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Koostanud ja toimetanud Ülle Tamla

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Esikaas: 13.–14. sajandist pärit ribiline väike klaaspudel Tartu vanalinnast.

Cover: Fragment of a 13.-14 cc small glass bottle (Ribbenflasche) from Old Tartu.

Tagakaas: Tervena säilinud keskaegne nahkjalats Tartu vanalinnast.

Back cover: Well preserved leather shoe from Old Tartu.

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TARTU ÖLIKOOLI RAAMATUKOGU SUNDEKSEMPLAR

# AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMPLEX OF RIVER HARBOUR AND 16<sup>TH</sup>-17<sup>TH</sup> - CENTURY STONE BUILDINGS AT PÄLLAMÕIS ON THE SOUTHERN COAST OF SAAREMAA

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Pällamõis (Pälla Manor) is situated near Pihtla on southern Saaremaa, in Kuusiku Forest on the banks of Ristoja brook, at a distance of about 1 km from the present coast line (Fig. 1). Archaeological investigation of the site started in 2004. During the first two years of excavations, forest clearing took place, felling trees and bushes, allowing the ruins to be measured and mapped, and two trial pits  $(2 \times 2 \text{ m})$  to be dug. An upper layer dated the ruins to the  $16^{th}$  –  $17^{th}$  centuries, while a well survived intensive culture layer below the aforementioned, dated to the  $11^{th}$  –  $12^{th}$ , possibly widened back in time, thus to the  $5^{th}/6^{th}$  –  $12^{th}$  centuries (Mägi 2006).

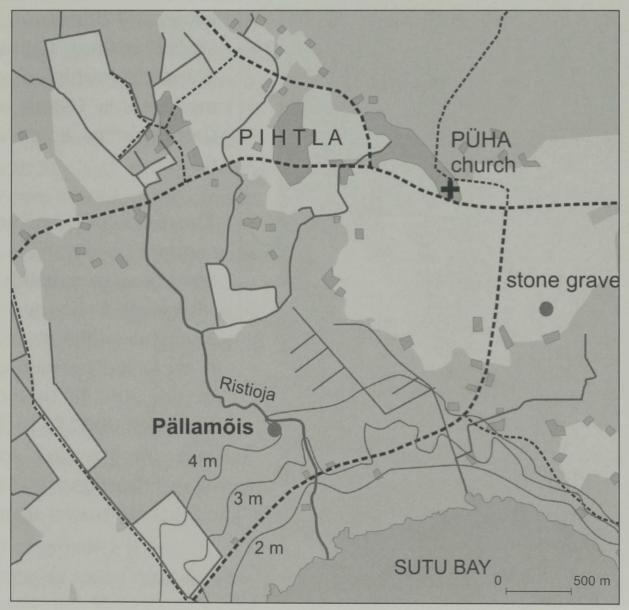


Fig. 1. The location of Pällamõis in cultural landscape.

Jn 1. Pällamõisa asukoht kultuurmaastikul.

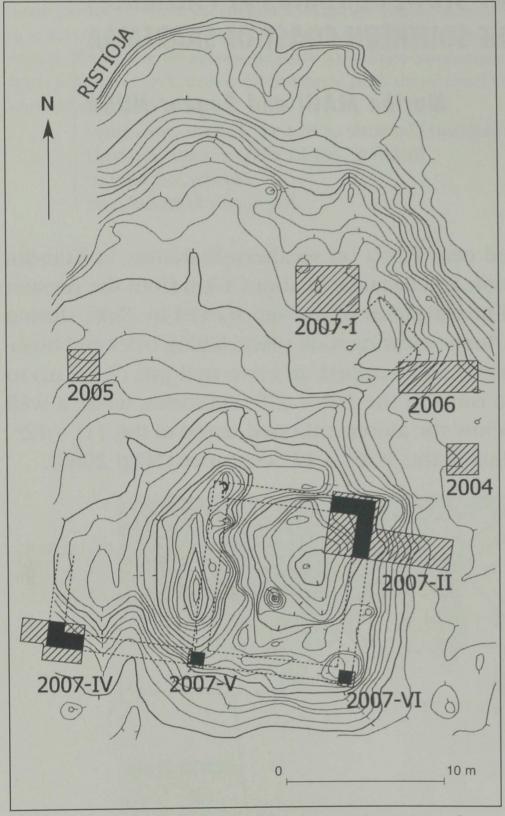


Fig. 2. Trenches at Pällamõis in 2004–2007 with reconstruction of buildings.

Jn 2. Pällamõisa 2004–2007 rajatud kaevandid koos boonete rekonstruktsiooniga.

more extensive Somewhat excavations archaeological (10 m<sup>2</sup>) were carried out at Pällamõis in 2006, under the supervision of the authors of this article (Fig. 2). The excavations were continued on a larger scale in 2007, as three trenches and several trial pits were opened, with a total area of 46 m<sup>2</sup>. In addition to these, a stony elevation on the other side of the Ristioja brook, until then under protection as a grave, was excavated. All these excavations were conducted in the framework of the research project "Where Land Meets the Sea. Maritime Cultural Landscapes in Prehistoric and Medieval Estonia" (Grant no. 6998 of the Estonian Science Foundation).

