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# Six Estate Landscapes

## Traces of Medieval Feudalisation in Finland?

**ABSTRACT:** In Sweden, human geographers and medieval archaeologists have recently showed how the property boundaries around settlements and their holdings have become permanent already during the early Middle Ages. This is particularly true when speaking of large domains owned by the aristocracy. It was the time when villages and hamlets were established and the still existing base of the land ownership system was made. Most of these property boundaries are still visible today. This seems to be the case also in SW Finland, especially concerning the land owned by the medieval nobility. Combining the data from historical maps, archival sources, and archaeological record with ancient and still existing boundaries, it is possible to reconstruct a manorial landscape that was based on the of the medieval landownership.

The half a dozen cases from different provinces (Askainen in Lemu, Viurila in Halikko, Prästkulla in Tenhola, Hertognäs in Helsinki, Jutikkala in Sääksmäki and Anola in Ulvila), which are discussed in this article, represent this group of approximately hundred large, medieval manorial estates, which were established in the early 15th century at the latest.

**KEY WORDS:** Middle Ages, feudalisation, noble estate, manor, tenant farm.

### INTRODUCTION

Finland lies in the northern part of Europe, in a northern margin of the Western world, far from the continent's medieval centres of power, religion, culture, trade, and economy. Much of the history of Finland has been interpreted in a context of European periphery, a periphery settled by free peasants, a periphery, where medieval feudalism typical for Western Europe never existed. As an independent nation, Finland is young, celebrating its 100th anniversary of independence in 2017. In the Middle Ages, as well as during the early modern era, Finland was an integral part of the Swedish realm.

In the early 16th century, before the Reformation, the nobility owned only 3.1% of the farms in Finland, while 2.6% of the land was in the hands of Church. The Crown had about 300 tenant farms and half a dozen of royal castles (the castles of Häme, Kastelholm, Olavinlinna, Raseborg, Turku and Vyborg), and a couple of manors. In the 1530s, i.e. in the beginning of the early modern era, all the rest, that is, 93% of the c. 32000 farms, were in the hands of free peasants (Orrman 1984).

According to the prevailing historical understandings, medieval Sweden, and especially Finland, were lands of free peasants (cf. Jutikkala 1983). In Finland, this understanding has served as the basis

for a larger narrative, in which the peasantry overcame poverty, an unforgiving topography, and a harsh climate. According to this narrative, the free peasants made the economic and political base of the modern Finland in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This study will challenge the foundation of this national narrative by examining the landownership of the nobility in Finland from the 13th to the 15th centuries. Was the role of nobility as minimal as it has been stated? Was the development of landownership in Finland so different from the rest of Western Europe?

### A NEW PERCEPTION OF THE MEDIEVAL NOBILITY'S ROLE IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, archaeologists and human geographers have recently discovered that the medieval nobility's role as land owners was much more important than previously thought. Older research concentrated on the noble landowners in the end of the Middle Ages or the beginning of the early modern era. In the early 16th century, the majority of land owned by the nobility consisted of scattered properties. Coherent large contiguous estates were rare (cf. Lönnroth 1940).

However, this mosaic of fragmented landownership was a result of at least two or three hundred years of development. In the 13th and early 14th centuries, the situation seems to have been rather different. Both the aristocracy and the regional lower nobility had previously owned numerous large estates. Based on a thorough analysis in 1996, Sigurd Rahmqvist demonstrated this structure of the early landownership in Uppland. He also showed how most of the early estates had scattered during the late Middle Ages (Rahmqvist 1996). Since then, similar development has been noticed in several other Swedish provinces. The old paradigm was constructed by historians, who relied almost entirely on written sources. Historical record from the Middle Ages is fragmentary, and trying to get a large overview the historians have usually been forced to settle for the systematic series of records produced by King Gustav Vasa's bailiffs and officers in the middle of the 16th century. Completed with other

sources, such as historical maps, existing property borders and ancient monuments, the written sources can reveal a lot of new information of medieval estates.

Rahmqvist (1996) analysed medieval noble estates, their structure and location in the northern parts of the province of Uppland, one of the core areas of medieval Sweden. Similarly to Finland in the early Middle Ages, large-scale colonisation took place in northern Uppland. Colonisation was not the only parallel between this area and southwestern Finland. In both areas, the freeholders became the majority of the landowners. However, in some parishes a great part of the land was taken over by the nobility. Rahmqvist (1996) shows that originally the nobility had large estates consisting of a manor and a number of tenant farms and crofts. Many of these noble landowners were aristocrats but some were members of local gentry.

During the Late Middle Ages, most of the large estates dissolved. As a result, it is a challenging task for scholars to reconstruct these early estates today. Rahmqvist's (1996) results have inspired other human geographers and medieval archaeologists in analysing the medieval landownership in other parts of Sweden. When researching the medieval nobility in the province of Småland, Martin Hansson (2001) got results similar to those of Rahmqvist. Both Johan Berg (2003) and Alf Ericsson (2012) demonstrated that this was also the case in Östergötland. There the aristocracy and the relatives to the royal family of Bjälbo played a significant role among the owners of the early noble estates. Ing-Marie Pettersson proved that in the parish of Norberg in Bergslagen the aristocracy and nobility also had some larger estates, even if most of the land in this district was owned by mining peasants called *bergsmän* (Pettersson Jensen 2013).

### INTERPRETING BORDER LINES

Until lately, the research of noble landownership has been mainly based on surviving archival sources, such as medieval charters and early modern cadastral or tithes records. Only in extremely rare cases private ledgers made by medieval noblemen have

been available. Recent results by Swedish authors would have hardly been possible if they had only relied on the traditional historical sources. The modern methods in the research of the medieval landownership are based on a thorough analysis of the written sources combined with other source materials, such as the archaeological record, the existing property boundaries, and analyses of both historical and modern landscapes.

