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The Rural Landscape of Mankby

From Medieval Peasant Settlement to Royal Demesne

ABSTRACT: The nature of rural settlement has always had a strong connection with the land use of the surrounding landscape. During the extensive excavations (2007–2013) of the well-preserved deserted medieval village Mankby in Espoo, Southern Finland, we have recorded several different stages of settlement development within the site. In this article, we are focusing on how the changes we see in our excavation results correlate with the dynamics of land use. By analysing the landscape during different times in the history of the village, beginning from the time of the colonisation of the area in the 13th century, and ending in the 16th century when the village was deserted and a royal demesne was founded on its lands, we hope to deepen our understanding of the settlement in Mankby. To accomplish this, we are analysing topographical and botanical data, and comparing it to the 18th-century historical maps and our knowledge of the historical land use in the area. The archaeological record that was documented and collected during the excavation of Mankby, is discussed in the context of landscape analyses and the historical development of the medieval rural settlement. This study aims to put the excavated site into a broader picture, to show that it is possible to connect archaeological studies to the large-scale changes in society.

KEY WORDS: Espoo, Mankby, landscape analysis, rural settlement, historical archaeology, cultivation.

INTRODUCTION

The extensive excavations (2007–2013) of the deserted medieval village of Mankby in Espoo (Fig. 1), Southern Finland, generated a rich and informative body of material, as well as new knowledge about the life of the medieval peasantry. The lives of ordinary people that are conspicuously underrepresented in written sources have in many ways come alive during the excavations. The nature of the rural settlement has always had a strong connection with the land use of the surrounding landscape. During the project, we recorded several different stages of settlement development within the site. Starting

from the colonisation of the area in the 13th century and ending in the 16th century when the village was deserted and a royal demesne was founded on its lands, the settlement continued to exist in direct interaction with the landscape, both shaping it and adjusting to it.

In this study, landscape is viewed as a space in which people lived and both actively and unconsciously constructed and reproduced a setting that reflected and confirmed the daily activities and social system of the medieval and early modern rural community (Johnson 2007: 120). Thus, landscape studies can be used to examine the *structuration* of society and the social interactions between people

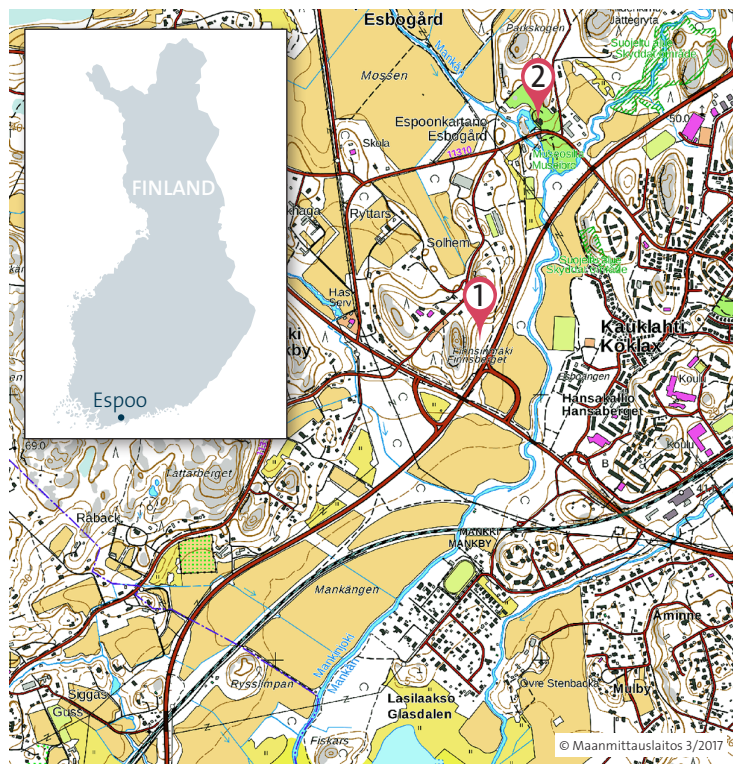


Figure 1. The location of 1 – Mankby and 2 – Esbogård in Espoo. Map: Maija Holappa.

and to broaden our knowledge of rural settlement in this area.

THE EMERGENCE OF SETTLEMENT

The parish of Espoo and the region of Uusimaa have traditionally been regarded as not having been settled during the Late Iron Age before Swedish colonists arrived during the 11th and 12th centuries. The area was considered to have been used as hunting grounds and a zone of long-distance exploitation by the Häme Finns

in the sense in which Anthony Giddens (1984) uses this term.

Our aim is to focus on how the changes we see in our excavation results correlate with the dynamics of land use. By analysing the landscape during different times in the history of the village, we hope to deepen our understanding of the settlement at Mankby. We aim to find out whether land use was influenced by the different phases we see in the history of the site and how land use changed through the Middle Ages and during the early modern period. During its history, the site of Mankby went through at least three major phases: the colonisation and the emergence of the village in the 13th century, the development into a wealthy peasant settlement in the late Middle Ages, and finally the abandonment of the settlement in 1556 and the process whereby the lands became an economic resource for the royal demesne of Esbogård.

