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HELGA AND NÄSE, TWO CROWN ESTATES IN PERNIÖ

Abstract

In 1992 students of archaeology and art history at the University of Helsinki established a multidisciplinary study circle for gaining deeper information about historical archaeology, which has been neglected in Finland until the late 1980s. In 1993 the study circle established the Medieval Manors Research Project, M.M.R.P. (Fi. Suomen keskiäikainen kartanolaitos, SUKKA-projekti) with special interest in medieval and early modern manors in Finland. After preliminary investigations, two manor sites, Helga and Näse in Perniö (Sw. Bjärnà) in southwest Finland were chosen as examples of medieval manors and as subjects for further investigation. In the years 1993-1995 fieldwork was carried out at these sites, and in 1997 the results were published and exhibitions were held in Perniö, Turku and Helsinki.

Both sites are characterized by well-preserved remains of wooden buildings and a rich and varied material; both manors were centres of crown estates, or demesnes (Fi. kuninkaankartano, Sw. kungsgård). Helga was in use during the 14th and 15th centuries, Näse between 1556-1642. The results are a contribution to available knowledge on the manorial system in Finland, and especially of royal manors and their material culture. Generally speaking, the results open perspectives on the opportunities of historical archaeology in Finland.

Keywords: Finland, Perniö, royal manors, crown estates, rural sites, Middle Ages, Renaissance, material culture.

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ROYAL DEMESNES IN SW FINLAND

(Haggrén & Peltonen)

The Sweden to which southwest Finland belonged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was far from a uniform state. It was not until the fourteenth century that the central government in Stockholm managed to establish effective authority over the entire realm.1 As part of this process, three to five royal estates or demesnes were established in the province of Finland Proper (Fi. Varsinais-Suomi, Sw. Egentliga Finland) in the southwestern part of the country (Fig. 1). These estates also served to organize colonization in border areas to bolster the authority of the Swedish crown in southern Finland2, and were centres for tax collection and administration.

Helgå (Fi. Pyhäjoki) in the parish of Perniö (Sw. Bjärnà), the focus of this study, was one of these royal manors. The others were Ruona (Sw. Runagården) in Sauvo (Sw. Sagu), Kuusisto (Sw. Kustö) in Piikkiö (Sw.
Fig. 1. Crown estates established in south-west Finland by the early 14th century with places mentioned in the text.

Pikis), Inkere in Perteli (Sw. St. Bertils) and Parainen (Sw. Pargas). The estate of Kuusisto belonged to the same phase of colonization as the others but it belonged already in 1295 to the Bishop of Turku. The bishops had an active role in governing Finland in the 13th century and it is possible that Kuusisto was originally founded by them. With the possible exception of Kuusisto, there is no evidence that these early manors would have been fortified. However, the location of these manors along the coast, near inland waterways and major roads suggests an attempt by the crown to strengthen its economic control over the southern part of the core area of its new province.

The earliest surviving reference to Helgå is a letter issued by King Magnus Eriksson on August 21, 1347 in Hitis (Fi. Hiittinen). The letter suggests that the demesne had already been founded by the beginning of the fourteenth century. The king refers to a nobleman named Harald Elg as the organizer of the tenants' taxes and duties at the crown estate of Helgå. Other sources indicate that Harald Elg acted in Finland between 1306 and 1308 as a royal advocate or governor.

The four other manors were also probably established during late thirteenth century as the crown organized colonization in southwest Finland. However, the sources concerning the early fourteenth century in Finland are very scarce and the question of the exact dating of the other royal manors is far too involved to be solved with these sources.