A significant attribute for noble estates is a contiguous land property. This kind of large scale landownership has resulted in wide estate landscapes. In 1999, when analysing medieval landownership in Småland, Clas Tollin (1999) showed how the property boundaries around occupations and their holdings became permanent already during the early Middle Ages. He also verified Rahmqvist's observations of the relevance of the property boundaries when reconstructing early noble estates. On the base of these results, other human geographers and medieval archaeologists in Sweden have made similar observations (Berg 2003; Ericson 2012). This was especially the case when speaking of large domains owned by the aristocracy. Early Middle Ages was the time when villages and hamlets were established and the base of the land ownership was founded. Most of these property boundaries still exist today. This also seems to be the case in southwestern Finland.

In August 1324, the border between the peasants in Skäggböle in the parish of Raisio, and their neighbours Nicolaus Haertoga and Petrus Maekona were affirmed by the court. The inhabitants of Skäggböle, who had sued their neighbours, were peasants and probably their neighbours were also not noblemen but peasants. This is the oldest surviving document affirming of the borders between villages or other settlements in Finland. However, this was no new border line. Quite to the contrary, in this case the border between these small hamlets was already affirmed some twenty years earlier by *praefectus Finlandiae* Harald Elgh. Probably the border was even older than that. The document analysed here has survived because Skäggböle was incorporated to the property of Turku cathedral in 1355 and the document was archived there (REA 37; Suvanto 1976: 30–3).

Beginning from this case from 1324, disputes of borders between property owners, peasant villages, as well as some institutions, like monasteries or noble landowners, were common cases in courts. Obviously, the borders between settlements based originally on agreements between the neighbouring property owners. This seems to be an old existing practice. Only when some disagreement rose, the landowners went to court. Almost always these disagreements concerned minor details. Most typical were quarrels about a single boundary marker or some strip of woodland. This practice continued until the middle of the 18th century, when the Great Parcelling of the villages and hamlets began in Sweden (and Finland). An exception was made by some noblemen, who already in the 14th century began to acquire confirmation of the borders of their estates. The affirmations strengthened their landownership and helped when buying and selling properties. However, these noblemen were an exception, the peasants did not need such affirmations nor were they willing to pay for them.

Obviously, when the Land Law issued by King Magnus Eriksson was legislated in the early 1350s, most of the borders between old settlements were already existing and confirmed between the neighbours themselves. Based on this state of the organisation of the landownership, it is possible to reconstruct early estates in southwestern Finland. By combining archaeological, historical, geographical and genealogical research, it should also be possible to analyse medieval landownership and the role of the nobility in Finland. Preliminary research focused on the manors in the northern parts of Finland Proper already showed that there was a kind of a necklace of early noble estates along the coast (Haggrén 2004). Another study, which concentrated on the noble landownership in western Nyland, has given similar results, but here the analysis showed that the nobility were initiators when founding parish churches (Haggrén 2006).

By using multidisciplinary methods and combining written sources, genealogy, historical maps, existing property boundaries, and place name studies, this article will focus on a half a dozen cases in different provinces in southwestern Finland in

the Middle Ages. Is it possible to trace a wider pattern, or were the nobility's early estates a phenomenon restricted only to some medieval colonisation areas?

Six cases have been chosen for this analysis (Fig. 1). The first is from the chapel of Askainen in the northern part of Finland Proper, followed by another case from the parish of Halikko in the southern part of the province. Askainen was a colonisation area, but Halikko had permanent settlement already during the Viking Age. The third and fourth cases are from western and eastern Nyland; Prästkulla in the parish of Tenhola in the west, and Hertognäs in the parish of Helsinki in the east. Both Western and Eastern Nyland were provinces with large-scale medieval colonisation. The fifth case is from the me-



Figure 1. The location of the manors. 1 – Askainen in Lemu, 2 – Viurila in Halikko, 3 – Prästkulla in Tenhola, 4 – Hertognäs in Helsinki, 5 – Anola in Ulvila, 6 – Jutikkala in Sääksmäki. Map: Maija Holappa.



Figure 2. The manor of Louhisaari. All photoes: Georg Haggrén.

dieval Ulvila parish in Satakunta, close to the core areas of the Viking Age settlement along the river Kokemäenjoki. The last case is from the parish of Sääksmäki in the inland province of Häme (Tavastland in Swedish). Sääksmäki was one of the core areas of the Viking Age settlement in Häme. In most cases, there was a noble estate on the site before the late Middle Ages, i.e. the 15th and early 16th centuries.

Few archaeological excavations have taken place on the sites of medieval manors. In addition to this, medieval stray finds are also rare. Of the cases analysed here, only in Jutikkala in Sääksmäki there have been excavations on the site, or in the vicinity of, the medieval manor. Usually, in the best cases, the site has been surveyed by an archaeologist.

## SIX NOBLE ESTATES

### Askainen in Lemu (Northern Finland Proper)

The small parish of Askainen is known for the large 17th-century estate of Louhisaari (*Villnäs* in Swedish) and its famous stone mansion (Fig. 2), built in the 1650s by Admiral Baron Herman Fleming. Based on observations of the structure of the building, a part of the main building or one of the two wings in front of it, is originally from an older mansion from the 16th century (Uotila 1985: 79–80). In any case, there was a manor on the site already



in the middle of the 15th century, when Admiral Fleming's great-great-grandfather's father Magnus Claesson Fleming settled there after marrying a local noble lady Elin. Geological surveys made in the late 1990s show that the site was an island on the sea shore when the manor was founded (Glückert & Pitkäranta 1999). It seems that it was established as a fortified manor surrounded by water, but later it was connected to the mainland by large scale fillings, which are visualized in the maps made based on archaeological surveys (Haggrén 2005:15–18; Lahtinen 2007).

After Magnus Fleming, the estate was divided between his two sons. Herman Magnusson inherited the manor of Villnäs, while his brother Hans gained three small tenant hamlets from the northern part of the estate. In one of them, Sorais, he founded a new manor under which the tenant hamlets of Karavais and Tävälä lied (Haggrén 2005: 15).

Louhisaari and Sorais were not the only medieval manors in Askainen. In the vicinity of the chapel of Askainen there are still today two other manors, Ahtis and Autis. The oldest survived source mentioning Ahtis is from 1473, when a lady called Kristina lived there. Later on in the 16th century, a noble family was called after the manor of Ahtis. The most famous of the family members was Måns Nilsson till Ahtis, who was the castellan of Viborg until 1555 when he fell into King Gustav Vasa's disfavour (FMU 3657; Anthoni 1957). The lords of Ahtis owned also two tenant farms called Ilois and Värriäis (Haggrén 2005: 16).

