

Kaarma parsonage in Saaremaa – a local nobleman’s manor or a fortified dwelling of a conqueror?

Anton Pärn, Erki Russow

Abstract

The present article deals with a rare example in the medieval rural architecture in Estonia – the Kaarma parsonage in Saaremaa. The authors discuss the earlier hypotheses, which suggest that the stone building in Kaarma was erected in the mid 13th century at the latest either by a local nobleman or by the church builders. The authors of the present paper analyse these assumptions in the light of new research results of the existing source material – finds and the type of the building. Reassessing the source material makes it possible to interpret both the age and the function of the building from a different angle. The new analysis suggests that the stone building in question was constructed during the second half of the 15th century or in the beginning of the 16th century. The 13th – 14th century finds revealed from the cellar of the stone building belonged to an earlier building. The authors are of the opinion that the finds from Kaarma, dated to the end of the 13th century, written sources in manuscripts regarding the establishment of a stronghold to Pöide in the Eastern part of Saaremaa, indicate changes in the social conditions on the island after the conquest.

Anton Pärn
Estonian Ministry of Culture
Undersecretary (cultural heritage)
Suur-Karja 23
15076 Tallinn
Estonia
Anton.Parn@kul.ee

Erki Russow
Institute of History
Department of Archaeology
Rüütli 6
10130 Tallinn
Estonia
Erki.Russow@ut.ee

Introduction

Most Estonian literature on history accepts a viewpoint that after the year 1227 when Estonia had surrendered to the German-Danish crusaders, Saaremaa managed to maintain greater independence than other counties (Mäesalu *et al* 1995, 54f; Uluots 1937, 36, 43; see Tarvel 1983, 117ff). This special status came to an end after the suppression of the Peasants’ Revolt of St. George’s Night in 1343–1345 (see Mäll 1998, 161f; Mägi 2002a, 149ff; Markus *et al* 2003, 11).

The reasons for this so-called special status of Saaremaa have been characterised by new developments in the social arrangements from the end of prehistoric times. An archaeologist Marika Mägi (2002a, 134ff, 153f) alleges that the burial traditions of the islanders reflect influences of Christianity since the 13th century. The same author associates the early church buildings in Saaremaa with the manifestation of the local elite, who played a significant role in converting the islanders into Christianity (see Mägi 2002a, 153f; 2004a, 33). She explains the independent adoption of a Christian belief by the islanders by referring to the study of an archaeologist Jaak Mäll (1998, 162–165, Abb. 1), which suggests that the Roman style elements of the early building stages of the oldest churches in Saaremaa – Valjala, Kaarma and Pöide, may date from the pre-conquest period. Mägi suggests that the location of the church was connected with the dwelling house or manor of a local aristocrat. This opinion is supported by material from Scandinavia, which see correlation between a manor (big farm) and church being located close by (Mägi 2002a, 154f; 2004a, 31f; Markus *et al* 2003, 21). A specific example of such development in Saaremaa may be considered the Kaarma church together with a stone building in the neighbourhood (Mägi 2004a, 31f).

The present paper does not analyse the social relations of the islanders during the post-conquest period, nor any possible expressions of the vassal status of the local elite. We shall concentrate on a single source – the stone building that was located close by the Kaarma church and which according to similar cases in Scandinavia has been considered to be an early medieval (i.e. 13th century) manor belonging to a local nobleman. We discuss the construction time of the stone building that was located at the Kaarma parsonage and the use of this building, for two reasons. First, scientists have only briefly dealt with determining the possible type of the Kaarma stone building, instead mainly interpretations have dominated so far. Second, the present research results allow more precise dating of finds that were revealed during cleaning out the cellar 10 years ago. In this respect the building is a mirror that reflects the social relations of the islanders.

Overview of the area and the founding of the church

Kaarma stronghold, that was known as the administrative centre of pre-historic Saaremaa, is located about 100 meters away from the church and the parsonage (Fig. 1)¹. The stronghold itself was situated by the River Põduste. The estuary of the River Põduste formed a narrow gulf, cutting deep into the inland of the island. It is supposed that an early port of the Kaarma inhabitants was situated by the gulf, that probably yet in pre-historic times was moved to Kuressaare to the location of the later residence of the Oesel-Wiek Bishop (Mägi 2004b, 151). Numerous Late Iron Age stone cairns testify of that the Kaarma region was densely populated (Mägi 1998, 153f; 2002b, 203). Additionally, three hoards have been found in the area: coin hoards from the 10th and beginning of the 12th century² and the Piila treasure of coins and silver ornaments from approximately 1200 (Molvõgin 1994, 520–527; Leimus 2003, 150ff). Judging by the density of coin hoards found, the island at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries has probably been a place where the Gotland and/or German merchants spent their winter (Leimus 2002a, 1599, Fig. 4).



