

Colonization, Desertion and Entrenchment of Settlements in Western Nyland ca. 1300–1635 AD

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Abstract

Finland Proper (Sw. Egentliga Finland, Fi. Varsinais-Suomi) and Häme (Sw. Tavastland) formed the core area of Iron Age settlement in Finland. Monuments and sites dating back to the Late Iron Age or to the 11th or 12th centuries can be found from large areas of these two provinces. Less than two centuries later, during the early 14th century, large regions outside this core area were settled. One of them, Nyland (Fi. Uusimaa), was a thoroughly organised province already in the 1320's. Previous researchers have mostly thought that large and virtually unoccupied areas have been colonized during a rather short time period in the early Middle Ages. However, it is very difficult to explain such a fast change in the settlement pattern in Southern Finland. Recent discoveries by Teija Alenius, Henrik Jansson and Tapani Tuovinen have challenged this common impression. In their articles they have concentrated especially on the development in the Late Iron Age. This article focuses on the Middle Ages and early modern period. The emergence of the province of Nyland and the Castle Province of Raseborg will be discussed as well as the colonization, desertion and entrenchment of the settlements in the Western Nyland from the early 14th century to the 1630's.

Keywords: *colonization, desertion, settlement.*

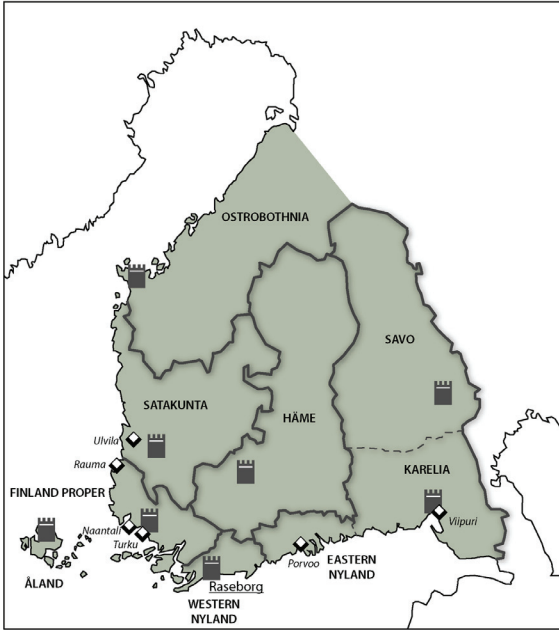
The Province of Nyland

In the available historical documents the earliest mention of the province of Nyland is from the year 1310. In those times Sweden was divided between King Birger Magnusson and his two brothers, Duke Erik and Duke Valdemar. The youngest of the three brothers was Valdemar who became the Duke of Finland in 1302. He reigned over the provinces of Finland Proper, Häme and Åland (Fi. Ahvenanmaa) as well as some provinces in the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia. From 1310 we know that Nyland belonged to his Duchy too.¹

A long coastal area reaching from Tenala (Fi. Tenhola) in the west to the Kymi River valley in the east was called Nyland in the early 14th century. In those days it formed a province of its own but later in the 1370's it was divided in two smaller castle provinces: Western Nyland formed the Castle Province of Raseborg (Fi. Raasepori) and the eastern parts of the province formed the Castle Province of Borgå (Fi. Porvoo) (Map 1).² The border between these two castle provinces was drawn between Esbo (Fi. Espoo) and Helsinge (Fi. Helsinki) parishes (Map 2).

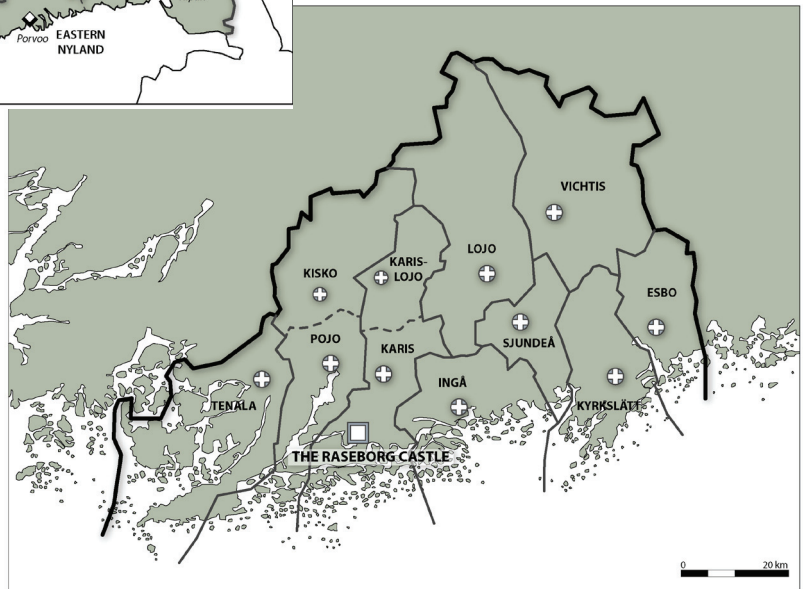
¹ FMU 6572; Neovius 1912, 121.

² Fritz 1973, 137–141.



Map 1. The late medieval castle provinces in Finland. Drawn by Maija Holappa.

Map 2. The ecclesiastical parishes in Western Nyland. Drawn by Maija Holappa.



The division of Nyland was not as haphazard as it might seem. In the Late Iron Age or early Middle Ages the inhabitants from Finland Proper had interests on the western part of the area. Most probably this part of Nyland was counted as a part of Finland Proper and likewise the eastern part as an area belonging to Häme. This division is still visible in place names. There are a plenty of “Tavast-“ and “Häme-“ place names in the eastern parts of Nyland but none of them in the western parishes of Tenåla,

Pojo (Fi. Pohja) and Karis (Fi. Karjaa). Similarly in the Eastern Nyland there are many places named by people speaking the Häme dialect of Finnish.³ In the 1320’s Swedish colonists settled in Västersundom – Östersundom area in the border region between later Helsinge and Sibbo (Fi. Sipoo) parishes received royal protection on their fisheries against the “parish men” from Hattula in Häme. It is obvious that

3 Kepsu 2005, 14–33.

in the early 14th century peasants from Häme tried to defend their interests on this area they have been used to exploit.⁴

In the late Middle Ages the inland of Nyland was settled by people from Finland Proper and people from Häme. However, during the Middle Ages the coastal zone as well as the archipelago has been settled by Swedish-speaking people. Some of them have moved from the Finska Skären or the archipelago and the coastal zone in Finland Proper while the others seem to have migrated direct from Sweden. According to Eljas Orrman there were three migration waves. Orrman states that the earliest Swedish migration wave to the Finland Proper began in the mid 12th century. In the early 13th century at the latest the Swedes had settled not only the archipelago of Finland Proper but the coastal zone in Western Nyland too. After the so called second crusade or during the second half of the 13th century another wave of emigrants settled down on the coastal areas as far as on the Eastern Nyland in the east. In 1293 the Swedes managed to get a bridgehead in Karelia (Sw. Karelen, Fi. Karjala) where they established a fortification called the castle of Viborg (Fi. Viipuri). Soon afterwards a third wave of Swedish speaking emigrants settled down in the Kymi River valley and on Karelian Isthmus (Sw. Karelska näset, Fi. Karjalan kannas). The emigration process ceased around 1350 when the Black Death had reached Baltic area.⁵ The dating of these migration waves have not been questioned recently. In the light of these results it seems very likely that the coastal zone of Western Nyland had been colonised by the Swedes mostly during the early 13th century. However, after this early phase of colonization the migration continued and probably during the whole 13th century Swedish newcomers settled down in this area. The place names prove that when the Swedes came on this area there already was a small Finnish-speaking population.⁶ This population was rather soon assimilated into the Swedish population in the area.