The fieldwork was arranged as seminar excavations, and the team consisted mainly of archaeology and history students. Practical works in trench 2007-II were led by Ragnar Nurk, in trench 2007-III by Nele Veedla, in trench 2007-IV by Triin Äärismaa, all MA-level archaeology

students at the Tallinn University. The general supervisor of the digs was Marika Mägi, who also led the practical work in trench 2007-I. The finds are stored at the Institute of History, Tallinn University (AI 6711).

#### **EXCAVATIONS IN 2006**

The Ristioja brook is in its lower reaches following its original course, but less abounding in water than it used to be, as evident by a look at dimensions of the riverbed. The probable bank from the time, when the stone buildings were erected is left as a terrace in the present landscape; on the slope of it, the trench of 2006 with measurements 2 x 5 m was laid out. The area of the trench remained 5 m towards NE from the ruins of the central building, and emerged before excavation as an elevation of stones, indicating remains of an additional (out-)building. The find material obtained from the trench belonged entirely to the 16th-17th centuries. Remains of earlier human activity had either been completely destroyed in the course of building or had not stretched as far as the area of the trench. It is also possible that the bank of the river, by the end of prehistory, may have been situated several meters further south.

In the same trench, remains of several building constructions appeared. In the western part of it, collapsed debris of a stone foundation was found originating from a building that probably stood right outside the excavated area. Most likely it had



Fig. 3. Portal stone from the trench of 2006. Jn 3. Portaalikivi 2006. aasta kaevandist.



Fig. 4. Drainage ditch in the trench of 2006. Jn 4. Kuivenduskraav 2006. aasta kaevandis.

been a wooden building on a stone foundation, joined as a wing to the central house at its northern side. The great amount of charcoal and burnt stones in the upper layer

of the debris may point to a fire, once burning the wood-built wing to the ground.

The appearance of either the wing or the main house can be reconstructed with the help of some finds from the collapse debris: pieces of S-shaped roof tiles, fragments of tin window frame, broken window glass, the detail of a portal stone above a doorway (Fig. 3). The rest of the finds consisted mainly of  $16^{th}$ – $17^{th}$  century ceramic and fragments of metal artefacts.

Through the central part of the excavated area ran a narrow ditch, filled with intensively black soil – probably a former drainage ditch (Fig. 4). It seemed to run from the ruins of the central building in direction of the river, present brook. The excavations of 2006 had unearthed the area where the distance between these two was the shortest. The drainage ditch had been dug in sand, and the upper part of it was lined with stones.

The collapsed building in the western part of the excavated area and the drainage trench were probably contemporary, while a line of big lime stones, found in the eastern part of the excavation, must have been of a later date, probably for strengthening the side of the bank. The stones rested on *ca.* 20 cm thick early Modern Time cultural layer, crossing the drainage trench. The date of this construction remained unclear.

#### **EXCAVATIONS IN 2007**

The 2007 excavations at Pällamõis saw once more the same two stratigraphically separate culture layers – the lower one dating to late prehistory and the upper one to the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both layers contained abundant find material, the finds were almost without any meddling, and finds from later periods were absent. Although remains of different usage periods were uncovered in the same trenches, the results are discussed here according to time periods, and not the finding places.

# EARLY MODERN PERIOD BUILDING COMPLEX

The ruins of the central stone house can be distinguished nowadays as a stony rise, surrounding a hollow within. The western wall is clearly higher than the rest. Among these ruins pieces of mortar-fixed wall is still found. According to the infor-

mation from local people, even remains of vaulted cellars could be seen until a few decades ago. The central ruins are towards the north and west joined by lower stony rises, probably indicating remains of outbuildings with a lighter construction.

Trench 2007-II measured 2 x 8 m, was across the central house ruins from their eastern side (Fig. 5). It was later extended towards north, tracing the north-eastern corner of the house. Trial pits 2007-V and 2007-VI (Fig. 2) were also made at two spots, one at the south-eastern and another at the south-western corners of the house. The north-western corner, however, could not be exposed due to a big stump of a tree, overlaying the exact spot, where the house corner once would have protruded.

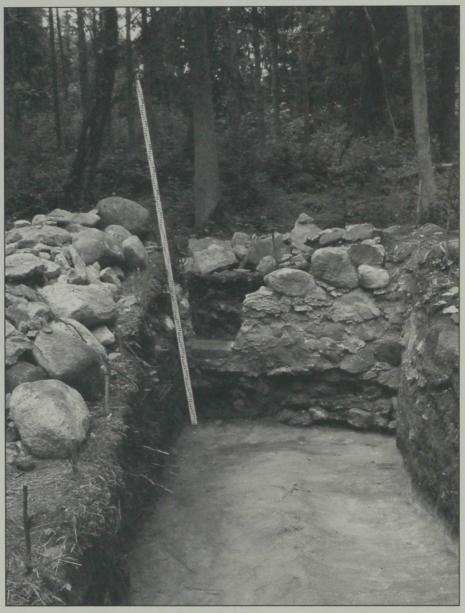


Fig. 5. The trench 2007-II. View from the East. Jn 5. Kaevand 2007-II. Vaade idast.

