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MEDIEVAL URBAN VYBORG

During the last few years urban archaeology in Vyborg has followed two pathways. Firstly, rescue excavations and archaeological supervising have been conducted every year in the medieval town area. Secondly, an inventory of the research history in medieval archaeology as well as of potential excavation areas and future perspectives for archaeological research has been made. Recently ^{14}C dates have added new aspects to the discussion about early urbanization in Vyborg. This article considers the criteria for urbanization, according to the project *Medeltidsstaden/Keskiajan kaupungit* (The medieval towns), which covers all the preserved towns of the medieval Swedish State. Topographical criteria, like the medieval development of urban infrastructure, are problematic because of the lack of map material. In addition to empiric observations, theoretical discussions are necessary.

Viimaste aastate jooksul on Viiburi linnaarheoloogia arenenud kahes peamises suunas. Esiteks, keskaegse linna territooriumil viiakse igal aastal läbi päästekaevamisi ja arheoloogilisi inspeksioone. Teiseks on kokku võetud Viiburi keskaja arheoloogia uurimislugu ja ühtlasi inventeeritud võimalikud arheoloogiliselt huvipakkuvad kaevamisalad ning tulevase arheoloogilise uurimistöö kohad. Viimased ^{14}C analüüside tulemused on osutanud uutele võimalustele Viiburi varasema linnalise asustuse tõlgendamisel. Artiklis on uurimisprojektide “*Medeltidsstaden/Keskiajan kaupungit*” poolt sõnastatust lähtuvalt arutletud urbaniseerumise kriteeriumide üle. Nimetatud projektide uurimisel on kõik keskaegse Rootsi riigi seni säilinud vanalinnaga linnad. Urbaniseerumise topograafilised kriteeriumid, näiteks linnade infrastruktuuri keskaegset arengut käsitlevad uurimused, on raskendatud kaardimaterjali puudumise tõttu. Lisaks empiirilisele lähenemisviisile on vajalik kaasata teoreetiline arutelu.

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Introduction

Is medieval history important for town planning today? The answer is definitely yes, and this was the motive for the inventory of archaeological material as well as medieval written sources in 70 Swedish medieval towns in the 1970s. The project was named *Medeltidsstaden – den tidiga urbaniseringsprocessens konsekvenser för nutida planering* (The medieval town – early urbanization and its consequences for the modern town planning). The main aim of the project was to integrate

archaeological field investigations in the process of town planning (Projektprogram 1976, 21–22).

A similar inventory was carried out in the 1980s in the eastern part of medieval Sweden, on the present western and southern coasts of Finland. The Finnish project has the title *Keskiajan kaupungit – varhainen kaupungistumiskehitys ja nykyinen suunnittelu* (The medieval towns – early urbanization and town planning today). It follows the practices of the Swedish project and thus the Swedish and Finnish reports have the same structure.

For a long time the easternmost town of medieval Sweden was missing from the series of inventory reports. The material has now been collected by the author of this article, and a printed report on Vyborg is under preparation as the fifth volume of *Keskiajan kaupungit*. At the same time, active archaeological field work in the town and new publications about early history of the district make updating the inventory quite a challenge.

Since 1998, the research of Iron Age and medieval history of Vyborg has proceeded in three areas: rescue excavations and archaeological supervising, re-interpretation of archaeological material and written sources, and radiocarbon dating. The whole medieval history – from the last pre-urban centuries until the first modern town plan in the middle of the 17th century – is getting new light.

This article gives a glance to the current research of urbanization and urban space in Vyborg. In the outline of the project *Medeltidsstaden*, several characters were chosen to make a distinction between a central place (*centralort* in Swedish, *keskuspaikka* in Finnish), densely built-up settlement (Sw. *tätort*, Fi. *taajama*) and a town. Definition of a centre as a town can be based on functional, topographical as well as juridical and administrative criteria or a combination of these. The applicability of different criteria in Vyborg is discussed below.

The establishment of the castle of Vyborg in 1293 and introduction of Catholic faith are no longer understood as an abrupt beginning of urban development in a previously marginal area. The position of Vyborg as a strategic and economic centre of international importance, and its function as a profane and ecclesiastical administrative centre developed gradually. The first town privileges are known from the year 1403.