The new palynological and archaeological evidence from Western Nyland prove that the area had sedentary settlements already in the Late Iron Age.⁷

Traditionally scholars have stated that most of the Swedish colonists came from Hälsingland. This conception has founded on place names such as Gästrikby or Helsingby. However, a thorough analysis of the place names proves that a large amount of place names in Nyland have parallels not in Northern Sweden but in the Mälars Valley (Sw. Mälardalen) area. It seems that most of the Swedish emigrants came from Uppland and Södermanland while some others came from Östergötland and only a few originated from Dalarna, Gästrikland or Hälsingland.⁸ In a historical context this is quite natural. In Central Sweden there was overpopulation in the early Middle Ages while e.g. Hälsingland was still a lightly populated northern province although it was more densely populated during the Iron Age. Furthermore, it was first in the 1340's when Hälsingland became under the direct control of the Swedish crown and the king of Sweden.⁹ It is rather difficult to explain why the peasants from Hälsingland where there was plenty of room to colonize would have preferred to migrate from the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia to the distant coastal areas around the Gulf of Finland. This kind of migration which was more or less controlled by the king of Sweden would have been quite unlikely in the early 13th century, a century before Hälsingland was integrated to the Swedish realm. In contrary to the coastal areas of the Gulf of Finland, emigrants from Hälsingland are likely to have played an important role in colonizing the province of Österbotten (Fi. Pohjanmaa) located not far away from their homesteads.

A substantial number of historical sources concerning Finland Proper and Häme have survived from the 13th century and some from the 12th century too. In this context it is surprising how late the name Nyland appears in the sources especially when we know that most of this coastal area has been at least sparsely

4 FMU 540; Kerkkonen 1965, 16–19; Suhonen 2005, 12–13.

5 Orrman 1990.

6 Kepsu 2005; idem 2008.

7 See Alenius, Jansson and Tuovinen in this volume.

8 Kepsu 2005; Orrman 1990, 227–228; Rosendahl 2008.

9 Mogren 2000, 275–278.



Fig. 1. The seal of the Province of Nyland (1326).
Tallinna Linnaarhiiv.

inhabited already in the Late Iron Age. On the basis of the settlement history and place names it seems probable that a new province was established when the easternmost parts of Finland Proper and southernmost parts of Häme were approximately 1300 joined to a new province called Nyland. In a similar way and around the same time another province, Satakunta, seems to have been established from the northernmost parts of Finland Proper and the westernmost parts of Häme. The province of Satakunta receives a seal of its own in 1331 at the latest.¹⁰

Even if Nyland was first mentioned in 1310 there is already from the 1320's a plenty of information concerning the province. The province had a bailiff (Lat. *advocatus*), a judge (Lat. *legifer*, Sw. *lagman*), and an ecclesiastical tax collector under the bishop of Åbo (Fi. Turku).¹¹ In 1326 the Finnish provinces of Finland Proper, Nyland, Häme and Åland negotiated with the city of Tallinn (Sw. Reval, Fi. Tallinna) for trade.¹² This suggests that by the late 1320's at the latest, the government of the province of Nyland was formally organized. It was a province with a seal of its own (Lat. *sigillum terrae*) (Fig. 1). The main figure in this seal of which the oldest survived imprint is from 1326 was St Olof, the martyr king

and national patron of Norway who was very popular saint in medieval Finland too.¹³

From the late 1320's there also is significant evidence from parishes in Nyland. However, according to Markus Hiekkänen, the first ecclesiastical parishes were established in Finland already a century earlier, in the 1220's or early 1230's. According to him before 1250 or in this early stage about 40 parishes were established in Finland and among them were five parishes in Western Nyland (Ingå (Fi. Inkoo), Karis, Kyrkslätt (Fi. Kirkkonummi), Lojo (Fi. Lohja) and Tenala). The oldest parishes in Eastern Nyland – Borgå and Pyttis (Fi. Pyhtää) – were established a few decades later.¹⁴ During the following three centuries a couple of chapels were established under the original parishes in Western Nyland. Later on some of these chapels became independent. Pojo gained autonomy from Karis already in the mid 14th century at the latest. In Kyrkslätt and Lojo three chapels became independent parishes in the late 15th century: Esbo (about 1490), Sjundeå (Fi. Siuntio), and Vichtis (Fi. Vihti). In Pojo parish there were two further chapels – Kisko and Karislojo (Fi. Karjalohja) – which became independent parishes first after the mid 16th century or during the early modern era. As a result in the early 16th century there

10 Fritz 1973, 124–125.

11 Haggren 2008, 40; Kerkkonen 1947.

12 FMU 330.

13 Hausen 1900, 27, fig. 288; Knuutila 2010.

14 Hiekkänen 2002; idem 2005; idem 2007, 427–490.

were nine ecclesiastical parishes in Western Nyland (Map 2). However, in contrary to the other eight parishes that belonged to the Castle Province of Raseborg, most of Vichtis parish belonged to the Castle Province of Häme.

In medieval Nyland peasants paid tithes and other ecclesiastical taxes which differed from the taxes in the neighbouring provinces, such as Finland Proper, Häme and Karelia. In Nyland the ecclesiastical taxes were paid according to the law of Helsingē (“iure Helsingonico”) which was followed from 1331 at the latest. Bishop Ragvald of Turku (1309–1321) arranged the ecclesiastical taxes negotiating with the inhabitants of the province based on precedents from the 13th century. This law of Helsingē was followed in the nine ecclesiastical parishes in Western Nyland, in the whole of Eastern Nyland and in the two westernmost parishes (Veckelax (Fi. Vehkalahti), Vederlax (Fi. Virolahti)) of the Castle Province of Viborg. The ecclesiastical administrative organisation and taxes in Nyland were stabilised before the second half of the 14th century (Fig. 2).¹⁵

Around 1300 Nyland was a lightly populat-

ed colonization area where the coastal zone was mostly settled by the Swedes and the inland areas in the west by the settlers from Finland Proper and in the east by the Tavastians. Soon afterwards this area was organised as a province with its own seal. There was a uniform ecclesiastical taxation in the whole province too. Until 1360's the whole Nyland was controlled by the castellan of Åbo Castle. For about 15 years the province was subjugated under the castle of Viborg but about 1375 a major administrative reform took place and Nyland was divided in two castle provinces both of which were administrated from a castle, Borgå in the east and Raseborg in the west.¹⁶

The Castle Province of Raseborg

In about 1375 Western Nyland was transferred under the control of the Chief Justice (Sw. *drots*) of Sweden Bo Jonsson during as one of the securities for the money he loaned to King Albrecht. As a result most of Finland as well as several provinces in Sweden were in his hands

15 Orrman 1994, 13–15; Pirinen 1962, 76–89.

16 Fritz 1973, 113, 124–128, 133, 137–141.



Fig. 2. The medieval church of Tenala. Photo G. Haggrén 2002.



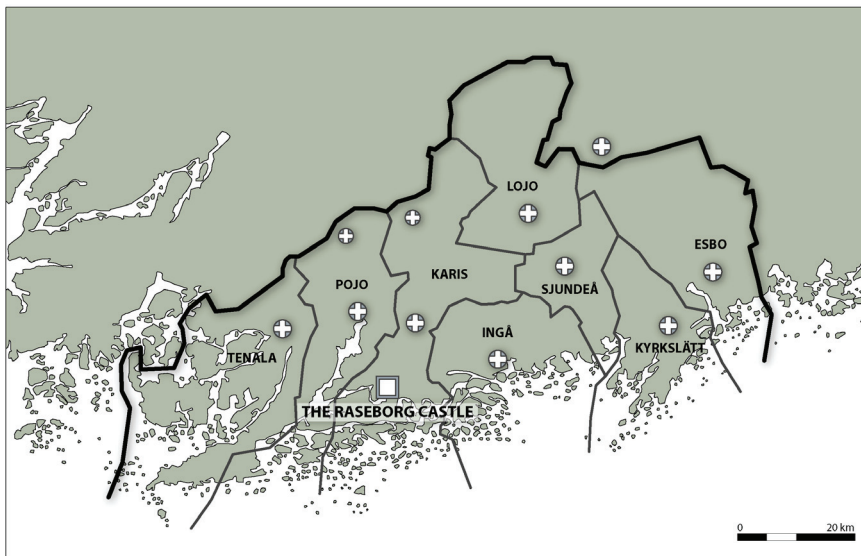
Fig. 3. The seal of Tord Röríksson Bonde survived in a diploma from 1378. Riksarkivet, Sweden. Foto G. Haggrén 2005.