Autis is known from 1485, when the lady of the manor, Kristina Jakobsdotter, who was born in the famous family of Garp, was on her deathbed (FMU 4050; Anthoni 1965a: 150). Already five years earlier, in 1480, the manor was held by her son-in-law Peder Lille, the oldest known member of the family of Wildeman (FMU 3821). A tenant farm called Nepoila belonged to the estate of Autis (Haggrén 2005: 16).

In addition to these three estates, there was a fourth late medieval property complex in the area. Originally, it consisted of the hamlet of Askais and three single farms, Hukais, Irois and Santalax. Already in 1435 or when he died, the castellan of Turku castle, Claus Lydekesson (Diekn) donated

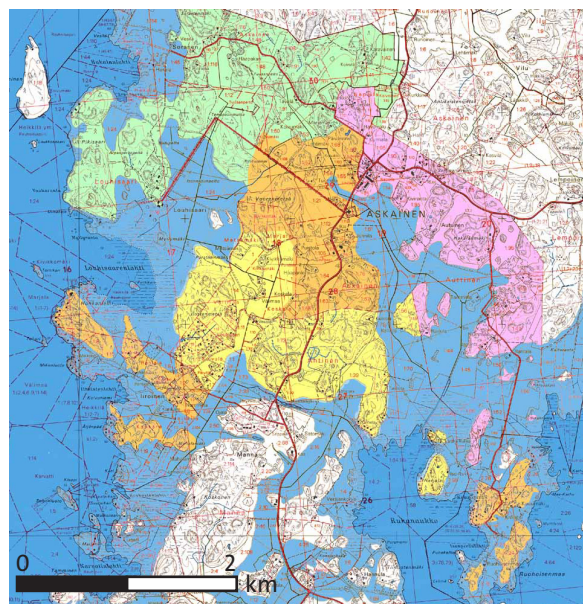


Figure 3. A reconstruction of the ancient estate of Askais. Green = lands of Louhisaari, yellow = lands of Ahtis, pink = lands of Autis and orange = lands belonging to Nynäs (Peruskartta 1984/Mikko Kääriäinen & Georg Haggrén).

Hukais to the Altar of St. Mary in Turku Cathedral. One of the three tenant farms in Askais was donated to the Bridgettine monastery of Naantali (*Nådendal* in Swedish) in 1480 by Anna Jacobsdotter Kurck, whose grandfather was the same Claus Lydekesson. Anna followed her uncle's, Arvid Clausson Diekn's example. In 1459, Arvid had donated the single farm in Irois to the monastery. Another farm in Askais was donated to the monastery by Anna Ljungosdotter, the widow of Magnus Nilsson (Ollongren), who was a grandson of Birgitta Claesdotter, a daughter of Claus Lydekesson (Diekn). The first known owner of Santalax was the bishop of Turku Kort Bitz, who also was a grandson of Claus Lydekesson (Haggrén 2005: 16; Leinberg 1890: 346–7, 361; FMU 3092, 3806, 5908; REA 453). All these farms were owned by Claus Lydekesson (Diekn), who was the lord of the manor of Nynäs in Lemu. (Fig. 3.)

No marriages are known between the families living in Nynäs or these three manors in Askainen before 1570s. This fact probably means that these families had common ancestors, who lived a few generations earlier. It seems that the families living in these manors were still so closely related to each



Figure 4. The chapel of Askainen.

other that marriages between them were prohibited (Haggrén 2005: 17).

Together the estates of Ahtis, Autis and Villnäs and the property complex originally owned by Claus Lydekesson form a coherent complex of properties, separated by distinct direct border lines from their neighbours. All the tenants belonging to these estates paid their tithes according to the so-called Finnish Law, which means that these settlements are probably founded before the 13th century (cf. Orrman 1983). The original centre and manor of this property complex was likely located in the hamlet of Askais. Today, the plot of Askais is deserted, which means that there are great chances to find remains and structures of not only the tenant farms but an early manor, too.

The chapel of Askainen (*Askais* in Swedish) lay in the hamlet with the same name (Fig. 4). The chapel is mentioned in the late 16th century but it was probably founded already in the Middle Ages (Haggrén 2005, 16; Knapas 2005, 148). It is typical for the chapels without landed property that they appear in the written sources for the first time in the 17th century, even if they were much older than that.

We do not know who the owners of the original estate in Askais were. As the castellan of Turku Castle Claus Lydekesson was the most powerful nobleman in Finland in the early 15th century but he was a German immigrant without family properties in Finland. His wife Kristina Jönsdotter belonged to the famous family of Garp,

whose main estate was Hartikkala in the parish of Letala. Kristina's father, Jöns Andersson Garp belonged to the aristocracy and the Swedish Privy Council (Suvanto 2004). Keeping in mind that Kristina's brother's, Jakob Jönsson's (Garp) daughter was the first known lady of Autis, we can assume that it was the family of Garp or Kristina's and Jakob's mother's unknown family, who

resided the manor of Askais in the late 14th century. The open agrarian landscape typical for the parish of Askais today carries a legacy of a vast noble estate, which was already in the medieval times divided in four equal parts.

#### Viurila in Halikko (Southern Finland Proper)

In the parish of Halikko there were almost a dozen of noble manors in the late Middle Ages. One of them was Viurila (Fig. 5), another was Salontaka and probably there was one in Vuorentaka (Fig. 6), too. In the 1540s, Viurila was held by Erik Håkansson (Slang), while the holder of Salontaka was the Mayor of Turku, Erik Fleming (Anthoni 1970: 313–5). The complex of noble properties, consisting of these three manors and a couple of tenant farms in Magnula and Pamsila close to them, had very distinct common borders. This fact indicates that they have a common origin. In addition to this, we can find these five settlements following each other in the earliest survived tithe registers (see for example KA 638: 13v; KA 773: 20v). They paid most of their tithes in cereals, indicating settlements founded before the 13th century (Orrman 1983). Between Pamsila and the seashore there is a Viking Age cemetery called Kaunelan palsta, and it is probable that at least in Viurila itself there is still a hitherto unknown settlement site and cemetery from the Viking Age.