Establishing the first crown estate in Perniö

The crown manor of Helgå, like the other royal manors, had its own fixed demesne whose peasants were tenant farmers of the crown. The background of these demesnes lies in the origins of the manors themselves, involving activities and measures organized by the crown. The manors represent colonization in the margins of areas already settled in the Iron Age. It was assigned the outlying lands of old villages, or areas that were otherwise unoccupied. In practice, this was most probably done so that the crown first took possession of the lands, which were then distributed to the colonists. This gave to the crown a convenient way to establish its manorial network. Every manor was organized to form a larger independent and self-supporting demesne with one centre or caput supported by the
adjacent demesne. Unlike the inhabitants in the inland of Finland Proper, the colonists in the demesnes of Helgå, Ruona, Kuusisto, and Parainen — as well as in several other coastal areas in Finland — were Swedish-speakers. The original size of the demesne of Helgå is not known, but it probably consisted originally of less than ten villages. By the 1540s at the latest, there were 17 villages with 42 holdings.

The system of crown estates, however, began to break down almost as soon as it was established. Kuusisto had passed already in the late thirteenth century into the hands of the bishop of Turku, who took it as his residence, later becoming the actual centre of the bishopric. Helgå remained under crown ownership until around 1350 when the king, as a means of solving his financial problems, sold it and other estates or manors. The crown estates had lost their significance to the crown's new central castles in Turku (Sw. Åbo), Hämeenlinna (Sw. Tavastehus) and Viipuri (Sw. Viborg) which were complemented a few decades later by Raasepori (Sw. Raseborg) and Kastelholm (Fig. 1).

After the king relinquished Helgå, it passed through the hands of at least five noblemen. First of them was Benedikt Åkesson, probably a royal bailiff, who lost the estate already in 1353 as punishment for severe crimes. In 1364-1365 Sweden was in the state of civil war, which ended by midsummer 1365 when the castle of Turku fell after a long siege into the hands of the new king, Albrecht of Mecklenburg. After the fall of Turku Castle, the estate of Helgå was secured as a holding to a nobleman named Hartvig Flegh.

Flegh became one of the most influential men in Finland Proper by the late fourteenth century. His seal appears on a letter from 1389 in which the representatives of the province of Finland Proper stated to the king their choice in the election of Finland's lagman (a senior judge and provincial representative of the King in legal matters). Flegh had other estates in his possession besides Helgå, but it seems that he used Helgå as his main residence. It is unknown to whom Helgå passed from Flegh, but by the 1440s it was in the possession of the heirs of a nobleman named Gödik Fincke.

In the early 1440s the Bridgettine Order made plans to establish a new monastery in Finland. At first, the monastery was planned on the site of the former crown estate of Stenberga in Masku but the place was found unsuitable for reasons of health. After several negotia-

Fig. 2. The southern part of Perniö showing the estate boundary and the villages belonging to it. Non-arable woodland is hatched.
tions between the crown and the Order, 1441 the Council of the Realm donated Helgå to the Order on July 7, 1441 to serve as the seat of the new convent. However, the convent period at Helgå was short-lived. Although the site had been given a town charter, construction of the convent buildings never began. The convent of Vallis Gratiae and its charter were removed to present-day Naantali (Sw. Nåndal). The estate of Helgå lost its former independent status and became a part of the landed property of the new convent as a subsidiary estate. 14 (Fig. 1).

Following the Reformation and King Gustav Vasa’s confiscation of church property, Helgå, along with other property of the church, returned into the hands of the crown. In the ownership of the Bridgettine Order the manor of Helgå had apparently fallen into poor condition and was re-established in 1556 as the Nåse crown manor. The old estate and its tenants were incorporated in the new estate.

A new policy

The manor of Nåse formed part of King Gustav Vasa’s goal of creating an efficient network of livestock-raising estates for the maintenance of troops and other needs of the crown. The productive and well managed royal estates were to be model farms and examples for spreading reforms and improvements in agriculture. The royal manors were also meant to be the administrative centres of their respective bailiwicks. 15

In Finland, this system was developed by Duke Johan of Finland, second-eldest son of King Gustavus Vasa. Nåse became the most important royal estate in the southern part of Finland Proper. The first bailiff, Jören Jönsson began to direct the construction of the manor in 1556 and during the following years over ten houses were built at Nåse. At its height in the 1560s, over one hundred servants and soldiers of the crown were living at the manor. Later, their number decreased to about twenty-five. 16