With the aid of maps and empiric material archaeologists build physical and social environments for medieval town-dwellers. Material culture is a key to the townsmen's life behind the theoretical concept of urbanization. Aside the usual archaeological approaches, study of medieval urban milieu can benefit from viewpoints presented in urban geography and vice versa. Both fields of research proceed from spatial understanding of living environments.

Urban archaeologists are not independent actors on the modern urban scene. Our challenges and demands need to be forwarded to town planners, building companies, media and public in large, in a clear and convincing way. Continuous diplomacy in all these directions is the part of everyday life of the archaeological expedition in Vyborg, and contradictions do occur. It remains to be seen in what ways the ongoing research will support antiquarian work in Vyborg.

International archaeology in Vyborg today

In 1998, rescue excavations started in one of the most interesting areas of medieval Vyborg: at the foot of the only still existing tower of the town wall (Saksa *et al.* 2002a; 2002b; Belsky *et al.* 2003; Saksa 2004a; 2004b).¹ Since then the archaeological expedition of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of Russian Academy of Sciences (IHMC RAS, St. Petersburg), supervised by archaeologist Aleksandr Saksa, has worked in Vyborg every year (Fig. 1). The Finnish foundation *Karjalaisen Kulttuurin Edistämissäätiö* has been one of the most important financiers of the work for many years. The area excavated by now measures about 250 square metres. Detailed analysis of the artefacts can hopefully be carried out in the near future.

Some of the results in the archaeology of Vyborg have been obtained through good co-operation between Russian and Finnish researchers. Division of activities is clear: the Russian expedition conducts all excavations, and they have the rights to the field documents and artefacts. The Finnish partners are most interested in samples for palaeobotanical analyses and dating of organic remains. Ancient (beginning with the Middle Ages) and modern layers have been used as reference material in the study of pollution in Turku (Salonen & Taavitsainen 2003).

The idea to apply radiocarbon dating in Vyborg was suggested by Professor Matti Saarnisto (Geological Survey of Finland, Espoo). He took the first samples from the lowermost layer of the excavation area near the medieval town wall in summer 2001. Subsequently ¹⁴C dates were received from other excavation areas in 2003 and 2004 (Saksa *et al.* 2003a; Saarnisto & Saksa 2004a; 2004b).

In the new book series *Viipurin läänin historia* (The history of the Vyborg district: Saarnisto 2003; Korpela 2004), several Finnish researchers discuss the prehistory and history of the area.² The Late Iron Age is treated by the leading experts of this period, Saksa and Pirjo Uino (Saksa *et al.* 2003b; Uino 2003b). Markus Hiekkanen's article about the transition from prehistory to Christian society is rich in new interpretations (Hiekkanen 2003b). Jukka Korpela is responsible for the main part of the second volume which covers the medieval period (Korpela 2004). Church architecture in Karelia and medieval stone churches of Vyborg are described by Hiekkanen (2004). My own commentary on the history of the castle has greatly benefited from the views of Knut Drake who has previously discussed the castle island in several articles (Drake 1993; 1996a; 1996b; 2001; Suhonen 2004c).

¹ Detailed references to the excavation reports and other archive material have been left out from the present article. They have been used as the source material to the cited sources (see list of references).

² Three more volumes will follow and the project will cover the history of the area until the Second World War.