The material for this study was gathered during the Mankby project, conducted by a research team led by Georg Haggrén at the University of Helsinki in cooperation with the Espoo City Museum. The aim of the project was to excavate one of the best-preserved deserted medieval villages in Finland

(Meinander 1983: 231–3; Orrman 1987: 170–2; Kokkonen 1990: 62–4). However, our view of the period from the Late Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages in Uusimaa is changing. Despite the scarcity of defined settlement sites, pollen analyses (Alenius 2011; 2014) have shown that the area was permanently cultivated during the Late Iron Age. Recent stray finds from Espoo, dated to the Iron Age, Viking Age, and Crusade Period, predict that archaeological sites from these periods can be expected to be found in the future (Wessman 2016: 26; Rosendahl 2014: 29–40). In recent studies, the discrepancy between the signs of early cultivation and the absence of Iron Age sites is mostly regarded as being due to insufficient research and/or a less conspicuous Iron Age burial ritual in the peripheral area of Uusimaa than in the central Iron Age areas of Finland (Wickholm 2005: 6–7; Salminen 2013: 85–96; Rosendahl 2014).

During the 12th and 13th centuries, immigration from Sweden reached the coastal area of Southern Finland. The Swedish colonisation has been regarded as peasant migration with few, if any, links to the incorporation of Finland in the Swedish realm (Lindkvist 2002: 46–9). New research has shown

that local nobility seems to have influenced the colonisation process and the founding of parishes and manorial estates (Haggren 2011: 161–4). However, very few nobles lived in Espoo, and the source material does not allow any such interpretations in this area.

Immigration from Sweden led to Swedish eventually becoming the predominant language of the inhabitants of the coastal area. As early as during the Middle Ages, this situation is reflected in a dominantly Swedish place-name material. But the Swedes did not colonise an area entirely devoid of settlement. Saulo Kepsu has analysed the place-names related to settlement and farming in Uusimaa, and according to him, there is an older layer of Finnish settlement names under the dominant layer of Swedish place-names (Kepsu 2010). The village of Mankby, however, seems to represent a settlement that emerged during the colonisation process, based on the results of our excavations. In spite of a rich Stone Age settlement, we found no traces of either a Bronze Age or an Iron Age settlement on the site. This might, of course, be due to reasons of research methodology, but the earliest signs of post-Stone Age habitation in Mankby are from the 13th century and seem to correlate well with the assumed time of the emergence of Swedish settlement.

THE VILLAGE

Environment and geology

Mankby is located in Espoo, on the eastern slope of a small ridge called Finnsinmäki, near the confluence of the Gumbölenjoki and Mankinjoki rivers. Finnsinmäki consists mainly of silt and sand, which makes the ridge suitable for settlement. Right to the south-east of Finnsinmäki lies a valley through which the Mankinjoki river flows. The valley formed during the post-glacial regression of the Litorina Sea and consists of a clay layer reaching down to a depth of 15–20 m (Fig. 2). In medieval times, the sea level was approximately 1.5–2 m higher than today because of the later land uplift in the area (Miettinen 2011: 79; Hyvärinen 1999: 81). However, this has not significantly changed the river valley landscape during the historical period, since the valley was dry land and the Gumbölenjoki river existed in its present location from the turn of the Late Iron Age and the Middle Ages (e.g. Miettinen 2011: 80).

The medieval settlement in the parish of Espoo was clearly concentrated in the river valleys of the parish (Rosendahl 2014). The rivers provided important resources, such as food, transportation, and water power for the inhabitants of the villages,

but the most important feature was probably the soil of the river valleys, which was especially well suited for cultivation. At an early stage of the settlement, it is believed that the river valleys were used as meadows and pastures for cattle, as the soil in the valleys consists of clay, and the tools used during the Iron Age were not suited for tilling heavy soils. The cattle kept the landscape open, slowing down the growth of trees and bushes,

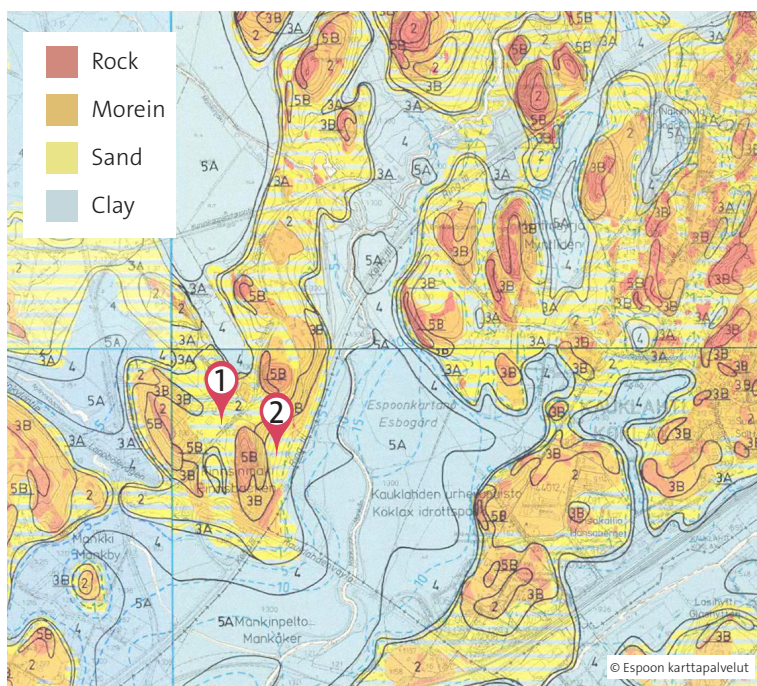


Figure 2. A map of the soil composition in the area. 1 – Finnsinmäki, 2 – Mankby. Map: Anna-Maria Salonen.



