel bottoms. However, in one instance, antler was used as an alternative material, specifically for a comb.[32] The Kuusisto brick, however, appears to offer a slightly different narrative. The material used is distinct, as the surface of a brick has been employed for the first time in the inscription of a runic script. Secondly, the context of the find is non-urban. Thirdly, the language used seems to be Scandinavian, rather than Latin. In the Scandinavian context, these variables are not novelties, as can be seen in comparison with other known cases. However, in the Finnish context, they are genuinely novel, extending medieval runic writing beyond the town of Turku to the ecclesiastical centre of power in rural south-western Finland.

The interpretation of the text is challenging and remains largely conjectural, particularly given the paucity of available data, which comprises only a single word. Nevertheless, if our interpretation of the text, *ruthil*, with its presented meaning, is accurate, it contributes further to the narrative. It is possible that someone involved in brick making may have attempted to expel, or cause the formation of, a swelling, wart, or scab by executing rune magic. This could have involved writing down the name of the ailment, reciting an incantation or carrying out some other act of magic. The resulting brick with the script may then have been incorporated into the structures of Kuusisto Castle as a means of concealment, for decades or even centuries.[33]

The considerable number of bricks with runic inscriptions documented from Denmark and Sweden is likely to reflect both the prevailing research context, which has involved numerous restorations and building archaeological studies, and the broader historical usage of brick as a construction material in these regions, which has been more prevalent than in Finland or Norway.[34] With regard to the culture of runic writing, Denmark, Sweden and Norway represent the core areas, whereas Finland appears to be situated on the margins.[35] The material, unfired clay, provided an opportunity for an individual versed in runic writing to express themselves. Nevertheless, the opportunity was somewhat unique during the brick-making process. It is possible that locals versed in runic writing participated in the brickmaking for Kuusisto Castle.[36] However, given that the inscription could be written in Old Danish, it would be intriguing to suggest that the carver involved in the brickmaking, and perhaps the entire brick-making team, originated from Southern Scandinavia.

CONCLUSIONS

The inscription was inscribed using medieval futhark. It is not possible to ascertain whether the original composition included additional words, given that the brick is fragmented. Nevertheless, it seems plausible to suggest that the transcription 'ruthil' may be derived from the Scandinavian language, with the potential to signify 'elevation', more specifically a swelling, wart, or scab. The interpretation remains highly speculative, but it may have an apotropaic purpose and was executed by someone involved in brick making, perhaps from Southern Scandinavia.

The brick fragment with a runic inscription from the Episcopal Castle of Kuusisto is the first example from medieval Finland to be added to the list of 27 other medieval bricks with runic inscriptions from Scandinavia. In the context of Finnish archaeology, the find is the first medieval runic

inscription written in a Scandinavian language, as well as the first medieval runic inscription from a non-urban setting. Consequently, the Kuusisto find, and its interpretation significantly expand the understanding of runic literacy in medieval Finland.

Tanja Ratilainen works at the Turku City Museum, formerly the Turku Museum Centre, as a researcher responsible for urban archaeological heritage in the province of Finland Proper. She is currently on leave for post-doctoral research on the Cathedral of Turku. I first met Jori as editor-in-chief of the journal SKAS in the early 2000s, when I was writing my first articles. As a pre-examiner of my doctoral thesis, he was incredibly supportive, constructive, and encouraging, and this has not changed in working life as a colleague and professor.

Janne Harjula, PhD, docent (associate professor) in historical archaeology at the University of Turku. I work as university lecturer at the Department of Archaeology, University of Turku, and have published widely on medieval material culture. Georg and I have a long history of collaboration and fellowship in the Society for Medieval Archaeology in Finland. Today, George is also a dear colleague in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Turku.

Jussi Kinnunen is a geologist, archaeologist and doctoral candidate in archaeology studying and working at University of Turku. Jori is one of my supervisors, highly appreciated colleague and a catalyst for inspiring new research. Other connective factors worth of mentioning for us are for example blackish sense of intellectual humour, liberal thinking and a taste for Caledonian distillates.

Jere Leppänen works with the archaeological heritage in Southwest Finland as a researcher at the Turku City Museum. His research interests relate to the Late Iron Age period, citizen science and the use of GIS tools in archaeology. I first became acquainted with Georg during his visits on excavations, and later when he was the supervisor of my master's thesis. Georg has always been most supportive and inspiring.

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2	Runinskrift Vg 237 i 2020 års utgåva av Samnordisk runtextdatabas Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/94938f01-5629-4f1a-9937-925eca5726ea	Svärdström 1970
3	Runinskrift Vg Fv1973;201A i 2020 års utgåva av Samnordisk runtextdatabas Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/c3d94dfc-9814-4124-87d7-f7bb28afe825	Svärdström & Gustavson 1973
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5	Runinskrift U ALSNÖHUS; 50 i 2020 års utgåva av Samnordisk runtextdatabas Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/159f66b6-fe87-4651-b018-1ca6bfe80a7e	Thordeman 1920; Rosborn 2007
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16 http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/a36f4e2f-bdd9-40a0-8667-093b92128cfb Moltke 1985, 156f

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20 Runinskrift DR EM85;439A i 2020 års utgåva av Samnordisk runtextdatabas Moltke 1985
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NOTES

1 Venhe 1994: Fig. 10.
2 Ratilainen 2022.
3 Haggrén 2015: 428.
4 Suna 1994; Suna & Lounatvuori 2009: 10–37; Uotila 1998: 87, 107–11.
5 Uotila 1998: 87–91.
6 Venhe 1994.
7 Ratilainen 2020. For further information regarding the diocese, see e.g. Hiekkanen 2020: 44–5.
8 Moltke 1985; Palumbo 2020; Palumbo & Harjula 2024: 75.
9 Palumbo & Harjula 2024: 72; See also Oja 2015: 58–71.
10 Krongaard Kristensen 2007: 230.
11 Söktjänsten Runor: The search term is '*tegel*' (föremål & material) The material of the object found in Ribe, Denmark, in the 1950's (DR DKSJy43) is uncertain, and the inscription is dated to the post-medieval period.
12 Källström 2024; Åhlén et al. 1997; 1998a, 1998b.
13 Källström 2024; Moilanen 2024.
14 Harjula 2008; 2015:47–9; 2016; 2019; Palumbo & Harjula 2024.
15 Sjöstrand 2024.
16 Harjula et al. 2021: 223–4; Harjula & Immonen in print; Immonen 2003; Oja 2015; Salonen et al. 2021: 63–7; Tertti 1985; Willson 2024. For further information regarding the marks and carvings on the bricks, see Aalto 2014; 2018; Luppi 1997; Ratilainen 2011. For details about the carvings on the church structures, see e.g. Hiekkanen 2020: 215; Ratilainen 2011; Savolainen et al. 2023.
17 Regarding the lower part, there is approximately 1 cm to the original edge of the brick.
18 In the squares designated as 8 and 9, situated in the XII layer, the dimensions of the squares were 2x2 metres (Suna 2002: 110 and the markings with the brick).
19 Uotila 1998: 108–9.
20 Suna 2002; Suna 1994: 14–6.
21 Suna 1994: 17.
22 Suna 1994: 17–20. It was not possible to undertake a comprehensive examination of the original finds in order to ascertain with greater certainty the age of the layers.
23 Epic Games 2025. RealityCapture version 1.4. (https://www.capturingreality.com/, 24.5.2024)
24 A total of 34 bricks from Kuusisto were subjected to analysis. It should be noted that no redware from Kuusisto was included in the material under examination (Ratilainen et al. 2023).
25 CloudCompare 2024. 3D point cloud and mesh processing software, version 2.13.2 Kharkiv. (https://www.cloudcompare.org/, 1.9.2024)
26 Thermo Fisher 2010. 'TestAll Geo' -mode is capable of detecting the following elements: Ag, Al, As, Au, Ba, Bi, Ca, Cd, Cl, Co, Cr, Cs, Cu, Fe, Ga, Hf, Hg, K, Mg, Mn, Mo, Nb, Ni, P, Pb, Pd, Rb, Re, Ru, S, Sb, Sc, Se, Si, Sn, Sr, Ta, Te, Ti, Th, U, V, W, Zn and Zr.
27 Ejder 1948; 1958; Ringdahl 2008: 124; SOÄ 11: 28, 52–3, 118; Sørensen 1984: 385; Vikstrand 2007: 69, 126–7;
28 Ratilainen et al. 2023.
29 For an interpretation of the name appearing in Alsnöhus, see Rosborn 2007.
30 In comparison, at Häme Castle, apart from one brick, all carvings and marks were made on the flat upper surface of the brick, thus not visible when the brick was incorporated into a wall (Ratilainen 2016). In the absence of brick carvings and marks in Hattula church, Ratilainen posits the possibility that they were deliberately concealed (Ratilainen 2012: 179). However, in the Cathedral of Turku, carvings and marks were made on both the narrow side and the end of the brick, thus leaving them visible (see, for example, Aalto 2018).
31 Cf. Hukantaival 2016: 91–100.
32 Harjula 2019; Palumbo & Harjula 2023: 78.
33 It was of the utmost importance to be aware of the origin and cause of the ailment and to name it to expel the disease (Krohn 1917). On the healing charms and runes: Macleod 2012: 116–62. On the deliberately concealed spells or charms against disease: Manhag 2021: 424.
34 Drake 2007: 115; Kroongaard Kristenssen 2007. See also Ratilainen 2020: 43–5.
35 Willson 2024.

36 The earliest evidence of local masons dates from the 15th century, with the production of bricks by peasants at least as early as the early 16th century (Gardberg 1957: 65; 1959: 319–20, 512–3; Hiekkanen 2003: 31; Vilkuna 1998: 178).

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Eva Svensson & Susanne Pettersson

REVISITING TWO MEDIEVAL CASTLES – FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE

ABSTRACT

The question if medieval castles could have played urban roles in regions without towns is addressed. Two excavated castles, Saxholmen and Edsholm, and four rural settlements, Skramle, Ivarsbråten, Djupsundet and Romstad, in the region of Värmland are investigated. Although the two castles received traded commodities, handicrafts such as blacksmithing, bronze casting and antler/horn/bone work were practiced. There are no indications of these products reaching the rural settlements. One of the castles was more or less self-sufficient. The other castle was provided for by the countryside through taxes. The castles and aristocracy were contested by the peasants, and one of the castles was burned down in a rebellion.

Keywords: castles, rural settlements, hinterland, trade, Värmland

A LARGE RURAL AREA - AND TWO CASTLES

The urban-rural-castle-relationship could be complex and of changing character in medieval times,[1] especially when interacting in densely populated areas with different actors and intersecting interests. The majority of Scandinavia, however, was sparsely populated and rural during the Middle Ages. The towns were few and small. Several regions, especially the northern and forested ones, lacked towns altogether. 'Lacked' might be the wrong word, for it is doubtful if anyone missed having to rely on, and provide for, a town. What they might have missed was access to a range of goods and a market provided by a town.