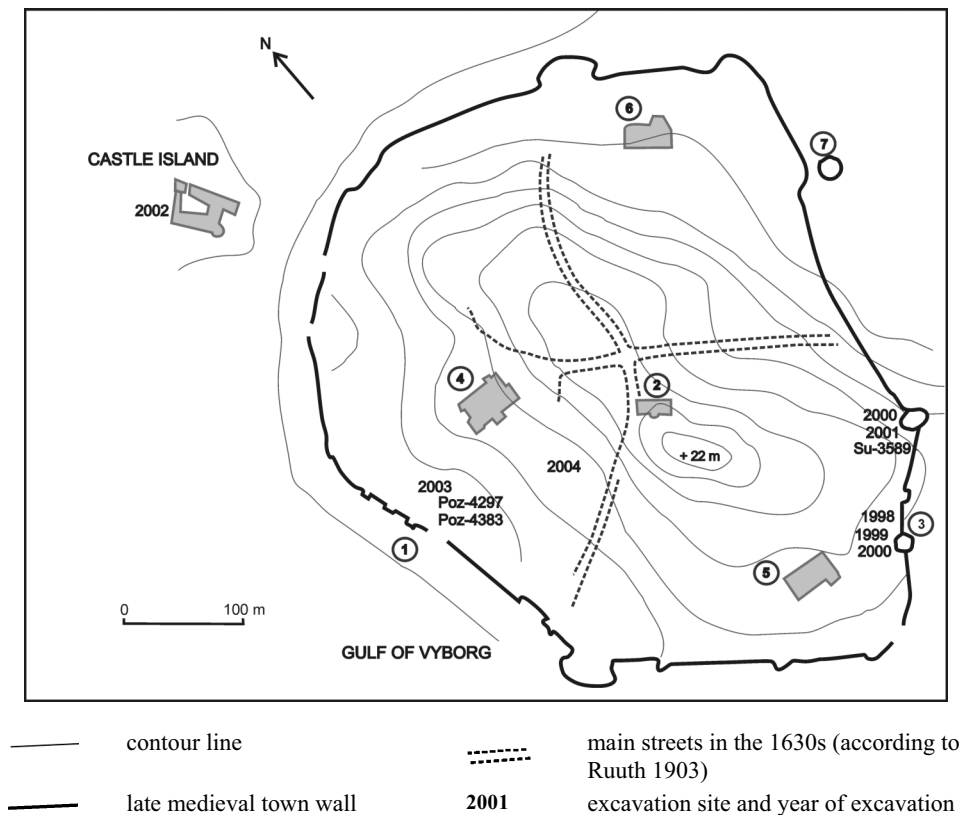


Fig. 1. Topography of the medieval town area of Vyborg and the excavation sites of 1998–2004. Contour lines according to a map by Otto-Iivari Meurman in 1933 (Archives of the National Board of Antiquities/Department of Monuments and Sites, Helsinki). 1 medieval (?) harbour, 2 medieval town hall (?), 3 medieval Ratushnaya Tower, 4 medieval town church, 5 church of the Dominicans, 6 church of the Franciscans, 7 Round Tower (post-medieval).

Joon 1. Viiburi keskaegse linna-ala topograafia ja aastail 1998–2004 toimunud arheoloogiliste kaevamiste asukohad. Samakõrgusjooned on antud Otto-Iivari Meurmani 1933. aasta kaardi järgi. 1 keskaegne (?) sadam, 2 keskaegne raekoda (?), 3 keskaegne raetorn, 4 keskaegne linnakirik, 5 dominiiklaste kirik, 6 frantsisklaste kirik, 7 ümmargune torn (uusaegne).

Archaeological inventory of Vyborg

The primary motive for the inventories in Sweden in the 1970s was the construction works going on in several old town areas. The risk of losing valuable material and information was high because there was no consensus on the application of the law on the protection of ancient monuments to urban layers from historical times. Similar needs had become topical in Norway, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Denmark (Andersson 1990, 8–10 and cited sources). An inventory of available archaeological and historical material, potential areas for

archaeological excavations in the towns in question as well as future challenges for research would give a clear starting point for negotiations between antiquarian authorities and builders of the modern town. In old town centres, sufficient funds for field archaeology have to be included in the budget of new projects.

At the same time, urban archaeology was becoming an important field of archaeology. The *Medeltidsstaden* report series was also directed to colleagues who were less familiar with medieval town remains and research of urbanization. The reports have been useful for both archaeological field work and academic research in many ways.

All still existing Swedish medieval towns as well as medieval Danish and Norwegian towns in the four southern provinces of present Sweden were included in the project. The final report was published by Hans Andersson, Professor of medieval archaeology in Lund (Andersson 1990). In Finland, inventory was done in Porvoo, Rauma, Turku and Naantali.³ Six medieval Swedish towns can be counted east of the Gulf of Bothnia, and thus Vyborg was the last one in the Finnish project for which the report was missing.