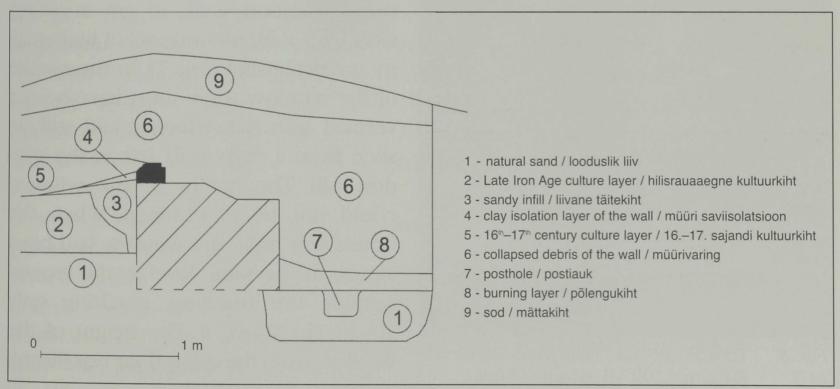


Fig. 6. Section of the trench 2007-II.

Jn 6. Lõige kaevandist 2007-II.



Fig. 7. Stone sill of the cellar window. Jn 7. Keldriakna kiviportaal.



Fig. 8. Trench 2007-IV. View from the West. Jn 8. Kaevand 2007-IV. Vaade läänest.

The stone wall, unearthed in trench 2007-II (Fig. 6), was build of limestone and granite, and was up to 1.05 m thick, appears as a work of only modest quality. The wall had survived up to a height of 1.5 m. Inside the wall remains a cellar floor were uncovered, overlaid by a thick layer full of charcoal. The latter bore witness of a fire that must have taken place during or soon after the abandonment of house. 14C-analyses from

this layer however dated the building time of the house cal.1453-1649 AD.1 A posthole with a diameter of 25 cm emerged in the profile of the trench, right underneath the floor level next to the foundation. It may either derive from the stone house or some earlier activity at the site. A cellar window in the foundation wall, 40 cm in width stood out with its stone sill of high-quality craftsmanship (Fig. 7). In the middle of the window there must have been a vertical iron bar, which could still be seen from a rusty hole left in the window sill. The height of the window could not be determined. When the house was built, the window had been almost at the same level as the ground outside the building, reaching only 10-15 cm above it. The height of the window from the cellar floor was 90 cm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tln-3054.

Trial trench 2007-IV (8.5 m²) uncovered the south-western corner of the western outbuilding in the complex (Fig. 8). The foundation found here was built of lime and granite stones with little traces of mortar. The foundation was 85–100 cm wide and survived to a height of 80–100 cm. The scantiness of collapsed stones, compared with the central house, suggests that this outbuilding was, like the northern one, built of wood on a stone foundation. The furthest end of this building towards north remained unsolved, but the stony elevation visible under the surface suggests that the building might have been some meters narrower than the central house.

#### **FINDS**

The quite abundant find material of the upper layer of this site complex dated to early Modern Period, accumulated by intensive human activity during a comparatively short period (Fig. 9). The majority of finds consisted of ceramics, including imported ceramics, especially glazed redware and glazed whiteware (Fig. 9: 6-9). Single potsherds of Siegburg stoneware and greyware from northern Bohemia, as

well as a fragment of a Dutch clay pipe (Fig. 9: 4) among others attract special attention.2 Fragments of glass vessels and iron artefacts formed another quite abundant find group. The original appearance of the buildings may be inferred by broken window glass, pieces of tin frames of windows, fragments of oven stones and roof tiles and some mortar pieces from window or door frames. Several coins, predominantly from the 16th but also from the beginning of the 17th century, should

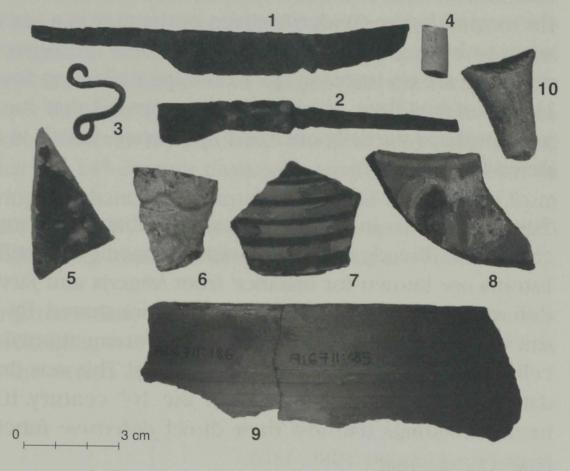


Fig. 9. 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century finds from Pällamõis. 1,2 - knives, 3 - hook, 4 - clay pipe, 5 - window glass, 6–9 - glazed redware and whiteware, 10 - leg of tripod.