Fig. 1. Location of Kaarma. Drawing by Kersti Siitan

¹ The name Kaarma may have several interpretations: e.g. “kaarmad” – Engl. blackberries, “karma” – Engl. small bay, or “kaar” – Engl. arch, vault (Kallasmaa 1996, 63f).

² In the first case, the finding place is unknown; the second hoard comes from the Käku village. In addition, 10th century Arabic coins have been found from the Piila cairn (based on the oral information of Ivar Leimus, numismatic of the Estonian History Museum).

Written sources first mention *Carmele* (Kaarma) contract of dividing Saaremaa, concluded between the Order of the Brothers of the Sword³, the Bishop of Riga and the town of Riga in the year 1234. The contract assigned the Kaarma lands to the town of Riga (LUB I: CXXXIX). In 1236, following the intervention from the legate William of Modena, the Bishop of Riga and the town of Riga returned the lands to the Oesel-Wiek Bishopric (LUB I: CXLV; see Mäll 1998, 158ff). An interesting fact for us is also mentioning the Kaarma stronghold (really a “timber barrier” constructed in Kaarma) in 1261 when it was conquered by the Order. It was precisely in this year when the troops of the Order came to Saaremaa in order to suppress the uprising that had started in 1260, after the Lithuanians had defeated the Germans in the Durbe battle in 1260 (Arbusow 1918, 46). A contract was concluded between the islanders and the Master of the Order in Kaarma, like previously in 1241 and in 1255 (LUB I: CCLXXXV).

Kaarma was the midst of the Oesel-Wiek bishopric’s lands, and was most probably the ecclesiastical centre of Saaremaa (Markus *et al* 2003, 11). The importance of the church is stressed by its guardian saints Peter and Paulus, since mainly dome churches were devoted to these saints (Markus *et al* 2003, 12). At the same time a correlation between churches and castles has been detected regarding the above mentioned saints in Pomerania (Heyden 1964, 59). Characterising the location of the Kaarma church (outside measurements 15.4 × 47.6 m) it is worth stressing that it was built into a pre-historic centre. At the same time the location of the church in the landscape was not the best choice. The church was constructed on a natural sandy hill, the top of which was directly under the vestry and the South wall of the nave on the slope. The soft soil and the different depths of the basements started to create sinking problems already during the construction works. This is testified by numerous supporting pillars (Markus *et al* 2003, 30ff). Three different theories exist as to the construction time of the church. An early opinion suggests that the church was founded in Kaarma after the revolt of the islanders in 1261, while the vaults of the nave collapsed already in the 13th century (Raam 1996, 58; Altoa 2003, 33). Jaak Mäll (1998, 163, 165) offers a theory that the church was established earlier, the oldest Romanesque style elements in the vestry may date from the pre-conquest time, i.e. from times before the year 1227. It is not credible in his opinion that the church construction began in 1227–1236 or straight after the conquest and before the final establishment of the Oesel-Wiek bishopric. Kersti Markus (2003, 87ff) suggests that the Kaarma church was built in mid-13th century, in two different stages. The building must have been completed at least by the year 1260, and was then burnt down by the Order in 1261 (Markus *et al* 2003, 92ff). The fire caused the vaults to give excessive pressure to the South and West wall, which partly sank and caused the nave vaults to collapse. The church was restored by the beginning of the 1270s, first with a wooden ceiling.⁴ Markus also agrees with Marika Mägi that the construction of stone churches in Saaremaa could only take place with direct involvement of the local elite. It is worth mentioning that the civil war between the Order and the Bishop in 1298 is connected with the Kaarma church. The troops of the Order forced themselves into the Kaarma church and killed the people seeking refuge there (Saaremaa 1934, 500).

Research of the cellar of the parsonage’s main building

The main building of the parsonage of the Kaarma church, which is the focus of the present article, is located about twenty meters from the church. The parsonage belongs to

³ The Order of the Brothers of the Sword was destroyed in the battle of Saule in 1236, surviving members then joined the Livonian branch of the German Order.

⁴ The vaults were most probably built in the nave in the beginning of the 15th century (Markus *et al* 2003, 98f).