The first known owner of Viurila was a nobleman, Magnus Johansson, who is only mentioned as the father of his three daughters, Elseby, Karin and Anna. The scholars are unanimous that he lived in the early 15th century. Elseby was married to Henrik Claesson (Fleming). He was actually a brother of Magnus Claesson (Fleming), the owner of the manor of Louhisaari mentioned above. Based on the fact that Elseby Magnusdotter died in 1518, she was probably Henrik's second wife and much younger than her husband. Karin Magnusdotter, on the other hand, was married to Arvid Andersson till Stensböle. According to old genealogies, Anna Magnusdotter was married to Peder Östensson till Rikala in Halikko parish. We have to doubt this information written down by 17th-century genealogists because

Peder Östensson was in military service in 1537, or a century later than his "brother-in-law" Henrik Claesson. Maybe Anna was married to Peder's father or grandfather (Anthoni 1970: 313–5; Ramsay 1909–1916: 409–10).

Elseby Magnusdotter's daughter Walborg was married to Håkan Tidemansson (Slang). They lived in the mansion, and in 1545, one-third of Viurila was owned by their two sons, Erik and Bertil Håkansson (Slang). At the same time, one fourth of Viurila was owned by Lasse Lifländer, or rather his wife Anna Hansdotter till Rikala (BFH 3: 238).

In the 16th century, Viurila had common woodlands with two other noble manors (Salontaka and Vuorentaka) and two tiny hamlets or single farms (Magnula and Pamsila) settled by tenants.

One of the hamlets, Pamsila, was donated to the Bridgettine monastery in Naantali by Krister Frille till Haapaniemi († before 1/8 1472) and his wife Elin Magnusdotter, when one of their daughters became a nun (Ramsay 1909–1916: 134). The widow of the son of another of their daughters, Kristina Kristersdotter, reduced a farm in Pamsila back to the family in the late 1520s (Ramsay 1909–1916: 181; FMU 6560). Another farm in Pamsila was given to the Altar of Själagård in Turku Cathedral by Peder Jacobsson (REA 716) during the Late Middle Ages. This part of Pamsila was reduced by Peder Östensson till Rikala in the late 1520s as well (FMU 6560). Later in the 1550s, the lord of Viurila, Erik Håkansson (Slang) had a tenant in Magnula (An-



▲ Figure 5. The manor of Viurila.

◀ Figure 6. The manor of Vuorentaka.



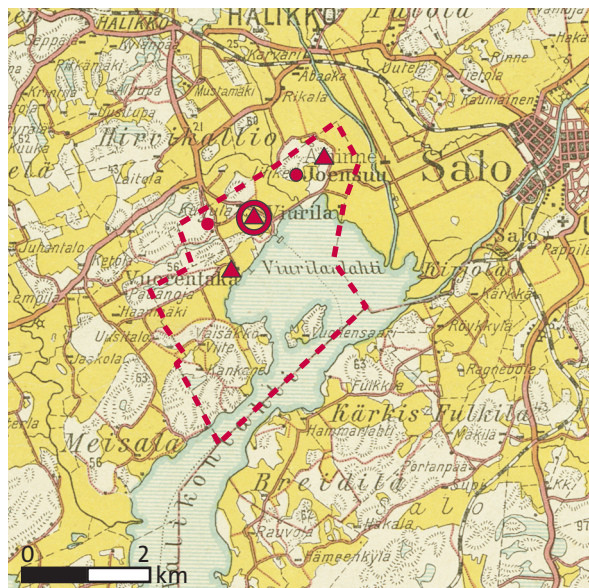


Figure 7. The estates of Viurila. (Suomen taloudellinen kartta II:4 Salo 1929.)

thoni 1970: 313). This farm or small hamlet was possibly founded by and named after Magnus Johansson (Fig. 7).

In 1532, the inheritors of late Lady Margareta Tuvedotter till Isnäs were distributing her estates. Among them was the small mansion called Salontaka, which was situated close to the manor of Åminne (BFH III 18). Between the two mansions were the River Halikonjoki – and the medieval property border. A settlement site from the Viking Age and a landing place from the Middle Ages were discovered in Åminne in the early 2000s (Uotila 2009). In the Late Middle Ages and early modern era, Åminne was the largest among the noble estates in Halikko but it did not have an origin common to Viurila or the estate analysed here.

Vuorentaka was a manor where a stone mansion was built in the late 16th century. In the middle of the century, the owner of Vuorentaka was Gertrud Gudmundsdotter till Hyvikkälä. It is hard to find the link between her ancestors and the owners of Viurila. Lying inside the same borders and close to each other, even if separated by a high hill, these properties owned by noblemen certainly have originally had common owners (Anthoni 1929: 305). Vuorentaka, meaning "behind the hill" has been named in relation to Viurila, the original centre of the estate.

## Prästkulla in Tenhola (Western Nyland)

In 1351, four noblemen, Sigvald in Henelax, Benedikt in Gretarby, Ärländ in Svartå, and Henrik in Pojo, gained noble privileges to their properties (REA 141). This is the first time, when Heinlax or Prästkulla (Fig. 8) is mentioned in the preserved written sources. In the early 15th century, a nobleman called Sune bought some properties in Heinlax (FMU 1553). Today, Heinlax is known only as the name of a bay, while the manor on the eastern side of this waterway is called Prästkulla, as it was already in the early 15th century, when it was owned



Figure 8. The manor of Prästkulla.

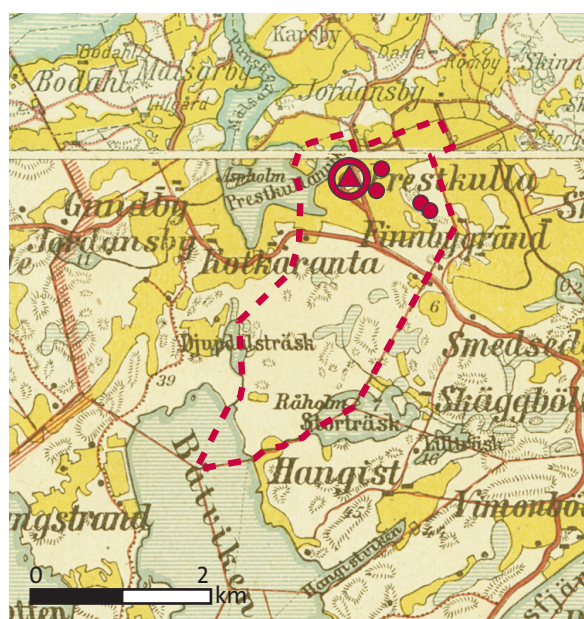


Figure 9. The estates of Prästkulla. (Suomen taloudellinen kartta I:4 Hanko 1920, II:4 Salo 1929.)

