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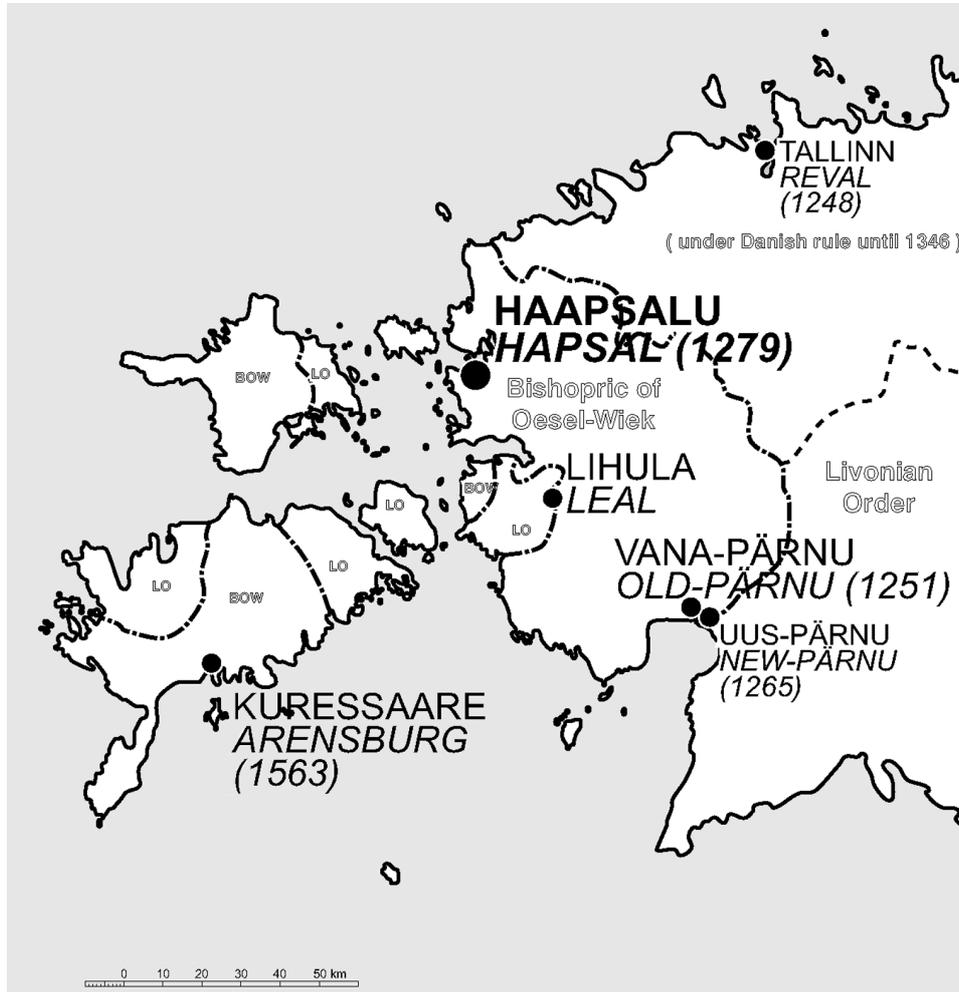
## POSSIBILITIES OF URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN INTERPRETING AN EARLY TOWN PLAN OF HAAPSALU

The article focuses on the issues of interpreting an early town plan reconstructed on the basis of archaeological studies. What is the ‘weight’ of a single research result? Is it possible to make hypotheses on the basis of the built urban environment about the constructional or legal standards of the developing town community, the composition of the social groups engaged in the construction of the town or their possible trading areas? How far should we go in drawing such conclusions? The example of Haapsalu allows a wider circle of researchers to get involved in interpreting a possible hypothesis concerning urban environment. Analyzing data on Haapsalu’s urban structures presents one possible hypothesis about an early street plan, considering also the possible contact regions that may have served as examples for the town pattern, especially the historic Lower Saxony and Westphalia – both regions were active in establishing trading with Old Livonia and the consequent crusades and missions. Considering the distribution of towns with three parallel streets in the German speaking territories, the opinion today is that urban settlement in Haapsalu started approximately in the mid-13th century or in the beginning of the century. Haapsalu may be considered as a success story of developing a systematic town model that formed the basis for constructing new centres in the Oesel-Wiek bishopric.

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### Aims and challenges

The current overview discusses the interconnection of various data on town construction, with the aim to reconstruct the original street plan of a small medieval town together with the early townscape plan on the example of Haapsalu (Germ. *Hapsal*), a former administrative centre of the Oesel-Wiek Bishopric (Fig. 1). An essential task is to involve information of urban archaeology in interpreting the original town space. At the same time the compatibility of data on early urban construction is of vital importance in order to diminish possible inclination of results and create a wide source basis for conclusions. Conclusions



**Fig. 1.** Centres of the Oesel-Wiek bishopric together with the neighbouring territories. Drawing by Indrek Vainu.

are first and foremost based on the results of archaeological excavations, mainly on the study of cellars and the cultural layers below the streets, also the cellar cadastre of the buildings in the old town that also includes archaeologically investigated cellars and historical plans – the 17th–19th century town plans of Haapsalu.