Fig. 3. The spatial relationship between the manor sites and the Latokartanonkoski rapids and main roads.
A - The so-called King’s Road, B - The road relocation made by the 1620s
a - The site of Helgå, b - The site of Nåse prior to the 17th century, c - Present day site of Nåse, d - The Latokartanonkoski rapids, e - The village of Pyhäjoki
In practice, this new system of royal estates was only realized in Finland, but here, too, it remained short-lived. The organization was costly and inefficient, and it began to be devolved after a few years. Näse, however, was an exception which brought some profit to the crown. This was certainly one reason why Näse apart maintained its position until the 1620s, from an intermediary stage between 1572 and 1586.

In the 1620s Näse became an aristocratic fiefdom that was donated in 1642 to Count Karl Gustaf Wrangel. Despite the fact that the estate was now only a tiny and peripheral part of the count’s large landed property, he started planning to reshape the manorial centre into a more fashionable estate. For example, a stone manor house was planned for the site, but for some reason the count changed his mind and decided instead to remove the manorial centre. The old site was abandoned and a new one established about one kilometre east of the old site. After relocation a new manorial centre was built following a less impressive architectural scheme.

Tracing the manor sites

Owing to these changes, the manorial sites of Helgå and Näse were forgotten over the centuries, and the mansors became a subject to a great deal of speculation. Historians have attempted to locate the manors. The relationship between Helgå and Näse was partly obscure. Did the mansors occupy the same or different locations? There was much interest in ruins visible on a hill called Muntolannokka, about one kilometre west of the present manorial centre of Näse. The second place that attracted intention was the village of Pyhäjoki (literally Helgå in Swedish), north of Muntolannokka.

When our research group started its search for the manor sites, there were two valid hypotheses concerning the exact location of the mansors. Some scholars regarded the Muntolannokka as the actual site of both Helgå and Näse; others supposed that Helgå had originally been at Pyhäjoki and was only later transferred to Muntolannokka. However the village of Pyhäjoki was found to be an improbable site for the manor of Helgå since the village had never been part of the fiefdom of Helgå. Therefore, it was excluded from further investigations. In addition to this, the excavations at the Muntolannokka site did not reveal any medieval finds.

From the archives of the manor of Näse some hints referring to a totally different figure were found. The court minutes from 1631 mention that the “older manor” had once situated in the village of Krogsoole and that the site was now a meadow under the estate of Näse. According to the accounts of Näse, this meadow existed already in 1557, which dates the site to a period prior to the founding of Näse. The meadow could be located southwest from the Muntolannokka in the south bend of Kiskojoki river, the river being previously called as Pyhäjoki (Sw. Helgå, lit. Holy River). In 1657 a single tenant farm (fi. torppa), subsidiary to Näse, was built near the site and the farm was named Gamlegård (literally Old Manor). The earliest maps describing the estate of Näse are from the years 1670 and 1692 and they both show the location of the Gamlegård farm and indicate the site as the old manor site.

In the early 1640s a bailiff’s report to Count Wrangel describes Näse manor prior to its next transfer. The description exactly matches the topography of the Muntolannokka site. According to the bailiff, the manor was situated on a hill between the Pemiönjoki and Kiskonjoki rivers. The manor was in poor condition. Its houses and old saltpetre kiln were in disrepair. North of the manor, at a distance of a gunshot was a market site, and the main road from Turku to Viipuri passed from the east just beside the manor. Further east, on the other side of this road was the livestock yard with cowsheds, barns and other buildings for animal husbandry (Fi. Latokartano, Sw. Ladugård). The exact location of the farmyard is uncertain, but we can assume that the yard with its buildings was situated near the present manor of Näse, called Latokartano in Finnish which literally means Livestock Farmyard. Both written and archeological evidence indicate that the site near Gamlegård was the original site of Helgå manor. It was then renamed and transferred to the Muntolannokka as to be the manor of Näse. The Muntolannokka site was abandoned in the 1640s and the manor was transferred again, now to its present site. This can even be verified from the earliest map made in 1670 which describes the old site of Näse manor (Gamble Konungs Gårdenz Ställe).