Jn 9. 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> sajandi leide Pällamõisast.,2 - noad, 3 - haak, 4 - savipiip, 5 - aknaklaas, 6–9 - punane ja hele glasuurkeraamika, 10 - graapeni jalg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Modern Period ceramic finds are identified by Erki Russow (AI).

also be mentioned. Datable early Modern Period finds belong mainly to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with only few things from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (e. g. clay pipe fragment). By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the site must have been abandoned.

#### **INTERPRETATION**

To sum up the field works at Modern Period Pällamõis, the following can be said. The outer measurements of the central rectangular stone house were about 12 x 10.4 m. It was at least a two-stored building, of which the lower storey was actually a high cellar. The upper floor had glass windows in tin frames, there were ovens, and at least one of the doorways was framed with a stone portal. The roof was covered with S-shaped stone tiles. A drainage trench ran to the river from the central house. To the west of the central house an about 9.25 m wide (W-E) outbuilding was joined with it. The latter was probably built of wood on stone foundation. Another similar outbuilding had presumably been situated in the northern side of the stone house, on the bank of the river. Building remains eastward from the central house (under heritage protection as a "sacrificial site", reg. no. 12605) seem to belong to the same complex; these are, however, not properly investigated. There are no traces in the landscape indicating any perimeter wall around the cluster of buildings. It can still be suggested that the buildings formed a closed yard, perhaps partially enclosed by a fence, which in the northern side was bordered by the river.

The excavations in 2007 demonstrated that the central stone house of Pällamõis can not be directly compared with late medieval fortified manor houses, which in Estonia are known for instance from Angerja and Järve (Aluve 1993, 56–57). The difference is in architectural way demonstrated by the comparatively modest thickness of stone walls (1.1 m; in the aforementioned sites about 2 m), and of the cellar window nearly on the ground level. This was due to the fact that Pällamõis date as late as the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was a time when fortified manor buildings had lost their direct defensive function in northern Europe at large (e.g. Liebgott 1989, 110).

The finds at Pällamõis indicate that it was inhabited by this time upper class, which, in the context of Saaremaa, however was not equal to high nobility. The quite small size of the building complex, as well as the modest thickness of stone walls, can therefore be explained, in addition to the time factor, with social status – the owner of the complex was presumably not the most high-ranking person.

However, cellar windows right or nearly on ground level also characterize several other late medieval or early modern fortified buildings (e.g. Albrecht 1995, 174-189). Even the height of cellar windows from the floor of the cellar – at Pällamõis 90 cm – has several parallels in other buildings of the same sort. In the stone house at Nottuln in Münster, for instance, the windows were only in height of 60-70 cm from the cellar floor, and in the cellar of a fortified house at Glimmingehus in Scania the distance between floor and windows was also less than 1 m (Albrecht 1995, fig. 236).

# EARLIER INHABITATION AT PÄLLAMÕIS Late Iron Age cultural layer in the trench 2007-II

In the part of trench 2007-II outside the stone building, intensively black, up to 40 cm thick earlier cultural layer emerged underneath the Modern Period activity remains. A profile from the trench near the building remains demonstrates how the original excavation for the foundation was dug into the early layer (Fig. 6). The early layer was investigated on an area covering approximately 10 m². It contained mainly animal bones and potsherds from the final part of the Iron Age; some of the potsherds belonged to the Migration or Viking Period. There were also fragments of single metal finds but they cannot be dated. A ¹⁴C-sample that was taken from a chunk of charcoal in this layer dated to the 14th century (cal. 1301–1369 AD/ cal. 1381–1437 AD³). There were however no medieval artefacts from any of the trenches, which suggests that the 14th century charcoal probably derived from an unrelated fire-place, occurring by chance. ¹⁴C- samples that had been taken from trial excavations in 2005 dated the early layer to the Late Iron Age (cal. 895 – 920 AD/ cal. 955 – 1280 AD⁴), thus fitting much better with the artefacts found.

No building constructions related clearly to the early dwelling layer. The only constructional detail possibly belonging to Late Iron Age was the posthole that was uncovered in the profile of the trench 2007-II in the cellar.

#### Remains of a quay

The trench 2007-I was made on the bank of the former river at a point where the bank-terrace had been lowered artificially (Fig. 2). Such depressions in river banks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tln-3053.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tln-2946.

often indicate the place of a quay, which at Pällamõis might be expected, with nearby ruins, from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the uncovered wooden remains of a quay during the subsequent excavation turned out to belong to occupation during the early horizon on the site. However, in the eastern and western edge of the trench remains of some early Modern Period building constructions with stones and pieces of mortar appeared. Among these collapsed stones some 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century coins were found; a sample of charcoal was dated to the same time with help of <sup>14</sup>C-analysis (cal. 1433 – 1639 AD).<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 10. Wood impressions in the trench 2007-I.
View from the South.