The role of urban archaeology in studying the early history of towns, their establishment, town planning and urban structures is increasing all over Europe, it is conditioned due to the sudden increase of rescue excavations and consequent amount of archaeological finds and structural material. The vast collected material is an inexhaustible source for researchers for diverse studies of town

genesis (e.g. Untermann 2004a; Opll 2011; Igel et al. 2013). Yet, it is necessary to remember in connection with these data that urban archaeology still centres on the source critical approach of the quantitative and qualitative weight in drawing general conclusions on single results (Scholkmann 2004, 182 f.). Hence urban archaeology focuses more on the study of dwelling houses, i.e. single buildings rather than plots. Another source critical issue is the possibility to use historic town plans to reconstruct older town planning (Kaspar 2004, 148 f.; Scholkmann 2004, 183). Regardless of these threats the context of urban archaeology has become a significant source for researchers to discuss the mechanisms of the establishment and organization of medieval towns, the connections of town settlements with pre-urban settlement structures, following early town plans in archaeological material, the multi-levels of town development, etc. (Untermann 2004b; 2011; Baeriswyl 2011; Igel 2011). My research is mainly based on the studies of German urban archaeology on town planning. German eastward expansion started the urbanization process on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea and therefore the treatment of the establishment and development processes of both former and present towns of the German-speaking area are of utmost importance for us.

In my previous works on the archaeologically studied cellars in Haapsalu I have connected the results with the historic town plans with the aim to reconstruct the 13th century town space (Pärn 2006; 2010). To some extent the issues of settlement plans have been discussed in the studies of older housing patterns of Lihula (Germ. *Leal*), the oldest centre of the former Oesel-Wiek Bishopric (Fig. 1; Pärn 2012; Pärn & Russow 2014). In all those papers I referred to the analyses of older types of housing as a varied source of information in interpreting the town space. It appears that so far the research of medieval towns in Estonia has only sporadically used the information collected in archaeological excavations on older housing (Pärn 2014a). It will be a future task to include the results of archaeological field work into the studies of early town space and initial urban planning. This is especially true about small medieval towns in Estonia, where written records about the very beginning of urban settlements are scarce and the survived buildings today date mainly from the Early Modern Times. Here the excavated building remains (mainly cellars) together with the medieval street net, the sacral buildings and fortifications constitute the only material proof about the town's profane architecture and their spatial inter-connection (see Brüggemann 2006; Kaspar 2004).

In general my article focuses on the issues of interpreting an early town plan reconstructed on the basis of archaeological studies. What is the 'weight' of a single research result? Is it possible to make hypotheses on the basis of the built urban environment about the constructional or legal standards of the developing town community, the composition of the social groups engaged in the construction of the town or their possible trading areas? How far should we go in making such conclusions? I am of the opinion that it is necessary to discuss the results of

urban archaeology in the interpretation of a town's spatial planning. The example of Haapsalu allows a wider circle of researchers to get involved in interpreting a possible hypothesis concerning urban environment.

### **A glimpse on the early history of Haapsalu with historic data and the extent of field work**

It has generally been agreed that Estonian towns were mainly established in the mid-13th century as a result of the German eastward expansion (Kala 2001; Pärn 2004). Two areas – Westphalia and Lower Saxony – were especially active in establishing the first trading contacts at the end of the 12th century and the following crusades and missionary work in the beginning of the 13th century (Leimus 2004). A significant role in establishing towns in this region was played by the rulers and sovereigns: the bishops of Oesel-Wiek and Tartu (Germ. *Dorpat*), the king of Denmark and the Livonian Order. Accordingly the towns here in the Middle Ages were initially divided territorially and politically between four feudal powers. At the time urban structures started to develop in Estonia, they followed the general development of towns in Europe where a number of criteria characteristic of urban structures had already been established or accepted, including infrastructure elements such as streets, regular housing units with measured plots, etc. (Jansen 2013, 17, 21 ff.). The town Haapsalu was the third administrative centre of the bishopric Oesel-Wiek, which existed from 1228 to 1559 and covered the territory of the present-day West-Estonia together with the islands (7600 km<sup>2</sup>; Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Written records first mention Haapsalu in 1279, when the place was granted the right to use the Riga town charter. The only building that was mentioned in the charter was the cathedral. Another version of the Riga town charter adapted to Haapsalu in 1294 has survived, also referred to as Haapsalu town charter (Bunge 1844, 264 ff.; Kala 1998a). Here it is important to know that Haapsalu town charter did not include articles regulating building activities (Kala 1998b). In general the early historical records about Haapsalu are very sporadic and usually do not contain much information on urban constructions.<sup>2</sup> As a general rule, written records on the built environment of small medieval Estonian towns started to emerge in the mid-16th century, plans date from the second half of the 17th century onwards. The oldest town plan of Haapsalu dates from the year 1683 (Fig. 2). The main focus is on the castle, otherwise only town quarters with street network have been depicted. The only building on the plan is St John's church (first mentioned in 1524),

<sup>1</sup> Lihula as the first centre of the bishopric did not possess town rights; Vana-Pärnu 1251 (Germ. *Alt-Pernau/Perona*; town law before 1251?), Haapsalu (town law in 1279), Kuressaare (Germ. *Arensburg*, town law in 1563).

<sup>2</sup> For example, the oldest town church (The Holy Ghost Church) was mentioned in 1381, its location is not known (LUB III, No. 1178, 1179).



Fig. 2. The oldest visual source on the street network of Haapsalu – a plan by Swedish fortification officer Samuel Waxelberg. Riksarkivet Krigsarkivet RKA 0406:28:015:001.



Fig. 3. Archaeological fieldwork in Haapsalu in 1980–2007. Drawing by Indrek Vainu, Erki Russow.

which was originally built as a warehouse and is probably of medieval origin.<sup>3</sup> Today the Bishop's castle together with the cathedral, the later St John's church on the town's territory and the street net originate from the Middle Ages. All other older examples of architecture in Haapsalu date mainly from the two last centuries. Based on the existing studies it is evident that information on Haapsalu's medieval and post-medieval profane architecture can be obtained only from the results of archaeological excavations.

<sup>3</sup> According to a legend the building used to be a former granary, its different original purpose can be suspected by the north–south direction of the building and the possible goods door with beam on the southern facade. See Russow 2010, 14 f., figs 1–3.