soon. Bo Jonsson became the most powerful noble man in the whole kingdom. According to the Chronicle of Finnish Bishops the castle of Raseborg was established by Bo Jonsson. This statement seems to be true. In the archival material the Castle of Raseborg is mentioned for the first time the 8th September 1378 when a Swedish noble man Tord Röríksson Bonde who was the castellan of Raseborg during the next

two decades dated a diploma there (Fig. 3).¹⁷

Soon after Bo Jonssons death in 1386 Tord Bonde was counted among the supporters of Queen Margaret. Even if the castle of Raseborg was established by Bo Jonsson in his mortgage it was from the very beginning more like a royal castle than a private stronghold. Building a castle was very expensive and maintaining it was costly too (Fig. 4). No wonder that

17 Fritz 1973, 138–139; FMU 873; RA: Pergamentsbrev 8.9.1378.



Map 3. The castle province of Raseborg and its eight administrative parishes. Drawn by Maija Holappa.



Fig. 4. The castle of Raseborg. Foto G. Haggrén 2009.

the local taxation was organised or reorganised with the foundation of a castle. A well known Swedish example of this custom is the taxation reform in Öland 1280's due to the establishing of the castle of Borgholm.¹⁸

The historical sources that have survived from Medieval Finland are rare and sporadic. There are not many medieval sources concerning the organisation and administration of the Castle Province of Raseborg. Fortunately, the Castle Province of Raseborg consisting eight administrative parishes and 102 *bol* – groups of farms who together paid certain taxes – is mentioned in the source known as King Eriks Landbook (Sw. *jordbok*) from 1413. A thorough picture of the administrative organisation of the castle province is to be found from a tax roll from 1451. This roll reveals how the castle province was still organised in eight parishes and about 100 *bol*. Most of these eight parishes (Esbo, Ingå, Karis, Kyrkslätt, Lojo, Pojo,

Sjundeå and Tenala) differed significantly from the earlier ecclesiastical parishes (Maps 3 and 2). In 1451 the number of the *bol* was 98½ while it has been 102 in the king Eriks Landbook. In 1555 there were 101 *bol* in the castle province. These *bol* were cameral units consisting of a couple of farms, it seems that in principle there have been about ten to twenty farms in a *bol*. The very same administrative organisation was still used in 1540's from which time onwards various kinds of account material have survived.¹⁹ On the basis of these accounts it is possible to make retrospective analyses of the medieval settlement development in the castle province.

The amount of the *bol* in the Castle Province of Raseborg was practically the same from 1413 to the late 16th century. Some *bol* were counted as half-*bol* if the amount of farms in the *bol* decreased. This could happen for example because of ennoblements like in Esbo when

18 Lönnroth 1940, 134–171.

19 BFH I, 305; FMU 2898; Haggrén 2008, 51.

	1451	1555
Ingå	14	14,5
Karis	14	14
Lojo	11	11
Sjundeå	9,5	11
Kyrkslätt	9	10,5
Esbo	9,5	8,5
Tenala	17	17
Pojo	14,5	14,5
	98,5	101

Table 1. The number of *bol* in the parishes of the Castle Province of Raseborg.

Source: FMU 2898; KA 3033.

the manor of Gräsa was founded in the mid 15th century. One *bol* – Örmero *bol* – was transported from Esbo to Kyrkslätt between 1451 and 1540.²⁰ However, the system based on *bol* was very stable from the early 15th century to the late 16th century (Table 1).

The taxation of the farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg was based on *skattmark*, about which there are references beginning from 1392. As a basic rule the amount of *skattmark* reflects the carrying capacity of each farm valued when the taxation took place.²¹ In each *bol* there were in principle 20 *skattmark*. From the 1540's we know that the largest farms could have been valued to more than two *skattmark* while the tiniest were counted for only 1/8 of a *skattmark*. Most of the taxes paid to the

crown were based on the *skattmark* value. According to this the farms with a high *skattmark* value were most heavily taxed. Some other taxes were paid on the basis of the number of occupied farms (Sw. *mantal*). The amount of *skattmark* does not practically change while the *mantal* followed the changes in the occupied farms (Table 2).

The farms in the areas where the colonization continued and the number of the farms (*mantal*) increased during the Late Middle Ages paid in the mid 16th century much less taxes than the farms on the coastal areas which had a dense settlement already in the late 14th century when the basis of the taxation was made. This difference is very significant between the coastal parishes and the inland areas (Lojo and part of Pojo). A great deal of Esbo parish was

20 Haggren 2008, 79; Ramsay 1924.

21 Ylikangas 1971, 85-88; FMU 1008.

	<i>bol</i> 1540	<i>bol</i> 1555	<i>bol</i> 1574	<i>skattmark</i> 1540	<i>skattmark</i> 1555	<i>skattmark</i> 1574	<i>mantal</i> 1540	<i>mantal</i> 1555	<i>mantal</i> 1574
Ingå	14 ½	14 ½	14 ½	290	289 ¾	289 ¾	275	280	278
Kyrkslätt	10 ½	10 ½	10 ½	210	210	210	207	190	189
Esbo	8 ½	8 ½	8	167 37/48	167 13/16	158	343	321	298
Sjundeå	11 ½	11	11	216 ½	213 ½	214 5/9	180	180	188
Lojo	11	11	10 ½	217 ½	216 ¾	212 1/2	389	350	394
Karis	14	14	14	267 7/12	267 7/12	265 ¾	281	288	298
Pojo	14 ½	14 ½	14 ½	258 2/3	238 ½	256 ¾	384	415	379 ½
Tenala	?	17	17	?	312	332 5/6	285	292	251
TOTAL	?	101	100	?	1915 55/64	1940 1/7	2344	2316	2275 ½

Table 2. The number of *bol*, *skattmark* and *mantal* in the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1540, 1555 and 1574.

Source: KA 2918, 3033, 3330. The numbers from Pojo are from 1547 instead of 1540 (KA 2956) and number of *mantal* in Tenala from 1549 (KA 2974 p. 63).

colonised first in the Late Middle Ages too.²² These differences in the tax burden of the peasant farms between different parishes had consequences in the settlement development of the castle province in the early modern era as we can see later on.

An updated view on the settlement development during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era on the basis of the archival material

Medieval archival material from Nyland is scarce but in contrast to that beginning from the 1540's there are comparatively much historical sources. In 1540 King Gustav Vasa began systematically to collect tax records and other records made by royal bailiffs to be controlled in Stockholm. These annual tax and account records were not only controlled but – what is even more important for the historical research – carefully archived too. As a result in Sweden and Finland it is possible to follow the history of the majority of the peasant farms year after year from the mid 16th century up to this day. Such comprehensive archival records covering a whole country hardly exist elsewhere in Europe. It has to be emphasized that these records cover the independent peasant farms (Sw. *skattehemman*) and crown's tenants (Sw. *kronohemman*). The tenants living on the farms owned by the nobility (Sw. *frälsehemman*) were not recorded in the most thorough tax records – such as annual landbooks (Sw. *jordböcker*). However, we have to keep in mind that, in contrary to the rest of Europe, in the 1530's about 93 % of the farmers in Finland were independent peasants. Different kinds of tenants were only a small minority in 16th century Finland.²³

In 1540 the local royal bailiff Hans Jöns-son collected the information of the crown's taxes in the Castle Province of Raseborg to the

landbook. Afterwards this landbook was copied every year at least until the year 1545. The most thorough copy which has survived is from the year 1544.²⁴ Unfortunately, after 1545 begins a 25-year period from which all the landbooks from the castle province have been disappeared. The next one which has survived is from 1570.²⁵

Two out of the eight parishes in Western Nyland were in the 1540's donated as fiefs to noblemen. In 1540 the king donated the taxes from the parish of Tenala to Henrich Claesson Horn and the taxes from the parish of Pojo to Nils Boije till Gennäs.²⁶ Landbooks covering these two parishes which were not under the direct control of the crown have not survived. This explains why there are no earlier landbooks than from 1570 from these two parishes. However, there were no major changes in the crown's taxes between the 1540's and the 1570's and even the later landbooks are based on medieval circumstances.