EXCAVATIONS OF THE ROYAL MANOR OF NÄSE (Niukkanen)

The ruins on a hillock between the Kiskonjoki and Pemiönjoki Rivers, known as Muntolannokka, were for the first time surveyed by F.I. Färling in 1870 (Fig. 4). Local tradition attributed them to the Bridgettine con-
Färpling noticed some low stone foundations of either a building or an enclosure, as he assumed. In 1895 the archaeologist Hjalmar Appelgren surveyed and mapped the site. He described the place as a wide gravel ridge 200 paces long, 50 paces wide and 5-6 metres in height, oriented roughly east-west and surrounded by meadows belonging to Nåsegård manor. Appelgren observed two large cellar pits and remains of three to five buildings as well as two oven mounds on man-made terraces. He presumed that the ruins had belonged to the above-mentioned convent, or to the medieval royal manor of Helgå.27

The manorial centre at Muntolannokka

Field work at Muntolannokka, carried out by M.M.R.P. took place in 1993-1995. The aim of the research was to establish the precise location and layout of the manor site, and to solve whether the medieval royal manor of Helgå had already been in the same place. The material culture associated with the manor was also a point of interest. Field work focused on building remains on the hillock, where small-scale excavations (total 65 m²) were carried out. In addition, the surrounding fields were investigated with surface collection methods and test pits (Fig. 5). The field-walked area covered some ten hectares. The survey indicated the activity areas of the manor and revealed the location of a deserted medieval village.29

The mapping and trial excavations indicated at least three separate timber buildings and two large cellars on the hillock, whose top was intensively terraced and levelled (Fig. 6). With reference to written sources, the largest building, measuring 10 x 30 metres, can be identified as the main building of the manor. It had a heavy foundation made of natural unworked rocks, except for the south wall, which was founded on an earthen bench. The house had at least two large ovens, and glass windows. The building was obviously constructed in several different phases. According to the distribution of finds, the most important dwelling rooms were situated in the east end of the house.30 (Fig. 7).

The two stone cellars had a total floor area of roughly 100 square metres and a volume of some 300 cubic metres (Fig. 8). The cellars indicate clearly the nature of the manor as a gathering point for foodstuffs and as a crown granary. In addition to the dwellings and cellars, there must have been several storehouses and outbuildings at the manorial centre. It seems that all buildings were demolished and the re-usable building material, such as timber and bricks, was gathered and transported elsewhere after abolishing the manor.31

Several middens from the manorial period could still be distinguished on the north slope of the manor hill due to their rank vegetation. The middens were partly excavated, and a great amount of animal bones as well as a variety of discarded artefacts were gathered.32

Fig. 4. Aerial view of Muntolannokka, seen from the south-west. The manor site is marked with an arrow. Photo J. Pietilä.
Fig. 5. General plan of the Muntolannokka and Vanhakartano sites and the field-walked area. Drawing R. Ylönen.
Fig. 6. General plan of the building remains on the hillock of Muntolannokka. The excavated areas are coloured black. Drawing R. Ylönen.

Fig. 7. Part of the main building excavated. A foundation of an oven back left, on the right a wall foundation. Remains of the earth bench in front. Photo J. Pietilä.

Fig. 8. Part of the western cellar excavated. Photo K. Peltonen.
Finds

The archaeological finds reflect the diversity of the manor’s economy. The osteological material represents species known to have been raised at the manor, such as cattle (*Bos taurus*), sheep or goat (*Ovis aries*/*Capra hircus*), pig (*Sus scrofa f. domestica*), and fowl (*Gallus sp.*). Among the numerous fish bones, pike (*Esox lucius*), perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), and bream (*Abramis brama*) could be distinguished. This observation correlates with data from accounts according to which Baltic herring, bream, and only some salmon, were fished. The material includes also a few bones of wild game, such as hare (*Lepus timidus*) and fowl.