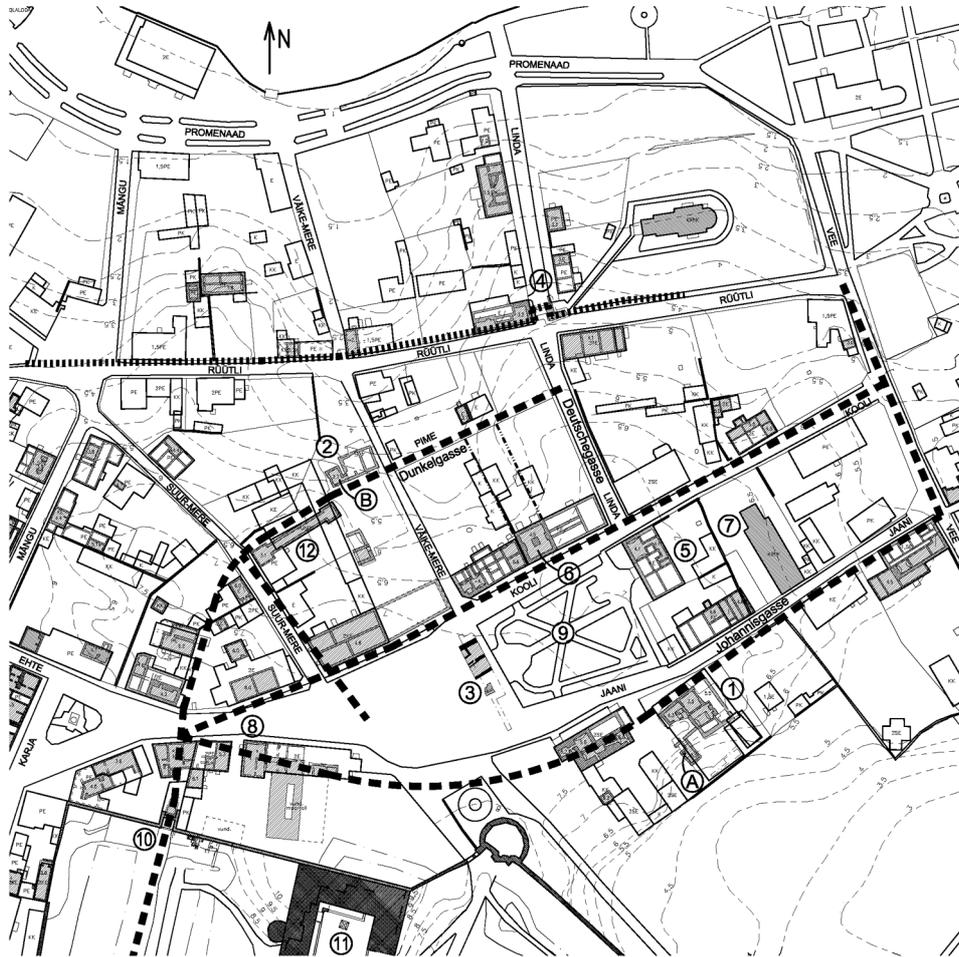
The main method for the study of Haapsalu's early history is archaeology (see Russow 2008a, 15 f., fig. 2). Although in twenty five years major excavations have been undertaken at only two plots, smaller excavations have been carried out due to the installation of various pipelines in nearly the entire territory of the old town (Fig. 3). Excavations have recovered no traces of prehistory (e.g. pre-13th century) on the territory of the town. Archaeological excavations suggest that an urban settlement first developed here in the mid-13th century (Pärn 2010, 47, 56; 2014b, 108 f., fig. 3). The location for the town was probably determined by its proximity to the prehistoric waterway. Originally Haapsalu Bay was a strait that connected the western coast of Estonia with the northern coast (Pärn 2001a). This location demonstrated the bishop's intent to guard and protect the trade route through the strait and his wish to participate in the Baltic Sea area transit trade. At some point in the mid-16th century the northern mouth of the strait was clogged up by sediments and the commercial importance of Haapsalu marginalized, leaving it to be only the administrative centre of the bishopric.

### **Cellars and plots in the early street line of Haapsalu**

The cellars of Haapsalu have been studied for the past twenty years and as a result, a cadastre of cellars has been created (Fig. 4; Pärn 2001b). The database was created on the information obtained from the excavations of cellar remains in the 1980s; it contains information about the pavement layers of the streets and the general plan of the old town cellars today. Although the majority of cellars in the old town have undergone major changes during the 18th and 19th century reconstructions, excavations at the plot in Jaani Street (Germ. *Johannisgasse*) demonstrated that the medieval cellars (13th–15th centuries) were reused for the construction of cellars for the houses of the Modern Period (Fig. 4: 1; Pärn 2010, 33, fig. 2: 1). Also, one of the 14th century stone cellars had been built above a wooden cellar from the mid-13th century. Radiocarbon dating of the timber remains dated it to 1158–1228<sup>4</sup>, while the proto-stoneware fragment from the same spot represents the first application period of imported ceramics in Haapsalu, associated with the period ca. 1240–1275 (Russow 2006a, 154). From the point of the town plan the cellars fixed the original medieval street line of Jaani Street. The original street was located 3.5–4.5 metres south of the present street line and ran in the north-east–south-west direction (Fig. 4: 1). It is noteworthy that the cellars in Jaani Street were originally positioned in the south side of the town's old market place. The old street line corresponded with a massive boulder that was unearthed in one of the cellars. The stone had probably acted as a natural border between plots already in the mid-13th century. This was clearly indicated by the cellar walls

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<sup>4</sup> Tln. 1478; 860 ± 35 BP (age cal. yr AD (modelled 2σ range) 1046–1259). Radiocarbon dates were calibrated using the INTCAL13 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2013) and CALIB 7.0 software (Stuiver & Reimer 1993).