Figure 3. The dark layers of the collapsed 15th-century cellar are covered with a layer of sand to make a foundation for the 16th-century drying barn. Photo: Anna-Maria Salonen.

es (Haggrén 2010: 132; Maaranen 2010: 187). According to Eljas Orrman (2003; 1987), soil types played a major role in the settlement process. The most important features are the fertility and tilling properties of the soil. The clays formed during the glacial period are fertile, but also very heavy to till, whereas the younger, so-called Litorina clays are not so fertile, but easier to till. According to Orrman, the Finns cultivated mainly the heavy glacial clay areas, since their slash-and-burn method made the soil easier to till. On the other hand, the first sedentary farmers settled in the areas of the light Litorina clays because they did not have the right tools for cultivating the heavy glacial clays.

The settlement

The settlement of Mankby is located in a nucleated structure on toftland¹, comprising an area of approximately 50 x 100 m along a natural terrace on the south-eastern side of the Finnsinmäki slope. The inhabitants of Mankby have, however, modified the slope to meet their needs, which makes the toftland

visible in the terrain today even without excavation. For example, sand has been brought, probably from other parts of the hill, to grade the terrace and to cover the remains of the old, destroyed houses and create better foundations for the new houses (Fig. 3, Report 2009: 16, 18; Haggrén et al. 2011: 45).

During our project, more than 20 house remains were identified on the toftland, but not all of these structures were in use simultaneously (Fig. 4). According to historical records, the village consisted of eight farms, of which only six were inhabited by the mid-16th century (KA2940: 66v–67; KA3016: 33v). Within the scope of the project, we excavated two areas in the southern part of the toftland, both of which revealed complex stratigraphical contexts reflecting different uses during the period of settlement in the village.

The oldest signs of medieval settlement in Mankby were found in the southern part of the toftland, on the upper terrace of the Finnsinmäki ridge. During the excavations in 2008–2013, five different building phases were identified on the upper terrace alone. The three oldest phases could not be identified until after the excavations, since they were very fragmentarily preserved. Of these building phases, only three hearths, one cultural layer, and a few charred timbers were preserved. These

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¹ Toftland=the site of the houses and their outbuildings.

structures were combined as building phases using stratigraphic data and dated using wiggle matching.

During the Mankby project, five different medieval building phases were identified in the hamlet (Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016: 83–4). The first building phase, Phase 1, is dated to AD 1177–1218. This phase includes one hearth and one cultural layer with an even surface, which are interpreted as belonging to the same building (number 27). The second phase, Phase 2, consists of a hearth, located less than one metre away from building 27. This

hearth (building 28) is dated to AD 1208–1255. The building representing Phase 3 is dated with wiggle matching using AMS dating from a charred timber, resulting in a date of AD 1256–1284. Phase 4 was not dated using wiggle matching, but based on the finds from the building, it can be dated to the 14th century. On top of these buildings lies a massive drying barn, which is dated to the period of the royal demesne, most likely the 16th–18th centuries. The drying barn is discussed later in this article.

The identification and interpretation of the building phases was challenging, since the buildings were located on top of each other on the same terrace and the oldest buildings seem to have been demolished when the younger buildings were built. However, it seems that during Phases 1 and 2, the buildings were heated single-room cottages. The building representing Phase 3 has most likely been destroyed in a fire, but it was interpreted as having had two rooms. Although it is likely that at least one of the rooms was heated, no hearth or oven that could be linked to this building with certainty was found. The building in Phase 4 was a rather well-preserved two-roomed cottage with a stone cellar. This was an exceptionally large building with unusually rich find material, and it has been interpreted as a possible manor house (Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016: 83).

Phase 4 also includes another building on the lower terrace, next to the ancient fields. This typical medieval peasant house (number 11) was dated, based on the finds, to the 15th–16th centuries, so it reaches up to Phase 5. (Report 2009:17–20; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016: 83; Knuutinen 2016: 114.) Phase 5 of the hamlet is located between the upper terrace and the ancient fields, and consists of a building (number 12) and a cellar. In addition, another building located north of the fields has been interpreted to belong to Phase 5. Of these, only the cellar was excavated, so there is not much information on this phase. (Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016: 83.)