In 1570 there were about 2306 independent peasant farms in the area of the medieval Castle

	Independent peasant farms 1540	Independent peasant farms 1570
Tenala	299	285
Pojo	409	384
Karis	279	298
Ingå	275	278
Sjundeå	182	185
Kyrkslätt	207	191
Esbo	344	294
Lojo	389	391
TOTAL	2384	2306

Table 3. The amount of independent peasant farms in 1540 and 1570.

Source: KA 2918, 3033, 3330.

22 Cfr. Haggrén 2008, 51–53.

23 Orrman 1984, 69.

24 KA 2940 (1544); 2948 (1540); Haggrén 2007b.

25 KA 3317 (1570).

26 Almquist 1919, 443.

1550	manors	tenants	vicarages & ecclesiastical tenants	"flöte" farms	crown's tenants	total
Tenala	9	26	1	5	0	41
Pojo	11	22	25	0	0	58
Karis	4	35	7	11	9	66
Ingå	2	13	7	0	0	22
Lojo	2	6	1	0	0	9
Sjundeå	2	29	3	3	0	37
Kyrkslätt	0	1	7	0	0	8
Esbo	2	1	1	1	0	5
	32	133	52	20	9	246

Table 4. Manors, noblemen's tenants, vicarages and ecclesiastical tenants, "flöte" farms and crown's tenants in the Castle Province of Raseborg in the middle of the 16th century.

Source: Anthoni 1970; Soikkeli 1912.

Province of Raseborg.²⁷ On the basis of the ecclesiastical records it is possible to estimate the number of independent peasant farms in Tenala and Pojo parishes back to the 1540's. In theory, as a result we can count approximately 2384 independent peasant farms in the castle province in 1540 (Table 3).

Besides the independent peasants farms there were approximately 250 other farms in the county too. From these farms owned by the nobility, the crown, and the church, we can get systematic information in the ecclesiastical records (e.g. tithes records (Sw. *tiondelängder*) and so called *näbbskattlängder*²⁸) from the late 1540's onwards. Ecclesiastical records cover the parishes of Tenala and Pojo too. As a result, beginning from the 1550's we can get thorough information from the whole Castle Province of Raseborg. In the mid 16th century there were around 30 noble manors and 130 tenant farms owned by the nobility in the castle province. Different ecclesiastical institutions like parish churches, the bishop of Turku and the Turku Cathedral had approximately 45 farms. In this number there are nine vicarages too. Most of the farms owned by the church have been donated by the nobility during the Middle Ages but

some of them such as the former royal demesne of Ramsjö in Ingå have originally belonged to the crown.²⁹ In the late Middle Ages the crown owned only a few farms. All of them were in Karis parish and belonged to the one large estate, the castle of Raseborg. Furthermore there were 20 so called *flöte* farms³⁰ in Western Nyland which paid special taxes (Table 4).

On the basis of all this data it is possible to reconstruct the settlement structure in the province around 1540. Holding about 90 % of the farmland, the independent peasant farms predominated in the Castle Province of Raseborg. This is in keeping with land ownership in the rest of Finland. In the eastern and northern parts of the castle province practically all the land was in the hands of the independent peasants. Most of the farms owned by the nobility and the church were in the western and most central parts of the castle province. The only significant exception is the parish of Sjundeå where powerful noble men founded two larger estates. Especially Eric Fleming who was the owner of the manor of Svidja from the 1520's to 1548 enlarged systematically the estate around his manor. In Tenala, Pojo, Karis and even in Ingå and Kyrkslätt parishes most of the farms owned by the nobility reflect probably

27 KA 3316, 3317, 3323. The numbers from Esbo and Kyrkslätt parishes are from the year 1571.

28 *Näbbskatt* was an ecclesiastical tax collected from all adults.

29 Anthoni 1970, 363–369.

30 *Flöte* farms paid special taxes. Most of these farms had previously been owned by the nobility.

the colonization originally more or less organised by the nobility. It is possible to reconstruct several larger estates in each of these parishes. In Tenala there were four larger estates concentrated around Eriksby-Karsby, Gennarby, Prästkulla and Lindö manors and maybe one in Germundby too. In Pojo there were rather similar large estates around the manors of Brörtorp, Gennäs, Gumnäs, Näsby and Skavistad. The castle of Raseborg dominated the southern part of the Karis parish but in the vicinity of the parish church there were several manors such as Domargård, Dönsby and Grabbacka with the estates around them. In Ingå there was only one manor, Bolsta, in the late Middle Ages, but earlier there have been a manor in Hovgården and in Västerkulla not far away from the parish church too. In Lojo there are clues from only one larger medieval estate with the manor of Moisio in its core. Besides these larger estates there were some smaller manors and several tenant farms, but it is characteristic that around most of the parish churches there were larger estates owned by the nobility. Several of these estates seem to originate from the 14th century and it is likely that they have been founded already during the colonisation period.³¹

In the western and central parishes Tenala, Pojo and Karis 80–88 % of the farms were owned by others than independent peasants. These areas or western parts of the Castle Province of Raseborg as well as the coastal area from Ingå to Kyrkslätt were comparatively

early colonised by the Swedes. In contrary, most of the settlement in the easternmost parts, that is Esbo, of the castle province and the inland region seem to result from late medieval colonisation. In these areas there is practically no farms owned by the nobility (Table 5). The late medieval colonisation seems to have been rather different from the earlier phase when the colonisation at least partly was lead by the nobility and maybe the crown too. In Esbo and in the inland it seems that it was the peasants who more or less independently enlarged their settlements even if it might have been happened after an initiative made by the representatives of the crown.

The coastal areas of Nyland were colonised by the Swedes in the early 14th century at the latest. Most probably this colonisation which was at least partly organised by the crown and the nobility dates already to the 13th century. From areas further away from the corn areas of the Swedish Realm than Nyland we know that the crown and noblemen organised the emigration of Swedish colonists. In 1327 certain noble men get a large area in the valley of the Luleå River in Norrbotten to be colonised. Some years later, in 1335 Nils Abjörnsson Sparre af Tofta get a royal charter which gave him the right to colonise the next northern valley, the valley of Pite älv, on the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.³² In the vicinity of Viborg in the Southern Carelia members of the Swedish noble families of Bielke and Bååt seem to have

31 Haggrén 2007a.

32 Wallerström 1995, 47–50, 152, 160–161.

1540	independent peasants	other farms	TOTAL	independent peasants %
Tenala	299	41	340	87,9 %
Pojo	409	58	467	87,6 %
Karis	279	66	345	80,9 %
Ingå	275	22	297	92,6 %
Lojo	389	9	398	97,7 %
Sjundeå	182	37	219	83,1 %
Kyrkslätt	207	8	215	96,3 %
Esbo	344	5	349	98,6 %
	2384	246	2630	90,6 %

Table 5. Independent peasants and other farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg in the middle of the 16th century.