**Fig. 4.** Cadastre of cellars in the old town of Haapsalu, including the archaeologically excavated cellars. Drawing by Indrek Vainu and Anton Pärn. Dotted line – oldest streets and connections; dots – town wall; hatched areas – cellars beneath the buildings. 1 Jaani Street, A half-cellar, 2 Väike-Mere Street, B half cellar, 3 Lossiplats square, 4 German Gate with the town wall, 5 former Town Hall, 6 former Customs House, 7 St John's church, 8 former St Petersburg Hotel, 9 former old market, 10 Pointer Tower (northern gate of the Episcopal castle), 11 Main castle, 12 former 'Kegelbahn'.

on two plots, laid over the stone (Pärn 2006, 178, fig. 3: a). Straight north from the field stone the dredge of a 13th century timber cellar was located.

An intriguing discovery was also the cellar of the former St Petersburg Hotel by Jaani Street, where excavations fixed the rectangular (8 × 8 m) basement of a 17th–18th century building (Fig. 4: 8). Dredging the floor level of the cellar brought to light mid-13th century pottery (Russow 2008b, 176 f., fig. 6). An earlier street line and plot structures were noted in Kooli Street in the former

Customs House (built in the 18th century) cellar (Fig. 4: 6). The Customs House was located opposite the excavated cellars in Jaani Street, at the northern side of the old market square (Fig. 4: 9).<sup>5</sup> On the western range of the house the only cellar of the house older than the above-ground construction was located. The cellar may have originally belonged to a dwelling house with a 12 m wide and 50 m long south-east–north-west directional plot in the rear. The plot extended to the former Pime Street (Germ. *Dunkelgasse*) where the entrance to the plot was. Later the plot behind the Customs House was divided into three north-east–south-west directional plots according to the 1848 and 1860 Haapsalu town plans.<sup>6</sup> However, two auxiliary buildings on the plot were located at the same construction line with eastern outer wall of the Customs House cellar. This allows us to speculate that the location of the later outhouses was influenced by the old south-east–north-west directional plot structure.

In reconstructing the medieval street plan of Haapsalu it is important to consider also the locations of the oldest stone constructions – the half-cellars in the old town. Half-cellars represent a type of burgher houses that in addition to Haapsalu are also represented in the archaeological material of other medieval Estonian towns such as Lihula, Tallinn, Tartu and Narva (Pärn & Russow 2014, 503). The excavated cellars were characterized by three main features: location inside the plot in the rear of the main building; relatively small dredge (ca. one m); entrance to the cellar at the wall facing the street with in most cases a long and narrow stairway and a dredge up to one metre. Such integrated stone-timber buildings with a half cellar in the rear part of the building were known as *Steinwerk*-type building (Kaspar 2008). Two half-cellars (and a possible third one) have been found in Haapsalu, with inner measurements respectively  $5 \times 3.5$  and  $5.5 \times 3.3$  metres (ca. 18 m<sup>2</sup>). Despite their modest number these cellars were located by important street lines. One of these cellars was located in the rear part of the above mentioned stone building in Jaani Street (Fig. 4: 1, A). The cellar had been deepened at the site of the earlier log building, from which the south-east field stone corner had survived. The radiocarbon analysis (<sup>14</sup>C) from the cellar wall dated it to the period 1212–1266.<sup>7</sup> Cleaning the cellar floor from debris revealed fragments of imported ceramics that are among the oldest found in the Haapsalu town area – Paffrath-type pottery. Considering the find context the usage of these vessels may date from the mid-13th century or following decades (Russow 2006a, 154, 238, figs 53–54). Later the stairway entrance to the half cellars had been conjoined with the stone cellarless front house in the central part of the plot (interior measurements  $8 \times 5$  m) that was in use at least until the beginning of the 15th century. As

<sup>5</sup> The cellar has a square ground plan (inside  $9.3 \times 9.9$  m; outside  $12.1 \times 12.7$  m) and a central massive supporting pillar.

<sup>6</sup> Haapsalu town plan from 1848, EAA, f 854, n 4, s GV1051; Haapsalu town plan from 1860, EAA, f 2072, n 2, s 361.

<sup>7</sup> Tln. 1464:805 ± 40 BP (age cal. yr AD (modelled 2σ range) 1164–1276).

described above, the plot with the half-cellar was south-east–north-west directional and dated to mid-13th century. Plots with the half-cellars measured ca. 12 × 32 metres.

The other half-cellar was excavated at the crossing of the former Väike-Mere and Pime streets (Fig. 4: 2, B; Pärn 2006, 178). This cellar was probably built at the beginning of the 14th century. It is likely that in the 15th century a stone building with two rooms and no cellar was constructed in front of the cellar (18.5 (19) × 11.5 m). Beneath both rooms an oven, heated from an outside stoke-hole, was dredged into the ground. The ovens suggested that the building was gradually extended towards north-west, which meant changes in the street line. More precisely, annexing the other dwelling room to the house meant that the street line in Väike-Mere Street was pushed at least 1.5 metres (!) north-east (Pärn 1997, 35). The stone building with the half-cellar was oriented south-west–north-east, with its gable end in Väike-Mere Street and its eaves along Pime Street. The house with the half-cellar marked the corner of the Väike-Mere and Pime streets in the Haapsalu town plan at least by the 14th century (Fig. 4: 2; see Müller 2004, 82). Incidentally, in a complaint letter from 1691 the townspeople called *Dunkelgasse* (Pime Street) the oldest street in town (EAA 854-1-177). Another possible half-cellar may be located at the eastern side of Lossiplats Square, where during installation of water pipelines part of a wall was opened that had similar masonry with Jaani Street half-cellar (Fig. 4: 3). Here a long-toothed bone comb dating from the 13th–14th centuries was discovered (Luik 1998, 126 ff.).