The other house remains at Mankby have not yet been excavated, so we have no accurate dating for these. Most of the buildings are located on the upper terrace of the toftland, and it seems that the earliest settlement first formed on this upper terrace (see map, e.g. Haggrén et al. 2011: 44). The lower terrace was in use at the same time as the cul-

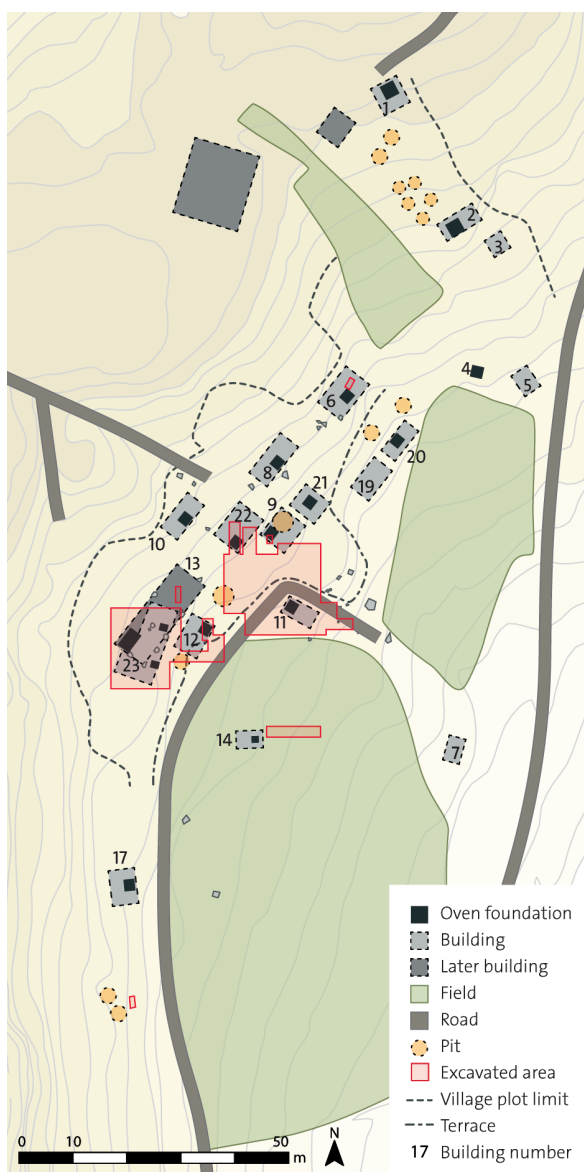


Figure 4. The map of the village. The buildings and excavation areas are marked. Map: Maija Holappa.

tivated fields, and three pits were found there that have been interpreted as possible graves. However, no definite proof of a cemetery was found in the excavation material (Report 2010; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016: 82).

During the late 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, the settlement spread east to the lower terraces. The reason for this could be that after the ancient fields fell out of use, the terrace made a good place for a dwelling. The lower terraces were a logical direction for the settlement to spread instead of spreading out along the terrace, since the former meadows along the river were transformed into cultivated fields.

The village space – inlands and outlands

The concept of a medieval village consists of much more than a dwelling. The land resources surrounding the inhabited toftland were included in the village space as much as the settlement (Myrdal 1999: 31–3). The fields, meadows, and outland resources were crucial elements in the physical and experienced landscape, and the organisation of these elements reflects the dynamics of the village structures and the rural community.

The villagers of Mankby were freeholding peasants who owned the rights to the land and paid their taxes directly to the crown, just like 90% of peasantry in this area (Haggrén 2011: 161). This land ownership was, however, linked to the co-operational unit of the medieval village. During this period, the fields, and in most cases also the meadows, were divided between and harvested by the individual farms, but the use of the village lands was regulated according to rules of co-operation and responsibility for the joint village property (Myrdal 1999: 100–103). The main fields of Mankby were situated in the direct vicinity of the toftlands, but in addition to the major fields, some smaller outland fields were cultivated by the villagers. The exact locations of the medieval outer fields or other smaller fields are not known, but we do know that in the process of abandonment in 1556, one of the Mankby peasants, Vincentius Jacobsson, received plots of land on the outskirts of Mankby as compensation (Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008),

which indicates that the late medieval village made use of more fields than the royal demesne cared for.

On the outer rim of the village space, the resources were less divided. In Southern Finland, the forested areas of the village lands were not only collectively owned by the villagers, but they usually consisted of communal land owned by several villages, referred to as *skifteslag*. These areas also included the right to fishing waters within the borders of the villages' lands. In the case of Mankby, a *skifteslag* was formed together with the neighbouring villages of Esboby and Träskby (Haggrén 2008: 77). In our excavations, the resources from the outlands were reflected in the find material: the wood from the forest was the main building material, and firewood had been burnt in the many hearths of the village. Osteological material shows that fish was part of the diet. Even a swine bone showed marine isotope values, indicating that swine fodder could also include fish. Game is less apparent in the osteological material, perhaps due to restrictions related to hunting (Kivikero 2016: 173).

In addition to the productive resources, the village space included structures for communication, such as roads and waterways. During the fieldwork, we located a road leading to the hamlet that is still visible on the terrain. The road passes through the hamlet almost directly from north to south, and it might have been connected to the main coastal road leading from Turku to Vyborg. Today this road – popularly known as the King's Road – passes Mankby to the west of the village, on top of the Finnsinmäki ridge, a location that would have been illogical during the time the village was in use.

In the village centre, another road was discovered on the northern side of the building located on the lower terrace. A small part of the road was excavated, and based on the finds, the road is dated to the 15th–16th centuries. The road runs approximately from NW to SE, and it seems to lead towards the river (Report 2009: 18; Haggrén et al. 2011: 44; Knuutinen 2016: 123). The river itself could be sailed in medieval times, and it served as a route that opened up the Baltic to the villagers. Written sources mention Mankby peasants doing

trade in Tallinn, and the Hanseatic material culture is clearly visible in the find material (Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008; Terävä 2016: 161).