one of the largest parsonage ensembles in Estonia. The main building of the parsonage was probably destroyed during the Livonian War in the last quarter of the 16th century. Archival material proves that the restoration of the parsonage started in the 20s of the 17th century (Markus *et al* 2003, 22). The main building was again turned into ruins after the II World War, restoration work began only in 1991. There are various theories concerning the construction of the main building, too. Armin Tuulse (1942, 320f) is of the opinion that the original building at the site of the main building of the parsonage was a manor, constructed as a traditional fortified dwelling house. The art historian dates the building to the 16th century. During the restoration works of the main building (total length 48 m) that were started in 1991 a two-room cellar beneath the main building was opened up to the full extent. Outside measurements of the cellar were 10.1 × 21.7 meters (Fig. 2). In a 1,7 m thick wall there is a 0.57 m wide stairway. The thickness of the cellar walls ranged from 1.27 to 1.4 meters. Originally there were three windows at the Northern side-wall and one window at both ends. Originally there had been a beam ceiling, later reconstructions divided the Western room into two and vaulted ceiling were built. Later reconstructions also added stairways to both cellars from outside. Research carried out in the cellars created two slightly different results. Tõnu Parmakson (1996, 59), who studied the construction phases of the cellar, suggested that the cellar might have belonged to a one- or two-storied fortified dwelling house from the first half of the 13th century, that was most probably built for the church builders. Tõnu Sepp (1995, 459ff) who conducted archaeological supervision in clearing process of the cellar, noted two periods of use, which we shall discuss more precisely further on.

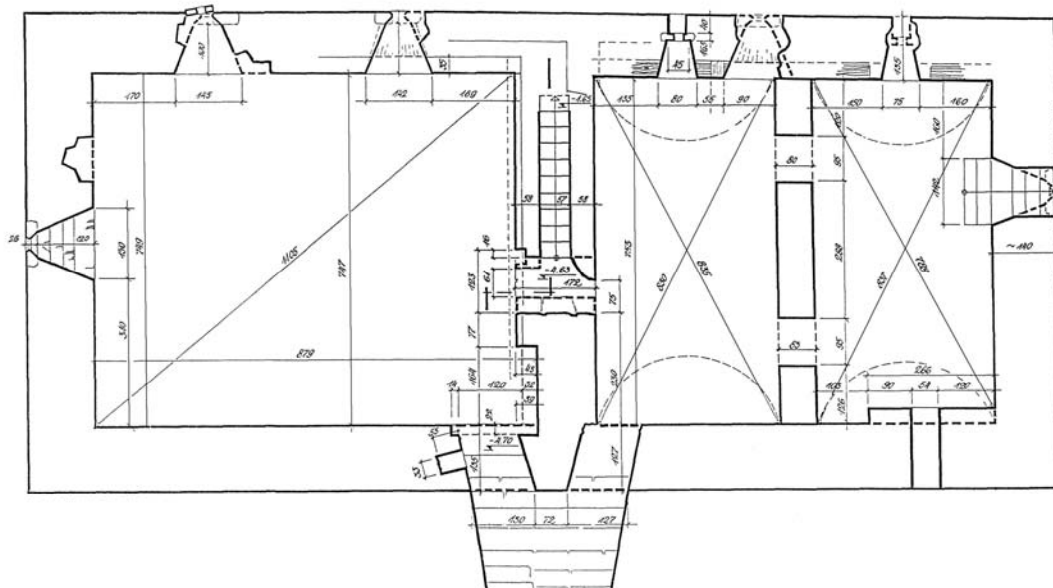


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the Kaarma parsonage cellar. Drawing by Tõnu Parmakson and Kersti Siitan.

In conclusion, a significant amount of finds from the medieval and early modern times (SM 10108: 1–235) was collected during the constructional and archaeological research in the parsonage cellars in 1993. Analyses carried out during the past ten years have often been based on these finds, dating the older part of the parsonage to times prior to the construction of the church or at least to the same period (e.g. Markus *et al* 2003, 20–22 and reference literature there). Mainly a couple of the most significant finds have been the basis for far-reaching results.

Re-evaluation the age of the finds

Closer examination proves that unfortunately it is not possible to use the finds for evaluating the exact date of the parsonage. The majority of finds were revealed from the early modern period dump and filling layer in the Eastern part of the cellar, hence it is not possible to connect them with absolute certainty with the activities in this specific building. However, we may still ascertain, having analysed the composition of the finds and their finding spot, that with great probability these objects come from the building in question and/or from the early building on the same spot. Most likely a greater part of the objects got into the cellar in the course of two Events (I and II). Since apart from the location plan we lack detailed information concerning the stratigraphic position of the finds, we can only rely on circumstantial evidence.

