



Wall fragments of the medieval town church in Viljandi

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In the summer of 2022 archaeological monitoring took place in the medieval town centre of Viljandi (Germ. *Fellin*) on the property at Johan Laidoneri Square 3a (Fig. 1) where a 19th-century dwelling house was profoundly reconstructed.¹ When the floor of the house was removed, a massive foundation of an earlier building appeared under its northern wall. Already before archaeological monitoring the reconstructers had removed numerous granite stones from the structure which served as a basis for the house foundation.



Fig. 1. The location of the dwelling house at Johan Laidoneri Square 3a in Viljandi.

Jn 1. Johan Laidoneri plats 3a elamu asukoht Viljandi linnaruumis.

Map / Kaart: Estonian Land Board / Maa-amet

FINDS AND FINDINGS

During the archaeological monitoring the surface of the discovered foundation (Figs 2–3) was cleansed of demolition debris which also contained some brick, roof tile and stove tile fragments, as well as fragments of melted window glass, one of them of blue colour – probably, from a stained glass window. Some animal bones from the debris represented sheep/goat, pig and cattle.² The foundation, almost parallel to that of the existing house, was made of granite stones of 15/20–30 cm in diameter, but contained also some tiny fragments of medieval bricks (thickness ca. 9 cm). The stones were packed with hard white lime mortar. The surface of the wall was unearthed in the length of ca. 6 metres, but it continued eastwards, being demolished deeper there: the presence of the wall could be observed in test pits. Since the northern side of the foundation remained under the building at Johan Laidoneri Square 3a, the thickness of the wall remains unclear, but it was at least 1.3–1.5 metres wide.

When the foundation surface was cleaned of loose debris, three foundations perpendicular to it were discovered. In the western end of the opened area foundation fragments stretched to the south of the main wall where they could be observed until 0.8 m south of it (Fig. 3: A). This wall basis, the width of which remained unclear because its western edge was hidden by the western foundation of the house, was at least 1 m wide. The second perpendicular

¹ The fieldwork was conducted and documented by Mait Raudsepp, archaeology student of the University of Tartu.

² Identified by Eve Rannamäe (TÜ).



Fig. 2. The foundation unearthed under the floor of Johan Laidoneri Square 3a, view from the east.

Jn 2. Johan Laidoneri plats 3a põranda all avastatud vundament, vaade idast.

Photo / Foto: Mait Raudsepp

foundation (Fig. 3: B) was 1.0 m wide and could be observed for ca. 0.5 m towards the south. The easternmost structure (Fig. 3: C) was 1.3–1.5 m thick and at least 1.4 m long – further to the south it was demolished. All the perpendicular structures seemed to be not of secondary origin, but built simultaneously with the main wall.

Immediately south of the discovered east–west directional foundation, patches of *in situ* occupation layer came to light under the demolition debris (Fig. 3: 6). The dark, ca. 10 cm thick cultural layer contained fragments of pottery and animal bones. The pottery is represented by dark, almost black ware of 16th century origin, but also a fragment of a Russian green glazed field bottle was found. This find and pottery characteristic of the Livonian War (1558–1583) period make it possible to date the find assemblage. The cultural layer indicates intensive occupation activities beside the ruins of a big medieval building in that time. Since a new layer of debris appeared under the occupation layer, the building with massive walls had partly been demolished already before the deposition of the layer, which reflects human

activities of the war period. Some finds were gained also from the demolition debris which covered the main foundation, but it remains unclear whether the wall was destroyed this much already in the 16th century or the finds resulted from some later disturbances. From the debris on top of the foundation also some human bone fragments were found.