Jn 10. Puidujäänused kaevandis 2007-I.
Vaade lõunast.

Underneath these building remains, but in the central part of the trench already in a depth of 10 cm, yellow river or sea sand with dark impressions of a once wooden construction emerged (Fig. 10). It was possible to distinguish the probable position of three posts, each with diameters ranging from 25-50 cm; next to them dark impressions of baulks or planks appeared. Six or seven baulk impressions, all about 10 cm broad and 6-10 cm thick, run parallel in N-S direction (that is, across the

river), set with distances of about 10 cm from each other. In the trench, such regularly placed impressions covered an area of about 1.6 × 1.6 m. Impressions of two more 10 cm wide baulks or planks run across or diagonally over the others. An oblique post which impression was drawn out in the riverside profile of the trench seemed to belong to the same construction.

The impressions in the sand can be interpreted as remains of a quay, when the wooden parts of it had started to decay and were partly broken. How far the quay had reached into the former river, remains unsolved – the impressions of baulks continued outside the excavated area. Resting right on top and in between the wood impressions Late Iron Age potsherds, animal bones and some fragments of iron were found;  $16^{th}$ – $17^{th}$  century finds were completely absent. The finds had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tln-3055.

ended up between the wood impressions presumably because of erosion from the cultural layer alongside the bank. The sand was probably carried there by the river, filling up a depression that had once been used as a boat quay.

#### Trial excavations at a supposed stone grave northwards from the Ristioja brook

About 80 m northwards from the building complex at Pällamõis, on the opposite bank of the brook, a presumed stone grave had been taken into heritage protection (reg. no. 12626). The grave was situated approximately on the same ground level as the stone house, and the area between these two sites consisted of former riverbeds. It all seemed to indicate that the two sites may belong to the same complex. In order to check this hypothesis, a trench measuring 3 × 6 m was opened at the presumed stone grave.

The excavations falsified our original hypothesis. The supposed "stone grave" proved instead to be the remains of an oven, next to which, part of a floor paved with stone slabs, had remained intact. Some single finds obtained from the trench dated the building remains to the latest centuries, perhaps even to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **DISCUSSION**

Manor houses on Saaremaa were normally modest wooden buildings even as late as in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries; there is no reason to believe that stone buildings, or just buildings with stone cellar for that matter occurred more often in the medieval and early Modern Period. Relevant cases with such stone constructions have been found e.g. at Kaarma and Loona (Maiste 2007, 826–831). Medieval and early modern fortified manors and private castles appear to have been particular characteristic for northern and north-western Estonia, where some of them have been investigated and reconstructed (Aluve 1993, 9).

In Estonia fortified manors and private castles have traditionally been distinguished according to their defensive potential. Attempts have been made to define just how many defensive features in their architecture it takes to be a castle. Art historian Kalvi Aluve has taken the stand that it is too rigid only to define a given manor as fortified if at least 50% of it was defended. Instead Aluve believes that a manor house should be considered defended already when a single architectural detail in it indicates a function as a castle. The majority of Estonian private castles and fortified manors belong, according to Aluve, to the Middle Ages, and were

destroyed in course of the Livonian War (Aluve 1993, 39-41). Nevertheless, stone as building material carries a sort of defensive function in itself - at some points, all medieval or early modern stone buildings can be considered defended, at least in the countryside.

There is one more essential aspect that can not be ignored when differentiating private castles from fortified manors - their location in the cultural landscape. Researchers believe that there have been about 100 private castles or manors with stone houses in late medieval Estonia, of which only about 30 are known nowadays. About a dozen of these have been archaeologically investigated (Aluve 1993, 9). It is anyhow clear that the majority of fortified manors lies underneath, inside or next to a later manor complex, thus in the vicinity of arable lands, where one should anyhow expect to find manors. Manor buildings were in most cases intended as a centre of the local agricultural production, and therefore situated in a logistically convenient place, with immediate access to the most fertile soil among the arable lands nearby. Most of the known manors with medieval stone buildings or proper castles display an accumulation of wealth in later periods, while stone graves or other sites in the vicinity indicate that the same places were occupied as residences of prehistoric elite (e.g. Angerja, Kalvi, Keila, Kiiu, etc.). Medieval manor buildings of stone may accordingly be defined as equivalent with a local level centre.