The field systems in the landscape

The land use in Mankby and in the surroundings of the village was dominantly agrarian. The cultivation of cereals was not only the main economic resource of the peasants, but the grain fields were also a major factor shaping the landscape around both the medieval and early modern settlement. The position of the fields also determined the location of the village site, which depended heavily on direct access to the fields.

The most common method of grain cultivation in Espoo until modern agriculture took over was the two-field system. This system emerged during the Iron Age and was established in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages (Myrdal 1985: 70–1, 74). In Southern Finland, according to recent studies by Teija Alenius (2014: 109), a shift from one-year to two-year rotation took place during the period between AD 1200 and 1400. The two-field rotation remained the major system of agriculture in Finland and many parts of northern Sweden, while the European system with three fields in crop rotation never became very common.

The system is based on the idea that a field is cultivated every other year and left fallow the following year. Rye, which was planted in the autumn on the fallow field, fit well into the system and became more common during the Middle Ages (Myrdal 1985: 69). The use of rye in Mankby is supported by the charred grain material that has been found during the Mankby excavations (Lempiäinen-Avci 2016: 181). The two-field system formed the landscapes around the medieval villages; the village landscape was usually dominated by two separate major fields, of which only one was in active use. The other field could be used as pasture land during the fallow year. The toftland of the village was consequently situated in the middle of the two fields, with good access to both. The fields were fenced in order to keep cattle out, and within the fenced area, the fields were divided among the peasants.

The cadastral map of the lands of the Esbogård manor from 1779 and its draft (Fig. 5; KA MMH B7:9/1), are the main source for identifying the late medieval fields of the Mankby village. When the map was drawn, the village had already been deserted for more than 200 years, but the fields named *Mankåker* (Swedish: *åker*=field) were still named after the village. The map itself consists of a plan to carry out ditching to drain the existing meadows, but if these areas are excluded, a picture is revealed of the original extent of the two main fields of Mankby. These fields form the typical arrangement used by the majority of the medieval villages that had arable land as their main source of income (Roeck-Hansen 2008: 70–2).

On the map from 1779, the main fields of Mankby cover an area of approximately 15 hectares, converted to modern measurement units. It could be assumed that the fields were used to this extent by the peasants of Mankby, at least in the last phase of the village. The right and obligation to cultivate the fields seem to have followed the European medieval custom of open fields, but divided between the peasants who ran the farms in the village. The one thing that made the landscape in this part of Europe a bit different than the continental practice was the lack of noble landowners controlling the area.

Plausible predecessors to the fields visible on the map from 1779 are the two overlapping ancient fields found in the centre of the village toftland, in a stratigraphical context older than some of the houses. In this context, arid marks in opposite directions were visible beneath the field layer. This field is interpreted as representing an earlier phase of cultivation, possibly a one-field system, in which the same field was used every year. The younger of these two fields is radiocarbon-dated to the 13th century by means of a sample of charred grain. The older field is unfortunately not dated more specifically because of the lack of datable samples.

The desertion of the ancient fields in the centre of the toftland clearly shows a shift in the use of the village space. By the mid-14th century, cultivation within the toftland ceased (Lempiäinen-Avci et al. 2006: 136) and the area of the former fields was now used for farmhouses and their yards or as a village commons. This shift could have been a part of