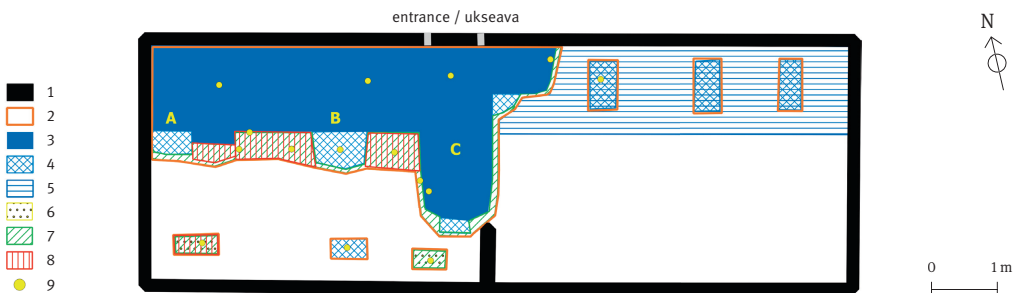


Fig. 3. 1 – walls of Johan Laidoneri Sq. 3a building, 2 – opened areas, 3 – the medieval wall, 4 – a broken wall surface with mortar rubble, 5 – supposed medieval wall, 6 – brick rubble, 7 – lime mortar rubble, 8 – cultural layer with finds, 9 – finds and find assemblages.

Jn 3. 1 – Johan Laidoneri plats 3a hoone seinad, 2 – avatud alad, 3 – keskaegne müür, 4 – mürdine murtud müüripind, 5 – oletatav keskaegse müüri jätk, 6 – telliserusu, 7 – mördirusu, 8 – leidudega kultuurkiht, 9 – leiud ja leiukogumid.

Drawing / Joonis: Mait Raudsepp

THE CONTEXT: MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD

The main church of medieval Viljandi was dedicated to St John and St Clara, as known from the Polish inventory of 1599 (Vabamäe & Altoa 1999, 114–115). According to this source, the building was ruined and its walls were broken by that time, and the high tower had lost its roof. The location of the church is marked on the town plan from 1656.³

Two wall fragments of medieval Viljandi town church made of bricks and granite came to light in 1996 (Valk 1997, 130) when a wheelchair access to Johan Laidoneri Square 5 building was constructed. In the context of that investigation, architect Ülo Stöör located the trench, based on the church image on the town plan from 1656, to the north-western inner corner of the building (Fig. 4). In addition to their location, the wall remains were identified as belonging to the church also by the remarkable thickness of the foundation (2.6 m). The location of the remains of a brick staircase made it possible to interpret it as access from the nave corner to the church tower. In the same context Stöör marked, based on the town plan from 1656, the location of the church on the present-day town plan, also in relation to Johan Laidoneri Square 3a building (Fig. 4).

Archaeological monitoring of 2022 showed that the reconstruction made in 1996 was correct. Evidently, the massive foundation under the northern wall of Johan Laidoneri Square 3a belongs to the southern wall of the chancel of the medieval town church. The north–south directional medieval foundation under the western wall of Johan Laidoneri Square 3a (Fig. 3: A) might belong to the eastern wall of the church nave, and the bigger perpendicular wall (Fig. 3: C) fits well with the buttress depicted on the town plan from 1656. Only a minor error of ca. 50 cm both in the north–south and east–west direction could be detected in the reconstruction made on the basis of comparing excavation results with the 17th century and present-day town plans.

The 16th century occupation layer just beside the choir of the medieval church, i.e. in the churchyard gives evidence of profound changes in the town life during the Livonian War when Viljandi was occupied by Muscovite troops since 1560. The intensive cultural layer in the churchyard shows that the formerly sacred burial area of the churchyard had become an arena of profane life activities.

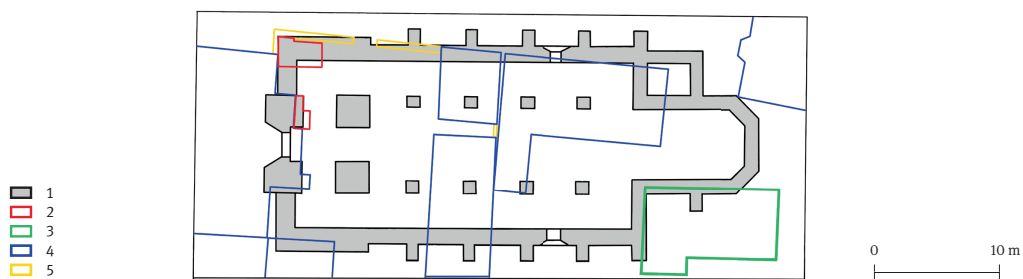


Fig. 4. The location of Viljandi medieval town church in present-day townscape (after Stöör 1996, with updates by Mait Raudsepp). 1 – the medieval town church, 2 – trenches of 1996, 3 – Johan Laidoneri Sq. 3a, 4 – other buildings, 5 – a stone fence.