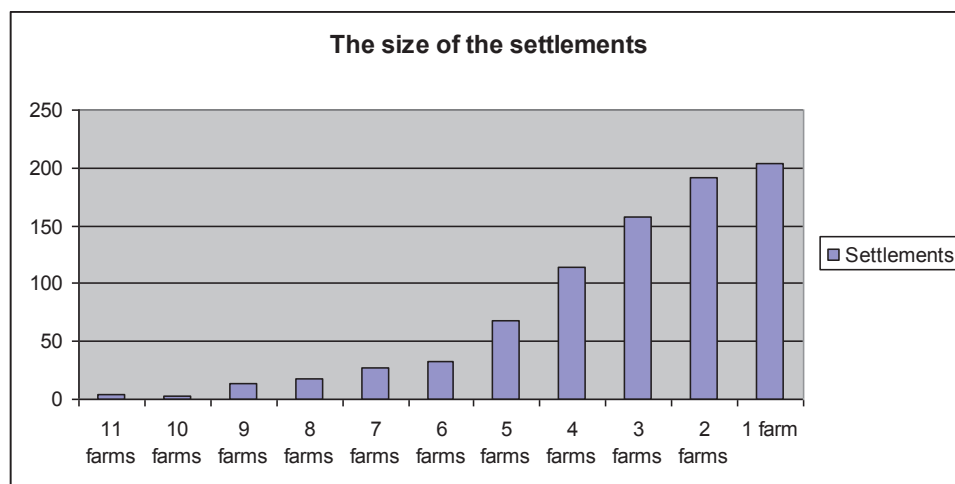


Diagram 1. The size of the settlements in the Castle Province of the Raseborg in 1560.

been active as organisers of the colonisation of this area in the 1320's and 1330's.³³ In Harjuma in Western Estonia there has been similar colonisation process in the late 13th and early 14th century.³⁴ On the basis of the information we have from the early 14th century Norrbotten, Karelia and Estonia it seems most probable that the colonisation of the central areas of the later Castle Province of Raseborg was colonised in a similar way but earlier, most likely during the 13th century.

The size of the settlements in Western Nyland did not differ much from the rest of Finland. The most significant difference between Western Nyland on the one hand and Eastern Nyland and Häme on the other was that there were no large villages with 15 or more farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg. Most of the settlements were small; they were not proper villages. In England settlements consisting 6 to 60 farms are called villages. Small settlements with 5 farms or less were hamlets and the tiniest settlements consisting only one farm were single farms.³⁵ In Western Nyland there were about 900 settlement sites. One quarter of them were single farms, two thirds were

hamlets with 2 to 5 farms and the rest or 12 % were small villages. In Finland Proper the size of the settlement sites followed the same level as in Western Nyland. E.g. in the northern part of Finland Proper the average size of a settlement site was about 3,5 in the middle of the 16th century.³⁶

In 1560 in the largest villages in the castle province there were only 10 to 12 farms (Diagram 1). In Esboby in Esbo there have been 12 farms in the early 1550's but in 1556 a new royal demesne was established on the site village and the peasants were forced to leave their farms. In 1560 the largest villages were Bemböle in Esbo, Karstu in Lojo, Myllykylä in Karislojo and Vik in Sjundeå with 11 farms in each of them. In Hirvijoki in Lojo, Rilax in Tenala and Överby in Kyrkslätt there were 10 farms. Compared to the villages in the Southern Scandinavia, Central Europe or England the largest villages in the Castle Province of Raseborg were rather small settlements. In Finland the settlements in Tavastland or in Eastern Nyland were often larger than in Western Nyland.

Even if as much as a quarter of the settlements were single farms only 8 % of all the farms were single ones. Two thirds of the farms

33 Kaukiainen 1974.

34 Johansen 1957.

35 Lewis, Mitchell-Fox & Dyer 2001, 5.

36 Alifrosti 2000, 178–179.

belonged to hamlets and a quarter to small villages with 6 to 9 farms. In the 1550's only 3 % of the farms were in larger villages consisting 10 to 12 farms (Diagram 2).

Later in the 17th century when the number of occupied farms has decreased the largest settlements in Western Nyland consisted only 8 to 9 farms. Most of the settlements shrunk in the late 16th or during the 17th century. Apart from the decreasing of the number of the occupied farms there were no fundamental changes in the settlement pattern. E.g. there is no evidence of nucleation to larger settlement units. As a result in 1694 only 4 % of the settlements can be classified as small villages while 49 % were hamlets and 47 % single farms

Desertion – medieval and later

On the basis of the archival material we know that in the 1550's in the Castle Province of Raseborg there were (see Table 6):

- 8 parishes
- approximately 900 settlement sites (villages, hamlets, single farms)
- approximately 2600 farms
- 11000 inhabitants (small children not included).

The tax records from the 16th century reveal that after the 1550's the number of the farms in the castle province began to decrease, and in the year 1635 only 1680 farms were left. More than one third of the farms were abandoned during 75 years between the years 1560 and 1635. During the following 60 years in some of the parishes the desertion of farms continued but especially in the western parishes Tenala, Pojo, Karis and Ingå the peasants began to settle abandoned farms again. As a result there were no significant changes in the total number of the occupied farms in the castle province between 1635 and 1694 or before the Great Famine in the late 1690's (Diagrams 3 and 4).

The desertion of the farms in the early modern period was most significant in the archipelago or in the most maritime zone of the castle province. In 1560 there were 218 occupied farms in the most maritime *bols* but in 1695 only 110 or 50 % of them were left. Most of them have been deserted before 1630's. Kari Alifrosti has noticed a similar phenomenon in the northern part of Finland Proper. The early modern decrease of the farms was hardest in the most maritime zone there too.³⁷

³⁷ Alifrosti 2000, 166–170, 185–186. Concerning the parish of Esbo see Orrman 1996.

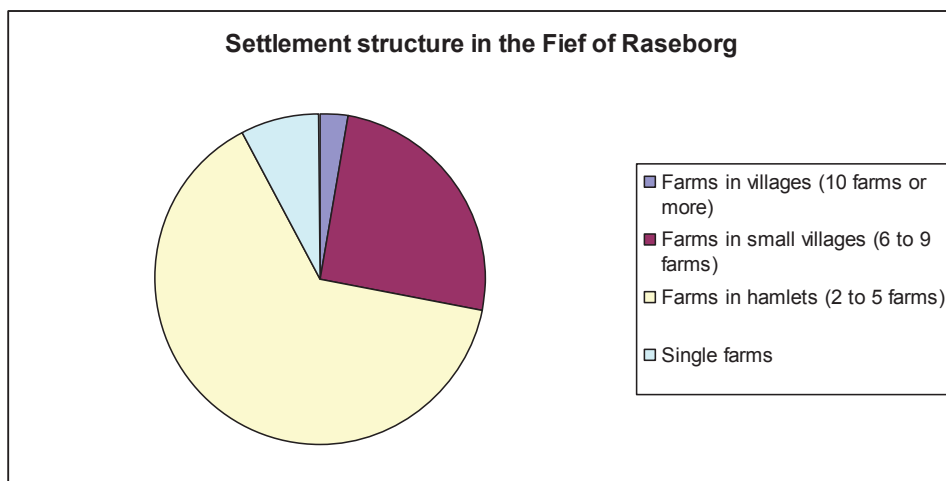


Diagram 2. Settlement structure in the Castle Province of Raseborg about 1560.

Parish	settlement sites	farms
Tenhola/Tenala	128	331
Pohja/Pojo	159	457
Karjaa/Karis	137	343
Inkoo/Ingå	92	296
Lohja/Lojo	102	393
Siuntio/Sjundeå	95	225
Kirkkonummi/Kyrkslätt	87	205
Espoo/Esbo	105	321
TOTAL	905	2571

Table 6. The amount of the settlement sites and farms in the parishes of the Castle Province of Raseborg around 1560.

There were several reasons behind the desertion during the early modern era. The most significant decrease in the number of the occupied farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg took place in the late 16th century. There are similar results from other areas in the Southern Finland such as Eastern Uusimaa, Häme and Finland Proper too.³⁸ From 1570 to 1595 a long war raged between Sweden and Russia. This war incurred heavy burdens among the peasants. Some single farms in the archipelago might have been burned by the enemy, but, as a whole, in contrary to the Eastern Nyland, in the Western Nyland the direct effect of the warfare was marginal. It was the lodging, feeding and foraging of the army and especially the cavalry which brought about a far too heavy burden for many peasants. Later in the 17th century Sweden was regarded as a great power in the Europe and the realm was in continuous wars. However, these wars took place far away from Finland and had much smaller effect on the development of the settlement in Western Nyland than the Russian War in the late 16th century.