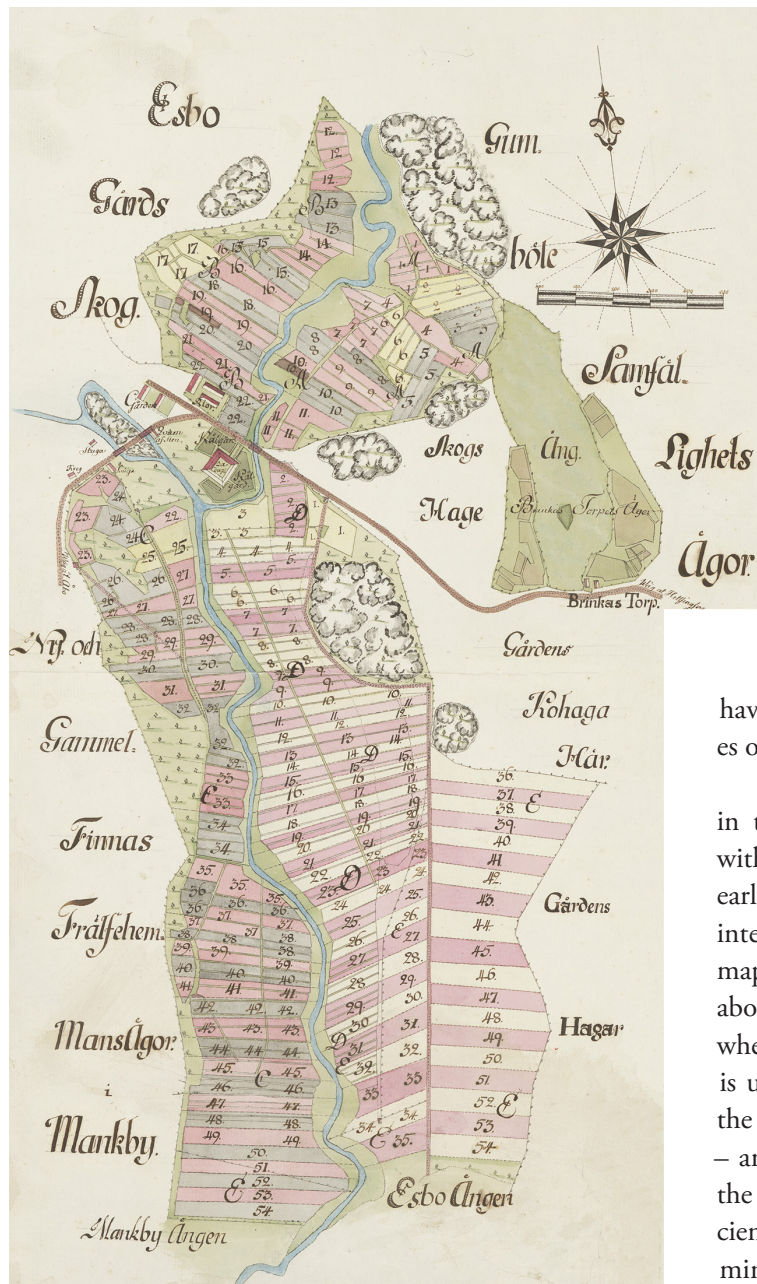


Figure 5. The cadastral map of the lands of the Esbogård manor from 1779 (KA MMH B7:9/1).

ing been taken into use in the time between these two maps, we cannot rule out the possibility that agricultural activities took place close to the toftland during the medieval period. On the contrary, the existence of these fields shows that the land has agrarian potential, and we have most probably not yet detected all traces of medieval agriculture in Mankby.

Even though the late medieval land area in the two-field system seems to correlate with the field use on the map from 1779, the early stages of the two-field system cannot be interpreted as being directly reflected by that map. It is always crucial to think critically about the use of cadastral maps, especially when a period prior to the events described is under study. It is essential to be open to the possibility of changes in the landscape – and to realise that there is a gap between the use of the archaeologically defined ancient fields and the cadastral map record. A minor rescue excavation beneath the topsoil on the southern Mankåker field in 2013 revealed signs of ditching, implying the exist-

the process of abandoning the one-field system in favour of the two-field system. This scenario would imply that natural meadows along the river were tilled to increase the field area of the village.

The small ancient fields in the toftland are not the only field areas outside the Mankåker main fields. As late as during the 1960s, a number of small fields were in use in the area between the toftland and Mankåker. These are not drawn onto the map of 1779, but appear in local maps from 1831 onwards. Even if these fields are interpreted as hav-

ence of an older ditching system that is not visible on the maps. On a stratigraphically lower level than the W-E ditches correlating with those on the map, the excavation revealed ditches dug at angles from SW to NE or NW to SE, which suggests that another way of dividing the fields could have been practised prior to the striped landscape that is visible on the 1779 map. This observation challenges the landscape seen on the map, where the field is strictly divided into narrow strips, each to be cultivated by designated farms.

Another, more methodological conclusion from this observation is that landscape studies could gain a great deal of information from opening the topsoil of large field areas. This is seldom done, since both research projects and heritage management usually concentrate on the inhabited areas of the villages and dwelling sites in the archaeological record.

THE ROYAL DEMESNE – A LANDSCAPE OF POWER

In 1556, the village of Mankby and its neighbour, Esboby, were taken over by the crown in order to build a royal demesne on the villages' lands. In the process, some major shifts took place in the landscape. To begin with, the peasants and their settlement disappeared. The tofts of Mankby and Esboby were abandoned and the buildings of the demesne were erected on the spot where Esboby had once stood, while the former toftland of Mankby became a more peripheral area in the lands of the crown's estate.

The fact that the demesne was founded at this location was no coincidence. At this stage in history, the Swedish crown, personified by King Gustav I Vasa, undertook many reforms to make the kingdom's government more effective. One of the means to achieve this was the founding of royal demesnes. The importance of this project was emphasised in Finland, which was regarded as a poor and peripheral part of the kingdom (Vilkuna 2003: 248–50). To start this process, Bailiff Anders Korp was commissioned to find lands that would be suitable for this purpose. After a short process in the summer of 1556, both the bailiff and the king agreed that the Esboby-Mankby area would be suitable, and the crown managed to evict the peasants after giving them equivalent lands in other villages (Ramsay 1924: 264).

The place chosen for the demesne represented a central area in the parish. Esboby had been the largest village in Espoo with 12 farms, and Mankby was also relatively big, consisting of six to eight farms. The typical rural resources of the villages, including the use of the common forests and waters,

remained in use by the demesne, as is shown by its well-known bookkeeping, which was required by the king. The field and meadow resources of Mankby and Esboby were apparently used to the same extent as during the late stage of the peasant villages (Ramsay 1924: 267–8). The fields of the two villages were situated on fertile clay soil on both sides of the Mankinjoki river, as were the meadows needed to feed the large numbers of cattle that were raised at the demesne. The river itself formed a waterway to the Baltic Sea, which enabled contact with the royal capital, Stockholm, and the important trading town of Tallinn.