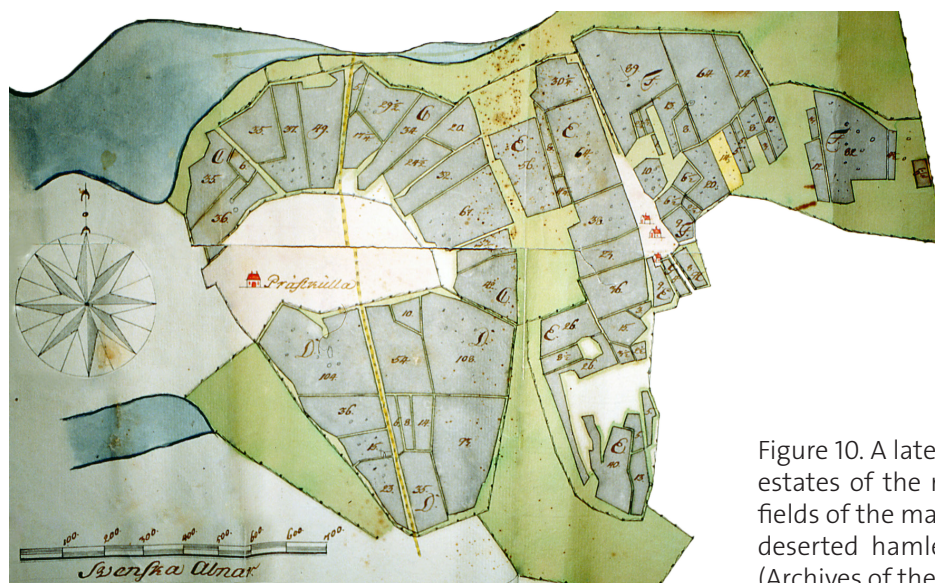


Figure 10. A late 18th century map of the estates of the manor of Prästkulla. The fields of the manor in west, those of the deserted hamlet of Degergård in east (Archives of the manor of Prästkulla).

by three sons of Sune. One of them was Sune Sunesson (Ille), who was among the most powerful men in Finland in the early 15th century. Already in 1402, he was a district court judge (*härads hövding* in Swedish) in Taivassalo and Vehmaa parishes. In 1435, he became a member of the Swedish Privy Council. His daughter Walborg inherited Prästkulla in 1463, when a distribution of properties was made (Anthoni 1965; FMU 3196). A similar charter made two generations later, or between Walborgs daughter's descendants in 1511, reveals that also a neighbouring hamlet called Degergård belonged to this estate (FMU 5503, 5507).

Beginning from the 1560s, we have more detailed data about the tenant farms in the parish of Tenhola (Tenala in Swedish). At that time, in addition to the manor itself, there were two tenants in Prästkulla and two in Degergård. However, in the early 17th century at the latest, all these tenant farms had vanished, while their fields and meadows began to be cultivated directly under the manor itself. Today Degergård has totally disappeared, but from a map made in the 18th century we can still find the fields of a deserted medieval village called Degergård (Figs. 9 and 10). When identified from the map, the site of the plot of this hamlet was surveyed in 2007, but it seems that structures of the medieval hamlet were destroyed in the 20th century at the latest. There are large modern buildings on the site (Haggrén *et al.* 2007).

Situated on a hill, the mansion of Prästkulla dominates the open field landscape around it. In the Middle Ages, the manor also controlled a coastal waterway connecting Lindövik and Gennarbyviken. Still today it is easy to imagine how the power of the medieval owners of the estate, such as the noble Ille family, influenced the life in those long ago deserted tenant farms around it.

#### Hertognäs in Helsinki (Eastern Nyland)

In the parish of Helsinki (*Helsing* in Swedish), a concentration of properties in noble hands had taken place by the middle of the 16th century. A record dating to 1555–1556 shows that in Hertognäs (*Herttoniemi* in Finnish), a wealthy village on the seashore, there were three small manors in the hands of members of a family, which was later called Jägerhorn (af Hertognäs), or their close relatives (Salminen 2013: 284–94; Teitti 1894: 80, 82, 168, 170). The high number of the manors indicates a division of a medieval estate (Fig. 11).

Members of the family owned also a small hamlet called Tullholma, as well as a single farm in Brakvik, both in the immediate neighbourhood of Hertognäs. Tullholma lies on an island called Degerö, separated by a narrow sound from Hertognäs. Brakvik is located about two kilometres to the northwest from Hertognäs. The settlement site in Brakvik was deserted after 1559, when the hamlet was incorpo-





Figure 11. The manor of Hertognäs.

rated to the royal demesne of Vik. In the close vicinity of the manors in Hertognäs was a third small settlement called Båtsvik (Fig. 12). Like in the case of most of the tenant farms in noble hands, the oldest survived written data of Båtsvik are in the tithes records from the late 1550s. In the case of Båtsvik they are from 1556 (Salminen 2013: 284–94).

Westwards from Hertognäs, on the other side of a narrow sound is the island of Brändö (*Kulosaari* in Finnish). In the 1550s, there were also noble properties but they were owned by a peasant called Erich Philpusson. Principally, this was against the law, and soon afterwards the noble privileges of the properties on Brändö were reduced (Salminen 2013: 284–94).

Medieval written sources concerning the families living in Hertognäs are scarce. In 1405, a royal court took place in Borgå and people from the parish of Helsinki were also present there. Among the local lay members of the court was a nobleman called Laurens Hertoghe. Åke Granlund suggested already in 1956 that he probably belonged to the family who owned Hertognäs (FMU 1207; Granlund 1956; Salminen 2013: 297). However, it is hard to prove this assumption on the basis of the surviving sources.