Event I is the destruction of the building sometimes during the 16th century. The destruction probably brought about also the collapse of the ground floor, and some of the finds revealed during the research must have dropped into the cellar. Dating this event is fairly difficult. Tõnu Sepp, the archaeologist who directed the work, dated the destruction of the parsonage with a coin that was found there (Johan III Tallinn killing, 1570–1580s) to the last quarter of the 16th century, connecting it to the forays of the Livonian War (1558–1583) (Sepp 1995, 465). Later a more specific dating has been offered – the year 1576, when Russian cavalcades looted Saaremaa (Markus *et al* 2003, 22). Comparing this to other finds from the 16th century, the connection of this event to the last decade of the 16th century seems quite probable. Yet, the lack of detailed information on the finds does not allow to totally rule out the probability that the building may have been destroyed at a somewhat earlier period. Namely, the finds include some tiles and tile fragments with late Gothic influence from the beginning of the 16th century that are rather unique in Estonia (Fig. 3). Furthermore, earlier publications rely on the stamping time of the Johan III Tallinn killing when determining the dating, at the same time overlooking the fact that such coins were comparatively widely used in Estonia even during the first quarter of the 17th century.⁵ Hence we cannot omit the possibility that the coin was left in the soil during the next event when reconstruction of the parsonage was started. So we may conclude that the exact time of the destruction of the parsonage is not determined with absolute certainty.



Fig. 3. Early 16th stove tiles from the parsonage cellar. Photo Erki Russow.

⁵ Oral information by Mauri Kiudsoo, numismatic of the Institute of History.

The other part of finds most probably came to the Eastern part of the parsonage cellar during the reconstruction of the building (Event II). Since the parsonage cellars had narrow windows and the only exit from the cellar was a narrow stairway (Fig. 2), we may presume that minimum labour was put into the restoration of the building and cleaning of the cellar. Probably some of the filling from the Western part of the cellar was removed to the Eastern part, consequently finds from very different periods (13th – 17th centuries) ended up in a common filling and/or dump layer. It is not certain when exactly the cellar was filled. It is known that the restoration of the building started in the 1620s, major reconstructions also took place in 1732–1733 (Markus *et al* 2003, 22–23). We may say that dating the finds requires a lot of precaution. Yet it is worth stressing that despite the above-mentioned difficulties, the Kaarma parsonage finds are noteworthy and deserve full attention. Kaarma parsonage finds are unique in the context of all Estonia, since no other stone building outside towns and castles has undergone such profound archaeological research. The finds also give us an overview about the material culture in the periphery.

Finds revisited

Kaarma finds have been thoroughly researched on several occasions (e.g. Sepp 1995, 460–465; Püüa 2000; Markus *et al* 2003, 20–22). Therefore we would like to concentrate on only a few spectacular aspects that are directly connected to the presumable construction time in the 13th century.

Earlier researchers have based their datings of the building on the singular find that is precisely stratified – a bone comb (Fig. 4). The comb was discovered in the Southern corner of the Eastern cellar, from the soil beneath the basement wall. The archaeologist who directed the excavation interpreted this soil as dating from before the building was constructed. Hence the find was in the soil before the stone building was established. Knowing the exact time of making and using the object allows us to date the time of the construction work.

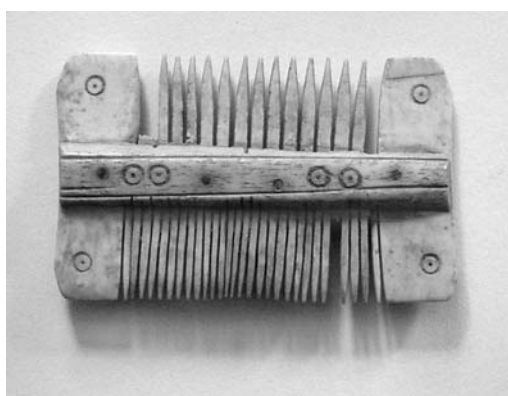


Fig. 4. Bone comb revealed beneath the basement of the building. Photo Erki Russow.

The comb that was found from beneath the parsonage walls belongs to the type of bone combs with concave end plates. Typologically these are medieval combs that were widely used in the whole Baltic Sea region (Luik 1998). Dating the Kaarma comb T. Sepp considered parallel finds from Viljandi and Tartu, where similar finds have previously been dated to the 11th – 13th centuries (Sepp 1996, 8). Later the proposed dating has determined that the building was constructed either prior to the establishment of the church or to the same period, i.e. the first half or mid 13th century (Markus *et al* 2003, 20). However, the authors of the monograph have discarded the fact described in

the archaeological report, that such combs were made until the 15th century, and a recent research shows that combs with concave end plates were in use until the 16th century (Kallström 2002, 152).

The excavation report and the article about the research results (Sepp 1995; 1996) stipulate the finds from the parsonage cellar into two periods of use. The first period covers the time from the mid 13th century to mid 14th century, the second period covers the 15th and 16th centuries (Sepp 1995, 465). This interpretation is largely based on imported pottery. Later analyses of the material dated the second period to ca 1550–1620 (Russow 2001, 115–117). There are only very few stray finds between the two periods. T. Sepp has interpreted the period from the second half of the 14th century until the beginning of the 15th century with very little finds as a period when the building was (almost) not used (Sepp 1995, 465). The authors of the present article consider that such interpreting of finds from the early modern period dump layer is not sufficiently grounded. Only finds from the first period are of interest to us when dating the building. From these finds a metal object and a dozen pieces of pottery can be dated with accuracy.