Cooperation between Saksa's expedition and the University of Turku (Department of Cultural Studies/Archaeology) has made it possible for us to take the final step.⁴ The manuscript is planned to be published in the publication series *Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae* by the Finnish Society for Medieval Archaeology.

The original motives for archaeological inventories are of current interest in Vyborg, because there is a high risk that new buildings and other diggings may cause damage to the well-preserved cultural layer. To my knowledge no general plans have been made for any great change of infrastructure in the Old Town of Vyborg. Still, construction works are done in a smaller scale and negotiations are held without publicity. It is necessary for the archaeological expedition to keep an eye on the changing situation.

According to the Russian cultural heritage protection law, archaeological rescue investigations must be financed by the builder. The practice, however, depends on the interests of local authorities. In Vyborg the situation is unsatisfactory, but patient struggle to strengthen the status of archaeology in the town has already led to slight improvements. On the other hand, the situation in Vyborg differs from what was acute in Sweden three decades ago. The field work methods and ways of argumentation follow the conventions in (northwest) Russian urban archaeology. Unlike in Sweden in the 1970s, the inventory report is not needed as a forum to discuss the aims and methods of excavations in Vyborg.

³ Ulvila was left out from the project programme because its medieval part has not been preserved. Between 1558 and 2000 Ulvila did not have town rights. Recently the medieval church and medieval remains in Liikistö have aroused great interest (Jäkärä 2003; Haggrén 2004; see also Pihlman 1982). In 2004 a coin hoard was found just outside the wall of the church (Talvio 2005). It is time to reconsider the need for the inventory of Ulvila.

⁴ We thank Alfred Kordelin Foundation for financial support to the inventory of Vyborg.

The report in Russian translation will hopefully support both the antiquarian work and research in Vyborg. It should be taken into consideration, though, that it is prepared and published by foreign academic institutions that do not have any previous merits in Vyborg. To avoid misunderstandings, the motives of the work must be made explicit. The interests of Finnish researchers in Vyborg are scientific, not political.

Each of the over 70 volumes of the two report series is slightly different depending on the availability of material and personal interests of the authors. The general outline, however, is the same. The reports begin with a short summary of the whole history of the town, and the Iron Age background of medieval settlement. This is followed by a list of medieval written documents and a selection of old maps from the 17th and 18th centuries. The research history of medieval institutions and elements of the infrastructure is summarized with detailed references to publications.

In the second chapter, the thickness of the cultural layer in the medieval town area is estimated. In Sweden and Finland this was done on the basis of geological surveys and previous archaeological excavations. In Vyborg it was not possible to get enough data of geological drillings, although such material is in principle no longer classified in Russia. In most of the places excavated by Saksä the cultural layer is surprisingly well preserved. The medieval town was erected on rock and since the 18th century the area has been densely built up. Despite this, the thickness of the undisturbed and humid cultural layer can exceed 2 m.

The research history of the still existing medieval buildings and ruins is described only very briefly in the reports. The list of archaeological field works and observations is minimal but more detailed information can be found in the notes taken by the authors during the investigation. This information is available in local public archive. Artefacts were usually not listed in the printed reports but Vyborg is an exception at this point.

In the final part of each report the author presents an interpretation of the medieval town structure. It includes the current state of research, followed by suggestions for future challenges in archaeological investigation. So far only the first steps have been made in the study of urbanization of Vyborg on the one hand, and Vyborg in the process of urbanization in the Baltic region on the other hand.

Three criteria of urbanization

Among the 77 towns treated in the two projects described above, the oldest ones are Sigtuna, Visby, Lund, Lödöse and Skara, which were urban centres already in the 11th century. Most Swedish medieval towns, Stockholm included, were formed in the 13th century. The northernmost medieval towns in Sweden were Gävle on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia and Ulvila (Ulfsby) on the eastern coast of the gulf.