In the 1990s a couple of castles located in sparsely populated areas in Sweden were investigated, triggering an increased interest in the castle-hinterland relationship.[2] Among the discussed topics related to the hinterland emphasis was the question if castles could have played urban roles in sparsely populated areas lacking towns. This question was never fully pursued at the time. Therefore, we are here going to investigate if castles in the 'town-less' regions could have had certain urban functions, if craft products and trade commodities could have been provided by the castles to the surrounding countryside. In return, it can be assumed that the castle relied on the surrounding countryside for its

daily supply of necessities for the castle's occupants. We will examine the question by studying two medieval castles and four contemporary rural settlements in a 'town-less', forested countryside dominated by landowning peasants, namely Värmland (Fig. 1). The two investigated castles are the only medieval castles in Värmland, and the four investigated rural settlements are the only contemporary rural settlements in the region where somewhat substantial excavations have been carried out.

SAXHOLMEN AND EDSHOLM – Two medieval castles in 'town-less' land

In the early 1990s, the authors investigated Värmland's two medieval castles, Saxholmen and Edsholm. Although the castles were in use during different chronological periods and in different societal contexts, there are some common features. Both castles can be linked to individuals close to the royal power and have been part of the crown's strategies during their respective periods of use.[3]

Saxholmen is situated on a small rocky islet in the northeast part of Lake Vänern, with clearly visible ruins of a stone keep. The castle lacks medieval documentation, so we do not know its name during its lifetime. The name Saxholmen comes from the island it sits on, Saxen. The archaeological excavations carried out (1992–96) covered three residential buildings, a workshop, a storage/watchtower, a smithy, and a lime kiln. Additionally, two jetties and a complex fortification system were documented (Fig. 2). The castle has been dated to the second half of the 13th century. It appears to have been abandoned in a calm and orderly manner, with no traces of battle, fire, or other catastrophes causing destruction.[4]

Two retrieved artefacts suggest a connection to a specific aristocratic family. On a small mount, the coat of arms of the Boberg family was found (Fig. 2), which probably can be linked to Lars Boberg, a roy-

FIGURE 1. Locations of the investigated sites. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

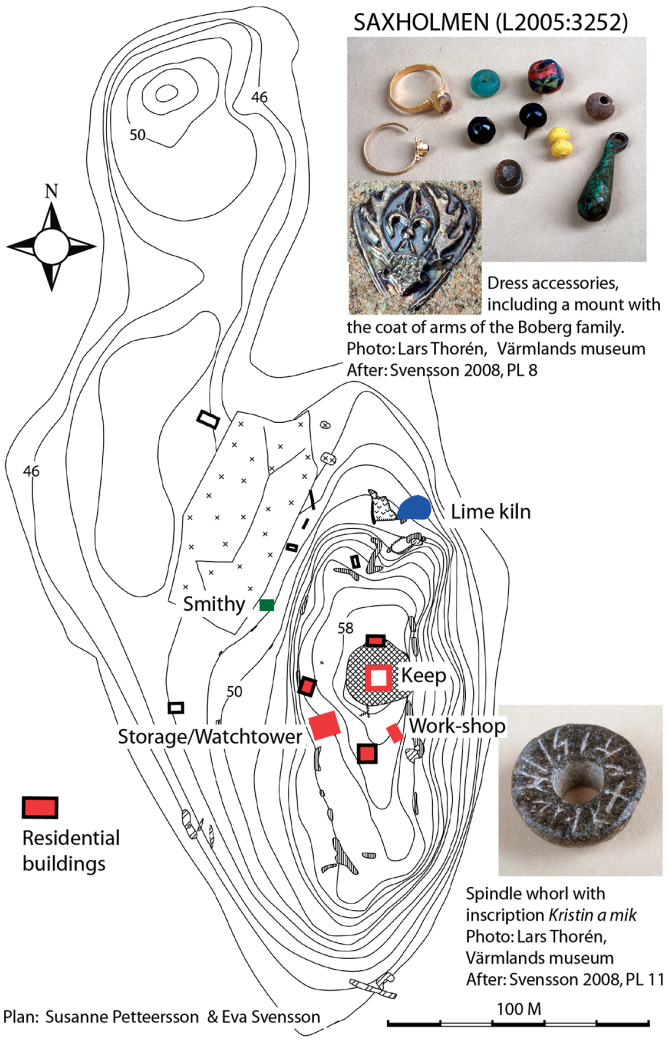

FIGURE 2. Plan of Saxholmen castle and some of the artefacts. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

al councillor, knight, and one of the king's closest men, who was active in Värmland and signed two documents in Hammarö (1296, 1297).[5] The other indication is the finding of a spindle whorl with the runic inscription 'Kristin owns me', which may have belonged to Lars Boberg's wife, Kristina Anundsdotter (winged lily).[6]

Edsholm's castle ruins sit on a small hill, formerly an islet in the northwest part of Lake Vänern. Edsholm was constructed during the latter part of the 14th century as a bailiff's castle under Erik Kettilsson's (Puke) tenure. Puke was King Håkan's long arm in Värmland until his death in 1396. Written records mention the castle as '*castro Edhzholm*' (1397) and '*slot oc fæstæ Edzholm*' (1405).[7] The castle was burned down during the Engelbrekt uprising under Peder Ulfsson's (Roos of Ervalla) leadership in 1434 and never rebuilt.[8]

The castle area is dominated by the ruins of the main stone building with several rooms. The ruin was documented and partially investigated in 1948 and in 1954–55[9], while the archaeological excavation in 1991–92 targeted five buildings in the bailey.[10] (Fig. 3.) None of the buildings were intact due to many later interventions, but functions such as a craft house, a scribe's workshop with a storage room, and an adjacent stable for the castle lord's warhorse, the garrison's barracks, and a smaller residential building have been confirmed. Some of the buildings at Edsholm seem to have been constructed as half-timbered houses, which deviates from the traditional building technique, log construction, in Värmland at that time. Medieval half-timbered houses are mainly associated with a southern Scandinavian building tradition and urban environments.[11]

Artefacts and people in the castles

At Saxholmen a total of 2208 finds were recorded, everyday objects such as diverse functional iron objects and pottery, but also several luxury items. The finds material indicates that the castle was inhabited by families, men, women, and children, from the highest elite during the second half of the 13th century. At Edsholm a little more than 2800 finds were recorded, mostly iron objects but

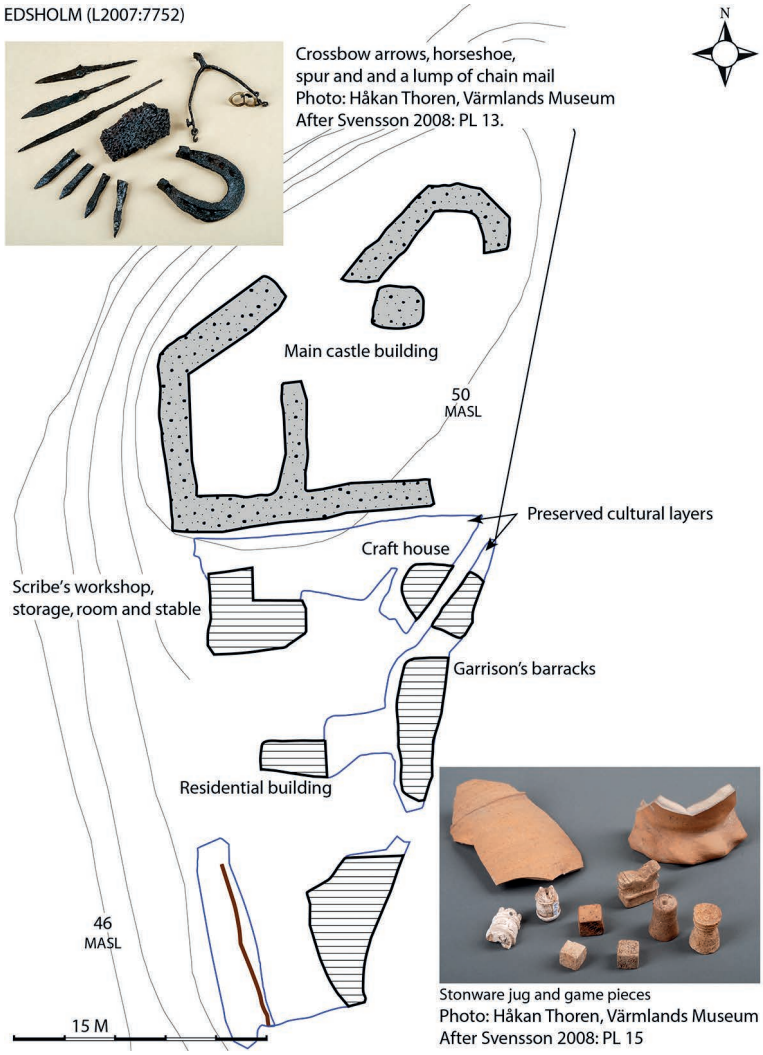

FIGURE 3. Plan of Edsholm castle and some of the artefacts. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

also items made of various copper alloys, antler, ceramics, and glass. Most likely, the bailiff's family and household inhabited the main castle at Edsholm. In contrast, the finds from the bailey show an exclusively male presence, likely a garrison of mercenaries. The mercenaries left behind numerous weapons, such as crossbow parts and armor plates (*lamellae*), while cutting and thrusting weapons and parts of mail armour were found at both Edsholm and Saxholmen. Another interesting example of differences between the castles is that waste management at Saxholmen was carefully organized, whereas the mercenaries at the baily of Edsholm dumped large amounts of waste both in and around all buildings.

Whereas the mercenaries at Edsholm were dressed in armor with few other accessories, jewellery and dress accessories from Saxholmen were flashing out social status. In addition to two mounts with a coat of arms, one with the Boberg family's coat of arms (see above) and one of unknown origin, about ten gilded items, including a dress bell, pearls, pendants, buckles, finger rings, various iron, bronze, and tin fittings with sewing or rivet holes, embellished the dress. Out of five finger rings, two in gold and three in bronze, four have a setting, two amethysts, one sodalite, and one of unknown material. We can also ascertain that several items likely were not produced at the castles. Glass beads were rarely made for domestic use, and the execution of both finger rings and other jewellery suggests professional craftsmen. Two of the inset stones, a sodalite and an agate with a relief profile, indicate direct or indirect contact with other parts of Europe.

Another 'curiosity' at Saxholmen was a fairly high number of votive offerings, such as lead sheets with runic inscriptions, finger rings and sharp objects, such as a battle axe, under floors and in fireplaces. Votive offerings were rarer at Edsholm.

Apart from items related to the dress, there are other indications of both castles being linked to external markets such as seven coins from Edsholm and two from Saxholmen, as well as a textile seal

from Saxholmen. The tableware showed long-distance contacts in the form of stoneware jugs from Germany, with 26 finds from Edsholm and 6 from Saxholmen. From Saxholmen, there are also two finds of glazed redware of southern Scandinavian type and 78 other ceramic finds.

Looking at craftsmanship at the castles, waste and tools indicate that items in iron, bronze, and antler/horn/bone were produced and likely repaired at both castles. At Saxholmen, horn working was practiced, but no items from the production were found. Antler waste and raw materials (elk) from Edsholm include gaming pieces, dice, and crossbow nuts, while a mold and a crucible show that small decorative items were cast, probably in bronze. Some textile work, reproducing female elite identity, was carried out at both castles. At Edsholm, a thimble and a needle were found during the 1950s investigation of the main castle, while a thimble, fifteen spindle whorls, and nine loom weights were found during the investigations of Saxholmen.