Jn 4. Viljandi keskäegse linnakiriku paiknemine tänapäevases linnaruumis (Stöör 1996 järgi; Mait Raudsepa ajakohastustega). 1 – keskäegne linnakirik, 2 – 1996. a kaevandid, 3 – Johan Laidoneri plats 3a hoone, 4 – teised hooned, 5 – kivist püüdemüür.

Drawing / Joonis: Mait Raudsepp

³ Military archives of Sweden: KrA/0406/28/014/001.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological monitoring during the reconstruction of the dwelling house at Johan Laidoneri Square 3a gave a new valid point of reference about the location of the medieval main church of Viljandi, providing also a substantial foothold for geo-referencing of the 17th-century town plan. The monitoring, although rather small-scale, also showed profound changes in the organization and functions of urban space in Viljandi during the Livonian War.

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VILJANDI KESKAEGSE LINNAKIRIKU MÜÜRIJÄÄNUSED

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2022. aasta suvel toimus arheoloogiline järelevalve Viljandis Johan Laidoneri plats 3a elamu rekonstrueerimisel (jn 1). Pärast põranda eemaldamist tulid hoone põhjaseina all nähtavale maja vundamenti kandva massiivse ida-lääne suunalise kivimüüri jäänuused (jn 2, 3).

Mördiga seotud maakividest vundament oli jälgitav vähemalt 6 m pikkuselt. Ida pool oli müür sügavamalt lõhutud, kuid selle eeldatavasse asukohta tehtud šurfides paljandunud laotis viitab vundamenti jätkumisele. Müür on olnud vähemalt 1,3–1,5 m paksune, selle põhjapoolne serv jäi olemasoleva hoone seina alla. Müüripõhja väljapuhastamisel avastati veel kolm sellest lähtuvat, ristisuunalist müüriosa (jn 3, A–C).

Suurest vundamendist vahetult lõuna pool paiknes lammutusrusu kihi all 10 cm paksune intensiivne tume kultuurkiht, mis pärineb selles olnud savinõukildude ja Vene sõjaväe keraamilise välipudeli katke põhjal Liivimaa sõja ajast (1558–1583). Kultuurkihi all algas uus lammutusrusu lade. Segatud rusukihis müürijäänuste peal leidis kahlite ja katusekivide ning sulanud aknaaknaaсти tükke, sealhulgas oletata-

vasti vitraažaknast pärinev sinine kild, samuti veidi segatud inimluid.

1996. aastal leiti Johan Laidoneri plats 5 hoone ratastoolite ehitamisel Viljandi keskaegse linnakiriku müürijäänused, mille põhjal seostas arhitekt Ülo Stöör, tuginedes Viljandi plaanile aastast 1656, kiriku asukoha linna praeguse hoonestusega (jn 4). Kaevamistulemused kinnitavad rekonstruktsiooni õigsust. Nende üksiteisega kõrvutamisel ilmneb, et Johan Laidoneri plats 3a põhjaseina all avastatud vundament pärineb Viljandi keskaegse linnakiriku koori lõunaseinast, üks ristuv müüriosa (jn 3, A) seostub pikihoone idaseinaga, teine (jn 3, C) aga 1656. aasta plaanil märgitud kontraforsiga. Nii andsid uuringud uue pidepunkti Viljandi keskaegse linnakiriku asukoha lokaliseerimiseks praeguses linnaruumis.

Kaevamistulemuste põhjal oli Liivimaa sõja ajal, mis linn oli Vene vägede valduses, tavapärane kiriku elu lakanud. Varasema kirikaia matmisalale tekkinud lammutusrusude peale oli ladestunud intensiivne, aktiivse elutegevuse jälgedega kultuurkiht.



Archaeological research in Joaorg and former Peter's district of the town Narva

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INTRODUCTION

Archaeological surveys conducted in Narva over the past decade have primarily focused on rescue work prompted by new constructions or renovations, often associated with bastions and the Narva Hermann Castle. However, in 2021 and 2022, a significant number of surveys were also conducted in other areas of the town. This article provides a summary of the results from two archaeological fieldwork projects in Narva. In 2021 and 2022, archaeological monitoring and preliminary investigations were carried out at Joaorg necessitated by the promenade construction, and in 2022 in the former Peter's suburb, near the bastion Triumph, during the construction and renovation of Tuleviku and Aleksander Puškini Streets and the intersecting sidewalks.