Besides the heavy taxes there was another important factor behind the growing desertion of farms. The climate became colder already in the early 16th century resulting smaller crops

than there have been in the 15th century. The desertion of the farms began in the 1550's or probably in some areas even earlier. Even if there was in the mid-1550's another war between Sweden and Russia it seems that more than the war it was the climate change and the decreasing crops which resulted in increasing desertion of farms already then.

However, in the Castle Province of Raseborg the desertion of the farms during the late 16th and early 17th century was not a totally new phenomenon. Recent research of the archival material and historical maps as well as field surveys has revealed plenty of settlement sites deserted already during the Middle Ages. These results differ much from the traditional view formed by the historians according to which "the Late Middle Ages was to be characterized as a period of increasing settlement where deserted farms were of only minor significance".³⁹ Eljas Orrman is one of the few historians who has questioned this traditional view.⁴⁰

A thorough analysis of the earliest landbooks reveals that nearly 160 of the farms or one tenth of the independent peasant farms noted in the oldest landbooks from 1540's were not occupied anymore (Table 7). These num-

38 Mäkelä 1979; Orrman 1986.

39 Sandnæs, 1981, pp. 89-90.

40 Orrman 1971, idem 1972, idem 1973.

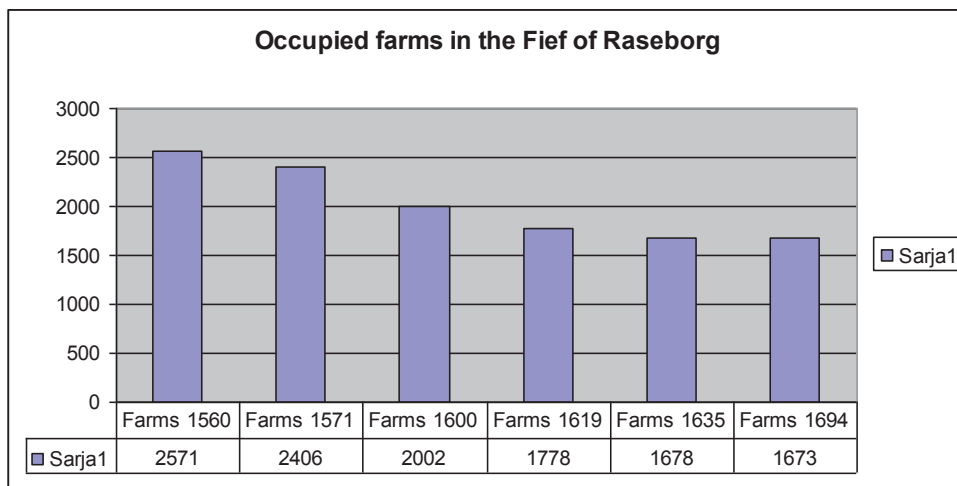


Diagram 3. Occupied farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1560, 1571, 1600, 1619, 1635 and 1694.

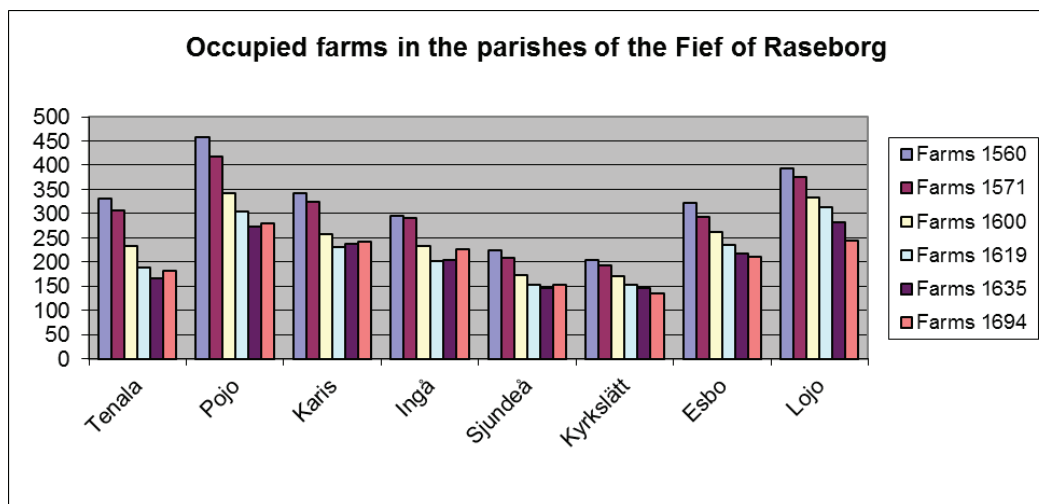


Diagram 4. Occupied farms in the parishes of the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1560, 1571, 1600, 1619, 1635 and 1694.

bers are available only from six of the eight parishes in the castle province but the desertion seems to have been comparatively severe in the two westernmost parishes – Tenala and Pojo – too. These numbers prove that there have been setbacks in settlements during the late Middle Ages. Most of these abandoned farms belonged to hamlets where there still were occupied farms but 12 of them seem to have been deserted single farms – or what was

left from a shrunken hamlet.⁴¹ However, not all the deserted farms were counted separately in the landbook. We have one such example from Vårnäs in Kyrkslätt. In 1540's there was only one farm in the hamlet but only some decades earlier there have been four of them (Table 7).⁴²

Tax records are not the only sources from which it is possible to find traces from deserted

41 KA 2940.

42 Orrman, 1972, pp. 95.

	farms in the landbook TOTAL	occupied farms	deserted farms	deserted farms	deserted single farms
Esbo 1544	353	345	8		2
Ingå 1544	338	276	62		2
Karis 1544	307	282	25		2
Kyrkslätt 1544	223	208	15		1
Lojo 1544	417	389	28		4
Sjundeå 1544	203	182	21		1
	1841	1682	159		12
Pojo 1570				28	7
Tenala 1570				21	0

Table 7. Deserted medieval farms in the Castle Province of Raseborg. Source: KA 2940, 3317.



Fig. 5. A single farm in Western Nyland: Bromarf in Tenala. A typical late medieval landscape still visible in a cadastral map made by Hans Hansson in 1647. National Board of Archives. Photo G. Haggren 2008.



Fig. 6. A typical hamlet, Finby Gränd in Tenala, visualised by Hans Hansson in 1647. National Board of Archives. Photo G. Haggrén 2008.

settlements. The historical maps offer us a very important source material when researching ancient settlement and cultivation. The Swedish Crown began the mapping of individual hamlets and villages in the 1630's (Figures 5 and 6). In Western Uusimaa older cadastral maps were made on the settlements in two parishes, Ingå and Tenala.⁴³ These earliest maps are not very carefully made but during 1690–1712 land surveyor Samuel Broterus made large scale cadastral maps from about 40 % of the settlement sites (villages, hamlets, single farms) in the whole Nyland.⁴⁴ His maps offer very valuable material for research. On the basis of these 17th and 18th century maps it is possible to locate early modern settlement sites. Most of them were settled already in the Middle Ages. Fur-

thermore, these maps offer clues for the searching after settlement sites abandoned long before the first mappings (Fig. 7).⁴⁵

A good example of Samuel Broterus's maps can be found from the southern part of the medieval Karis parish. A few hundred meters westwards from Berg hamlet is a small hill called Kullåkersbacken surrounded by fields. From this site three foundations of fireplaces were documented already in the 1920's when some finds consisting both Iron Age type and Baltic earthenware and 14th century stoneware were found too. The site did not attract interest among archaeologists before 2002 when it was identified as a medieval deserted hamlet. The control of the site from the earliest surviving map revealed that the structure of the deserted hamlet was still visible when Samuel Broterus