Supply and relationship with the surrounding area

Saxholmen seems to have been established without a supporting hinterland. Osteological analyses show that cattle, pigs, and sheep/goats were kept on the small island and slaughtered there. Obviously, live livestock was brought when the lord's household arrived at Saxen for their summer stay. They also seem to have hunted and fished to a limited extent. The vegetable diet, mainly barley but also some oats (porridge and bread!), might have been procured externally, brought by the household to the island, and/or cultivated to a lesser extent on the island.

Edsholm was constructed as a tax collection centre. The castle's – and the lord's – primary task was to ensure that the peasants fulfilled their duties, and that taxes flowed into the crown (or at least to the castle) as they should. We have a fairly good idea of what the Värmland peasants would pay in taxes, preserved in a tax book from 1503.[12] This tax book, along with the land register of 1540,[13] is believed to be based on the (now lost) account book compiled by Erik Kettilsson Puke.[14] According to the preserved tax lists, the Värmland peasants paid their taxes primarily in oxen, butter or money, but about seventy farms paid in iron, three paid in salmon, and two paid in marten skins.

In addition to the regular taxes, the peasants were hit in 1403 by a new levy, intended to support the castles, the so-called *Gärdesskatten*. Every '*gärd*,' i.e., four peasants, had to pay 1 ox, 2 sheep, 1 pig, 2 geese, 4 chickens, 40 eggs, 40 loads of firewood, 2 pounds (about 17 kg) of butter, 1 pound of rye, and a mark of hemp every winter, and one and a half times as much every summer. Additionally, the peasants were required to provide 24 days of labor and deliver 2 loads of hay.[15]

Judging by the ecofact material from Edsholm,[16] especially the osteological material, it seems that tax collection worked relatively well. Plenty of animal bones from cattle, sheep, and pigs were preserved, with a distribution that corresponds well to the *Gärdesskatten*. Also, rye, stipulated in *Gärdesskatten*, was found in the macrofossil analysis. The osteological material also contained bones of the taxed items marten and salmon, which came to Edsholm as skins and with the heads removed. Macrofossil analysis of the contents of the crib in the warhorse's stable showed that the horse was fed with almost pure oats.

CONTEMPORARY COUNTRYSIDE – Four excavated farms

Four medieval, rural settlements contemporaneous with one or both castles have been investigated in Värmland; Skramle, Ivarsbråten, Djupsundet, and Romstad. The first three were excavated by the author(s), and the fourth by the regional museum, Värmlands Museum.[17]

Skramle

Skramle, a settlement not recorded in written documents, was excavated during the 1990s. Four main phases of settlement were identified: the 6th century, the 8th century, the latter half of the 13th century to the first half of the 14th century, and the late 15th to early 16th centuries.[18] Only the third phase, around 1250–1350, will be discussed here. During this period, Skramle was a hamlet with initially three and later two households. Skramle was swiftly abandoned, with standing buildings and items left in place, around 1350, likely due to the ravages of the Black Death.

Four residential buildings, two in use during the 13th century (H VI and H VII), one during the 14th century (H VIII), and one throughout the period (H X), were excavated, along with a combined barn and cowhouse (H XIV), a small outbuilding H V), and a large three-part (later two-part) outbuilding (H V). All buildings were interpreted as log-timbered. Two of the residential buildings had smoke ovens, one with a brick bottom, of urban design. (Fig. 4.)

Barley had been the main crop, but some oats, rye and wheat had also been cultivated. The livestock, and meat consumption, comprised sheep / goats, cattle, chickens and pigs. In addition to ag-

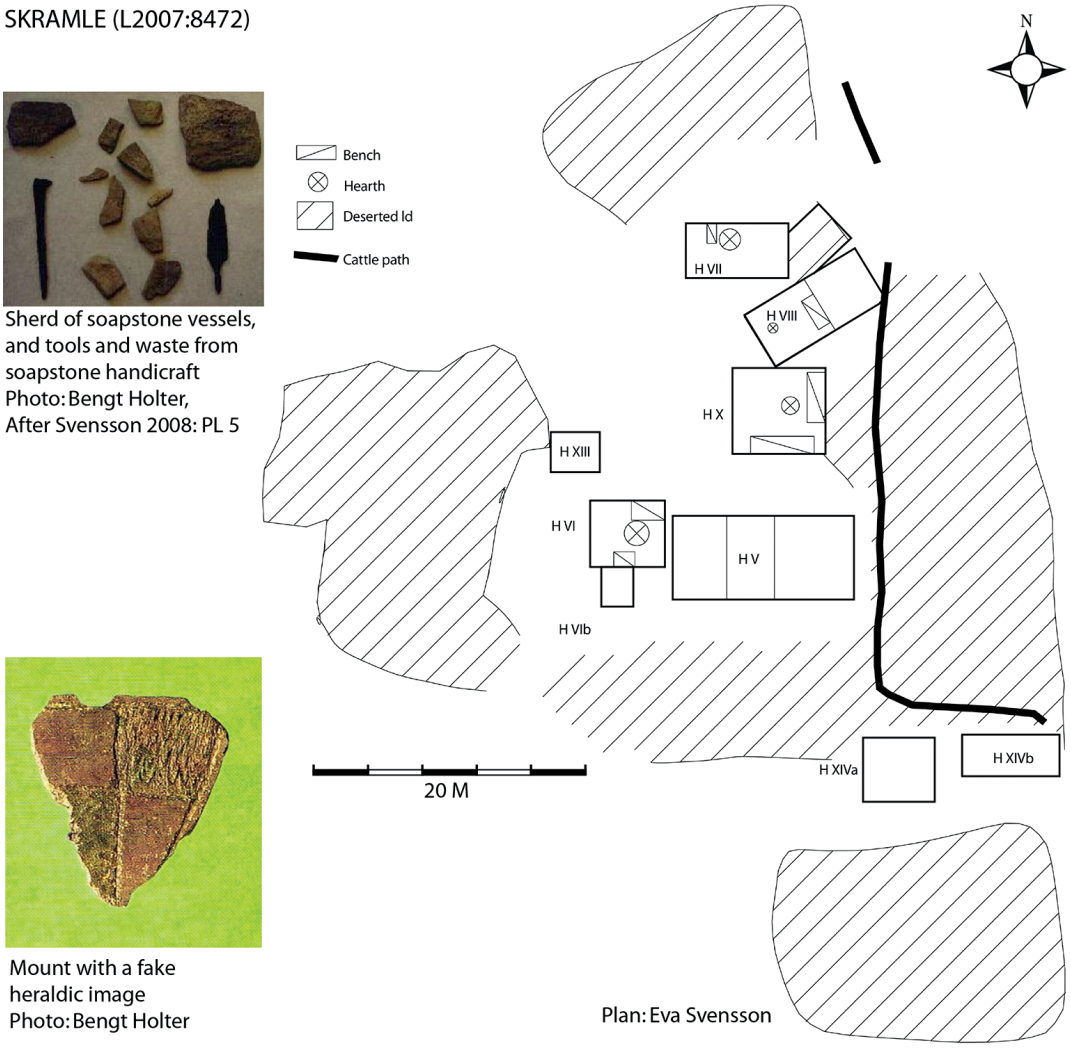

FIGURE 4. Plan of Skramle (phase III) and some of the artefacts. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

riculture and livestock management, the Skramle peasants engaged in some crafts and outland use. They hunted, likely for both food and fur-bearing game. The furs were then processed at Skramle. Additionally, the farmers practised soapstone craft, ironworking, and bronze/brass casting. Fur and soapstone items were traded goods, while metal crafts were household productions.

Because Skramle was swiftly abandoned without dismantling buildings or salvaging items, the artefact material is relatively rich. A total of 589 objects and a small number of burnt bones were recovered during excavation. Most of these were building details and utility items related to sustenance, crafts, consumption, and other aspects of daily life, such as whetstones, soapstone vessels, spindle whorls, arrowheads, and a pair of shears. Notably, pottery is completely lacking. There were also some items of a more luxurious nature, including a mount with a fake heraldic image (likely made on-site), a homemade bronze ring brooch, and a more exclusive bronze buckle. (Fig. 4.)

Although crafts were practised at Skramle, most of the items had come to the village from outside, either as finished products or as raw materials. The origin cannot be determined precisely, but it likely involved several different sources. For example, soapstone and whetstones seem to have come from several different quarries.[19] The Skramle peasants were evidently connected to a market or trading network, both for acquiring the goods they needed and for selling their products - soapstone items and fur.

Ivarsbråten

Ivarsbråten, a single farmstead from the 14th century unknown in written documents, was excavated during the years 2013–19. The archaeological investigation included a residential building, an outbuilding, a stone-paved courtyard, and parts of the fossilized arable land. The residential building was situated on a southern slope, on a terrace edge with a stone terrace to the south to achieve a level floor, whereas the western wall included a mould bench. There was a large and elaborate hearth in the house. Burnt clay indicated that it was a log-timbered house sealed with clay.[20] (Fig. 5.)

A total of 93 objects and 42 finds of burnt bones were recorded. The finds reflect daily life on the farm, such as various iron items and whetstones, two ring brooches (copper alloy), fragments of different soapstone vessels, and nine spindle whorls. Both more luxurious objects and pottery are lacking. Bronze slag and a potential soapstone crucible, located in an older hearth under the elaborate hearth, indicate that casting had taken place in an early phase at the settlement. The simple design of the ring brooches, flat and without decoration, suggests they likely were mass-produced and brought to Ivarsbråten as trade goods.

Regarding food, the farm seems to have been self-sufficient. The osteological material showed that they had consumed, and likely kept, pigs, cattle, as well as sheep/goats, and macrofossil, wood charred material, and pollen analysis indicate that the farm was surrounded by an open landscape with cultivation of barley, rye, oats, and flax. The presence of three types of grain indicates that the farmers practised risk diversification with both autumn and spring-sown crops. Flax was probably cultivated for both internal use and an external market, as the relatively high number of spindle whorls, including a votive offering, indicate that textile production was conducted at Ivarsbråten.

The datings show that Ivarsbråten was in use during the 14th century, i.e., at the onset of the Little Ice Age with a colder and wetter climate. The peasants at Ivarsbråten seem to have equipped the farm to meet the challenges through good drainage, a strong fireplace acting as a good heat reservoir, and a well-sealed house with a mould bench and clay sealing. They also practised risk diversification by cultivating several crops with different harvest seasons. Especially oats are well suited for cultivation in wetter climates.