NARVA JOAORG

Joaorg is an approximately 800 m long bend of the Narva River, located south of the Hermann Castle, and bordered by a canyon edge carved into the Ordovician limestone and sandstone. There are two protected archaeological sites: 1) a Stone Age settlement site (no. 9136 in the National Registry of Cultural Monuments), and 2) a fortified settlement (no. 9135). The archaeological surveys conducted at the Stone Age settlement site in different times revealed that in addition to several Stone Age occupation layers, there are also traces of Iron Age settlements and findings related to the historical periods. The fortified settlement has also been occupied during the Stone Age; it was a fortified settlement during the Bronze and Early Iron Age, and a hill fort in the Late Iron Age (Jaanits *et al.* 1982, 243–246; Nikitjuk 1997; 1998; Kriiska & Lavento 2006; Kriiska *et al.* 2020, 293).

In the vicinity of these sites, several instances of archaeological rescue work and preliminary surveys (including ground penetrating radar investigations) have been previously conducted in connection with the renovation of the recreation area. During these studies, primarily soils (different fill layers), brought in during the 20th century, containing various Modern Period finds have been discovered (Nikitjuk 2009; Kriiska & Štšogoleva 2014). Historical maps indicate that Joaorg was partially built up during the 17th–18th centuries, and remnants of the contemporary cultural layer and building remains have been preserved in some areas (Nikitjuk 2009).

In 2021 and 2022, construction work was carried out as part of Narva Promenade (phase 2) project, which involved excavation of several test pits and archaeological monitoring during some of the digging works, including the building of a bridge abutment and installation of electrical cables (Jegorov *et al.* 2022).

Most of the test pits and open excavations yielded fill layers containing artefacts dating from the 19th–20th centuries. However, prehistoric cultural layers were discovered in the test pits on the Narva Joaorg Stone Age settlement site (Fig. 1A, test pits 2–5). The finds collected from the study area (AI 8615) include 22 fragments of pottery.

Narva-type pottery (14 sherds, among them one rim fragment) was made of clay mixed with crushed plants (9 sherds) or shells (5 sherds). Vessels were molded using the coiling technique. Five U-coils (width 7.3–8.3 mm) and one N-coil (width 16.9 mm) were distinguished. The wall thickness of sherds (measurable in 10 cases) was 5–10 mm. In 6 cases, both preserved surfaces of the sherds were smoothed, and in three cases, they were striated. The found pottery sherds have characteristics ‘common’ for northeast Estonian Narva Ware (e.g. Kriiska 1995; 1997; Kriiska *et al.* 2021). Narva Ware can be dated typo-chronologically