The artefacts recovered from the manorial site date from the early 16th to the mid-17th century. The largest categories are glass and redware. Glass fragments include sherds of German *passglas* and *roemer* glasses and *façon de Venise* filigree goblets, as well as window glass, bottles, and a few buttons made of glass paste. The redware vessels are lead-glazed and some of them slip-decorated. Vessel forms include tripod pippkins, bowls and dishes. Only two sherds of stoneware were found (Fig. 9, 10).

The metal artefacts include an ornamental chain 58 cm long, one intact and two fragmentary brooches, iron and bronze needles and pins, as well as brass thimbles. There are also two loom weights and a bone needle associate with textile-making. The iron artefacts include a great number of nails and possible fragments of an iron pot. Also to be mentioned are a textile fragment decorated with silver thread, and a bone dice. The fif-

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Fig. 9. Red- and stoneware and crossbow arrowheads from Muntolannokka area. Photo E. Toivari.

Fig. 10. Sherds of passglasses, a Roemer goblet and a façont de Venise filigree goblet from Muntolannokka in the middle a Fadenrippenbecher sherd from the deserted medieval village site. Photo E. Toivari.
teen Swedish coins from the excavated area are from the period 1520s-1642. Tokens found at the east end of the main building point to accounting requirements and indirectly to the productive activities of the estate. From a field adjacent to the manor hillock also a few crossbow arrowheads were found.36

Some finds point clearly to the working of limestone. Surface collection in a limited area south-east of the manor site produced a possible chisel and worked pieces of limestone. These include pieces of so-called Kemiö (Sw. Kimito) marble. The limestone finds can be mainly associated with stonemason Antonius Timmerman's workshop at Näse around the 1560s. Timmerman provided building stones, coats of arms and gravestones for the crown and the nobility.37

**A market place, a saltpetre kiln and a medieval hamlet**

In the field north of the manor by the Perniönjoki River, surface collection indicated a market ground, where the parish market of Saint Birgitta was held at the beginning of the 17th century at the latest. The distribution of finds clearly indicates a concentration on top of a sandy river bank. The largest find group was clay tobacco pipe fragments, some of which can be dated to the 17th century. Other finds include pieces of glasses, redware, a number of indefinite iron fragments, as well as five coins from the 17th century.38

Surface collection and trial pits helped establish the location of a saltpetre kiln that operated in connection with the manor from 1592 until 1640. The kiln appears to have been situated at a small distance west of the manorial centre. It can be seen as a clearly darker area in aerial photographs, and surface collection at the site revealed a great amount of household waste, such as iron objects, red- and stoneware, glass, and a few clay tobacco pipe fragments. The finds were varied and worn, which is in agreement with information according to which the kiln used humus-rich waste soil from around the province.39

According to written sources, Näse manor was established on the lands of two villages, Näse and Bambole, and the peasants were evicted. About 300 metres east of the manorial site in the environs of a small prominent, a fragment of medieval stoneware and a sherd of a Fadenrippenbecher glass beaker dating from the 14th or 15th century were recovered in surface collection. Test pits on the hill revealed charcoal layers and a possible collapsed oven. The site is the probable location of the medieval hamlet of Näse. This assumption is supported by field boundaries and field names marked in old maps.40

At Muntolannokka, the finds from trial excavations and surface gathering dated the site to the 16th - 17th centuries, i.e. the period of the crown estate of Näse. The investigations revealed a fairly large manorial centre with a variety of archaeological remains as well as artefacts, most of which were imported but did not indicate an especially high socioeconomic status. As no older structures or finds came to light, the localization of Helgå was begun elsewhere.

**EXCAVATIONS AT THE SITE OF HELGÅ MANOR**

(Mökkönen & Ylönen)

The Vanhakartano site, situated ca one kilometre south-east of Muntolannokka, was found in 1994 while fieldwalking the surroundings of Muntolannokka in order to locate the site of the manor of Helgå. Finds referring to medieval activities were found and therefore surface collection was continued in the following spring of 1995, when the area was also mapped and investigated with trial pits. Basing on the results of surface collection, a trial trench was excavated in the summer of 1995 in order to establish the age and character of the site.