The written sources from the middle of the 16th century make fragmentary mention of a large estate called Hertognäs. Tapio Salminen has recently called them "Hertognäs and its satellites" (Salmi-

nen 2013: 289). The colonisation of the coast of the Province of Nyland ended in the middle of the 14th century at the latest. Hertognäs with its large fields lies on a strategic location in the crossing of the coastal sea route and the estuary of the Vantaa River.

The estate must have been founded there in the early 14th century or even some decades earlier. Some of the tenant farms possibly derive from this period as well, while others might be of a later date. Salminen suggests that the founder was possibly Valdemar Magnusson, the Duke (*Hertig* in Swedish) of Finland between 1310 and 1318, and possibly even earlier, but it is impossible to prove this suggestion (Salminen 2013: 296–98).

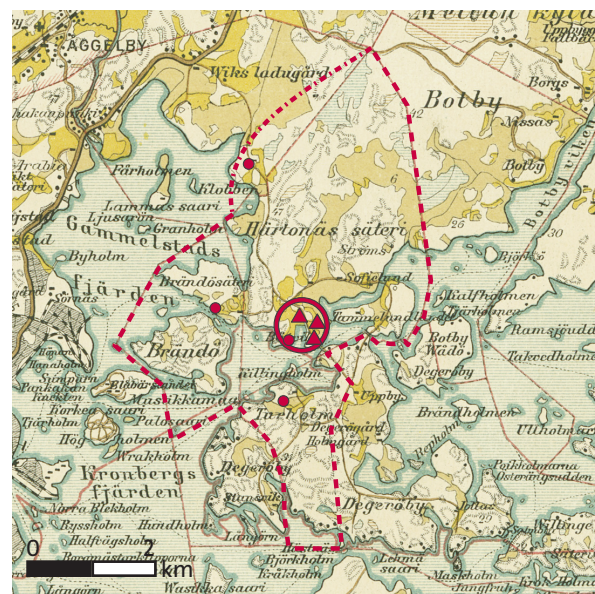


Figure 12. The estates of Hertognäs (Suomen taloudellinen kartta I:6 Helsinki, c. 1920).

## Anola in Ulvila (Satakunta)

Anola is a medieval hamlet (Fig 13), probably a manor situated a couple of kilometres upwards Kokemäenjoki River from Ulvila (*Ulfby* in Swedish), the northernmost town in medieval Finland. The place name appears for the first time in 1412, when the lawspeaker's court regulated parishioners' fishing between the falls of Lammaistenkoski and the river mouth. The court forbade fishing in the narrow channel between the island of Kirkkosaari and the shore of Anola. The first known owner of Anola was Olof Olofsson (Svärd), whose widow, Alissa Henriksdotter (Horn) sold part of the estate in 1488. In addition to the manor, there were three or four tenants in the village of Anola, mentioned in the 1540s and 1550s (Suvanto 2001: 1607–9; REA 333; FMU 4160). In the 1540s, Anola was owned by a lower nobleman, "*knape*" Jöns Säck, whose grandmother was a daughter of Jöran Svärd. In 1550, Jöns Säck sold the estate to lawspeaker Jöns Kurck (Suvanto 2001: 1564–1565). In the late 16th century, Anola was well known as the manor of Axel (Jönsson) Kurck, one of the most powerful noblemen in Finland. Earlier, in the 1540s, it had only been a minor manor resided by Jöns Säck and before that, in the late 15th and early 16th century, it possibly was only occupied by a tenant. However, in the 14th and early 15th centuries there was probably an early man-

or in Anola. This was before the era of the family Svärd, whose members settled down in Ulvila in the middle of the 15th century. They soon became the leading noble family in the parish where they had two large manors, Sunnäs near the estuary of the river and Storgården situated in the town of Ulvila (Anthoni 1965b).

Anola had common woodlands with the village of Viikkala, and two single farms called Kirkkosaari and Lautila. This explains why fishing between Anola and Kirkkosaari was illegal for peasants living elsewhere in the parish of Ulvila and reserved only for residents of Anola and Kirkkosaari. The border with the neighbors along the river upstream, Kokemätärnäs, was mentioned already in 1354, which indicates that at least Anola and Viikkala were inhabited before that (Salminen 2007: 51–2; REA 333).



▲ Figure 13. The manor of Anola.

► Figure 14. A part of an open estate landscape. The site of the deserted village of Lautela.



Lautila was situated between Anola and Viikkala (Fig. 14). The first time that Lautila is mentioned in the extant sources is in 1533, when a dispute concerning the right of inheritance and the ownership of the hamlet took place. This case shows that the tenant farm of Lautila had previously been owned by the Svärd family. The vicar of Ulvila parish, Peter Andersson (Garp) had previously inherited Lautila from his mother Karin, who was a daughter of Olof Pedersson Svärd. In 1440, Olof Svärd was mentioned as the district court judge of Ostrobothnia, and his estate was the manor of Sunnäs in Ulvila (Anthoni 1955; 1965b; Suvanto 2001: 1606). On the basis of this we can conclude that he was also owner of Anola like his son Olof Olofsson.

In Viikkala in the middle of the 16th century, there were four freeholders and a former noble manor, which had been converted to two tenant farms. It seems that in 1470, when Peter Rännare stated that he had sold *Wikkala gods* to the late district court judge Peder Svärd, there was a modest noble manor in the village but later on the former manor was cultivated by two tenants (Suvanto 2001: 1602–6; FMU 3413).

Kirkkosaari had a strategic location as an island in the middle of river Kokemäenjoki. On the shore of the island there was a profitable fishery. In the

Middle Ages, Kirkkosaari and its sole tenant farm were owned by the bishop of Turku. After the reduction of church lands to the Crown in the early 16th century, Kirkkosaari was annexed to Anola. On the other side of river Kokemäenjoki the bishop had two additional hamlets, Möllarby and Nakkila (Läntinen 1978: 152–3). However, the fact that they had no common woodlands with Kirkkosaari and Anola indicates that these two hamlets have a history and origin different from those of Kirkkosaari (Fig. 15).