43 Brenner 1936; Haggrén 2005a.

44 Haggrén 2005a; Leskinen & Lillbroända 2001.

45 See Kepsu 2005.

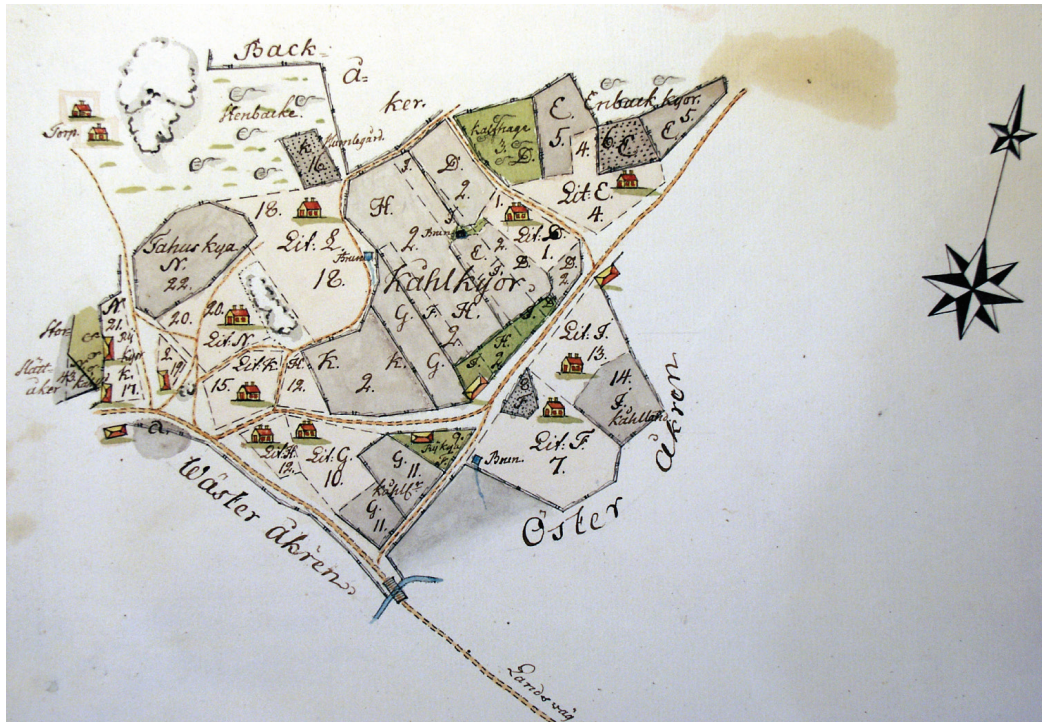


Fig. 7. The plot of Bemböle village in Esbo. In the 16th century Bemböle was one of the largest villages in Western Nyland. Two of the eleven late medieval farms have been deserted before the village plot was surveyed in 1765. The plots of the deserted farms have been in the middle of the village plot. National Board of Archives. Photo G. Haggrén 2008.

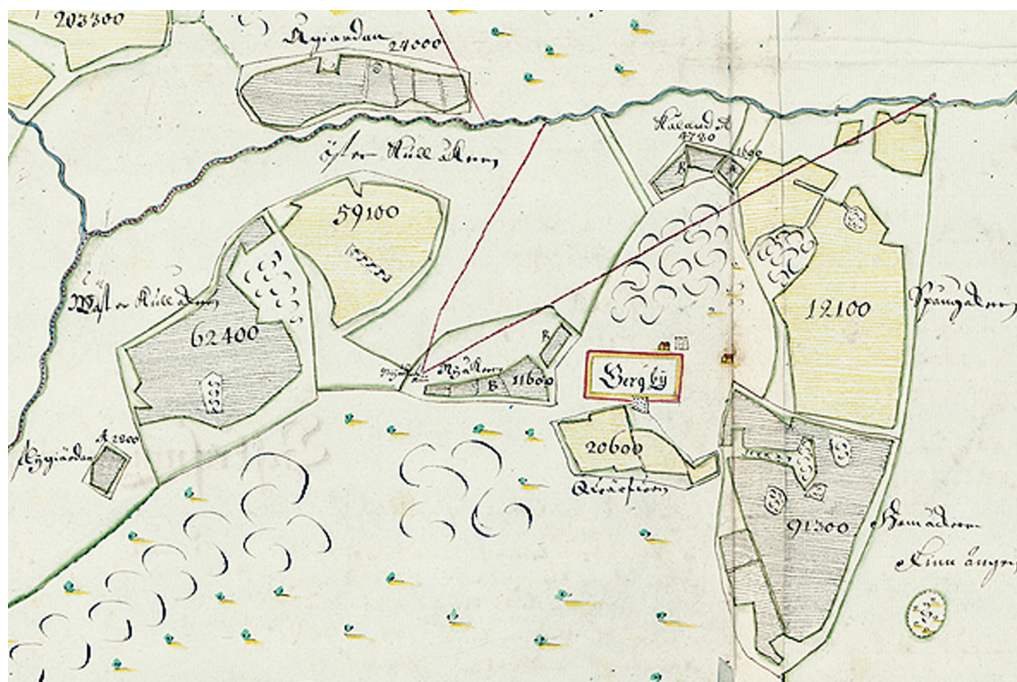


Fig. 8. Berg hamlet and the deserted settlement site of Kullåkersbacken in the map from 1703. National Board of Archives, Helsinki.

made his map in 1703 (Fig. 8). Even the typical pattern of the ancient two year crop rotation system on the fields around the abandoned settlement was clearly visible.⁴⁶

From the Orslandet–Barölandet area in the archipelago of Ingå it is possible to locate several abandoned medieval settlement sites from the historical maps. One of these sites is Gullböle in Tenala (Fig. 9). Another example is Storböle on the island of Barölandet, which has early been incorporated to the neighboring hamlets of Espings and Barö. The very name -böle itself indicates deserted settlement. In addition to Storböle at least 20 deserted settlements called -böle has been found in Western Uusimaa but there are dozens of still occupied -böle hamlets too. In Storböle the entire place name was the reason why this site was thoroughly surveyed. The oldest maps drawn about the Storböle area, from 1693 and the 1760's, offer clues to the deserted settlement such as small

fields and meadows named after Storböle. After small-scale excavations we know that there has been a small hamlet or a single farm on the site in about 14th century (Fig. 10). Today the site lies about 1 km from the seashore but originally it has been close to the sea.⁴⁷

On the historical maps from 1693 and from the 1760's and 1770's there are several other places which are called after a deserted settlement such as Gammelby (i.e. *Old Village*) on Älgsjö and Norrby, another Gammelby and Petars on Orslandet. From each of these four sites there has been found foundations of fireplaces during the recent field surveys (Fig. 11). Furthermore, excavations on Gammelby and Petars on Orslandet have revealed well preserved structures from the 14th to the 16th centuries (Figures 12, 13 and 14).⁴⁸

On the basis of different source materials – medieval diplomas, tax records from the

46 Haggren *et alii*, 2004.

47 Haggren *et alii*, 2007.

48 Haggren *et alii*, 2007–2008.



Fig. 9. The former site of the deserted medieval hamlet or single farm called Gullböle is visible (nr. 5) in the northwestern part of the map made over Kårböle hamlet in Tenala from 1647. National Board of Archives. Photo G. Haggrén 2008.

Fig. 10. Rescue excavations on the site of a deserted medieval settlement in Storböle, Ingå. Photo G. Haggrén 2006.



Fig. 11. The foundation of a medieval or early modern fireplace in Älgsjö Gammelby, Ingå. Foto G. Haggrén 2007.



Fig. 12. The settlement site of Ors Norrby, Ingå. The site has been deserted in the early 17th century at latest. Photo G. Haggrén 2005.



Fig. 13. The deserted settlement site of Ors Gammelby, Ingå. Foto G. Haggrén 2005.



Fig. 14. ... and another in Ors/Bjurs Petars, Ingå. Photo G. Haggrén 2007.

16th century, historical maps from the 17th and 18th century and place names – it is possible to find at least one hundred settlement sites which have been deserted before the 1550's. Many of these sites have been located in field surveys too. Most of the deserted sites have been small hamlets or single farms – the larger hamlets or villages have had so much resources that the entire settlement has survived even if some of the farms on it have deserted. A very rare exception is Mankby in Esbo which was abandoned

in 1556 when most of its fields and meadows were merged to the new royal demesne called Esbo gård. As result the site of a small village consisting eight farms was abandoned.⁴⁹ (Map 4, Figures 15 and 16)

In addition to the settlements which have been totally abandoned in the archipelago and the coastal zone some of the peasants who were also fishermen moved their settlement sites closer the sea. Several of these hamlets were

49 Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008.