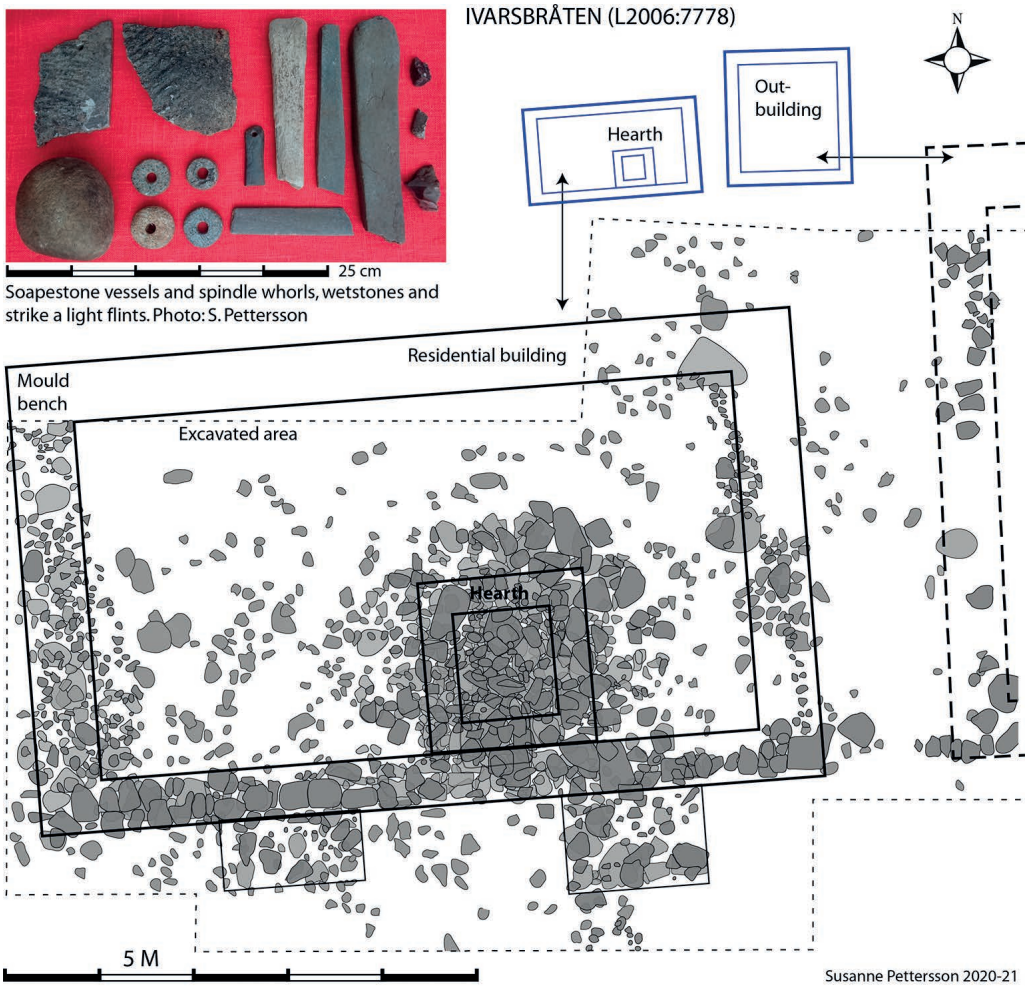

FIGURE 5. Plan of Ivarsbråten and some of the artefacts. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

The settlement at Ivarsbråten was short-lived, and the farm was deserted probably in the later part of the 14th century. The parasite ergot, detected in the macrofossils and/or the Black Death may have contributed to the abandonment of the farm.

Djupsundet

Djupsundet farm is mentioned in written sources for the first time in 1468.[21] Historical maps place the farm on a hill by Lake Vänern in the 17th and 18th centuries.[22] Further down the slope, near the shores of Lake Vänern, a presumed Iron Age tumulus-field and a house foundation had been recorded. However, during the excavations in 1990–1992 it was soon determined that the site contained remains of settlement from the late medieval and early modern periods.

Six house foundations and seven mounds of unknown function (not investigated) were identified through survey and partial excavations. The house foundations consisted of wall remains, pits, and trenches with or without visible bricks. The largest house foundation, A1 was about 26 x 11 meters large, and dated to the 14th century. Based on its location and size, A1 has been interpreted as a boat-house.[23] Presumably, all structures were created in connection with a shore-based activity connected to the medieval farm. (Fig. 6.)

The composition of the finds did not contribute to any further dating or function of the buildings. Out of 42 finds, 29 consisted of various iron objects such as nails, rivets, seams, sheets, and a dress brooch. In addition, a flint (strike-alight flint?), a glass fragment (flat glass), three bone finds, and five sherds of late redware were recovered. There are no macro-, wood charcoal-, or osteological analyses, so we do not know what was consumed and produced. Given that the area was surrounded by water, and that the farm paid taxes in butter, pike, and perch according to the 1540 land register,[24] fishing was likely an important source of livelihood.

Romstad

In the summer of 2013, Värmlands Museum investigated a medieval farmstead at Romstad in Karlstad. The farm is first mentioned in written sources in 1535,[25] but the archaeological investigation showed activity on the site from the 11th century and onwards, with a distinct medieval phase dating from the early 1200s to the mid-1400s. The investigation included three medieval buildings,

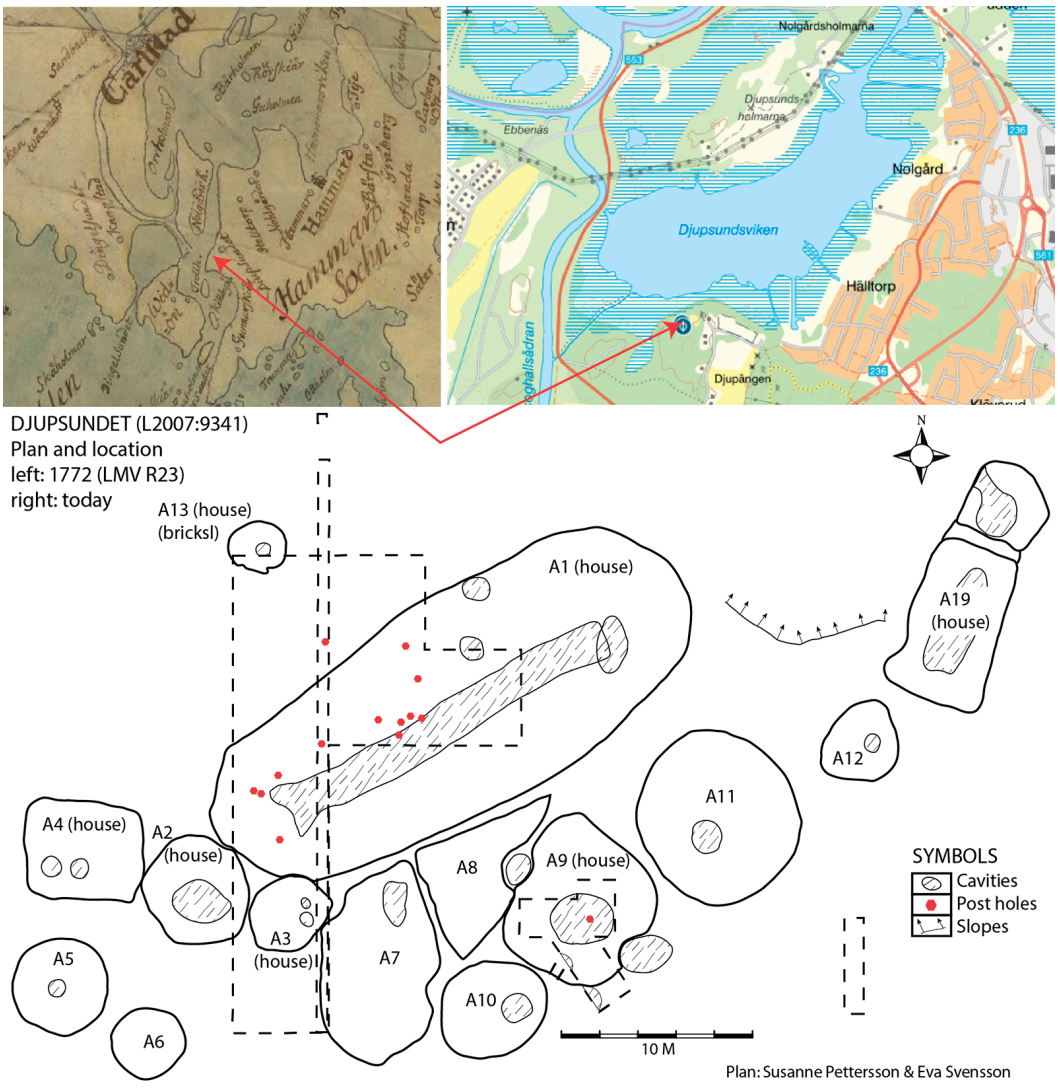

FIGURE 6. Plan of Djupsundet and its location. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

a residential house, a simpler outhouse, and a smithy, as well as a later outhouse with a brick oven (1660–1950 AD).[26] (Fig. 7.)

House 1, with a stone foundation, an oven foundation, and remnants of a wooden floor, represents a younger phase overlying a medieval building consisting of a cultural layer, a hearth, and two partly stone-lined storage pits. The extent and design of all three medieval buildings are uncertain, although it can be assumed that they were log-timbered.

In addition to the younger phases in House 1 and the later outhouse, much of the material evidence indicates activity during early modern times in the form of late redware, clay pipes, window glass, bottles, nails, etc. Out of a total of 287 recorded artefacts, 72 can be dated to the medieval period.

The medieval finds include sherds of soapstone vessels, three spindle whorls, part of a potential mould, and sherds of pottery; early redware, stoneware and glass. Other artefacts were a padlock and a hasp, two knives, a drill, seven whetstones and a few decorative dress accessories, such as some small bronze and iron plates, a dress/hairpin, and a small lead fitting (button?). Additionally, a spur, a stirrup, and two horseshoes indicate the presence of a horse on the farm, while two fish-forks and five boat nails suggest that the Romstad peasants were fishing. A silver coin from 1300–1360, minted in Söderköping, and finds such as soapstone sherds,[27] early South Scandinavian redware, German stoneware, and fragments from a drinking glass indicate that the Romstad-peasants took part of a market economy.

The osteological material showed that the peasants had consumed, and likely kept, pigs, cattle, sheep, and geese, and consumed locally available fish such as perch, pike and carp. They had also consumed ling, a commodity from the North Sea more commonly found in urban contexts.[28] According to the macrofossil analysis cultivation of oats, club wheat, barley, peas, and spices such as sorrel and juniper had been pursued.[29]

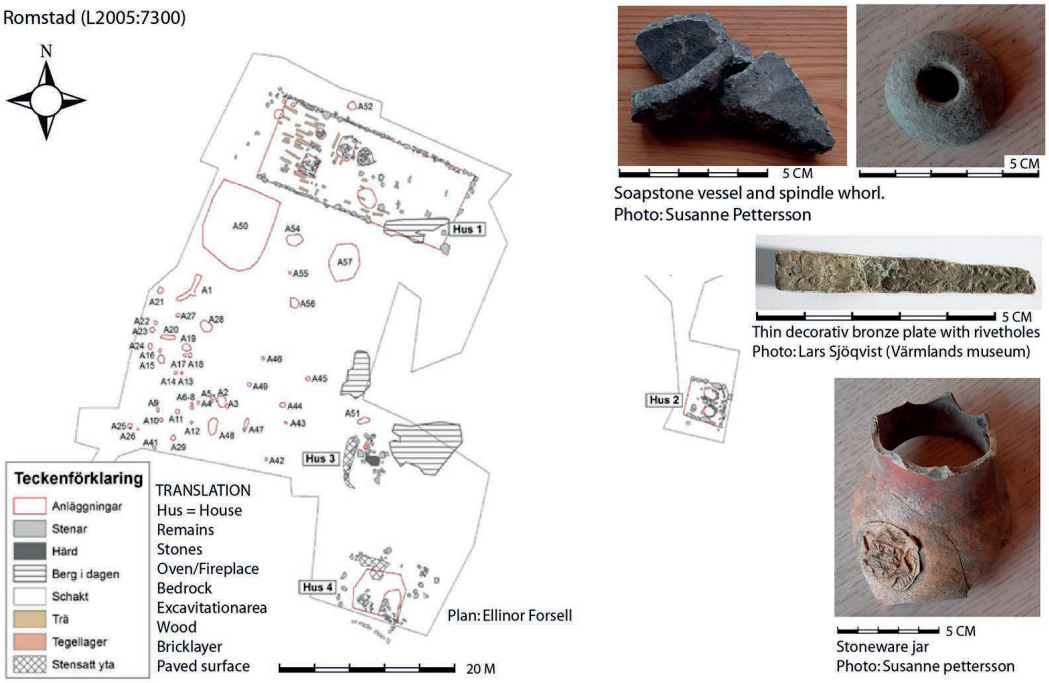

FIGURE 7. Plan of Romstad and some of the artefacts. Map: Susanne Pettersson.