In addition to buildings also the lower surfacing levels in the streets of Jaani, Suur- and Väike-Mere, Pime and Kooli have been studied. Initially the earliest surfacing levels have been dated to the beginning of the 14th century, but even earlier dating may be possible. Also the width of the Pime and Linda streets has been succeeded to measure with certain accuracy – respectively 1.6 and ca. 1.5 metres (Pärn 1997, 33; Russow 2003, 120 f., fig. 11). In addition to the surfacing layers the streets were lined with field stones (Fig. 5). Segments of streets lined with stones have been documented at the extension of Suur-Mere Street, beneath the present Lossiplats Square, and also at the streets of Väike-Mere, Pime and Linda (Germ. *Deutschegasse*). The exact time of lining streets with stones is yet to be determined. For example, a fragment of a drinking vessel was discovered from the surfacing layer of the extension of Suur-Mere Street beneath the Lossiplats Square, which dates from the second half of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th century (Russow & Pärn 2008, 134 ff., fig. 1: 5). However, the curb stones in Linda Street are rather associated with the 15th century (Russow 2003, 121).



Fig. 5. Excavated section of the Pime street pavement, partly survived. Photo by Peeter Säre.

### Early street plan of Haapsalu

As described above, the older cellars are connected with the streets of Jaani, Kooli and Pime. The cellars by the streets clearly demonstrate the direction of the oldest streets towards the castle – all three streets run in the direction of the castle (Fig. 4). Archaeological excavations specified the location and also the direction of Pime Street that disappeared from the town plans in the second half of the 19th century. Now it is clear that Pime Street played a major role in reconstructing the early street plan of Haapsalu. Excavations proved that the stone pavement of Pime Street reached the *diele*-building with the half cellar and moving westwards the street remained on the northern side of the former *Kegelbahn* (e.g., bowling alley), built in the 19th century (Fig. 4: 12). Then, crossing Suur-Mere Street, Pime Street made a ca. 45 degree turn left towards the Pointer Tower (Est. *Osutitorn*), the northern gate tower of the Episcopal castle's outer bailey (Fig. 4: 10). The sharp turn of the street is clearly visible also on the 1683 town plan of Haapsalu (Fig. 2). This could be the result of a declining relief, which was demonstrated by the study of the layers beneath the pipelines in Ehte Street plot, west of Pime Street. Also a 6 metre wide and possibly north–south oriented natural depression was noted there (Pärn 1997, 28 f.). It is likely that Pime Street ran along the edge of the ridge up to the Pointer Tower. Following the course of

Pime Street towards north-east, the former street is now marked by the border of a plot that crosses the quarter between the streets of Väike-Mere and Linda.

Extending the axis of Jaani and Kooli streets, it becomes visible that similarly with Pime Street these streets also headed to the northern gate tower of the castle. It is possible that here was the starting point of the early street pattern of Haapsalu with those three parallel streets. The front of the gate tower branched into three streets that ran parallel in the direction of south-west–north-east diagonally across the peninsula until the later Vee Street (Fig. 4). From those streets only Pime Street ends on the crossing with Linda Street on the 1683 Haapsalu town plan (Fig. 2). My earlier hypothesis was that Pime Street originally connected the castle with the port (Pärn 1996a). The end of Linda Street has been considered as one of the possible locations of the port of medieval Haapsalu. It is important to note that the German Gate (Germ. *Deutscheforte*) that was part of the town wall was excavated at the crossing of the Linda and Rütli streets (Fig. 4: 4; Pärn 1997, 41).

Those three streets were significant in the traffic plan of Haapsalu, the central Kooli and Jaani streets embraced most probably the old market place on both sides (ca. 0.4 ha of park area in front of the Town Hall; Fig. 4: 5, 9). Also the street rhythm on the northern side of the town is noteworthy. Three streets have their starting point in Kooli Street and from there head to the bay: the south-east directional Suur-Mere, Väike-Mere and Linda streets. The northern town territory with its three cross streets indicates the importance of the harbour area in the town traffic scheme (Hansar 2009, 56 f.). The streets of Väike-Mere, Linda and also Jaani may have had their starting points from the corners of the former market square.

In conclusion, the location of the Episcopal castle and the town area has been supported by the relief of the peninsula. Also the old connecting road to the peninsula followed the relief, the axis of the road is marked by the reciprocal location of the South Gate and the ‘Pointer Tower’ of the western outer bailey of the Episcopal castle (Pärn 1996b). The main castle stands on top of the ridge on the peninsula (9–10 metres above the present sea level; Fig. 4: 11), to the north-east of it lays the old town centre in the grasp of Suur-Mere, Pime and Jaani streets. The old centre stood on the gently sloping ridge (5–6 metres above the present sea level). The cultural layer of the town centre reaches in certain areas up to 2.5 metres (Pärn 1997, 27 f.).

### **How to interpret the town plan with three parallel streets?**

As an introduction, it should be mentioned that towns with a regular ground plan that spread from the end of the 12th century until the first third of the 14th century were typical during the high peak of urbanization not only in the eastern part of the German-speaking territories, but also in the old habitats. Also the

distribution of towns with three or more parallel streets started first from those territories, the wider acceptance of such towns demonstrates close contacts of the new centres with the old ones (Johanek 2001, 38 ff.). Hereby the clear planning of towns stands out more in the newer habitats, since both measuring and planning of territories played a bigger role there. Hence the newer habitats do not demonstrate so much evolution of town plans, but rather acceptance of examples that had proven to be practical (Keller 1979, 93 f.; Johanek 2001, 44).