Still, the demesne had a different purpose than the peasants' villages, and certainly another ideology that manifested itself in the landscape. The royal demesnes of Gustav I were production units with paid staff who performed most of the agricultural work on the estate. However, the production had a purpose beyond mere income, and this purpose was a military one. By the mid-16th century, the relationship between Sweden and Russia was tense. From 1555 to 1557, a war was fought over the rights to the border areas, and Sweden's military interests focused more and more towards the east. Thus, the King's concern in developing Finland must be seen as a reaction to this situation. Up to this point, Finland had lacked the infrastructure to provide the supplies needed for large-scale warfare. The royal demesnes and their production were intended to feed troops and serve as military bases, if needed (Vilkuna 2003: 248–51).

Hand in hand with the military purpose of the royal demesnes went a manifestation of authority in the local landscape. The royal demesnes became central places for administration and tax collection. In the long run, this became even more important than the military aspect (Vilkuna 2003: 268). At first sight, the 16th-century authorities seem to follow the medieval tradition of castle administration, only distributed in a denser network. Many of the local central places were based in medieval castles or in old royal estates. However, the new royal demesnes founded in the mid-16th century reveal that a new, early modern ideology also influenced the structure of these central places – an ideology that can be traced in their landscape.

TOWARDS PRODUCTION AND CONTROL

There is one element in the landscape that is particularly common to many of Gustav I Vasa's new royal demesnes in Finland: they seem to be located at spots where water power was available. We see this in the royal demesnes of Helsinki, Sjöndby, and Perniö, among others. At the Espoo demesne, water power was a dominant element. The main building and the activity centre of the demesne were concentrated in an area in the direct vicinity of the rapids at the confluence of the Gumbölenjoki and Mankinjoki rivers, and the water was used to power the mill of the estate.

The integration of mills and sawmills in the production of the demesnes was an outspoken strategy by Gustav I Vasa (Vilkuna 2003: 250). At Espoo, a sawmill was mentioned for the first time in 1586, but regular water mills used for grain seem to have been used in the river as early as during the medie-

val phase, and most certainly during the time of the demesne (Ramsay 1924: 288–98). The demesnes' mills, which were controlled by the crown, served a different purpose than the mills used for household needs by the peasants of the medieval villages.

What makes the mills interesting is the way they were used as a dominant feature in the landscape. Mills had, of course, been a part of the resources of large estates earlier. For example, at the manor of Svidja (Suitia), the nearest aristocratic manor, which was owned by the noble family Fleming, a mill belonged to the estate. But this mill was not a part of the carefully planned aristocratic landscape that surrounded Svidja. Instead, the manor was situated in visible isolation, in a location distant from the productive sphere (Rosendahl 2007: 110–2). The approach to the main buildings of the Espoo demesne is something very different. Here, the rapids in the river were a central element in the environment of the demesne.



Figure 6. The drying barn is marked with a blue line and one of the older houses with a red line. Photo: Georg Haggrén.

This movement towards the productive sphere can be seen as a step away from feudalism and the landscapes that the medieval aristocracy built around their manors. In both cases, the landscape ideology is very much about power and control. Whereas the aristocracy turned towards castle architecture and military elements in their manorial landscapes (Johnson 2002; Hansson 2006), the bailiffs of the 16th-century crown expressed their power in a more concrete way by controlling the production units. They put themselves in the middle of the estate, in a location where production was carried out. They even used the same spot that had been used by the peasants of the Esboby village. The bailiffs in Espoo were not feudal lords whose power was based on their personal landholdings; instead, they were employed officials who reported every ounce of the crop to the king, and their power was expressed in a new landscape, a landscape of the centralised power of Gustav I Vasa.

The shift in the way the elite expressed its presence in the landscape is also a deconstruction of the noble warrior class, the *bellatores* of the medieval society. In early modern Swedish society, a new rising elite became more and more involved in production, especially in the mining industry, ironworks, and other metallurgic industries. The royal demesnes of Gustav I Vasa could be seen as the predecessor of the landscape of the early industries. It is interesting to note that some of the demesnes actually had ambitions to use metallurgic resources, and there is evidence of small-scale mining and quarries on other demesnes (Törnblom 1997: 100). Eventually, many of the royal demesnes were short-lived and became manors of the nobility. Thus, it can be argued that the shift from aristocratic isolation to a position with control of production is an element of the early modern noble landscape that was influenced by the landscapes of the royal demesnes of the 16th century.

The demesne's drying barn, already mentioned above, is a concrete remnant of the production at the demesne, and it was studied during our excavations at Mankby. In the south-western part of the toftland, its remains stood out from the rest. This building, number 13, was found during the survey of the area as early as in 2004, but the size and na-

ture of the building were not revealed until the excavations in 2007–2013, during which it became clear that it was one of the demesne's massive drying barns, situated on the deserted village toft of Mankby. This find provides very concrete evidence of the extensive agricultural production that took place in 16th-century royal demesnes (Fig. 6).

Only the oven, the western wall foundation, and the cornerstones remained of the building. It was the topmost layer in a complicated stratigraphy, since no less than four older houses had been located on this terrace in the 14th and 15th centuries. The terrace had been modified to meet the needs of the large barn and carry its heavy oven foundation. During the excavations, rather massive sand fill layers were found. The sand was most likely brought from other parts of the Finnsinmäki hill, and it covered the western and southern parts of excavation area 9. The sand layers were most likely built to level the terrace, but also to cover the remains of the older buildings.