**Structures**

Although the excavation was limited to only 16 square metres, it had a complex stratigraphy and finds rare in Finland. Removal of the ploughed layer revealed a layer of mortar, brick fragments and stones that had protected the deeper features and structures from ploughing. In the middle of the excavated area was a foundation of an oven, made of tightly packed stones 25-50 cm of size. The foundation was 2,5-3 metres in diameter (Fig. 11). At the edge of the excavated area, west of the oven, were the remains of a log running N-S and an earthen bench mixed with silt and clay and having the same orientation. Wooden structures were also discovered in a section south of the stone setting, being mainly scrap wood, probably remains of floor planks (Fig. 12). Beneath the floor remains there was a layer of light-coloured sand whose upper part was soiled and contained finds. North of the stone setting, at the same level as the scrap wood, was a dense but thin layer of clay.41

The structure is apparently the floor area of a house with an oven, possibly a chimneyed fireplace, in the corner. The bench and timbers running N-S and a nar-
row ditch containing scrap wood and mortar between the bench and the oven may refer to a wall. Unfortunately, the construction of the wall is uncertain. There were several nails and some other finds among the structures, but only few referring to the function of the building. In medieval buildings the wooden floor made of planks, however, is associated with dwelling activities.42

Four other stratigraphical stages of activity could be identified in the excavated area. Their absolute age, however, remains open.43

Finds

Surface collection had already produced some sherds of Siegburg stoneware, but during the excavations only three more sherds of stoneware were found. The stoneware material consists of eleven sherds in total. In the material there are two sherds of a jacobakanne’s neck44, a fragment of a loop strap handle45 and a fragment of a beaker’s or jug’s thumbed footing46. The stoneware material represents the fine light grey fabrics of Siegburg with an exception of two little sherds of darker fabrics. There is also traces of orange-brown ash glaze on some sherds. In addition, one sherd of black earth-
enware and about fifty sherds of lead-glazed red ware were found. Most of the redware sherds were collected in surface collection.

Among the finds there were also six fragments of glass beakers of which the most notable were two fragments of a prunted beaker as well as two sherds of a vessel decorated with glass thread (Fig. 13). One fragment of prunted beaker is made of light green potash glass and there remains only one relatively large decorative prunt. It does not represent either the 14th century beakers with very small decorative prunts or the 16th century beakers with larger prunts. The other fragment is made of colourless glass with two little decorative prunts. This fragment is likely representing a Bohemian stangenglas type of beaker, which date from the second half of the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century.

Both fragments of a vessel decorated with glass thread are made of colourless glass. The glass threads have originally been a part of a horizontal zigzag decoration encircling the vessel. In one fragment the decorative glass thread is made of a same kind of colourless glass as the vessel itself, in the other the glass thread is made of dark blue glass. Parallel glass finds have been found at the Aboa Vetus site in Turku. According to Haggren this kind of fragments originate from tapering, convex stangenglasses or lower beakers. According to the stratigraphy of the excavations at Aboa Vetus, this kind of glass finds date to the late 14th and the early 15th century. The glass finds from Aboa Vetus and Vanhakartano have also the same kind of chemical content, which indicate Northern German or Bohemian origin. In addition, there were also one
undecorated fragment of a vessel rim" and one undecorated side fragment. There were no finds of window glass in the excavated area.

The most significant individual finds from the excavation were a bronze spoon and a gilt ornamental silver button. The spoon has a fig- or pear-shaped bowl, a curved stem and a decorative acorn knop (Fig. 14). Unfortunately, there is no maker's mark stamped in the spoon. A curved spoon stem is an unusual feature in medieval spoons, whose stems are usually straight. However, according to the conservation report of the spoon, there were no signs of later curving. According to the conservator the curving had already occurred during the manufacturing process. There are parallels to the spoon's acorn knop in late medieval English spoons of the 14th and 15th centuries. However, the pear-shaped bowl is a later bowl form in medieval metal spoons. Therefore, the spoon most probably dates from the 15th century.