DISCUSSION: Material culture, food, crafts, and taxation

So, based on the archaeological materials presented above, can we say anything about the relationship between castles and the countryside in a 'town-less' landscape during the High and Late Middle Ages?

Let's start in the High Middle Ages, the latter half of the 1200s, when the castle of Saxholmen and the rural settlements of Skramle and Romstad were in use. The archaeological materials show no direct contacts between the castle and the rural settlements. Saxholmen appears to have been a mostly self-sufficient unit; they brought food in portable form and utilized the small rocky island as much as possible. Crafts, such as blacksmithing and horn crafting, seem to have been conducted for the castle's own use and likely based on local resources. Since the nearby countryside was controlled by the rivals of the royal powers, the *Filipssönerna* (Aspenäs) network,[30] it is evident that they anticipated not being able to obtain supplies locally and had a strategy for this.

Regarding material culture and lifestyle, there were both significant differences and similarities between the castle and the farms. The food at Saxholmen seems to have been quite similar to that served at the farms, judging by the ecofacts. Porridge and bread, meat, and dairy products were consumed at both the castle and the farms. Probably, game was also eaten at the farms, although it is not documented in the osteological material.

However, the people at Saxholmen paid attention to the external attributes of housing and clothing, and to some extent also the tableware. The masonry tower was a unique feature in the non-urban landscape, and wine was served in imported mugs. Dress accessories constitute a prominent category of finds at Saxholmen with brooches and other dress fittings, belt bells, beads, and rings. Armor details are rarer, despite the castle being built in enemy territory. It appears that the castle's inhabitants put their trust in supernatural powers, as evidenced by the relatively numerous votive offerings.

On the farms, at least judging by the dress accessories found at Skramle, the peasants focused on practical and sturdy clothing and did not seek to stand out through their attire. At least not when moving around in their everyday environment. But when they went on trade trips, probably to some more distant town, they dressed differently. The peasants were undoubtedly aware of the emerging aristocracy's fashion, and the use of dress in social competition. The discovery of a homemade bronze ring brooch, an exclusive bronze buckle, and especially a locally made heraldic mount at Skramle indicates that the peasants took competition seriously and were eager to show that they could dress just as fancy.

A hundred years later, the situation had changed. The hundred years contained one of history's more transformative processes; the late medieval agrarian crisis with the Black Death and the prelude to the Little Ice Age. The crisis resulted in fewer taxpayers, and adjustments in agriculture, with an increased focus on livestock farming partly due to difficulties with cereal cultivation in certain areas, and partly because the desertion of farms provided increased opportunities for grazing and haymaking.[31]

A declining tax base demanded more efficient tax collection, at least from the crown's point of view. Bailiffs, and bailiff castles, were important elements of this strategy, making them highly unpopular among the tax-paying peasants. Edsholm Castle was no exception, which was brutally noticed when an angry army set fire to the castle in 1434. Until then, Edsholm seems to have been an efficient tax collector. It is possible, but not proven, that other products, such as elk antlers for the castle's craft and oats for the warhorse's crib, found their way from the Värmland countryside to the castle. Regarding oats, investigations of Ivarsbråten indicate that oat cultivation had increased in the area during the 1300s, albeit for other reasons than feeding a warhorse.

Although Edsholm Castle was largely supplied by the surrounding countryside, imported items such as pottery also occurred. The ceramics show that the castle benefitted from (probably) urban-based trade networks. However, neither imported ceramics nor items produced by the castle's craftsmen seem to have found their way out of the castle to the surrounding countryside, as such items have not been found in the investigations of the medieval farms. Possibly except a sherd of stoneware found at Romstad.

There were some overarching similarities in material culture between castle and farms in late medieval Värmland, especially regarding functional items. But there were also significant differences. At Edsholm Castle, the dress code 'armor' was applied in the bailey, while few items related to the dress on the farms indicate everyday attire without major embellishment or armament. Tableware and food also differed; soapstone pots and everyday pottery dominated on the farms, unlike imported ceramics at the castle. The inhabitants of Edsholm Castle consumed large amounts of meat, leavened wheat bread, and wine, while the peasants made do with bread and porridge made from barley, rye, and oats, and probably a more modest meat consumption.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this article was to investigate whether castles in 'town-less' regions could have had certain urban functions as producers or mediators of handicraft products and imported goods to the surrounding countryside. The short answer is 'no', at least in Värmland. The two castles examined here were either self-sufficient or lived off the countryside without producing anything in return. In other contexts, the urban-rural-castle relationship was more dynamic.[32]

However, castles, or rather the aristocracy, did influence the countryside. The manifestations of the emerging nobility seem to have created resistance among peasants in the latter half of the 1200s, triggering social competition manifested through the dress. During the late 1300s and early 1400s, the castle drained the peasants with its tax demands, creating resistance in the form of rebellion - and the burning of Edsholm Castle. Edsholm Castle was left in ruins, and no new castles were erected. The Värmland peasants continued their lives - and seem to have managed just fine without either towns or castles for the next 150 years.

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NOTES

1 Eg. Krauskopf 2015.
2 Eg. Mogren 1996; 2000; Mogren & Svensson 1988.
3 The information regarding Saxholmen and Edsholm is mainly based on the published excavation reports Röjder & Schedin 2004 and Pettersson & Svensson 1997. The results from the excavations have been further processed in Svensson 2008.
4 Röjder & Schedin 2004.
5 DMS 7: 388, 394.
6 ÄSF I:1: 25.
7 DMS: 238.
8 The burning of Edsholm is described in Karlskrönikan, and quoted in Kjellberg 1987: 11.

9 ATA Dnr 3819/48, Dnr 5485/54, Dnr 6040/55; Kjelleberg 1987.
10 Pettersson & Svensson 1997; 2000; Svensson 2008.
11 Augustsson 1992: 62–3.
12 Samuelsson & Kallstenius 1939.
13 Broberg 1952.
14 Nilsson 1993: 202.
15 Dovring 1951: 51–2.
16 Engelmark 1997; Hårding 1997.
17 The information regarding Skramle, Ivarsbråten, Djusundet and Romstad is mainly based on the excavation reports, some of which are published; Andersson & Svensson 2002; Forsell 2014; Pettersson & Svensson 1993; Svensson et al. 2021.
18 Andersson & Svensson 2002; Svensson 2008.
19 Svensson et al. 2023. Publication in English, by the same authors, accepted for publication in the monography *Harvesting the Margins of the Viking World* (Brepols).
20 Svensson et al. 2021; Svensson et al. 2022.
21 DMS 7: 387.
22 LMV R11 1676 (Vr) and R17 1742 (Vr), Djupsundet.
23 Pettersson & Svensson 1993.
24 Broberg 1952; DMS 7: 387.
25 DMS 7: 427.
26 Forsell 2014.
27 Svensson et al. 2023.
28 Jonson 2014.
29 Heimdahl 2014.
30 Lind 2004: 31–3; Nilsson 1997.
31 Eg. Campbell 2016; Charpentier Ljungkvist et al. 2021; Myrdal 2003.
32 Krauskopf 2015.

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Abbreviations

ATA = Antiquarian Topographical Archives, National Heritage Board, Stockholm.

DMS 7 = Det medeltida Sverige 7 Värmland (Björklund, Annika 2018.)

LMV = Historiska kartor, Lantmäteriet, www.historiskakartor.lantmateriet.se

ÄSF = Riddarhusredaktionen 1957–1989. *Äldre svenska frälsesläkter. Ättartavlor*

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Päivi Maaranen

GRABBACKAN RAUNIOLLA
Havaintoja kartanolinnan sijaintipaikasta ja arkeologisten kerrostumien säilyneisyydestä

ABSTRACT

The stone manor in Raasepori Grabbacka was probably built at the end of the 15th century and in the 16th century. The manor was destroyed in a fire in 1672. The ruin of the manor was completely excavated in the 1930s and restored as a historical monument. A part of the area north of the ruin was studied with hand augering in 2023 to study the preservation of the cultural layers. The data achieved showed that older layers of soil have been preserved under surface layers formed during the 20th century. The older layers may be a source of intact archaeological information of medieval or post medieval period. The study of the topographic situation of the ruin leads to the assumption that the stone manor was founded on bedrock for practical purposes. In addition, the stone manor was visible in the local landscape. This kind of residence with a significant geographical situation and visibility seems to provide evidence of a function of control and status in the area. Thus, the stone manor mirrored the builder's identity and role in the society.

Asiasanat: kartanolinna, kivirakennus, raunio, maisema, keskiaika

Grabbackan kartanolinnan raunio on yksi Muinaistieteellisen toimikunnan ja sittemmin Museoviraston tutkimista ja restauroimista kohteista. Se sijaitsee Raaseporissa Karjaalla maatilan pihapiirissä ja on laajuudeltaan noin 22 x 14 metriä (Kuva 1). 1930-luvun kaivaustutkimusten perusteella kartanolinnaa rakennettiin 1400-luvun lopulla ja 1500-luvulla useammassa vaiheessa ja siinä oli suurimmillaan mahdollisesti kolme kerrosta. Kivirakennuksesta on säilynyt pohjakerroksen kellareita ja niiden päällä olleen kerroksen jäännöksiä.[1] Vuonna 2023 rauniolla tehtiin koetutkimus ja dokumentointia.[2] Niiden raportoinnin yhteydessä tehtiin myös arkistotutkimusta, jonka avulla saatiin lisätietoa kohteesta. Seuraavassa käsittelen lyhyesti tutkimustuloksia, jotka liittyvät paikan historiaan, raunion pohjoispuolisiin maakerrostumiin ja kartanolinnan sijaintiin maisemassa.

KUVA 1. Kartanolinnan raunio sijoittuu välittömästi maatilan päärakennuksen pohjoispuolelle pihapiiriin mäelle. Kuva: Museovirasto, Päivi Maaranen 2016.