In the following paragraphs I will propose a possible interpretation of the Haapsalu town plan. On the one hand Haapsalu's structure with its parallel streets and a central market square is typical of a 13th century town. On the other hand, the convergence of three parallel streets to a single starting point in front of the 'Pointer Tower' is a significant characteristic that requires looking for similar cases. It is possible that examples of other cases will put Haapsalu with its early plan solution into a specific time frame and will provide us a possibility to map possible contact areas. As it is, plans with three parallel streets appear to be typical of Westphalia in north-west Germany. And, similar plans are also known from Burgdorf and Bern, Switzerland (for Bern, see Baeriswyl 2011, 11 ff.). Coming back to Westphalia, the layout of three streets was one of the significant characteristics of towns established in the domains of the noble family Lippe (Gorki 1966, 83 ff.; Kaspar 2004, 150 f., 154 ff.). Comparisons with Haapsalu might include primarily the Lippe towns, like Lemgo (established in ca. 1200), Blomberg (between 1231 and 1255) and Detmold (before 1265). Yet, towns with a similar ground plan can also be found in the neighbouring areas to the Lippe domains, e.g. Lügde (before 1245/47) and Stoppelberg (1220/30). Such patterns are also found in the southern Lower Saxony, e.g. in Nienover (end of the 12th century), in Landsberg (ca. 1200/10–1230), in Hamm (1226) and somewhat further in Lichtenau (ca. 1289) in Hesse (Küntzel 2010, 257 ff.). By no means is this list exhaustive. It is important to realise that although towns with such a plan started to be established already in the end of the 12th century, a more active period of establishing such towns with three parallel streets converging into one single beam falls into the second quarter of the 13th century. Or even to the mid-13th century. Tight connections with the Lippe family have allowed to name such towns in special literature (see *Historische Stadt- und Ortskerne* 1994, 80, 88, 162, 172, 182) as *Lippe towns with a three street plan* (Germ. *das lippische Dreistraßenschema*). Sometimes such patterns with three parallel streets are also called *spindel-shaped* (Germ. *Spindelformige*) where at both town ends streets run together to one single beam – their ground plan resembles a double conical spindle (Küntzel 2010, 257 ff.). Similar, but lengthwise extended streets have been characterized with the term 'beam-shaped' (Germ. *strahlenformig*).

Additionally, as an intermediate form, a town plan is distinguished, where streets run together in front of the main square, but do not meld together in the rear part of the town, but instead are connected by a side street. At first glance this particular pattern seems to suit Haapsalu, where the streets that run parallel

through the town, are in the eastern part connected by a side street (Vee Street; Fig. 4). It cannot be ruled out that an initially planned spindle-shaped pattern was not realized to the full in Haapsalu, possibly as this part of the town had less importance, e.g. had no hinterland further outside the town area. It was easy and pragmatic to plan urban space with three streets. Measuring down the streets required only the designation of three more or less parallel streets.

At the present stage of studies it is vital to find out if the territory of Haapsalu old town had also elements connected to infrastructure of even earlier settlements. A couple of interesting aspects need to be pointed out. Notably the radiocarbon samples<sup>8</sup> taken from two older timber buildings in Jaani Street dated the wooden cellar by the street to 1158–1228 and the timber building at the rear of the plot to 1038–1225 (Pärn 1997, 29). The age of both samples are related with the second quarter of the 13th century. It is my belief that the period in question and also the mid-13th century are connected with the development of settlement on the peninsula, followed by the development of urban infrastructures. Similar multistage developments of urban settlements have been described in the 13th century northern German and Prussian towns (Germ. *Gründungstädte*; see Czaja 2011; Igel 2011; Untermann 2011). In the case of Haapsalu I have suggested that the location might have had connections with the prehistoric harbour by the old waterway through the Haapsalu strait. Hence the choice for the location of the town may have been influenced from prehistoric connections (Pärn 2001b, 97 ff.; 2014b, 108 f.).

Although the plots in Haapsalu have only been extensively excavated on two occasions, the majority of streets in the entire old town have been studied as a result of pipeline installations (Fig. 3; Russow 2008a, 14 ff., fig. 2). The results of current research allow us to state that earlier planning activities characteristic of towns have not been traced in Haapsalu. Considering the distribution of towns with three parallel streets in the German-speaking territories, I maintain today that urban settlement in Haapsalu started approximately in the mid-13th century. This opinion is supported by the analysis of imported ceramics in Haapsalu, the first or oldest usage period of which is around 1240–1275 (Russow 2006a, 154 f.).

### Discussion and concluding thoughts

By analysing data on Haapsalu's urban structures I have suggested one possible hypothesis about an early street plan, considering also the possible contact regions that may have served as examples for the town pattern, especially the historic Lower Saxony and Westphalia. As stated above, both regions were active in establishing trading with Old Livonia and the consequent crusades and missions (Hucker 1993). On the other hand, dismissing the possible migration areas, the several examples of towns with three parallel streets have demonstrated that the

<sup>8</sup> Tln.–1478; Tln.–1467 (880 ± 35 BP) (age cal. yr AD (modelled 2σ range) 1039–1223).

town plan typical to Haapsalu was known in the old habitats. Developments that took place there were taken as examples for the German eastern colonization and the Oesel-Wiek bishopric was no exception (Johanek 2001, 41 f.). Planning of Haapsalu's urban territory started in around the mid-13th century, i.e. prior to the settlement became the administrative centre of the bishopric with its town charter in the year 1279. Haapsalu may be considered a success story of developing a systematic town model that formed the basis for constructing new centres in the Oesel-Wiek bishopric (see Jansen 2004, 41). I therefore continue to be of the opinion that parallel to Lihula, the oldest centre of the Oesel-Wiek bishopric, bases were created for the establishment of Vana-Pärnu and Haapsalu as well (Fig. 1; Pärn 1998, 119 ff.). These were first and foremost territorial centres that covered the entire territory of the mainland bishopric (later Kuressaare in Saaremaa was added). On a broader basis this step meant using the towns as means of inner colonization and strengthening power (Johanek 2001, 48), which in reality was not realized in Estonia as initially planned.