From the numerous medieval metal objects (e.g. foot of a bronze tripod pot, fragments of knives, locks etc.), it is possible to precisely date only the fragment of an armour plate that is broken into three pieces. In the research results the age of the armour plate is connected with the military conflicts during the second half of the 13th century (1260 or 1298) (Sepp 1995, 464). Later data suggests that the fragments date the armour rather to the end of the 13th century or even later.⁶ Therefore, these arguments cannot also be considered as convincing. In dating the building we should rather consider the ceramics find and first of all imported pottery.

Imported pottery of the parsonage from the first period consist of fragments of ten vessels. The oldest of them are fragments of a protostoneware jug from the Rhineland and nearstoneware jug made in Siegburg. Supported by parallel finds from the West Estonian towns (Russow 2001) and also considering the shape and side profile, the fragments of both jugs date from the last quarter of the 13th century (Fig. 5). To the same period, although we cannot exclude later datings, belong fragments of an nearstoneware jug from Southern Lower Saxony and Langerwehe. From the typical imported ceramics of the first half of the 14th century fragments of stoneware jug from Langerwehe and grey pottery from North Germany were also found from the parsonage cellar. The latest of the finds from the first period is a brim fragment of stoneware covered with brown dappled glazing from Southern Lower Saxony.



Fig. 5. Near stoneware dating from the end of the 13th century from the parsonage cellar. Photo Erki Russow.

⁶ Oral information from Jaak Mäll, manager of the arms collection of the Estonian History Museum.

A bigger challenge is determining the time and origin of the weakly burnt local pottery. The excavation report divides them into two groups. A couple of fragments are thought to belong to the traditional 11th – 13th century hand-made pottery (Sepp 1996, 3). Considering the exceptional shape (a pot with a spout – see Sepp 1995, Plate XXIV, 1), composition of the clay and degree of burning we cannot agree with this dating. The late Iron Age and Early Medieval (12th – 12th centuries) archaeological finds from Western Estonia lack similar objects. At the same time, such vessels of similar burning degree, finishing and clay composition were used in South Estonia during the 16th century. Also, pottery with similar brim profiles were used throughout the Middle Ages. The second group of local pottery is represented by a brim fragment of a tripod cooking pot with a higher burning degree. The design of the object is similar to pottery made in Tallinn in the second half of the 13th century and first half of the 14th century (Mäll & Russow 2004, 152–153, Abb. 5).

Summing up the analyses of finds from the 13th – 14th centuries gathered during the archaeological research of the Kaarma parsonage we can conclude that the discussed finds do not include any finds that can be dated with absolute certainty to the mid 13th century or an earlier period. For a certain number of finds (first and foremost the bone comb, knives) it is possible to determine the time of their making and use to a period between the 11th – 13/14th centuries, but the composition of the finds still refers to typical households from the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries. We have to stress, however, that the finds originate from a dump and filling layer and can therefore not be considered to be a basis for drawing larger generalisations. For the same reason the finds cannot be used as arguments in dating the building. In conclusion we may say that dating the building beneath the parsonage requires further research in future.

Cellar revisited

Referring to the above mentioned, A. Tuulse (1942, 320f) looked upon the building that originally stood on the parsonage main building as a development of a typical 16th century fortified dwelling house. T. Parmakson and T. Sepp consider that the cellar belongs to a 13th century dwelling house without grounding their theory. A more profound study of the original building together with the cellar was carried out by K. Markus, who recognises great similarity in the masonry of the vestry (the oldest part of the cellar) and the cellar, comparing the choice of stones and their layout (Markus *et al* 2003, 20ff; Fig. 17). The art historian doubts the earlier assumption that the building was erected for the church builders, claiming that according to the treaty with the islanders in the mid 13th century the *fogt* was allowed to visit the island once a year for law courts and there was no need for a separate building.⁷ Also, according to K. Markus the building could not have belonged to a priest as until the 14th and 15th centuries the priests did not own such massive buildings in Gotland. Referring to the Danish and Gotland research results where medieval multi-stored buildings in the proximity of churches belonged to noblemen's families, K. Markus (2003, 21) found it probable that also the original building in Kaarma might have belonged to a representative of the local elite (see Wienberg 1993, 152). The author agreed with the two separate periods of use of the building (second half of the 13th century until the 14th century and 15th – 16th centuries), but specified later reconstructions. Based on the details of the carved stone found from the cellar, the first reconstruction might have taken place in the beginning of the 15th century (Markus *et al* 2003, 21; Fig. 18). The demolished entry in the Northern wall of

⁷ The 1241 contract was renewed in 1255 and the court time for the *fogt* was set from Michaelmas Day (29. Sept) until the Easter holidays, i.e. half a year (LUB I: CCLXXXV; Mäll 1998, 160).

the cellar must date from the same period. Reconstructions were added also in the mid 15th century and in the beginning of the 16th century. The late Gothic tiles found from the dump in the cellar date from the last renovation.