Anola and Lautela formed in the early 15th century a large noble estate. It was owned by members of the Svärd family, who had their main manor in Sunnäs situated on the other side of the town of Ulvila and some ten kilometers from Anola. This explains, why Anola was settled only by tenants in the Late Middle Ages. Most probably there was an early manor in Anola in the late 14th century or before the Svärd family settled in Sunnäs, a manor mentioned already in the 1320s or 1330s. We can assume that in the early 15th century part of Viikkala also belonged to the same property complex as Anola. Based on the right to fishery and woodlands, it is probable that also Kirkkosaari had originally been part of the same estate but on the basis of the preserved sources it is hard to prove this.

No archaeological research has taken place in Anola, Lautila and Kirkkosaari. The three farms in Viikkala were deserted in the 1860s, when they were merged to the manor of Anola. Today, the plots of these settlements are in the middle of open fields (Jutikkala & Nikander 1939: 557; Taivainen 2001; Hertell 2009; KA MHA Nakkila A71:1/1–15).

#### Jutikkala in Sääksmäki (Häme)

In the early 16th century, there were two noble manors in the parish of Sääksmäki. These manors, Jutikkala (Fig. 16) and Lahis (*Lahinen* in Finnish), were situated near to each other. Close to them were some tenant farms owned by the nobility. For example, the manor of Jutikkala lay between Lahis and a small tenant hamlet or landed estate called Solberga belonging to the owners of Lahis. Already in the 1460s it was mentioned that Solberga was a tenant

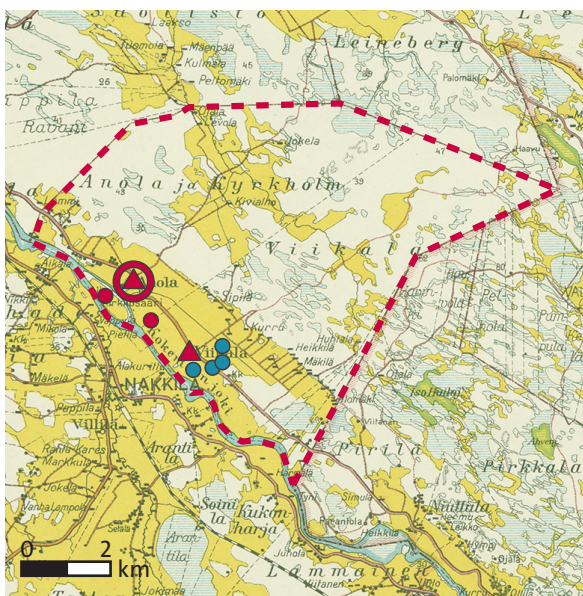


Figure 15. The estates of Anola. (Suomen taloudellinen kartta IV:3 Pori 1923.)



Figure 16. The manor of Jutikkala.

settlement under Lahis: "*Til Layhis gaard ligger Solberga...*" (FMU 3001; Suvanto 1995: 71–6). Later on, in the 1540s, Lahis and Solberga held by a Swedish aristocrat called Nils Pedersson Bielke. His tenant register from 1549 reveals that in Lahis there were two tenant farms besides the manor. Close to Lahis was a small tenant farm called Pyhäjoki, and in Solberga there were two tenant farms. In addition to these, Nils Pedersson had about a dozen of other tenant farms elsewhere in Häme but they are not relevant when analysing the noble estates in Sääksmäki, where he had a manor and five tenant farms (RA Bielkesamling E1987:6: Nils Pederssons landbobok 1549).

Jutikkala is mentioned in 1340, when it was settled by a certain Melico de Iudicala, who was a peasant and not a nobleman. In 1420, Jutikkala was already a noble manor with some additional properties, such as a large wilderness area or *erämark* in Keuruu. The borders of this Keuru Eremarck were stated in 1420 and written down in a tenant register or property record of Jutikkala manor (UUB B76; Vähäkangas 2011: 10–1). The manor itself must be older than that. Tapio Vähäkangas has proven that in the early 1420s the manor of Jutikkala was occupied by the district court judge Håkan Knutsson.

Already in 1405 he had won a dispute concerning the ownership of a tenant farm in the same hamlet of Solberga, which 45 years later was under the manor of Lahis (FMU 1204). This is not the only property dispute helping us to reconstruct the history of the ownership of the manors of Jutikkala and Lahis. In 1448 Kadrin, the widow of late Håkon Knutsson, lost a property dispute between Jutikkala and the peasants in the village of Kelkkala in Kalvola parish. Later in the early modern age, the properties of Jutikkala and Kelkkala did not border each other. Between them there were woodlands belonging to the manor of Lahis. This seemingly contradictory situation is easy to explain because Vähäkangas demonstrated that Jutikkala and Lahis were in the same hands in the early 15th century. The border between the manors was drawn after 1448 but in 1467 at the latest (FMU 3001; Vähäkangas 2011). In the early 15th century, the manors had belonged to the same estate. Is it possible to shed light to the history of this noble manor before the early 15th century?

While Håkan Knutsson, the lord of Jutikkala in 1405, won the property dispute, the royal judges confirmed his rights to farms in Solberga and Liettula in Sääksmäki. The case reveals that Håkan's



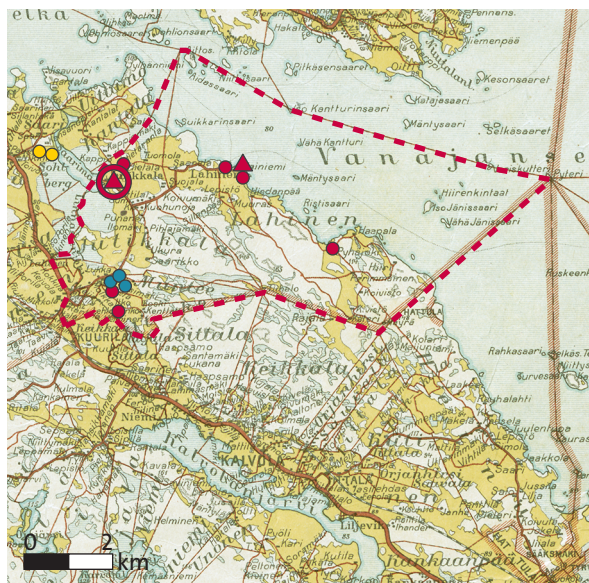


Figure 17. The estates of Jutikkala (Suomen taloudellinen kartta IV:5 Tampere 1922).

father-in-law Laurens Vitikasson Tolck received Solberga by a property exchange (FMU 1204). Most probably Laurens Vitikasson already lived in Jutikkala and found it profitable to purchase Solberga, which lay comfortably on the southern shore of the small Lake Saarioisjärvi, while Jutikkala was located on the northeastern shore of the lake.