Turning back to the street plan, it included both planned and non-planned processes that were part of the town development (Igel 2004, 22). Naturally the historic street plan cannot be considered as constant. Street axles have shifted, as we noticed in the case of Väike-Mere Street or from the excavations on the Jaani Street plot (Fig. 4: 1). The currently rather monotonous Jaani Street had in the Middle Ages much denser housing and possible access arms to plots. Also, the ending of Pime Street at the crossing with Linda Street may indicate changes in the existing planning. Pime Street itself disappeared entirely from the streetscape in the second half of the 19th century. Its present, unnaturally large market place, Haapsalu got probably in the second half of the 17th century, possibly as a result of the destruction of the Livonian and Polish-Swedish Wars in 1558–1629 (Fig. 4: 3, 9). The development and later displacement of the town plan was definitely influenced also by the location and extension of the Episcopal castle. The castle has had decisive influence on town development, including spatial development. By occupying the land side of the ridge, the castle closed free access to the territory of the future town. Also, the castle determined the area, where the future town was established between the castle and the bay. A decisive role was also played by the town wall, the remains of which have been found along Rütli Street (Fig. 4: 4; Pärn 1998, 118; Russow 2004, 101 ff.; 2006b, 15). Hence the early town plan includes a number of layers from different periods on the one hand, but also buildings that determined the space of the town's further development (Schofield & Vince 2003, 37 ff.). In determining possible contact territories connected with the town plan of Haapsalu, the interpretation of the half-cellars (Germ. *Steinwerk*) here noted the reflection of building traditions of Westphalia and Saxony (Pärn & Russow 2014). Buildings are created by culture, they cannot be perceived outside economic, political and religious context (Glassie 1992, 57). It is important to point out the significance of analysing the content of imported pottery in the second stage of settlement activities in

Haapsalu – the last third of the 13th century and the first third of the 14th century – where one third of the vessels from Jaani Street is composed of fragments of early stoneware from the southern Lower Saxony (Russow 2006a, 155 f.). True, this is an exceptional case. Since archaeological excavations have been carried out only in two areas connected with the plots, it is not possible to make any general conclusions about the structure of the plots on the basis of the current state of research. Still, the layers of older building remains on top of each other in Jaani Street demonstrated clearly that the structure typical of urban settlements was followed already from the mid-13th century (Pärn 2004, 270). This also meant fixing the street line on Jaani Street.

In conclusion I assume that in the initial stage of settlement it was possible to follow the various forms and perceptions of dwellings in the material culture of the still inchoate society. Hence it is possible to suggest that at certain periods the development of urban settlement may be connected with settlers from certain regions. New centres needed settlers fast and first people were brought from regions that were known by previous connections. The new inhabitants brought along new economic relations and structures of power. It is certain that the formation of townspeople with local identity took time and therefore characteristics of the regional origin of building remains give evidence of a certain period. Therefore, three centuries later, it is interesting to contemplate about the architecture that the English settlers first built on the American continent. The settlers of Jamestown came from south-east England and their houses represented the type that was known in London prior to the Great Fire in 1666 (Kelso 2008, 106 ff.). Further studies will show if the mentioned example from a later period may be connected with the processes in the 13th century. Interpreting urban space in a new habitat means widening communication to all levels. Naturally urban co-existence brought along new social relationships, cohabitation, cooperation networks that concluded in fusing into a community. This also meant the termination of ties with earlier emigration areas.

By way of concluding, I see great potential of urban archaeology in the study of town plans and earlier settlement structures. Also the spotlight on migration areas and pattern areas derives from my intent to realize the scope of the variety of possibilities in interpreting one source of data. The study of the processes in the eastern habitats of Germany in the development of urban settlement on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea by engaging the material of urban archaeology has great potential in researching the social and economic models of the new centres. These studies cannot be successful on one coast only and we need a mutual dialogue on both sides.

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**EAA f 854, n 4, s 105** Geometrischer Plan der Kreisstadt Hapsal, 1848.

**EAA f 2072, n 2, s 361** Hapsal (town plan of Haapsalu, 1860).

**EAA f 854, n 1, s 177** Paide, Rakvere ja Haapsalu linnade privileegid, spetsifikatsioonid ja saabunud kirjad linnade kindlustamise, administratsiooni, majanduse, kohtukorralduse, kodanike kinnisvarade valdusõiguse ja muudel aladel 1623–1704.

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**Anton Pärn**

## LINNAARHEOLOOGIA VÕIMALUSTEST HAAPSALU VANEMA LINNAPLAANI INTERPRETEERIMISEL

*Resüme*

Artiklis on käsitletud erinevate linnaehituslike andmestike omavahelist sidumist eesmärgiga püüda rekonstrueerida Saare-Lääne piiskopkonna administratiivse keskuse Haapsalu näitel ühe keskaegse väikelinna algne tänavaskeem ühes varase linnaruumi planeeringuga (joon 1). Allikabaasi moodustavad esmajoones arheoloogiliste väljakaevamistega uuritud hoonejäänuste, eelkõige keldrite ja ka tänavaaluste kultuurkihtide andmestik; vanalinna hoonete keldrikataster, millele on peale kantud ka arheoloogiliselt uuritud keldrid ning ajalooline plaanimaterjal: Haapsalu 17.–19. sajandi linnaplaanid (joon 2–5). Materjali analüüsis on tugine tud esmajoones Saksamaa linnaarheoloogia linnaplaneerimisküsimuste käsitlemise alastele uurimistöodele põhjusel, et Saksa idaeakspansiooni ja idasustusega pandi alus Läänemere idakalda linnastumisprotsessile. Seetõttu on nii endiste kui ka praeguste saksa keeleruumi linnade tekke- ja kujunemisloo teemakäsitlused ka meie jaoks aktuaalse tähendusega.