RAUNION JA PAIKAN HISTORIAA

Grabbackan mäellä on sijainnut mahdollisesti keskiaikaisen Dalkarlan verokunnan kylä Dalkarby tai sen tiloja, joista yksi oli nimeltään Grab (Kuva 2). Grabbacka muodostui ilmeisesti näiden tilojen yhdistämisestä oston yhteydessä 1400-luvun loppupuoliskolla.[3] Kivistä ja tiilistä muurattu kartanolinna oli käytössä keskiajalta 1600-luvun loppupuolelle ainakin ajoittain ja palveli todennäköisimmin edustus- ja kestitystarkoituksissa.[4] Gardberg on arvioinut, että vuonna 1672 tapahtuneen palon jälkeen raunio säilyi 1680-luvulla rakennetun asuinrakennuksen kivijalkana. Muistitiedon mukaan tämä rakennus sijaitsi raunion toisessa päässä ja se purettiin 1910-luvun puolivälissä.[5]

Historiallisten karttojen tarkastelun antama tieto ei tue Gardbergin arviota.[6] Vuoden 1771 kartalla raunion tienoille on merkitty neljän rakennuksen rajaama piha-alue ja sen lounaispuoleinen puutarha.[7] Vuoden 1897 kartalla raunion lähelle on merkitty tilan päärakennus ja sen koillis- ja itäpuolelle pienempiä rakennuksia.[8] Vuosien 1914 ja 1919 kartoilla päärakennuksen koillispuolelle on merkitty useita rakennuksia ja raunio sijoittuu päärakennuksen pohjoispuolelle.[9] Kun eri-ikäiset kartat suhteutetaan toisiinsa kulkuteiden, peltojen ja luonnonmaantieteellisten piirteiden perusteella, raunion paikka näyttää olleen rakentamatonta aluetta viimeistään 1700-luvun lopulta alkaen. Raunio jää 1770-luvulla rakennusten rajaaman pihapiirin ja 1800–1900-luvulla tilan päärakennuksen pohjoispuolelle. Tämä tulkintani on kuitenkin jossakin määrin epävarma, sillä historiallisten karttojen suhteuttamisessa toisiinsa voi tapahtua virheitä.[10]

Rauniota 1800-luvulla käsittelevät kirjalliset kuvaukset tukevat jossakin määrin karttojen tarkasteluun perustuvaa tulkintaa. Wessmanin mukaan 1820–30-luvuilla Grabbackassa oli jäljellä hieman yhtä muuria ja kellareista näkyi suuria kuoppia.[11] 1840-lukua koskevassa muistelussa Grabbackassa oli asuinrakennuksen ulkopuolella paikan korkeimmalle kohdalle sijoittuva pieni puutarha, jossa oli raunioon liittyviä kivikasoja.[12] 1860-luvulla Grabbackassa oli havaittavissa pari syliä korkea

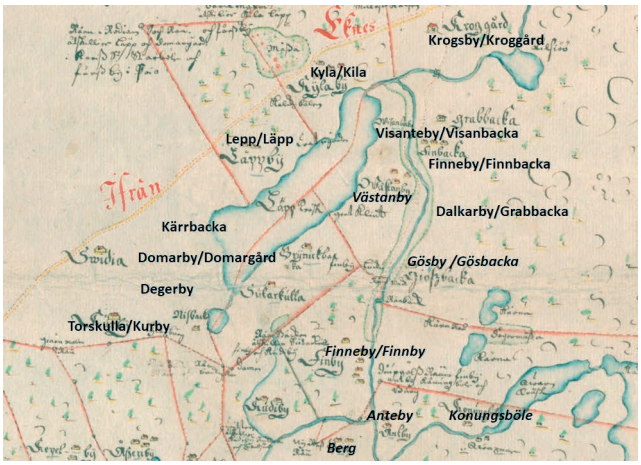
harmaakivimuuri ja muutamia suuria kivikasoja.[13] Wefvarin kuvauksen perusteella paikalla oli 1870-luvulla joitakin muureja.[14] Missään kuvauksessa ei mainita raunion päällä olevaa rakennusta. Nordmanin kaivaustutkimuksissa tehtiin kuitenkin raunion itäpuolelta muurin läheltä havaintoja rakennuksesta.[15] Nämä havainnot voivat liittyä vuoden 1897 kartalla päärakennuksesta koilliseen sijaitsevaan rakennukseen, jota ei ole enää merkitty vuoden 1914 kartalle.[16]

Muut kirjalliset kuvaukset viittaavat myös siihen, että raunion päällä ei ollut välttämättä 1800–1900-luvuilla rakennusta. Wessmanin mukaan muuria revittiin alas 1840-luvulla ja Wefvarin 1870-luvun kuvauksen perusteella raunio olisi ollut alun perin suurempi.[17] Nordman arvioi rauniota täytetyn joiltakin osin terassin muodostamiseksi. Lisäksi hän toteaa paikalta haetun kiviä sekä tiiliä vielä 1800-luvun lopulla muuta rakentamista varten.[18] Kartano arvioi Grabbackan olleen rauniona jo vuodesta 1685 ja ympäristön asukkaiden repineen muureista kiviä rakennuksiinsa.[19] Ennen 1900-luvun alkua paikallisia oli myös kielletty ottamasta kiviä rauniosta.[20] Kuvaukset muurin purkamisesta ja kivien ottamisesta viittaavat siihen, että raunio oli erillinen osa muusta tilan rakennuskannasta. Jos raunio olisi ollut esimerkiksi rakennuksen perustuksena, siitä olisi tuskin otettu kiviä edellä kuvatussa määrin.

HAVAINTOJA RAUNIOSTA MAISEMASSA

Sijaintipaikan historian lisäksi tarkastelin raunion sijaintia maastossa ja maisemassa.[21] Nordman mainitsee Grabbackan sijaitsevan jyrkällä kalliolla, joka on ollut vaikea valloittaa lännestä päin.[22] Rosendahl toteaa Grabbackan olevan huomattavan korkealla paikalla ja hallitsevan alapuolella olevaa laaksoa.[23] Kartanolinna onkin rakennettu peltojen keskelle etelään työntyvälle kallioiselle mäelle, länsilounaaseen ja länteen antavan rinteen reunalle. Rinteen alkuperäistä jyrkkyyttä on vaikea määritellä luotettavasti, sillä alueelle on siirretty vuosien 1937–38 restauroinnissa maata. Maastohavaintojen perusteella rinne on kuitenkin ainakin paikoin ollut ilmeisesti äkkijyrkkä.[24]

Kalliossa on raunion kohdalla terassi, joka on kapeampi raunion keskikohdalla ja leventyy etelässä ja pohjoisessa. Terassin itäpuolella on kallion laki, jossa on tasaisempi alue ja korkeammaksi kohoava huippu. Kartanolinna on rakennettu paikalleen terassitalon tapaan. Kellarikerros on muurattu terassille ja se tukeutuu osittain terassia reunustavaan kallioseinämään. Kalliota on myös louhittu ainakin yhtä kellaria rakennettaessa.[25] Toinen kerros on muurattu kellarien ja niiden itäpuolella olevan kallion päälle. Mahdollinen kolmas kerros on muurattu toisen kerroksen päälle.



KUVA 2. Karjaan keskiaikaisten kylien tunnettuja ja arvioituja sijaintipaikkoja Finnbyn (kursivoidut nimet) ja Dalkarlan (kursivoimattomat nimet) verokunnissa Broteruksen vuoden 1703 kartalle sijoitettuna. Broterus on merkinnyt kartalleen kylien lisäksi muun muassa Läppträsketin järveltä Raaseporin linnalle kulkevan nykyisen Kungsån vesireitin, aikanaan Kroggårdin kautta Finnbyhyn vieneen maakulkureitin ja erheellisesti Grabbackan Finnbackasta pohjoiseen. Kartta: KA MH MH 29/- -. Kylien sijaintien osalta katso myös KA MHA U B16:22/1–2; Kerkkonen 1952: 55–61; Gardberg 1968: 60.

Terassi jyrkänteen äärellä näyttää valitun tietoisesti kartanolinnan paikaksi. Kallio muodostaa tukevan pohjan perustuksille ja terassille rakentaminen on säästänyt jonkin verran aikaa ja rakennusaineksia, jos tavoitteena on ollut myös kustannustehokkuus.[26] Pienikokoisemmankin kivirakennuksen näyttävyyttä maisemassa on lisännyt länsi- ja pohjoispuolelta katsottaessa jyrkkä kalliorinne. Kartanolinnan paikalta avautuu puolestaan näkymä pitkälle länteen, luoteeseen ja pohjoiseen peltojen halki aikanaan kulkeneelle maareitille ja Kungsånin-vesireitille, joka tunnetaan myös nimillä Visanbacka å ja Raseborgs ån (vrt. Kuva 2).[27] Lisäksi Suuri Rantatie kulki ilmeisesti kartanolinnan läheltä.[28] Paikalta voi siten seurata niin vesitse kuin maitse alueella liikkuvia toimijoita.

Kartano arvioi Grabbackan suurimman kellarin olleen osa 1300-luvun loppuvuosikymmeninä rakennettua tornimaista asuinlinnaa.[29] Kivirakennuksen sijaintipaikka ja rakennustapa mukailevatkin jossakin määrin 1300-luvulla kirjoitetuksi arvellun *Konungastyrelsenin* ohjeistuksia.[30] Tornimaisen asuinlinnan varhainen rakennusvaihe voisi kytkeytyä Raaseporin linnaan, jonka perustamisen esimerkiksi Drake ajoittaa 1370-luvulle.[31] Tornimaisella kivirakennuksella voi olla tällöin esimerkiksi eri toimijoiden valvontaan liittyvä tarkoitus.

Nordmanin havaintojen perusteella kivirakennuksen rakentaminen alkoi vasta 1400-luvun loppupuoliskolla.[32] Tällöin esimerkiksi Raaseporin linnalla oli voimakkaampi rakennusvaihe ja Karjaalle rakennettiin kivikirkko.[33] Kartanolinnan rakentaminen saattoi saada kimmokkeen näistä rakennustöistä, sillä seudulla liikkui kivi- ja tiilimuurauksen osaavia ammattilaisia. Nordman ja Kartano mainitsevat esimerkiksi tiettyjen muuraamisessa käytettyjen tiilien olevan Karjaan kirkolla käytetyn kaltaisia.[34] Käsin lyödyt tiilet eivät kuitenkaan sinänsä kerro, minä aikana rakennus on tarkalleen tehty tai yhdistä Grabbackan ja Karjaan kirkon rakentamista toisiinsa.[35] Osaavat ja taitavat muurarit olivat joka tapauksessa avainasemassa vahvojen muurien tekijöinä, jotta suuria kivirakennushankkeita voitiin toteuttaa.[36]

Tarkkaa tietoa kartanolinnan ulkonäöstä ei ole, mutta asiaa pohdittiin vertailemalla Grabbackaa osittain samanikäiseen Paraisten Kuitian kartanolinnaan. Kuitia rakennettiin useammassa vaiheessa 1400-luvun lopulla ja 1500-luvun alkupuoliskolla, ja siinä on kellarikerros, kolme asuinkerrosta sekä ullakko. Kuitian poikittainen osa on madallettu myöhemmin 1770-luvulla tehdyn korjauksen yhteydessä.[37] Kuitian ja Grabbackan pohjakaavat muistuttavat toisiaan ulkoääriviivoiltaan.[38] Pohjakerrosten tilanjako rakennuksissa on kuitenkin erilainen, eikä Kuitiassa ei ole Grabbackan koillisinta kellaria vastaavaa tilaa.