Private small castles, on the other hand, are normally situated at the periphery of arable clusters or completely withdrawn from it, into the desolated waste land, as a military function was prevailing in those cases (e.g. Virtsu, Purtse). It is less frequent to find stone houses with weaker fortifications, e. g. less thick walls, in remote localities, that is, in places unsuitable for agricultural activities. One of them is the presumably fortified manor and stone building at Valipe (or Vallipää) on the island of Hiiumaa (Aluve 1993, 57). Its location seems to be connected with an old harbour place in the vicinity. Valipe can be considered as an equivalent to Pällamõis - neither of them is situated in suitable place for agriculture. In the vicinity of Pällamõis, the nearest cluster of arable lands can be found a few hundred meters towards the coast at the farm of Kuusiku, which in 1524 was evaluated, together with a mill, as 1 ploughland. Accordingly, it was not more than a large single farmstead. In a situation where nearly all Saaremaa manors much bigger than Pällamõis even so still consisted of wooden buildings, the reason for erecting a stone building at Pällamõis should be probably be looked for elsewhere than in any income gained from agriculture.

The place where the ruins of Pällamõis are situated is known as the forest of

Kuusiku, more exactly Kuusiku Lageaid (Saaremaa ja Muhu muinasjäänused, 112–113). The name of Kuusiku appeared in written documents as early as in 1524, when the aforementioned mill and 1 ploughland-sized estate was named, belonging to a man called Dietrich Kuske. In this year, the estate was however enfeoffed together with several other plots of land, to Dietrich Behr, forming as a whole the manor Tõlluste (Töllist) (Buxhövden 1851, 121; Saaremaa, 735–736). We may assume that the stone house on the lands of Kuusiku did not exist yet, since only the mill was mentioned. Historical maps indicate that Kuusiku stayed as a remote plot of land in the possession of Tõlluste manor even later (e.g. EAA 2072-3II-220; 2072-5-364). In 1561, Duke Magnus enfeoffed Tõlluste, together with Kuusiku, to Johann Taube, who kept it until 1590.

Archaeological finds suggest that the stone house with outbuildings was erected at Pällamõis during the time when Tõlluste/Kuusiku belonged to Johannes Taube. The time of his ownership coincided almost with that of the Livonian War. Still, Saaremaa remained fairly untouched by the destructions of war, suggesting that the local vassals' economic ability to built stone houses survived. The island was plundered by Swedish troops in 1566 (Tarvel 2007, 105–110), and by Russians in 1576. The Russian raid also reached to the parish of Püha, burning down the church (Saaremaa, 724–725; Pedakmäe 2007, 143–145). The complex of Pällamõis was probably founded after these events, that is, in the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The subsistence of Pällamõis presumably did not come from farming but from the mill, and in even larger scale from maritime activities through a river harbour. The distance from Pällamõis to the sea was then about 500 m, and the river Ristioja, then clearly bigger than nowadays, offered a suitable landing place on an otherwise shallow coastline.

The buildings of Tõlluste manor were in the 16th century probably located approximately at the same place as now, that is, at the distance of about 6.5 km from Pällamõis. Johannes Taube, the manor owner, most logically resided in the Tõlluste manor. But who lived in the stone house at Pällamõis? Archaeological excavations pointed to ordinary, quite intensive living activities, at the same time indicating that the inhabitants must have belonged to the social elite of their time. It is possible that some member of the Taube family resided permanently at Pällamõis. It is nevertheless mentioned in written sources that when Johannes Taube sold his property to Mathias Budde in 1590, Heinrich von Ungern had recently got the right to use the little manor at Kuusiku. According to the sales contract, he was to keep this right for another six years (Buxhövden 1851, 122).

Martin Hansson, Swedish specialist of medieval castles, offers another explanation

for the location of stone manors of the sort as Pällamõis or Valipe. He has demonstrated, using the evidence in Scandinavia that, especially by the end of the Middle Ages, gentry started to build their castles or fortified manors at the edges of their real estates, remote from arable lands. He believes that this phenomenon was not entirely caused by military danger – like it was believed earlier in Sweden, too – but by deepening social differentiation and the need to demonstrate the status. A secluded residence away from arable lands pointed to the elevate status of the gentry, who – unlike a peasant – could afford this. Hansson do not support the idea of distinguishing fortified manors according to their defensive function either – since some potentially defensive architectural features, big cellar or building entirely of stone also worked, according to his interpretations, as means of demonstrating status (Hansson 2001, 72–86, 251–260).

Similar aspects could play their role in the choice of location for Pällamõis as well, but the short distance to the sea with a suitable landing place in the estuary of a small river suggests nevertheless more rational reasons. It is worth mentioning that the local tradition remembers Pällamõis as a harbour site of Vikings, and later as a pirate's castle. The local tradition may of course exaggerate, but the fact is that 16th century buildings were erected on top of a several century old dwelling site. It is not unlikely that people still remembered the place as an old harbour site also back in the 16th century.