Taking into account the above mentioned arguments we are of the opinion that the typology of the original building still needs further discussion, mainly because no direct reference to any similar building type has been made in dating the construction time. We share an opinion that in dating the type of the building the size of the cellar is of considerable importance (outside measurements 10.1 × 21.7 m), not omitting the spatial division of the cellar (Fig. 2). We should not overlook the fact that all research work concerning stone buildings from the 13th –14th centuries (with the exception of sacral buildings) in Estonia have concentrated on town buildings. A brief look at the research results shows that since the mid 13th century cellars appear in joint buildings in the West Estonian towns like Lihula and Haapsalu (Pärn 2001, 599ff). In these cases there was a wooden dwelling house at the street with a stone half-cellar with a stairway behind it (e.g. measuring 5 m × 3.5 m; 5.2 m × 7 m). Helmi Üprus (1976, 152f, Fig. 11–13) has brought out a special type from the 14th century houses in Tallinn, where the fore-house by the street was wooden with a rectangular shaped stone building behind it. The latter had a single room cellar in it. Neither of these examples fit the original house in Kaarma. From a neighbouring area to Saaremaa – Gotland, we know of several stone storehouses built to the rural areas in the end of the 12th century, and especially during the mid 13th century (Svahnström 1976, 13–16, Fig. 7,8; Westholm 2001, 744ff, Fig. 2, 3). An interesting example for us is the storehouse of the Bringes farm, dated 1240s in Norrland with its two-room division and a central stairway connecting the down- and upper floors. Unlike in Kaarma, the rooms are vaulted and the house does not have a cellar. Stone dwelling houses that are from the same period as the storehouses in the countryside of Gotland and smaller than the original house in Kaarma (e.g. 8 m × 13 m; 8 m × 14.5 m; Westholm 2001, 746–747, Fig. 4, 5). Neither can we find direct resemblance in Visby, where similar houses with the storehouses built to the countryside can be found, the so-called “storehouses without a clear dwelling function” (Westholm 748ff, Fig. 7, 9, 10). Their measurements range between 7 m × 13 m; 8 m × 14.5 m; 5 m × 15.5 m. In conclusion we can say that a typical three-storied house type – a house “with ante-room, living space and warehouse floor below barrel vaulting, and with loading hatches in the gable” (Westholm 2001, 759f) had developed in Gotland by the mid 13th century.

It seems that concentrating on searching for the so-called old original building and a type similar to it does not give us any results. At the same time a new house type – a fortified dwelling house – is spreading in the end of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, known as the tower-house of local aristocracy (Albrecht 1995, 174 ff; Fig. 232, 233, 236). Their forerunner – rectangular small strongholds – are known from the 14th century Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. A similar house type later developed from such small strongholds. Besides the local aristocracy also the clergy built such dwelling houses for themselves (Möller in print). These buildings had a cellar, two main floors and an attic. Originally such houses were rather small, e.g. 6.8 m × 8.9 m; 7.1 m × 10.5 m. Normally each floor formed a single room.⁸ A few larger “fortified houses” stand out from this house type in Denmark and Sweden at the turn of the 16th century (see Albrecht 1995, 185–189), like for example:

Voergaard (Jutland; ca 1520);
Tjele (Jutland; ca 1530s; 17 m × 10 m);
Østrupgaard (Funen; 1st quarter of the 16th century);
Bollerup (Skåne; 2nd half of the 15th century);

⁸ One such example is known also from Muremoisse, Latvia (see Sparitis 1991, 283f; Fig. 9).

Glimmingehus (Skåne; 1499–1505; 29 m × 13 m);
Torpa (Västergötland; end of the 15th century; ca 18 m × 14 m).

The most interesting from them are the “fortified houses” of Torpa and Glimmingehus, but especially Torpa (Albrecht 1995, Fig. 240, 241, 242). The Torpa “fortified house” especially has several similar elements with the Kaarma original house. The most significant of them are described below. The Torpa house also has a cellar divided into two parts, while one of the rooms (similarly to Kaarma the right-side room) has cylinder vaults. The stairway from the cellar to the ground floor is against the inner wall, dividing the cellar into two parts. Although in this case it is not a wall-stairway, we can see wall-stairways at the end walls of the second and fourth floor. The Torpa house too has massive stone walls (see Albrecht 1995, 187). The last examples testify that the Kaarma original house may have been constructed later, between the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th century. Concerning the earlier finds from the dump layer in the cellar, then these may date from an even earlier building. We are of the opinion that a surf on the Northern outer wall of the parsonage refers to an earlier building at the Kaarma parsonage. In the bottom of the surf a burnt layer with heavily burnt granite stones was fixed (Sepp 1995, 460; Fig. 2).