Kuitiaa koskevien tietojen pohjalta kokeilin visuaalisen mallinnoksen luomista siitä, miltä Grabbacka on voinut aikanaan maisemassa näyttää.[39] Mallinnoksen avulla voi todeta, että kartanolinnan sijoittuminen jyrkästi nousevan rinteen ääreen lisäsi visuaalisesti kivirakennuksen mahtavuutta, kun sitä katsoi esimerkiksi lännestä päin (Kuva 3). Luonnon topografiaa hyödyntävä kivirakennus sai lisää näyttävyyttä ja vaikuttavuutta maisemallisesta näkökulmasta. Rakennuspaikan valinnalla näytetään siten tietoisesti tavoitellun muun muassa kivirakennuksen näkyvyyttä maisemaympäristössä.

Kartanolinnan rakennuttamisen aloitti nähtävästi Måns Andersinpoika Grabbe ja sittemmin sen omisti muun muassa hänen poikansa Nils Grabbe, jotka kumpikin toimivat esimerkiksi merkittävissä tuomarin ja voudin tehtävissä.[40] He korostivat todennäköisesti tietoisesti itseään ja asemaansa monin tavoin.[41] Kivirakennuksen paikan valinta liittynee näin osaltaan maallisen vallan manifestoitiin maisemassa.[42] Manifestointi voi liittyä esimerkiksi Rosendahlin ehdottamaan ylhäisön haluun erottautua talonpojista ja etäisyyden luomiseen eri yhteiskuntaluokkien välille.[43]

Grabbackan mäellä oli kuitenkin ollut ilmeisesti talonpoikaisia tiloja, ja kartanolinnan lähistöllä olivat todennäköisesti myös tilan asumiseen ja maatalouden harjoittamiseen liittyvät puurakennukset.[44] Näin kivirakennukseen voi liittyä myös sen haltijaa henkilönä itsenään korostavia tarkoituk-

KUVA 3. Voimakkaasti kuvakäsitelty mallinnos, jossa Edelfeltin Paraisten Kuitiaa kuvaava lyijykynäpiirros on sijoitettu Grabbackan raunion paikalle valokuvaan. Ainakin jossakin vaiheessa Grabbackan ikkunoissa oli ilmeisesti lyijypuitteita ja mahdollisesti maalattua lasia (esim. Västra Nyland 7.7.1938: 1; Kansallismuseo 1938: H38144:56, H38144:94, H38114:114). Kuvat: Albert Edelfelt 1871 (Museovirasto, Historian kuvakokoelma HK18711016:57, Museovirasto Finna, CC BY 4.0) ja Päivi Maaranen 2023.

sia, jotka toteutuivat näyttävyyttä, kauneutta ja oikeellisia mittasuhteita tavoittelevan rakentamisen keinoin.[45] Rakentamisen taustalla voi täten vaikuttaa rakentajansa ja omistajansa yhteiskunnallisen aseman yleisen korostamisen ja säilymisen turvaamispyrkimys puurakennusta pysyvämmän kivirakennuksen avulla.

Grabbackan kartanolinnan rakentaminen kytkeytynee kuningatar Margareetan linnojen rakentamista koskevan kiellon perumiseen vuonna 1483.[46] Lisäksi sen voi katsoa liittyvän rakentajansa ja haltijansa identiteetin viestimiseen sekä sosiaalisen ryhmän sisällä että sen ulkopuolella. Identiteetin muodostumiseen vaikuttivat aikanaan sekä sukuhistoria että omaisuus, joita tuotiin esiin näkyvästi myös materiaalisen kulttuurin muodossa. Tähän materiaaliseen kulttuuriin kuuluivat tavat asua ja varustaa tiloja, joskin erityisesti kivirakennuksen saattoi rakennuttaa vain harvempi toimija.[47] Grabbackan kartanolinnan rakennuttamisen aloittaneen Måns Andersinpoika Grabben on ajateltu ottaneen nimensä ja tilansa nimen talonpoikaisesta Grabin tilasta.[48] Sukuhistorian sijaan omaisuudella oli hänelle todennäköisesti merkitystä identiteetin viestinnässä. Ehkäpä juuri siksi hän aloitti maisemassaan näyttävän kartanolinnan rakentamisen, mitä sen myöhemmät haltijat jatkoivat.

KOETUTKIMUKSEN TULOKSET

Grabbackan rauniolla tehtiin arkeologisia kaivauksia vuosina 1937–38.[49] Samanaikaisen Kajaanin linnan tutkimuksen tapaan raunio tyhjennettiin siihen kertyneestä maa- ja kiviaineksesta ja työ tehtiin jokseenkin nopeasti.[50] Kaivettu ala rajautui lähinnä raunion kivisten ulkoseinämien lähelle.[51] Kokonaisuudessaan tutkimus kohdentui enemmän rakenteiden paljastamiseen, ajoittamiseen ja dokumentointiin kuin esinelöytöjen ja kontekstien tarkkaan tallentamiseen.

Vuoden 2023 koetutkimuksessa selvitin, millaisia maakerrostumia raunion pohjoispuolella on säilynyt.[52] Näytteenottokairalla tehty tutkimus kohdistui koillis-lounaissuuntaiseen suorakaiteen-

	LÄNSI						ITÄ
Syvyys (cm)	Kairauskohdat 18–20	Kairauskohdat 15–17	Kairauskohdat 12–14	Kairauskohdat 9–11	Kairauskohdat 6–8	Kairauskohdat 4–5	Kairauskohdat 1–3
0–10	syreeni roska-kerros, multamaa	syreeni multamaa	syreeni multamaa	nurmi, multamaa	nurmi, kivikkoa, multamaa	nurmi, multamaa	nurmi, multamaa
10–20	multamaa, laastimuruja	multamaa	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa, vaaleampi maakerros
20–30	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa, tiili- ja kivimurua	multamaa
30–40	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa
40–50	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa	multamaa, laastimurujen raitomaa	multamaa, laasti-, tiili- ja hiilimurua	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	vaaleaa hiekkaa	tiivis maaperä
50–60	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, tiilimuru	multamaa	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimuruaa	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, hiekan-sekainen	
60–70	kiviä?	multamaa, hiili- ja laastimurua	multamaa, hiekansek. laasti-sempi kerros	multamaa, laasti- ja tiilimurua	multamaa, laastimurua	multamaa, hiekan-sekainen	
70–80		multamaa, hiekan-sekainen	multamaa, hiekansek. laastia, hiiltä	suuri kivi tai peruskallio	tiivis maaperä	multamaa, hiekan-sekainen	
80–90		peruskallio?	multamaa, hiekan-sekainen			multamaa, hiekan-sekainen	
90–97			multamaa, hiekansek., hiiltä			peruskallio?	
97			peruskallio				

TAULUKKO 1. Kairanäytteiden perusteella muodostettu yleiskuva maakerrostumista ja niissä havaituista ilmiöistä tutkitulla alueella. Taulukko ei kuvaa maaperän ilmiöitä samalla tarkkuudella kuin kaivetun koeojan profiilipiirros kuvaisi.

muotoiseen alueeseen, jonka laajuus oli 36 m^2 ja josta otettiin järjestelmällisesti 26 näytettä 19 kairapisteestä. Tutkitulla alueella havaittiin peruskallion päällä paksuimmillaan noin vajaan metrin kerros multavaa maata (Taulukko 1). Lisäksi peruskallio vaikutti olevan paikoin alempana kuin kallioterassi, jolle kartanolinnan kellariosat on rakennettu.

Tutkitulla alueella oli multamaata tai laastin- ja tiilensekaista multamaata maan pinnasta noin 50–60 cm syvyyteen. Nämä kerrostumat ovat muodostuneet todennäköisesti 1930-luvun ja sen jälkeisen toiminnan vaikutuksesta. Osa kerrostumista liittynee puutarhan viljelyyn ja osa lienee rauniosta poiskaivettua maata. Maan pintakerroksessa oli paikoin kiviä, jotka lienevät kaivauksen ja restauroinnin yhteydessä kasattuja. Maan pinnalla oli paikoin myös roskakerros, joka oli myöhempää perua. Kairanäytteissä ei ollut havaittavissa nk. vanhempaa maanpintaa, joka olisi osoittanut selkeästi vanhempien ja uudempien maakerrostumien rajaa.

Raunion luoteisimman kulman pohjoispuolella, ulkoseinämästä noin 3–4 metrin päässä olevalla alueella, tuli esiin syvemmällä maassa muista kairaushavainnoista poikkeavia ilmiöitä. Alueella oli jonkin verran hiilenmuruja 95 cm ja 74 cm syvyydessä sekä hiekansekaisempaa ruskeaa multamaata 73–95 cm syvyydessä. Lisäksi oli enemmän laastia sisältävä kerrostuma 68–73 cm syvyydessä

ja tämän alla ohuelti hiilipitoisempaa maata. Laastimurujen sekaista ruskeaa multamaata oli myös 64–68 cm syvyydessä. Paikoin maaperä oli tiiviimpää, minkä perusteella maata ei olisi todennäköisesti kaivettu ainakaan 1930-luvun toimenpiteiden yhteydessä. Tämän vuoksi arvioin, että kyseessä voivat olla vanhempaan aikaan ajoittuvat kerrostumat, jotka sijaitsevat noin 50–60 cm paksuista pintamaakerrosta syvemmällä.

Vanhemmiksi tulkittujen kerrostumien ikää ei voi arvioida luotettavasti koetutkimuksen perusteella. Ne voivat liittyä esimerkiksi 1600–1700-luvun taitteen toimintaan, jolloin paikalla on voitu tehdä valmisteluja kartanolinnan korjaamiseksi.[53] Kivirakennusta on voitu myös korjata käyttöaikanaan 1500–1600-luvuilla. On myös mahdollista, että osa kerrostumista liittyy kartanolinnan rakentamiseen 1400–1500-luvuilla. Kallioterassilla on ollut tilaa rakentamisessa tarvittujen kivien, kalkin ja puutavaran säilyttämiseen. Rakennuspaikkaa on todennäköisesti myös raivattu maasta ja kivistä paljaaksi. Vaikuttaakin siltä, että hiekka-, kalkki- ja hiilihavainnot syvemmällä maaperässä voivat liittyä niin linnan rakentamisvaiheisiin kuin sen myöhempään korjaamiseen. Ne voivat liittyä myös kallioterassin muokkaamiseen kartanolinnan piha-alueeksi. Piha-alueen tarkemmin ajoittamattomia rakenteita on esimerkiksi raunion pohjois- ja koillispuolella kallionlakea reunustava kivivalli.[54]

Kartanolinnan paloon liittyviksi tulkittavia kerrostumia ei koetutkimuksessa tullut ilmi. Hiiltä tuli syvemmältä maasta hyvin vähän ja vain muutamassa kohdassa, vaikka rakennus on palanut vuonna 1672. Gardberg arvioi tulipalon tuhonneen ainakin rakennuksen kattorakenteet.[55] Nordman arvioi rakennuksen palaneen ainakin osittain ja mainitsee havainneensa tulipaloon viittaavia selviä merkkejä suuressa kellarissa.[56] Jos Nordmanin havainnot liittyvät 1670-luvun tulipaloon, se olisi ollut ilmeisesti Gardbergin olettamaa mittavampi. Tulipalosta kertovien hiilikerrosten puuttuminen raunion pohjoispuolella voi liittyä esimerkiksi raunion ympäristön raivaamiseen palon jälkeen.