Early modern written sources reveal that in the middle of the 16th century there were three tenant farms or hamlets under Jutikkala. One of them, called Hietaby, lay northwards from the manor, while Onnela and Itko or Itkonsaari were located in the hamlet of Vierumunttee or Munttee, where there also were three peasant farms. Itko was separated from Munttee in 1558, soon after a son-in-law of the owners of Jutikkala founded a short-lived manor there (Suvanto, microfiches 1995).

Combining the scarce source material from the Late Middle Ages, we can see that in the early 15th century, when Håkon Knutsson and Kadrin Laurensdotter were alive, Jutikkala and Lahis formed a large noble estate. After lady Kadrin's death in the middle of the 15th century, the estate was dissolved. Because Håkan and Kadrin did not have any children, the properties were inherited by their families. The large estate was divided in the 1450s and 1460s between two noble families, the descendants of Nils Tavast and the children of

Waldemar Diekn and his wife Ingeborg Rötgersdotter (Vähäkangas 2011). Half of the estate with the manor of Lahis survived as whole until the end of the 16th century, while the other half in the vicinity of Jutikkala was divided into smaller properties during the 16th century (Fig. 17) (Jutikkala 1934: 556–66, 574–6).

In 1999–2002 excavations took place on the site of Jutikkala manor, where some medieval finds were revealed. Among them were pieces of glass from tall Bohemian pruned beakers and a beaker decorated by applied threads. Both of these types are exclusive vessels used by the nobility or wealthy townspeople (Haggrén 2015). These finds dating to the late 14th or early 15th century indicate a noble household or manor on the site.

The archaeological surveys and excavations in Jutikkala have revealed that in the Viking Age there were three peasant farms, each with a cemetery (Kirsikkämäki, Kokkomäki and Muuntajamäki) of its own (Haggrén et al. 2002). Jutikkala was first mentioned in 1340 in a papal charter, where Melico de Iudicala or Mielikko from Jutikkala and 24 other parishioners in Sääksmäki were forced to pay their tithes in the ordinary way (REA 99). Melico was a peasant or freeholder but only some decades later Jutikkala received a noble owner.

Combining all this information we can reconstruct a large noble estate around the manor of Jutikkala in the eastern corner of the church parish of Sääksmäki. In the late 14th century, it consisted of about ten tenant farms and crofts. Some of the tenants settled the hamlet of Lahis, while the others were placed on single farms in Hietaby, Itko, Onnela and Pyhäjoki, a croft lying close to Lahis. Besides Itko and Onnela, there were a couple of freeholders in the hamlet of Vierumunttee. The borders of this estate, as well as the judgement from 1405, show that the hamlet of Solberga was a secondary annexation to this manorial estate. The estate situated along the southern shore of Lake Vanajavesi, one of the most important waterways in the province of Häme. Martti Kerkkonen has demonstrated that in the upper parts of the same water system and closer to the Häme castle there were some other large medieval noble manors, such as Lepaa, Suontaka and Vesunta (Kerkkonen 1961).



In the early 15th century, Jutikkala was the manor of Håkon Knutsson, but the founder of the manor was his father-in-law Laurens Vitikasson, or maybe already Laurens' father-in-law Mathias Kogg (Vähäkangas 2011: 13, 21). Kogg became the law-speaker, *legifer*, of Finland in 1356, and he had both resources and capability to take over a large estate on a strategic point in the middle of the province of Häme (REA 163).

## CONCLUSIONS

By using multidisciplinary methods and combining different kinds of source material it is possible to reconstruct early estates consisting a central manor occupied by a noble family and surrounded by some tenant farms. In Finland Proper these estates were often established in a zone consisting of former sea bottom and areas recently risen from the sea. In other areas with sparse populations dating from the Iron Age, such as in Nyland, there were large uninhabited inland areas open to colonisation, mostly from Sweden. Even if the medieval noble landownership in Finland concentrated on areas sparsely populated during the Viking Age, in some provinces, such as Häme, several noble estates were founded in already previously occupied areas.

This study challenges the current tendency to understand land ownership in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Free peasants owned more than 90% of the farms in Finland in the Late Middle Ages, but the early noble estates were located on the most fertile regions and strategically important points. We find large estates, consisting of a manor and a group of tenant farms, from the estuaries along the southwestern coast and several straits in the inner archipelago, as well as in the inland of Häme and Satakunta. The social landscape in southwestern Finland was not at all so unlike the rest of the western Europe. In all of the six cases analysed here, the estate landscape, established in the 14th and early 15th centuries, is still visible. In all these manors, a mansion still dominates the landscape, a landscape of power. In several cases, such as in Anola, the manor is surrounded by vast open agricultural landscape, a typical European estate landscape.

On the other hand, in Askainen the original manor has been deserted but this change is only ostensive. Instead, inside the borders of the original estate there are a couple of newer, although already medieval, plots of manors. Among them is Louhisaari, one of the most impressive 17th-century mansions in Finland, a mansion symbolising the power of its aristocrat owners belonging to the family of Fleming.

New questions based on recent international research results, multidisciplinary methods, and a thorough analysis of land ownership and the landscape, make it is possible to place Finland in a context of the medieval Europeanisation, underlined, for example by Robert Bartlett in the 1990s (Bartlett 1993). Beginning from the 12th and 13th centuries, a large-scale colonization, together with the modernisation of agriculture, took place in Finland as well as in the whole of northwestern Europe. This Europeanisation process was closely connected to Christianisation. The nobility seems to have had an important role in building churches as well as in establishing early parishes.

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