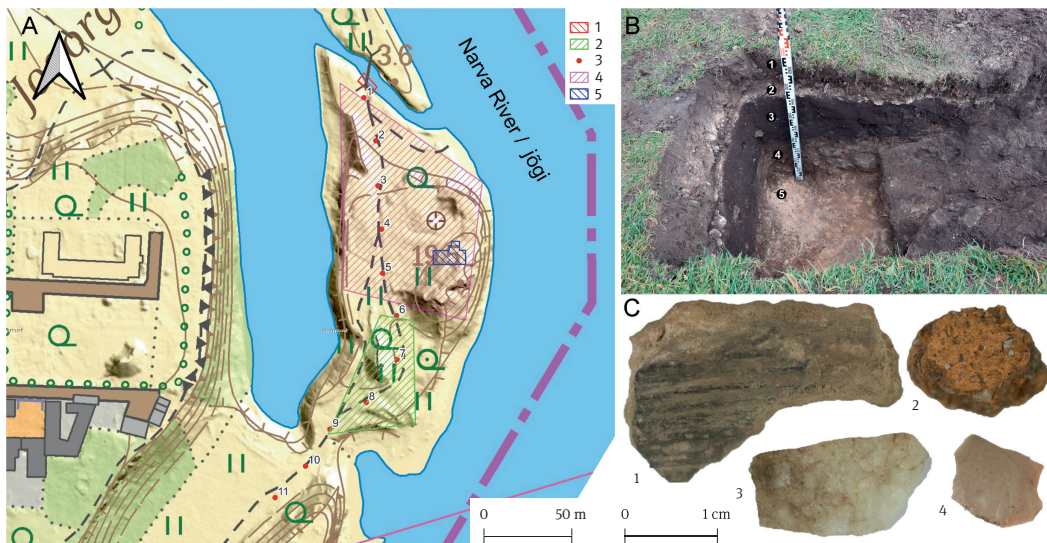


Fig. 1. A – Areas of archaeological research conducted during the construction work of the second stage of Narva Promenade in Joaorg, within the protected Stone Age settlement site and the fortified settlement site, and in their immediate vicinity. 1 – excavation of bridge abutment, 2 – fortified settlement (no. 9135), 3 – test pit, 4 – Stone Age settlement (no. 9136), 5 – L. Jaanits’s excavations in the 1960s; B – test pit no. 5. Layers: 1 – humus, 2 – clay fill layer with limestone, 3 – cultural layer, 4 – limestone dust mixed with humus, 5 – sand; 6 – finds. C – sherds of Narva-type pottery from test pit no. 3 (AI 8615: 1), 2 – sherd of Iron Age hand-made pottery from test pit no. 5 (AI 8615: 4), 3 – quartz flake from test pit no. 5 (AI 8615: 9), 4 – Carboniferous flint flake from test pit no. 5 (AI 8615: 3).

Jn 1. A – Arheoloogiliste uuringute alad Narva promenaadi 2. etapi ehitustöödel Joaorus „kiviaegsel asulakohal“ ja „kindlustatud asulal“ ning nende vahetus läheduses. 1 – silla toendi kaevnis, 2 – „kindlustatud asula“ (nr 9135), 3 – prooviauk, 4 – „kiviaja asulakoht“ (nr 9136), 5 – L. Jaanitsa kaevandid 1960. aastatel; B – prooviauk nr 5. Kihid: 1 – humus, 2 – savine paekividega täitekiht, 3 – kultuurikiht, 4 – huumusega segatud paeklibu, 5 – liiv; 6 – leiud. 1 – Narva tüüpi keraamika kild prooviaugust nr 3 (AI 8615: 1), 2 – rauaaegse käsitsikeraamika kild prooviaugust nr 5 (AI 8615: 4), 3 – kvartsikild (AI 8615: 9) prooviaugust nr 5, 4 – Karboni tulekivi kild prooviaugust nr 5 (AI 8615: 3).

Base map / Aluskaart: Estonian Land Board / Maa-amet

Photos / Fotod: Sander Jegorov

to the period between 5200–3900 BC (Kriiska *et al.* 2020, 49). Two flint and one quartz flakes (Fig. 1C, 3–4) may possibly also originate from the Stone Age. One flake (retouched) is made of Carboniferous flint, and the other of Cretaceous flint.

Seven sherds were fragments of hand-made pottery, dating from the Iron Age, most likely from the second half of the period. The vessels (with a wall thickness ranging from 5.3 mm to 10.9 mm) were made of clay mixed with rock debris. They were smoothed on both surfaces. Additionally, a sherd of wheel-thrown pottery from the Middle Ages or Early Modern Period was found.

Although the 0,35 m thick dark humus-rich cultural layer (Fig. 1B) is partially disturbed, the finds are significant enough to warrant archaeological investigations in case of further earthworks.

THE AREA IN FRONT OF BASTION TRIUMPH IN FORMER PETER'S DISTRICT OF THE TOWN NARVA

During the renovation of Aleksander Puškini Street and the intersecting sidewalks, as well as the installation of various utility lines, remains of at least four demolished and fire-damaged building ruins were uncovered under archaeological supervision. Their limestone foundations were just partially unearthed (Fig. 2A, 2C), as they extended deeper than the required excavation depth for construction purposes.



Fig. 2. A – Locations of the excavated remains of buildings found along Aleksander Puškini and Tuleviku Streets; B – excerpt from an aerial photo of the town Narva taken in 1932 depicting the buildings along Posti and Tuleviku Streets; buildings, the remains of which were partially excavated during the fieldwork in 2022 are enclosed by a red rectangle; C – partially excavated remains of building no. 4 along Tuleviku Street.