LOPUKSI

Meinanderin mukaan Grabbackan raunion tutkimukset herättivät kaivauksista vastanneessa Carl Olof Nordmanissa kiinnostuksen myöhemmän keskiajan ja uuden ajan kartanoihin.[57] Grabbackan tutkimuksen voi kuitenkin arvioida jääneen Nordmanilta aikanaan kesken. Esimerkiksi esinelöydöt ja niiden konteksti jäivät tarkemmin tutkimatta ja julkaisematta, mikä johtunee Nordmanin kaatumisesta jatkosodassa vuonna 1942.

Koe- ja arkistotutkimuksen yhteydessä vuonna 2023 Grabbackaa koskevat tiedot täydentyivät monin tavoin. Koetutkimuksen perusteella raunion läheisyydessä on vielä kerrostumia, joiden arkeologiset kaivaukset voivat antaa lisätietoa menneisyydestä. Arkistotutkimuksen yhteydessä ei käyty läpi Museovirastossa olevien kaivausraporttien karttoja, valokuvia tai esinelöytöjä arkiston ja kokoelmien siirtohankkeen vuoksi.[58] Lisäksi Grabbackan tilan monta vuotta omistaneen Fagervikin ruukin arkisto jäi tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle. Näiden arkisto- ja kokoelma-aineistojen läpikäynti voi tuoda myös lisää uutta tietoa kohteesta. Tutkimuksen tulosten pohjalta voikin arvioida, että Grabbackassa riittää vielä runsaasti tutkittavaa.

Päivi Maaranen on tutkija, joka työskentelee Museovirastossa arkeologian erikoisasiantuntijana. Hän on tarkastellut tutkimuksissaan muun muassa maisemaa sekä ihmisen ja ympäristön vuorovaikutusta. Georgin hän on tuntenut 1990-luvulta alkaen ja tutustui häneen Helsingin yliopiston opiskelijoiden perustamassa historiallisen ajan arkeologian opintopiirissä.

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LÄHTEET JA KIRJALLISUUS

Lyhenteet

DF = Diplomatarium Fennicum

H = Suomen kansallismuseo, historialliset kokoelmat

HK = Museovirasto, Historian kuvakokoelma

KA = Kansallisarkisto

MHA U = Maanmittaushallituksen uudistusarkisto

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Terhi Mikkola

JUTIKKALAN KARTANOLLA

Minulla oli ilo viettää kesinä 1999–2001 Georgin kanssa muutama viikko tutkimuskaivauksilla Sääksmäellä Jutikkalan kartanon mailla. Sääksmäki kuuluu Valkeakoskeen ja Jutikkalan kartano sijaitsee Vanajaveden eteläpuolella, kolmisen kilometriä ennen Vanajaveden ylittävää Sääksmäen siltaa. Alue oli sangen tuttua Georgille myös hänen Rapolan kylän ja kartanon historian tutkimuksistaan. Rapola sijaitsee Vanajaveden pohjoispuolella noin seitsemän kilometrin päässä Jutikkalasta Valkeakoskelle päin.

Jutikkalassa tavoitteemme oli löytää keskiaikaisen kartanon tonttipaikka. Jutikkalan nykyinen kartano on vuodelta 1839 ja rakennettu sitä edellisen vuoden toukokuussa riehuneen tuhoisan tulipalon jälkeen. Tulipalo tuhosi kaikki kartanon tontin silloiset rakennukset. Alueelta säilyneen vanhimman kartan perusteella kartano on sijainnut samalla kohtaa ainakin vuodesta 1767.

Ensimmäinen maininta Jutikkalasta on vuodelta 1340, kun 25 sääksmäkeläistä asetettiin kirkonkiroukseen heidän kieltäydyttyään maksamasta kirkon vaatimaa veroa. Yksi verosta kieltäytyjistä oli *Melico de Iudicala* eli Mielikko Jutikkalasta. Viimeistään vuodesta 1420 Jutikkala on ollut rälssisukujen omistuksessa oleva asuinkartano. Vuonna 1872 Jutikkalan osti rusthollari Fredrik Takkula, joka muutti nimensä kartanon mukaan Jutikkalaksi. Kartanoa vuosina 1923–79 isännöinyt lakitieteen lisensiaatti Ossian Rinne myi ennen kuolemaansa kartanon pellot ja testamenttasi näin kertyneet varat Jutikkalan säätiölle, jonka tarkoituksena on ylläpitää kartanon rakennuksia ja puutarhaa museona.

Tutkimukset Jutikkalassa käynnisti vuonna 1999 Hämeen hoitoyksikkö ja Museoviraston

KUVA 1. Jutikkalan kartanon päärakennus. Portailla kartanon vahtimestari Jussi Tammi. Georg kartanon edustalla. Kuva: tutkimusryhmä.

KUVA 2 (yllä). Kaivausalue Jutikkalan kartanon päärakennuksen edustalla. Taustalla käräjätupa. Georg on kumartunut tutkimaan kaivauslöytöjä. Kuva: tutkimusryhmä.

KUVA 3 (alla). Kaivausalue Jutikkalan kartanon päärakennuksen edustalla. Georg kaivamassa. Kuva: tutkimusryhmä.

rakennushistorian osasto. Rahoitus tutkimuksille saatiin Akateemikko Eino Jutikkalan aloitteesta Jutikkalan säätiöltä. Ennen kartanon tonttimaan tutkimuksia alueella oli tunnistettu ja kaivettu rautakautisia kalmistoja ja saatu talteen irtolöytöjä. Tutkimuksia jatkettiin kesinä 2000–02. Georgin ja minun kanssani kenttätöitä tekemässä olivat Päivi Hakanpää, Jukka Wuorisalo ja Hannele Lehtonen. Heidän lisäkseen kaivauksilla työskenteli pidemmän ja lyhyemmän aikaa arkeologeja ja paikallisia, joiden myös uskon muistavan Jutikkalan kiinnostavana kohteena ja kaivausseuran mukavana.

Akateemikko Eino Jutikkala antoi tutkimuksiin muutakin kuin rahallista tukea, kun hän jo yhdeksänkymmentä täyttäneenä legendaarisena historiantutkijana osallistui lähes päivittäin kenttätöihin. Elävästi muistan riemastuneen ilmeen akateemikon kasvoilla, kun hänen pelkkaansa kilahti hopeakolikko. Georgin kanssa akateemikko teki sinunkaupat, mutta itse teitittelin häntä niin kahvipöydässä kuin kuopan pohjallakin. Tietoa kartanon historiasta ja tukea käytännön työhön saimme myös kartanon vahtimestari Jussi Tammelta.

Suuren panoksen Jutikkalan historiaan toi myös professori Maija Lehtonen, akateemikon sisarentytär, joka vietti enonsa kanssa kesää kartanon 1860-luvulla pystytetyssä syytinkirakennuksessa. Professori oli löytänyt 1970-luvulla syytinkirakennuksen länsipuolisen kasvitarhan vadelmapensaikosta riipuksen, joka tunnistettiin ristiretkiaikaiseksi ortodoksiristiksi. Löytöpaikkansa perusteella riipus tulkittiin irtolöydöksi.

Keskiaikaisen kartanon etsintä keskitettiin nykyisen kartanon edustan tonttimaalle. Kaivauksissa paljastuneiden rakenteiden ja löytöjen perusteella tonttimaalta löytyi ainakin viittä eri-ikäistä rakennuskerrostumaa rautakaudelta tai varhaiskeskiajalta 1700- ja 1800-lukujen vaihteeseen. Georg ja Jukka ryömivät myös kartanon päärakennuksen alle, josta löytyi nykyistä kartanoa vanhempi kellari ja mahdollinen uuninperustus. Kesällä 2002 tontilla kaivamisen apuna käytettiin konevoimaa

ja osa esille kaivetuista kivijaloista jätettiin peittämättä esittelemään tonttimaan rakennushistoriaa. Vaikka keskiaikaisen kartanon perustuksia ei kaivauksissa tunnistettu, niin tutkimusten tuloksena kartanon voi olettaa sijainneen samalla tonttimaalla kuin nykyinen kartano.

Kenttätöiden lomassa saimme olla paikallisten kulttuurivaikuttajien kestittävänä ja kestitsijöinä. Georgin seurallisuus ja kiinnostus sekä ilmiöitä että ihmisiä kohtaan takasi meille kutsuja illanviettoihin mitä upeampiin paikkoihin. Ehdimme käydä ainakin Vanajan vanhassa pappilassa, Helkavuoren huvilassa ja Voipaalan kartanon taideiltamissa. Georgilla oli aina aikaa pitkille keskusteluille milloin mistäkin aiheesta, aina alueen historiasta Yhdysvaltain presidentinvaaleihin ja sudenkuoppiin kirjallisuudessa sekä maastossa. Omia kekkereitä järjestimme Voipaalan kartanon pakarissa. Ei ollut valittamista noiden kesien majapaikassa Rapolan linnavuoren juurella, kun viereisessä puistossa oli Voipaalan taidekeskuksen näyttely ja elokuun öinä saattoi kivuta linnavuorelle tähdenlentoja ihailemaan.

Jutikkalassa tutkimuksemme eivät todellakaan rajoittuneet kartanon tonttimaalle, vaan Georg tuon tuostakin lähti kulkemaan ja tunnustelemaan maaperää salaperäisellä metallipiikillänsä ja toi tuliaisina tietoa uusista löydöistä ja kohteista. Akateemikko ihmettelikin, että mistä Georg oli löytänyt tehtävään niin täydellisesti sopivan työvälineen. Oli metallikepillä sitten asiaan osuutta tai ei, niin tutkimusten tuloksena kartanon alueelta ja sen läheisyydestä löytyi tonttimaan rakenteiden lisäksi aiemmin tuntemattomia rautakautisia muinaisjäännöksiä kuten Kirsikkamäen, Kokkomäen ja Tiilisalinmäen kalmistot, irtolöytöjä sekä varhaiselle viljelylle sopivia peltoja. Uusia kartanon asutushistoriaa valottavia lähteitä löytyi myös arkistoselvityksissä ja nimistöntutkimuksessa.

Jutikkalasta saatiin talteen Suomen maaseudun ja sisämaan oloissa harvinaisia löytöjä. Vuonna 2000 Georg kirjoittikin kaivauskertomukseen, että Jutikkala kuuluu Vesilahden Laukon ja Hämeen linnan ohella Suomen sisämaassa ainoisiin kohteisiin, joista on talletettu keskiaikaisten kivitavara-astioiden palasia. Jutikkalan tutkimusten jälkeen Georg jatkoi kyläkohteiden tutkimista muun muassa Uudellamaalla Espoon Kauklahdessa ja Mankbyssä, joista saadut keramiikkalöydöt toivat lisää uusia palasia Suomen keskiaikaisen maaseudun tutkimukseen. Ja varmasti Georgin omat ja hänen innoittamansa tulevat tutkimukset tuovat useita uusia palasia ja sirpaleita täydentämään tietoa Suomen menneisyydestä. Kiitos Georgille niistä jo etukäteen!

Terhi Mikkola, FM, Georgin vanha oppilas, kollega ja ystävä.

LÄHTEET JA KIRJALLISUUS

Kirjoituksen lähteenä ja muistin virkistäjänä olen käyttänyt Museoviraston Kulttuuriympäristön tutkimusraportit -sivustolta (www.kyppi.fi) löytyviä Jutikkalan kartanon tutkimuskertomuksia sekä alla lueteltuja artikkeleita.

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