Returning to the late medieval fortified dwelling house in Kaarma, we can say that this refers to the importance of the place. During this period Kaarma had a central role in Saaremaa, which is proved by the fact the church was designated as a dome church in 1450–1460s (Markus *et al* 2003, 101). At the time the bishopric was divided between two bishops, one had control over the islands Saaremaa and Hiiumaa and the other over mainland Läänemaa. A stone building similar to the Kaarma house can be found in the neighbourhood – in Valipe, Hiiumaa. Valipe fortified manor is mentioned in the manuscripts in the year 1529. Research of the manor ruins determined the measurements to be 14.5 m × 28.7 m (Aluve 1996, 96).

Conclusion

The present overview of the development of the Kaarma original house shows that the conclusions drawn on the basis of this house about the development of the post-conquest society in Saaremaa during the first half of the 13th century, when the leading role was played by the local elite, require additional grounds. It seems that the examples of the Kaarma church and the stone building are not suitable for drawing such conclusions. The Kaarma original house will certainly remain a valuable source, which may always be re-investigated.

Although the early dating of the original house plan is not correct, we find that the finds from the dump layer of the cellar from the end of the 13th century are of utmost importance. It is known that Põide stronghold was first mentioned in 1290 on the territory that belonged to the Order in Saaremaa. The earlier finds from Kaarma that we presented originate from approximately the same period. Although the finds are rather modest, still both reports together may refer to the so-called new conditions on the island. Indirectly, similar processes on the mainland can support this theory. In 1284 the Oesel-Wiek Bishop issued an order that mainland peasants have to pay tithe that in addition to the regular tenth the peasants had to provide a considerable monetary fee (Leimus 2002b, 9). The 1294 town’s right of Haapsalu, which was the administrative centre of the Oesel-Wiek bishopric, limited the circle of inheritors for Estonians, restricting it to family members living in the town only (Pärn 2004, 281). Whether these notices are correlated, needs to be discussed in the future, yet such ideas about changed conditions during the

second half of the 13th century came to mind when we reconsidered the research results of the cellar in the Kaarma parsonage.

Sources and manuscripts

LUB I = Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten. Bd. I. Hrsg. Fr. G. v. Bunge. Reval, 1853.

Püüa, G. 2000. Kaarma kiriku pastoraadi arheoloogiline leiumaterjal. Unpublished graduate thesis. Manuscript in the library of Chair of Archaeology of University of Tartu.

Russow, E. 2001. Importkeraamika Lääne-Eestis ca 1225–1650. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Tallinn; Tartu. Manuscript in the library of the University of Tartu.

Sepp, T. 1996. Kaarma kiriku pastoraadihoone keldrite arheoloogiline järelvalve. Kuressaare. Manuscript in the library of Museum of Saaremaa.

Kirjandus

Albrecht, U. 1995. Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter. Studien zum Verhältnis von Architektur und Lebensform in Nord- und Westeuropa. München. Berlin.

Alttoa, K. 2003. Saaremaa kirikud. The churches on the island of Saaremaa. Tallinn.

Aluve, K. 1996. Valipe (Vallipää, Vallipea) kindlustatud mõisamaja. – Eesti Arhitektuur, 2, 96.

Arbusow, L. sen. 1918. Grundriß der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands. Riga.

Heyden, H. 1964. Zum Schadegard-Problem. – Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch, Bd. 4. Schwerin, 57–62.

Kallasmaa, M. 1996. Saaremaa kohanimed, 1. Tallinn.

Källström, M. 2002. Kammar och kamtillverkning i medeltidens Stockholm. – Upptaget. Arkeologi i Stockholm inför 2000-talet. Uppsala, 149–156.

Leimus, I. 2002a. Millal ja kust tuli saksa kaupmees Liivimaale? – Akadeemia, 8, 1588–1605.

Leimus, I. 2002b. Saare-Lääne piiskop – rikkaim mees Liivimaal? – Läänemaa Muuseumi Toimetised, VI. Haapsalu, 7–12.

Leimus, I. 2003. Kaarma Piila ardeleid 12. ja 13. sajandi vahetuselt. – Eesti Arheoloogia Ajakiri, 7, 2, 150–157.

Luik, H. 1998. Muinas- ja keskaegsed luukammid Eestis. *Muinasaja Teadus*, 6. Tallinn.

Markus et al 2003 = Markus, K., Kreem, T.-M., Mänd, A. 2003. Kaarma kirik. Eesti kirikud I. Tallinn.