The ornamental button of gilt silver was found beneath the floor planks (Fig. 15). It is made of six separate silver components, and it is covered with a thick gold leaf layer. The button has been used as a decoration in a man's suit or as a pendant. Though no parallels have been found, it can be connected to the 14th and early 15th centuries cultural tendencies of Western Europe.

The other fragments of iron and bronze objects include knives, a fragment of a ring brooch, a key fragment, clasps used with clothing and several nails. The osteological material of Vanhakartano site include bones of domestic animals and fish. The abundance of mussel shells is an interesting feature, as the species has been identified to be pearl-oyster (Margaritana margaritifera). This might indicate pearl fishing at the site.

The finds from the excavation and surface collections date the site roughly to the 14th and 15th centuries. No artefacts reflecting any earlier or later activities were found in the excavation. Because of the very restricted excavation area and the small number of finds, no extensive comparisons between Vanhakartano and other medieval sites in Finland can be reliably made. Nevertheless, it must be noted that there are some luxury products which differ from the typical material of a medieval rural village and indicate the status of the site. Stoneware, glass vessels and probably also the spoon and the ornamental button are imported products originating from Central Europe. Stoneware was produced in South-Western parts of Germany, whereas the glass vessels are from Bohemia or Northern Germany.

The only datable artefact found among the structures is the ornamental button. The other finds mentioned above were found from a secondary context, mainly from the layers covering the structures.

Vegetational survey

In connection with the excavation a vegetation survey was also carried out in the area, revealing for example Verbascum nigrum, Pimpinella saxifraga, Chelidonium majus, Geum urbanum, Humulus lupulus, Filipendula ulmaria and Silene nutans. They all are typical archaeophytes at Iron Age and medieval sites in Finland and some of them were used as medicinal herbs in the Middle Ages. Macrofossil samples were also taken from several excavated layers. The uppermost layer contained weeds and some seeds of barley, but from the cultural layers the only identified plants were white clover (Trifolium repens) and violet (Viola sp.). The small number of seeds was surprising and therefore it is possible that some macrofossil remains have been destroyed by fire, which was indicated by the abundance of charcoal in the soil samples.
The identification of the manor sites permit a review of their functions in relation to their spatial context. The location of Näse and Helgå near the Kiskonjoki river afforded the manors direct access to the sea. This was an important factor as the taxes paid in goods to the manors were probably further transported mostly along waterways. The importance of access to the sea might have been the reason for the abandoning of the Helgå site in the 1550s as land uplift probably turned the river unnavigable up to Helgå by that time.

Besides their administrative role, both manors were also centres of economic activity. Näse manor was situated in an environment suitable for agriculture, but Helgå probably did not have any larger agricultural production of its own. The written sources, accounts in particular, reveal that Näse was a large operation with fields and a large body of livestock.26 Despite the possible differences in the agricultural sector, both manors were centres for early industrial activities. They both controlled the same source of water power, the rapids of Latokartanonkoski. Here a mill was built during the fifteenth century. In the manor's fisheries at sea.

Along with good access to the sea, both royal manors in Perniö lay near the main coastal road, the so called King's Road that connected the towns of Turku and Viipuri. Troops and crown officials on the move relied as a crown tavern and administrative centre.27 (Fig. 3).

Although the excavations at both sites, Vanhakartano and Muntolannokka, were limited to a small area, the results are significant for medieval archaeology in Finland. It is generally assumed that rural sites are destroyed by later agriculture or lay under the layers of present-day habitation. The results of present research, however, show that rural sites can also reveal well preserved structures. Also the quality of finds found in Vanhakartano site differs considerably from the hitherto known relatively poor image of medieval culture in rural sites. A noble residence would explain the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century glass finds from the site.