Haapsalu keskaegse tänavaplaani rekonstrueerimisel on määravad keldrite uurimistulemused. Jaani tänav kinnistu väljakaevamised näitasid, et siinsed tänaväärsed uusaegsed keldrid olid ehitatud keskaegsete hoonete (13.–15. sajand) keldrite sisse (joon 4: 1). Keldritega fikseeriti algne tänavajoon, mis asus tänapäevasest 3,5–4,5 m lõuna pool ja järgis kirde–edela suunda. Olulised olid nii poolkeldrite kui ka vanimate kiviehitiste esindajate asukohad vanalinnas (joon 4: 1, A; 2: B; 3). Poolkeldrid kuulusid Steinwerki tüüpi liithoonetele ja asusid oluliste tänavasuundade ääres (Jaani ning Väike-Mere tänav, Lossiplats). Keldrid rajati ajavahemikul 13.–14. sajandini, kusjuures ühel juhul fikseeriti nende asendiga kahe tänav ristumine (Pime ja Väike-Mere tänav) ning tänav nihutamine (Väike-Mere tänav). Lisaks keldritele on uuritud Jaani, Suur- ja Väike-Mere, Pime ning Kooli tänav alumisi kruusaseid prügitamiskihte. Neist varasemad pärinevad 14. sajandist. Tehti kindlaks Pime ja Linda tänav laius, mis on vastavalt 1,6 m ning umbes 1,5 m. Tänavad ääristati maakividega 14.–15. sajandi jooksul ja need fikseeriti Suur-Mere tänav pikendusel Lossiplatsi, Väike-Mere, Pime ning Linda tänav kohal.

Uurimistööd näitasid, et linna vanemad keldrid on seotud Jaani, Kooli ja Pime tänavaga. Nimetatud tänavad koondusid algselt üheks kiireks piiskopilinnuse läänepoolse eeslinnuse põhjapoolse väravatorni (Osutitorn) esisele (joon 4: 10).

Värvatorni esiselt toimus tänavate kolmeks hargnemine ja need kulgesid paralleelselt edela–kirde suunas põiki üle poolsaare kuni hilisema Vee tänava jooneni. Ainsana lõpeb Pime tänav 1683. aasta linnaplaanil Linda tänavaga ristudes (joon 2). Pole võimatu, et Pime tänav oli algselt ühendustee pikendus linnusest sadamani, mille asukohta on seostatud Linda tänava lõpuga.

Haapsalu paralleelsete tänavate ja keskse turuplatsiga plaanilahendus on 13. sajandil asutatud linnale tüüpiline. Samas on kolme paralleelse tänava üheks kiireks koondumine Osutitorni esisel oluliseks tunnuseks, et otsida teisi sarnaseid näiteid ka mujalt. Nii on võimalik asetada Haapsalu vanem plaanilahendus konkreetsesse ajalisse raami ja kaardistada võimalikke eeskujude kontaktpiirkondi. Osutus, et sarnane kolme tänavaga plaanilahendus on väga iseloomulik ajaloolisele Vestfaalile ja ka Alam-Saksimaa lõunaosale. Siinjuures on kirjeldatud tänavate plaanilahendus üheks oluliseks tunnusjooneks Lippe aadliperekonna valdusalal asutatud linnadele. Nii võiksid Haapsaluga võrdlemisel kõne alla tulla Lippe linnad, nagu Lemgo (rajatud umbes 1200. aastal), Blomberg (ajavahemikul 1231–1255) ja Detmold (enne 1265. aastat). Samasuguse põhiplaaniga linnu leiame Lippe lähinaabrusest: Lügde (enne 1245/47) ja Stoppelberg (1220/30), aga ka Alam-Saksimaa lõunaosast: Nienover (12. sajandi lõpp), Landsberg (umbes 1200/10–1230), Hamm (1226) ning Lichtenau (umbes 1289) Hessenis. Loetelu pole lõplik. Haapsalu puhul on oluline, et sarnase tänavaskeemiga linnu hakati rajama juba 12. sajandi lõpul ja nende aktiivsem asutamisperiood jääb 13. sajandi teise veerandisse või ka keskpaika. Tõenäoliselt esindab Haapsalu tänavaskeem vahevormina tuntud plaanilahendust, kus tänavad jooksevad kokku linnaala alguses oleva peavärava ees, kuid linnaterritooriumi tagaosas enam üheks ei sulandu, olles põiktänavaga omavahel ühendatud (joon 4).

Kolme paralleelse tänavaga linnade levik saksa keeleroomis toetab senist arvamust, et Haapsalu linnalisele asustusele pandi alus umbes 13. sajandi keskpaiku või selle künnisel. Seda näitab ka Haapsalu importkeraamika vanem kasutushorisont, mis paigutub ajavahemikku umbes 1240–1275.

Kokkuvõttes on Haapsalu linnaehitusliku andmestiku analüüsiga välja pakutud üks võimalik vanema tänavaskeemi arenduse hüpotees, samuti sarnasele plaanilahendusele eeskujuks olnud võimalikud kontaktpiirkonnad Vestfaal ja Alam-Saksimaa. Mõlemad olid Vana-Liivimaaga kaubandussidemete loomisel alates 12. sajandi lõpust ja sellele järgnenud ristsõdades ning missioonis aktiivsed.

Haapsalu on näide plaanipärase linnamudeli võidukäigust uute keskuste ülesehitamisel Saare-Lääne piiskopkonnas. Linnaasustuse algperiood pakub võimalusi teha oletusi migratsiooniliikumise kohta mõnest konkreetsest piirkonnast. Üldisemalt on tõstatatud probleemiasetused linnaplaani tõlgendamise võimalustest seotud püüdega tunnetada laiemate ühiskondlike protsesside kirjeldamisel linnaarheoloogilise allikabaasi ulatust.