The width of the building was approximately 6.7 m and the length probably 25 m (Report 2012: 41). The length is based on the location of the cornerstones; the whole building was not excavated. The building had two or three different room spaces (Report 2009: 41). The southernmost room was the drying room for grain, and there had been a massive oven sized 4 x 2.6 m (Report 2008: 17) for that purpose in the south-west corner of the room. A similar barn was used in the Raasepori demesne, according to a record from around 1722, in which a drying barn is mentioned. The drying barn at Raasepori had three rooms and proportions that were nearly identical to the drying barn at Mankby (KrA: Husesynskontoret: Husesyn på sätteriet Rasseborg 3.2. 1 722 [FR 43 7]; Report 2012: 42).

The barn was in use for over 200 years, since the finds from the excavations in 2012 date some parts of the barn to the 18th century. The excavations also revealed repairs done to the barn over the years. However, the barn is not present on the map of the lands of the Esbogård manor in 1779. Haggren suggests that the barn may have been demolished around 1756–1782, when the owner of the Esbogård manor, Anders Henrik Ramsay, made big changes to the area (Report 2012: 42).

The barn found in our excavations is actually the only feature on the lands of Esbogård that can be linked to the royal demesne of the 16th century. The still standing buildings of the Esbogård manor all represent later times, from the 18th century onwards, when the manor had become a noble estate. These prosaic remains of a barn are, however, quite a good symbol of the function of the royal demesne. In comparison to the medieval village, the existence of the barn expresses land use that did not include dwellings and the versatility of everyday life, but focused on intense agricultural production performed by the staff on the demesne. The large barn and the huge quantities of grain dried in it to meet the demands of the demesne also stand in contrast to the peasant dwellings of the Mankby village, which were remarkably small compared to this production structure. The landscape of Mankby did not change radically when the demesne took over: the same fields remained in use, and the crops grew as before, but the underlying ideology behind the land use was entirely new on this site from 1556 onwards.

CONCLUSIONS

The site of Mankby and the landscape surrounding it can be read as a history with three main phases: the initial medieval colonisation, the presence of the dynamic medieval village, and the final desertion and incorporation into the production sphere of the royal demesne, which later became the noble manor of Esbogård.

The initial phases are naturally the hardest to detect, but observing the natural landscape and its resources gives us the tools to understand the intentional choices made by the people settling at Mankby by the 13th century. The medieval hamlet site of Mankby is located on a sandy ridge called Finnsinmäki. The settlement was situated on a terrace on the eastern side of the ridge, facing the valley of the Mankinjoki river, with good pasture land and meadows. The terrace of the dwelling site is natural, but the inhabitants of the hamlet have modified the terrace to suit their needs. Because of these modifications, the village toftland is visible in the terrain even today.

The medieval settlement of Mankby, located along the terrace on the Finnsinmäki ridge, is dated from the 14th century to the end of the 16th century, and the excavations have shown that the inhabitants were quite prosperous by the late Middle Ages. The settlement was dominantly agrarian, and the cultivation method at the end of the Middle Ages was most likely the two-field system practised on the large field areas in the river valley.

In addition to these large fields, smaller fields were located close to the settlement. Small, ancient fields, detected within the village toftland during the excavations, are the remains of an older phase during which the settlement was located on the upper terrace and the fields on the lower terrace. By the second half of the 15th century, the cultivation of the small field on the lower terrace had ended and dwellings had been built also on the lower terraces. It is possible that at this point the large fields of the two-field system first appeared in the river valley in areas that used to be meadows and pastures for cattle. The excavations in the field areas have, however, given us reason to question whether the neatly striped field systems that appear on historical maps from the 18th century onwards can be applied to the interpretation of the medieval field divisions. The older ditching systems do not seem to correlate with the record of the historical maps.

When Mankby was deserted and the land taken over by the crown in 1556, the terrace of Finnsinmäki did not stay untouched. During the time of the royal demesne, a drying barn was built on the upper terrace, where the oldest buildings had stood. The drying barn was in use from the late 16th to the 18th centuries and had been repaired many times. It can be considered as a symbol of the extensive agriculture practiced by the demesne and the later noble manor. The nature of the site of Mankby changed dramatically from a lively settlement for several peasant households to a seasonally used production space.

The surrounding landscape of Mankby did not change as conspicuously as the settlement site. The agricultural resources were used to the same extent as before, but nevertheless with a significant change in the purpose of the production. The crops of the Mankby fields no longer supported the families liv-

ing close by but were a resource of the crown, providing income and stores to feed armed troops. The royal demesne manifested itself in the centre of the productive landscape by erecting the main buildings close to the rapids in the river and its mills. On this spot, the noble estate of Esbogård is still present today in a historical landscape, while the abandoned peasant village of Mankby was eventually forgotten in the forests of the estate.

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MMH Lantmäteriets kartarkiv, Espoonkartano / Esbogård; Karta öfver åker och äng med beskrifning 1779–1779 (B7:9/1), Karta öfver egorne 1832–1832 (B7:9/2-10) & Konseptikartat

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