The building of medieval fortified manors and private castles was economically possible only for the more important nobility. The 16th century in northern Europe was a time when there also appeared stone houses and manors of gentry, some of which were quite small and with modest fortifications (e.g. Albrecht 1995, 176–189). At the same time, the appearance of firearms diminished the former military importance of the vassals' stone buildings considerably. It is generally believed that the late 16th century stone houses offered protection primarily against rebellious peasants or accidental plundering groups; they could not withstand a professional military attack, and were not meant for that (e.g. Liebgott 1989, 110–111). Periods of unrest of 16th century Saaremaa gave enough reasons for building stone houses for those, who could afford it. Among other reasons mentioned above it is worth pointing out that for instance the 1580s, i. e. a likely time for the (re-)establishing of the Pällamõis complex, were on Saaremaa characterized by resistance from a part of local vassals against the Danish king, which, however, was suppressed without reaching to armed hostilities (Pedakmäe 2007, 145).

The importance of manorial households started to increase in Old Livonia in the end of the 15th century, which among other aspects was obvious by the intensified

use of local manor harbours for the export of agricultural products (Niitemaa 1952, 141, 153-185). The trials of central power to inhibit it had seldom any positive result. The same characterized Saaremaa, where the king's orders to trade only through the harbour of Kuressaare were steadily ignored (Seresse 1996, 75-79). The location of Pällamõis at suitable landing place suggests that the foundation of the building complex there could have been inspired by trials to fortify one of such manor harbours. In any case, the harbour site seems to have played a crucial role in the choice of the location of the building complex. It is indirectly also indicated by the fact that the buildings were abandoned by the beginning of the 18th century at the latest. By then, the strengthening of central power had diminished the importance of manor harbours in trade, and there were obviously no other objectives to live among marshy forests. It is noteworthy that the Valipe stone building on Hiiumaa was abandoned approximately by the same time (Aluve 1993, 57). Excluding the late living house on the other side of the Ristioja brook, uncovered during the excavations in 2007, which was anyhow not a proper farm, it can be stated that human activity at the site of Pällamõis was almost absent during the last three centuries. We can only assume that part of the ruins was removed and brought somewhere else as building material. In any case, the almost complete absence of later finds or overlaying building works make Pällamõis an extraordinary well survived complex of archaeological sites.

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### JÕESADAMAST JA 16.—17. SAJANDI EHITISTEST KOOSNEV MUISTISEKOMPLEKS PÄLLAMÕISAS SAAREMAA LÕUNARANNIKUL

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Pällamõisaks nimetatav koht asub Lõuna-Saaremaal Pihtla lähedal Kuusiku metsas Ristioja kaldal (jn 1). Arheoloogilised eeluuringud 2004.–2005. aastal näitasid, et sealsed hoonevaremed kuuluvad 16.–17. sajandisse, kuid hilisema kihi all on säilinud ka küllalt intensiivne muinasaegne kultuurkiht.

2006. aasta kaevand (10 m²) tehti kesksest kivihoonest kirde poole, endise jõekalda nõlvakule, kus enne kaevama asumist oli maapinnal jälgitav väike kõrgendik, arvatav hoonevare (jn 2). Kaevandis oli tegu üksnes varauusaegse kihi ja konstruktsioonidega; varasema elutegevuse jäljed olid hävitatud ehitiste püstitamise käigus või polnud kultuurkiht siia ulatunudki. Kaevandisse jäi ka sellest vahetult väljaspool paiknenud kivivundamendist tekkinud varingukiht (millest leiti portaalikivi katke, jn 3), mida läbis keskse hoonevare ja jõe vaheline arvatav kuivenduskraav (jn 4). Piki kunagist kaldapealset kulges suurtest raudkividest hilisem kaldakindlustus.

2007. aastal eristati Pällamõisas jälle kaht erinevat kultuurkihti, millest varasem kuulus rauaaja lõpuossa ja hilisem 16.–17. sajandisse. Tehti neli kaevandit ja kaks šurfi.

Keskse kivihoone varemed olid maastikul nähtavad seest lohkus kivise künkana. Jõe poole jääval lääne- ja põhjaküljel liitusid sellega madalamad kõrgendikud – arvatavasti kergema konstruktsiooniga kõrvalhoonete jäänused (jn 2). Kaevand 2007-II rajati keskse kivihoone idamüüriga risti paikneva tranšeena (jn 5) ja hiljem laiendati seda põhja suunas, avades ka hoone kirdenurga. Eraldi šurfidega 2007-V ja 2007-VI (jn 2) tehti kindlaks veel hoone kagu- ja edelanurga asukohad. Pae- ja raudkividest üsna lohakalt laotud müüri paksuseks kaevandi 2007-II kohal oli 1,05 m ja see oli säilinud u 1,5 m kõrguseni (jn 6). Müüri siseküljel jõuti varingu eemaldamisel kunagise põranda tasandini, mida kattis kohati paks söekiht. Põrandatasandist allpool, vahetult müüri kõrval tuli nähtavale 25 cm läbimõõduga postiauk. Kaevandiga avatud müürilõigus satuti 40 cm laiusele keldriaknale, mida altpoolt raamis raidkivi (jn 7). Hoone rajamisajal oli aken asunud maapinna tasandist vaid 10–15 cm kõrgemal; keldri põrandast jäi aken u 90 cm kõrgusele. Kaevandi 2007-II kesksest hoonevarest väljapoole jäävas osas oli näha, et vundamendi rajamiseks tehtud sissekaeve lõikus läbi varasema kultuurkihi, mis sisaldas peamiselt loomaluid ja savinõukilde. Kaevandiga 2007-IV avati läänepoolse madalama hooneosa vundamendi edelanurk (jn 8), kus müür oli 85–100 cm laiune ja säilinud 80–100 cm kõrgusena.