The comprehensive data of the accounts resolve some of the archaeological problems associated with Näse, but the structure of the manor site and the locations of activities require further study. The extent and spatial organization of industrial activities at the manor are also important problems. Furthermore, the image of the material culture in the Nordic countries of the 16th and 17th centuries is still limited. Näse is also of interest in terms of methodology, as the available written sources permit assessments of the relevance of archaeological data.

NOTES

1. Sjöstrand 1994
2. See Wallerström 1995
3. Haggren 1997a: 36; Salminen 1990
5. FMU I: 523; Anthoni 1970: 60, 64; Salminen 1990: 33; Gardberg 1971: 196; Fritz 1992b: 116
8. Suomen Vanhimmat Maakirjat I: 421-423 (KA 485a, 206-207)
10. FMU I: 629; Lützén 1980: 181
11. REA 182, 189, 190, 197; FMU I: 736; Haggren 1997a: 29-30
12. FMU I: 948; Jaakkola 1944: 456, 461-465
15. Nyström 1936; Tömbøl 1997: 91-93
16. Tömbøl 1997
17. Tömbøl 1997: 102
19. Haggren 1997a: 40-42
20. Knaapinen 1930: 84; Lützén 1980: 188-190
21. Almqvist 1916: 799; Suomen Vanhimmat Maakirjat I: 421-423 (KA 485a, 206-207)
23. KA: Piikkö i Koa2: District court session in Perniö 29.7. 1631, 30V/3.
24. Haggren 1997a: 31-33
27. Färilng 1896: 85-86; Appelgren 1896: 86-88; Hj Appelgren-Kivalo: "Perniö, Näsen kartano" (MV: hist.top.ark.); Niukkanen 1997: 105-107. Also Christian Lovén surveyed Muntolannokka in connection to his doctoral dis-
sertation. He assumed that the building remains were from the 17th century (Lovén 1996: 487).

28 See research reports in MV:RHOA
29 Niukkanen 1997: 107-108
30 Niukkanen 1997: 115-120; Pietilä 1997: 127-129; Vuoris­
to 1997: 150
31 Pietilä 1997: 127; Niukkanen 1997: 112-113
32 Niukkanen 1997: 118-119
33 See the collections of the National Museum of Finland
34 Research report of 1994, appendix 7: Osteological analysis
   by Niklas Söderholm (MV:RHOA) and Törnblom 1997: 99
35 Vuoris­to 1997: 134-150
36 Vuoris­to 1997: 134-150
37 Niukkanen 1997: 110; Törnblom 1997: 100
38 von Bonsdorff 1997: 153-161
39 Haggren 1997a: 163-170
40 Haggren 1997a: 37; Niukkanen 1997: 111
41 See the excavation report
42 For example Augustsson 1992: 99
43 Ylönen 1997: 72-73
44 KM 96003:296, 299
45 KM 96003:300
46 KM 96003:301
47 KM 96003:345
48 KM 96003:317
49 Diameter 11 mm, height 8 mm
50 KM 96003:63
51 Diameter 3 mm, height 2 mm
52 Baumgartner & Krueger 1988: 312
53 KM 96003:68
54 KM 96003:55
55 Haggren 1997b: 356
56 Haggren 1997b: 353-354, 358; Kuisma-Kursula 1996 and
   1997
57 KM 96003:318
58 KM 96003:8
59 KM 96003:251
60 Ahola 1996: 4
61 Pre-industrielle Gebruikswoorverpen 1150-1800: 51, 93;
   Russel 1940: 131
62 Russel 1940: 129
63 Halonen 1996: 3
64 Mökkinen 1997: 79-80
65 Niklas Söderholm, pers. comm. 9th Oct. 1996.
67 Pietiläinen 1997: 85-87
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BAFFR LAFFL

ABBREVIATIONS

FM Finsk Museum
HAik Historiallisen aikakauskirja
HArk Historiallinen arkeisto
HT Historisk tidskrift
HTF Historisk tidskrift för Finland
SSLF Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratur- sällskapet i Finland
Tfark Turun historiallinen arkeisto