- Molvõgin, A. 1994.** Die Funde westeuropäischer Münzen des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts in Estland. – Numismatische Studien, Heft 10. Hamburg.
- Mäesalu et al 1995** = Mäesalu, A., Lukas, T., Laur, M., Tannberg, T. 1995. Eesti ajalugu, I. Tallinn.
- Mägi, M. 1998.** Districts and centres in Saaremaa. – Culture clash or compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD. Papers of the XIth Visby Symposium held at Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, Gotland University College, Visby October 4th–9th, 1996. Acta Visbyensia XI. Visby, 147–157.
- Mägi, M. 2002a.** At the crossroads of space and time. Graves, changing society and ideology on Saaremaa (Ösel), 9th–13th centuries AD. CCC papers: 6. Tallinn.
- Mägi, M. 2002b.** Piirkonnad ja keskused. Asustus muinasaja lõpu ja varakeskaegsel Saaremaal arheoloogiliste, inimgeograafiliste ning ajalooliste allikate andmeil. – MT 11, 169–232.
- Mägi, M. 2004a.** From Paganism to Christianity. Political changes and their reflection in the burial customs of 12th – 13th century Saaremaa. – Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa 1100–1600. Einflußnahme-Rezeption-Wandel. CCC papers: VIII. Hrsg. D. Kattinger, J. E. Olesen, H. Wernicke. Schwerin, 27–34.
- Mägi, M. 2004b.** "...Ships are their main strength." Harbour sites, arable lands and chieftains on Saaremaa. – Estonian Journal of Archaeology, 8, 2, 128–162.
- Mäll, J. 1998.** Verwaltungsgeschichte und Christianisierung der Insel Ösel im 13.–14. Jahrhundert. – Culture clash or compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD. Papers of the XIth Visby Symposium held at Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, Gotland University College, Visby October 4th–9th, 1996. Acta Visbyensia XI. Visby, 158–165.
- Mäll, J. & Russow, E. 2004.** Archäologie und Stalinismus – die Anfänge der Stadtarchäologie in Estland und die Ausgrabungen auf dem Tallinner Rathausplatz 1953. – Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, 2003/31. Bonn, 145–158.
- Möller, G. in print.** Mittelalterliche Adelshöfe in Stralsund. – Castella Maris Baltici, VII. In Print.
- Parmakson, T. 1996.** Kaarma pastoraat. – Eesti Arhitektuur, 2, 59.
- Pärn, A. 2001.** Über die Hausbauentwicklung in Westestland im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert. – M. Gläser (Hrsg.), Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum III: Der Hausbau. Lübeck, 595–604.
- Pärn, A. 2004.** Külaehitiste jäljed Haapsalu varases linnaehituses. – About hillfort and town. Studies in Honour of Vilma Trummal. Research into ancient times, 14. Ed. A. Haak, E. Russow, A. Tvauri. Tallinn; Tartu, 269–289.
- Raam, V. 1996.** Kaarma Peetri ja Pauli kirik. – Eesti Arhitektuur, 2, 58–59.
- Saaremaa 1934** = Saaremaa. Maateaduslik, majanduslik ja ajalooline kirjeldus. Tartu.

Sepp, T. 1995. Investigations at Kaarma parsonage. – Proceedings of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Humanities and Social Sciences 44, 4, 459–466.

Sparitis, O. 1991. Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der Renaissance in der Architektur und bildenden Kunst Lettlands. – Beiträge zur Renaissance zwischen 1520 und 1570. Materialien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte in Nord- und Westdeutschland, Bd. 2. Marburg, 273–294.

Svahnström, G. 1976. Häuser und Höfe der handelstreibenden Bevölkerung auf Gotland während des Mittelalters. – Häuser und Höfe im Ostseegebiet und im Norden vor 1500. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Wohnens. Acta Visbyensia V. Visby-symposiet för historiska vetenskaper 1974. Visby, 9–28.

Tarvel, E. 1983. Zur Problematik der Bauernaufstände in Estland im Kontexte der Christianisierung und Kolonisation des Landes. – Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes. Universitas Nicolai Copernici. Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica I. Hrsg. Z. H. Nowak. Torun, 115–124.

Tuulse, A. 1942. Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland. Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft XXXIII. Dorpat.

Uluots, J. 1937. Die Verträge der Esten mit den Fremden im XIII. Jahrhundert. Tartu.

Üprus, H. 1976. Das Wohnhaus in Tallinn vor 1500. – Häuser und Höfe im Ostseegebiet und im Norden vor 1500. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Wohnens. Acta Visbyensia V. Visby-symposiet för historiska vetenskaper 1974. Visby, 141–164.

Westholm, G. 2001. Visby and Gotland – medieval building development. – M. Gläser (Hrsg.), Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum III. Der Hausbau. Lübeck, 743–763.