Kokkuvõttes selgus, et ristkülikukujulise põhiplaaniga keskse hoone välismõõtmed on olnud u 12 x 10,4 m.Tegu oli soklikorrusega kivihoonega. Lääne poolt oli hoone külge ehitatud kõrvalhoone laiusega W-O-suunas 9,25 m, mis arvatavasti kujutas endast kivivundamendile rajatud puithoonet. Selle põhjapoolses küljes, omaaegsel jõekaldal on olnud tõenäoliselt mingi osaliselt kividest tehtud ehitis, mida riivasid kummaltki poolt 2006. aasta ja 2007-I kaevandid. Keskse kivihoone välimusest annavad leidudest aimu katusekivide, aknaklaasi ja tinaraamide tükid ning üksikud ahjukahlite katked, samuti mördist kujundatud akna- või ukseraamistuse detailid. Rohkelt saadi elanike igapäevaelule viitavaid leide (jn 9). Dateeritav leiumaterjal kuulub hoonekompleksiga seostatavas kultuurkihis valdavalt 16. sajandi teise poolde – 17. sajandisse; 18. sajandi alguseks oli kompleks tõenäoliselt juba maha jäetud.

Kaevand 2007-I rajati kunagisele jõe kaldapealsele kohta, kus kalda kõrgemasse ossa ulatub süvend. Varauusaegsest ehitisest tekkinud kivivare all ja süvendis ilmus nähtavale helekollane jõe- või mere-

liiv. Selles joonistusid tumedate laikude ja viirudena välja kunagise puitkonstruktsiooni jäänused (jn 10). Eristati 3-4 arvatavat postikohta. Kaevandi keskosas joonistusid aga liivase pinnase taustal välja 6-7 puuprusside või -plankude jäänust, mis asetsesid jõega ristisuunas üksteise kõrval u 10 cm vahedega. Lisaks eristusid veel kahe plangu või prussi jäänused, mis asetsesid ülejäänute suhtes risti või diagonaalselt. Puidujäänuseid jõeliivas võib tõlgendada paadikaina, mis ilmselt toetus u 25 cm läbimõõduga puupostidele. Puidujäänuste pealt ja vahelt saadi üksnes 11.–12. sajandisse kuuluvat keraamikat.

Pällamõisa hoonekompleksist u 80 m põhja poole, teisel pool Ristioja asuvale ja kivikalmena kaitse all olevale ümmargusele künkale rajati kaevand 2007-III. See osutus hiliseks ahjuvareks.

Pällamõis ei sobi oma kõrvalise asukoha tõttu põllumaade suhtes agraarmõisaks. Kohta tuntakse Kuusiku metsana, täpsemalt Kuusiku Lageaiana, mille läheduses on Kuusiku talu. 1524. aastast pärit arhiivimaterjalides mainitakse seal veskit ja üheadramaalist valdust Dietrich Kuske valduses. Hiljem kuulus see koht eraldi maatükina Tõlluste mõisale. Arheoloogilise leiumaterjali põhjal tundub tõenäoline, et Pällamõisa keskse kivihoone ja kõrvalhoonetega kompleks on rajatud 16. sajandi teisel poolel (nt Johannes Taubele kuulumise ajal, 1561–1590). Põhitulu saadi ilmselt mitte põlluharimisest, vaid osalt ülalmainitud veskist, veelgi enam aga arvatavasti merenduslikust tegevusest ja jõesadamast. Rannik paiknes Pällamõisale toona lähemal kui praegu ning Ristioja pakkus ümbruskonna laugjal rannikul soodsa randumiskoha. Kivihoone püstitamises võiks lisaks omaniku sotsiaalse manifestatsiooni taotlusele ja püüule üldiste rahutute olude tingimustes enda turvatunnet tõsta oletada katset kindlustada üht nn mõisasadamat. Keskse hoone tagasihoidlikud mõõtmed ja müüride paksus osutavad sellele, et erinevalt paljudest varasematest, Liivi sõja eelsetest, kindlustatud mõisamajadest ja vasalllinnustest polnud Pällamõis siiski ette nähtud suuremate sõjaliste rünnakute tõrjumiseks, vaid pigem võis hoone pakkuda kaitset ülestõusnud talupoegade ja/või juhuslike röövsalkade vastu.