Jn 2. A – Aleksander Puškini ja Tuleviku tänava äärest välja kaevatud hoonejäänuste asukohad; B – väljavõte 1932. aastal Narva linnast tehtud aerofotost, millel on kujutatud toonase Posti ja Tuleviku tänavate ääres paiknenud hooned, punase ristkülikuga on piiratud hooned, mille jäänused avati osaliselt 2022. aasta välitöödel; C – osaliselt avatud hoonejäänus nr 4 Tuleviku tänava ääres.

Base map / Aluskaart: Estonian Land Board / Maa-amet

Photo B / Foto B: Air Force of the Republic of Estonia, from the Collection of the Film Archives / Eesti Vabariigi lennukogust.

Photo C / Foto C: Aivar Kriiska

The building ruins are located along the former Posti and Tuleviku Streets (Fig. 2B)¹, which were developed only in the last couple of decades of the 19th century as part of the former Peter's district of Narva. This became possible only after 1864 when Narva was excluded from the list of fortress towns of the Russian Empire, and the bastions were handed over to the town (Soom 1935, 76). The buildings were destroyed during intensive bombings of Narva by the Soviet Union Air Force in March 1944 (Tõnisson 2014).

The reconstruction of Tuleviku Street revealed that layers of previous streets that had been formed since the second half of the 19th century were uncovered. In the 1880s, a part of the right face of the Triumph Bastion was demolished, and Pavlovskaya Street was built in its place. It was renamed as Tuleviku Street in the 1920s. The foundation of this street is made up of fill material with numerous pieces of different sized limestone. Possibly crushed limestone extracted before from the bastion's moat and used for the wall building was reused for the street construction after this part of the bastion was demolished.



Fig. 3. Fragment of a glass mineral water bottle with a text.

Jn 3. Klaasist mineraalveepudeli katke tekstiga.

Photo / Foto: Irina Khrustaleva

In some areas, there were also layers of fill soils transported to the site from elsewhere, containing artefacts (including glass, building ceramics and faience vessels fragments) and animal bones. Among other things, a fragment of a light-green glass bottle with an oval-shaped bottom was found (Fig. 3). It is a part of a mineral water bottle with the text '...Н. ВОДЪ'. Most likely, it was made in St Petersburg, where bottles of such shape and with this text were manufactured from 1834 until 1918 (see Archaeological collection of Memorial Museum 'Raznochinny Petersburg'; Popkov 2021, 343–344). From the early 20th century onwards, the street was paved with cobblestone.

A section of limestone wall, measuring 6.2 m in length, was excavated on the street, which is aligned with the preserved escarpment wall of the right face of Triumph Bastion and is a part of it (Fig. 4). The wall, up to 0.7 m thick, is constructed of limestone blocks bonded with lime mortar. On the inner side of the bastion, an additional buttress constructed of limestone blocks joined this wall. The exact construction period of this specific section of the wall cannot be determined, but the bastion was built in the late 17th century, and it was likely further supplemented and repaired in the 18th century (e.g. Soom 1935, 74; Nurk 2015, 37).

¹ See also the aerial photo of the Narva taken in 1941: <https://fotoladu.maaamet.ee/?basemap=digiaero&minimap=19410707%20Narva&zlevel=14,28.19424,59.37702&overlay=tyhi> (accessed 30.06.2023).



Fig. 4. A – Location of a section of the escarpment wall of Triumph Bastion uncovered on Tuleviku Street; B – view of the wall section from the former bastion; C – part of the escarpment wall, the white dashed line connects the excavated section with the remaining bastion wall, and 'B' indicates the location of the wall section shown in photo B.

Jn 4. A – Tuleviku tänaval avatud Triumph bastioni eskarp müüri osa asukoht; B – vaade müüriosale kunagise bastioni poolt; C – osa eskarp müürist, valge katkendjoon ühendab väljakaevatu tänini säilinud bastioni müüri lõiguga ja 'B' tähistab fotol B esitatava müüriosa asukohta.