Map 4. The core area of the deserted village site of Mankby. Drawn by Maija Holappa.



Fig. 15. The plot of the Mankby village. Photo G. Haggrén 2007.



Fig. 16. Foundations of a late medieval building in Mankby, Esbo. Foto G. Haggrén 2008.

inhabited all the time even if they changed their settlement site. In the Finnish archipelago land uplift and shore displacement have brought about remarkable changes in the environment. In our study area the present shore displacement varies from 3,8 to 3,0 mm/year from west to east. This means that 600 years ago the sea level was about 2 m higher than today.⁵⁰ The settlement sites, such as Ors Gammelby, Norrby and Petars, originally located near the shore line have inch by inch lost their immediate connection to the sea. This phenomenon has forced later inhabitants to move closer to the sea after some hundreds of years as we can clearly see in Ors.⁵¹

In the outer archipelago the effect of the land uplift is most distinctive. On the island of Busö at least three jetties are visible today but only one of them is still in use. Two other jetties originate from earlier periods when the sea level was higher. The Busö farm lies since the 19th century quite close to the sea but in 2003 an earlier site from the 16th to 18th century was found some 300 m inland from the farm exist-

ing today. Furthermore, some foundations of yet another and older farm are visible in the middle of this island (Fig. 17).

Even if a severe desertion can be proved in Western Nyland in the Late Middle Ages and the early modern era the entire settlement pattern itself which emerged in Western Nyland in the High Middle Ages at the latest has been very permanent. From the earliest landbooks and historical maps it is possible to follow how small villages, hamlets and single farms have developed. It is remarkable how permanent these settlements were. The stability is visible already in the tax records from 1451 and in the tax system established in the late 14th century. Even if a great deal of the farms deserted during the 16th and 17th centuries those farms which survived were astonishingly stabile and it is possible to follow practically each and every farm from the 1540's throughout the centuries until the 20th and 21st centuries.

Diagram 5 shows the settlement development in Esbo, Kyrkslätt, Pojo (Kisko and Karislojo chapels exluded) and Tenala parishes. In this analyse the lists of abandoned farms have only been used as complementary source mate-

50 Cfr. Miettinen in this volume.

51 Alenius et al 2004.



Fig. 17. Abandoned jetties in Busö. Photo G. Haggrén 2005.

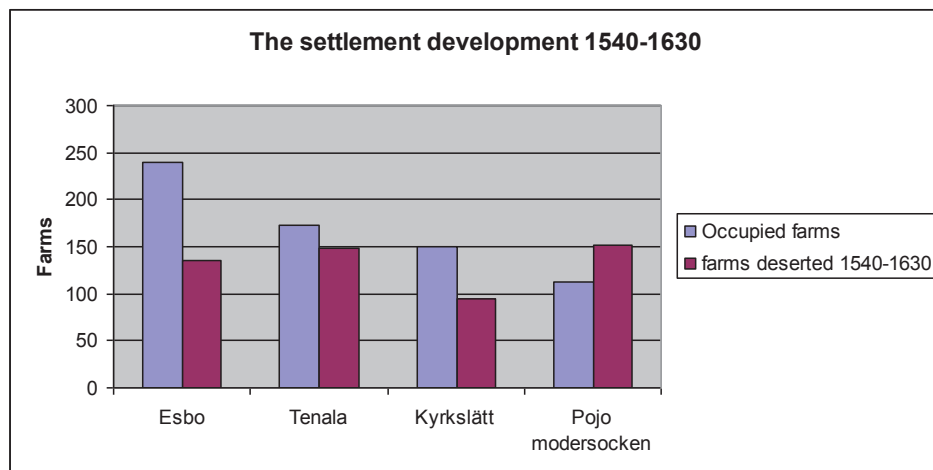


Diagram 5. Farms deserted between 1540 and 1630 in Esbo, Kyrkslätt, Pojo and Tenala parishes.

rial because in these lists there are many farms which had only temporary difficulties in paying taxes. Instead of lists of abandoned farms tithes and other taxes each farm paid have been followed year after year. The desertion of individual farms has been counted from the year they ceased to pay tithes for ever. In this area 44 % of the farms were abandoned but practically all the farms which didn't became deserted before 1630's survived even later. The only important exceptions in this pattern were the hamlets on which noble men founded new manors during the 17th century and the peasants were obliged to leave their farms. The desertion of the farms was not even. There were remarkable differences between the parishes. In Tenala and Pojo the taxes per farm were much heavier than in Esbo where colonization has been continued until the 16th century which resulted more payers for the same collective taxes.

A similar stability is visible even in the boundaries of the villages, hamlets and single farms. Most of the boundaries derive at least from the 15th or early 16th centuries, that is, from the Late Middle Ages.⁵² The settlements were extremely sedentary. Year after year the peas-

ants put to use the resources – especially the fields and meadows – they owned. The nearest fields beside the settlement site were the last to be abandoned in times when human resources began to cease. The impact of the medieval peasants on the landscape of Western Nyland is visible still today.

Conclusions

New pollen analyses have shown that an agricultural continuity in Western Nyland had its beginning already in the Middle or Late Iron Age or 500-700 years earlier than it has been thought. On the base of that it is easier to explain how the whole Western Nyland had comparatively dense settlement not only in the early 16th century but already in the 14th century at the latest. A thorough analysis of the taxation systems shows that not only the advantageous arable areas along the river valleys but the marginal areas in the inland of Nyland were settled in the early 14th century at latest, too.

In the beginning of the 14th century large areas on the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland were organised as a province called Nyland.

52 Haggren 2008a, 76–79; Kepsu 2008.

Beginning from the 1320's this province had a bailiff, a judge and a seal of its own. There was a uniform ecclesiastical taxation in the whole province too. Until the 1360's Nyland was controlled by the castellan of Turku Castle and then for about 15 years by the castellan of Viborg. About 1375 Nyland was divided in two castle provinces both of which were administrated from a castle, Borgå – or Viborg – in the east and Raseborg in the west.

Western Nyland or the Castle Province of Raseborg get a new administrative organisation in the late 14th century – most probably already in the late 1370's or in the 1380's. The castle province was divided in eight administrative parishes and about 100 *bol*. Simultaneously a pretext for taxation was made, the farms were divided in *bols* and each farm was valued in *skattmark*. During the late Middle Ages many changes in the occupation took place: several inland areas were colonised while on some places the settlements decreased. All this resulted minor changes in the *bol* system but no major changes in this tax system were made during the 15th or 16th centuries. The castle of Raseborg was abandoned in the late 1550's but the administrative organisation of the castle province as well as the tax system survived. In the matter of fact the base of this tax system was used until 1920's.

Before the mid-16th century, about 900 single farms, hamlets and villages with more than 2500 farms were established in this area. Most of the farms were occupied by independent peasants but in every parish were some manors located on strategic points along the waterways. Between 1560 and 1635 nearly 35 % of the farms were deserted and as a result less than 1700 farms were left in the middle of the 17th century. Most of these farms which survived the hard times in the beginning of the early modern era exist still today.

Historians have focused on the severe desertion in Finland between the 1550's and the 1720's. In their research based on the archival sources they have either doubted the existence of a medieval desertion or made the conclusion that because of the scarceness of the sources it is impossible to study this topic. However, by a

systematic research and a thorough combining of medieval diplomas, 16th-century tax records, 17th-century cadastral maps, old place names and last but not least archaeological surveying has revealed a serious desertion of settlement during the Middle Ages in Western Nyland. Many settlement sites were totally abandoned but a large amount of the still occupied hamlets had been shrunken during the Late Middle Ages too. All these deserted settlements yield great potential for the archaeological research. The future excavations and research hopefully threw more light on the emergence of the settlement as well as on the settlement changes in the Western Nyland over time.

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