Base map / Aluskaart: Estonian Land Board / Maa-amet

Photos / Fotod: Aivar Kriiska

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ARHEOLOOGILISED UURINGUD NARVAS JOAORUS JA ENDISE PEETRI EESLINNA ALAL

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2021. ja 2022. aastal toimusid Narvas seoses promenaadi ehitustöödega Joaorus ning 2022. aastal seose tänavate, kõnniteede, torustike ning kaablite rajamise ja uuendamisega Tuleviku ja Aleksander Puškini tänavatel (endises Peetri linnaosas) arheoloogilised uuringud. Käesolevas artiklis esitatakse lühidalt nende tulemused.

Narva promenaadi (2. etapi) ehitustöödel tehti Joaorus prooviauuke ning osa kaevetöid (sillaaluse toendi kaevis ja osa elektrikaablite kraave) toimusid arheoloogilise jälgimise all. Prooviauukudes ja avatud kaevistes paljandusid enamasti 19.–20. sajandi esemeleide sisaldavad täitepinnased. Kaevete sügavuses tuvastati esiajalooline kultuurkiht vaid Narva Joaoru kiviaegse asulakohana kaitse all oleva muistisel (jn 1A, prooviaugud 2–5). Sealt kogutud esemeleidude hulgas on Narva tüüpi keraamika ja rauaaegse käsitsikeraamika katkeid ning tulekivi- ja kvartsikilde (jn 1C), lisaks veel üks kild kesk- või varauusaegsest ketrakeraamilisest nõust. Kuigi kuni 0,35 m paksune tume huumuserikas kultuurkiht (jn 1B) on seal vähemalt osaliselt segatud, on leiuaines sedavõrd oluline, et uute pinnaseteaisaldustööde korral tuleks kiviaegse asulakoha alal teha töid mitte jälgimisena, vaid viia eelnevalt läbi arheoloogilised väljakaevamised.

Aleksander Puškini tänava ja sellega ristuvate kõnniteede renoveerimise ning erinevate kaablite ja torustike paigaldamiseks vajalikel kaevetöödel avati mitu purustatud ja põlengujälgedega hoone varet. Erinevas mahus kaevati välja arvatavasti nelja paekivist vundamendiga hoone jäänused (jn 2A, 2C). Ühtegi neist ei eemaldatud kogu mahus, sest need

ulatusid sügavamale ehitustöödeks vajalikust kaevetööde sügavusest. Hoonevared paiknevad omaaegse Posti ja Tuleviku tänava ääres (jn 2B), mis hoonestati 19. sajandi viimasel paaril aastakümnel. See osa toona-sest Peetri linnajaost ehitati välja pärast Narva väljarvamist Vene keisririigi kindluslinnade hulgast, mille järel bastionid anti üle linnale. Hooned hävitati Teise maailmasõja ajal Nõukogude Liidu lennuväe pommirünnakus 1944. aasta märtsis.

Tuleviku tänava rekonstrueerimisel avati alates 19. sajandi teisest poolest kujunenud tänavate kihistusi. 1880. aastatel kaevati läbi Triumphi bastioni parema fassi Pavlovskaja tänav, mis 1920. aastatel nimetati ümber Tuleviku tänavaks. Tänavala moodsustab rohkelt eri suuruses paetükke sisaldav täitepinnas. Laiguti oli selles ka esemeleide (sh klaasikilde, ehituskeraamika ja fajanssnõude katkeid) ning loomaliid sisaldavat rusukihti. Ühest sellisest laigust leiti tõenäoliselt Peterburist pärit klaasist mineraalveepudelid katke, milliseid valmistati vahemikus 1834 kuni 1918 (jn 3). Alates 20. sajandi esimesest poolest oli tänav kaetud munakivisillutisega.

Tänavala kaevati välja 6,2 m pikkune pae-müüri lõik, mis paikneb ühel joonel bastioni Triumph parempoolse fassil tänini säilinud eskarpmüüri ja küllap on osa sellest (jn 4). Kuni 0,7 m paksune müür on ehitatud lubimördiga seotud paekividest. Bastioni siseküljel liitus sellega veel paekividest laotud kontraforss. Konkreetse müüriosa täpset ladumise aega ei ole võimalik määrata, kuid bastion ehitati 17. sajandi lõpul ning tõenäoliselt täiendati ja parandati seda veel ka 18. sajandil.