In the East the urbanization process reached the Karelian Isthmus, Vyborg, in the 14th century (Andersson 1990, 62–67, 82–85). King Erik von Pommern gave

town privileges to the administrative, military, ecclesiastical and economical centre in Karelia in 1403 (FMU II 1173).⁵ During the 14th century Vyborg grew from a village-like settlement at the foot of a wooden fortification into a medieval town protected and controlled by a stone castle. There are several questions to be answered. From what time can Vyborg actually be considered as an urban point in the eastern Baltic Sea area? Did a town-like centre exist in the Karelian Isthmus as early as in the 14th century? Did visiting German tradesmen meet urban lifestyle in Vyborg prior to 1403 and how was the local way of life reflected in consumption and trade of goods there?

The actual beginning of urbanization in different medieval towns can be best discussed using both historical sources and archaeological material. In the frames of the project *Medeltidsstaden*, several criteria for urbanization were chosen, which at the end of the project were reviewed by Andersson (Projektprogram 1976, 9–15; Andersson 1990, 26–27). Firstly, a central place can be defined as a town by *functional* criteria, that is, if it functions as an administrative, military and/or ecclesiastical centre for the surrounding area. The central place can also be defined by its position in a network of traffic routes. The institutions such as annual markets or regular religious events, as well as fortifications nearby, definitely strengthen the place's leading position in the surroundings. The location favourable for traffic connections provides the central place with good potential to grow in importance.

In Vyborg, a castle was built at the entrance to the sailing route through the Vuoksi River to Lake Ladoga.⁶ Interpretation of the late Iron Age remains along the Vuoksi water route depends on whether we accept the hypothesis of a strong centre in the southwestern estuary of the river or not. The role of the hypothesis is notable because of dissatisfactory knowledge of late Iron Age or medieval archaeological remains in the area. The need for surveys in the Vyborg district has been noted repeatedly. The research history of the area is found in the publications of Uino (1997, 23–43; 2003a).

Secondly, the administration of a medieval town required a town council, mayor, town hall, seal and other attributes. These are *juridical* or *administrative* criteria which nevertheless are not necessary or relevant for deciding whether an early pre-urban centre like Birka or Hedeby was a town-like settlement. Instead, they are useful for dating the urbanization process of actual medieval towns. Development of a town can be followed according to when different institutions are first mentioned in (reliable) medieval documents. The firmest evidence of urban status is, of course, formal town rights (Korpela 2004, 241–242).⁷

⁵ For the meaning of formal town rights see, e.g., Korpela (2004, 240–246). Andersson (1990, 80) points to Erik von Pommern's active involvement in administrative formation of towns.

⁶ The Vuoksi River had bifurcating arms, the southwestern one of which was navigable until the 17th century.

⁷ I am thankful to Valter Lang, Teemu Mökkönen and other Estonian and Finnish colleagues for their viewpoints considering the town privileges and other parameters of the concepts "urban" and "urbaneness" in the 2nd Finnish–Estonian postgraduate studies seminar, Suitia, Finland, in November 2004.

Vyborg has been mentioned in written documents several times before 1403 (Saksa *et al.* 2002a, 40–41; Korpela 2004, 242–243). One of these writings is the Treaty of Nöteborg in 1323, and in 1336 Vyborg is called *civitas* (FMU I 313; FMU I 443). Town council is mentioned in 1393 (Ruuth 1908, 51; Ruuth *et al.* 1982, 138). All the currently available documents concerning the establishment of town institutions in medieval Vyborg were well known already a century ago, and chances to find previously unknown documents of central importance are small. It is not out of the question, of course, that Vyborg had been given town privileges some time in the late 14th century but there is no evidence of it.

Thirdly, the infrastructure of a town is characterized by a high density of plots and living houses, monumentality of public buildings, organization of public space, etc. These are *topographic* criteria, which are hard to measure and thus not very useful for distinction between a pre-urban and urban centre. Nevertheless, archaeological material allows their application for discussing the rate of urbanization in a town-like settlement.

In terms of infrastructure, densely built-up permanent settlement is a transformation stage of development between a periodically visited central place and a medieval town. In order to define the urbanization process in timeline, topographic criteria should be considered secondary in relation to the functional and administrative ones. But it is urban elements in infrastructure that indicate social urbaneness. In Vyborg, the new archaeological observations open the possibility of the study of these aspects.

Exact dates – inexact history

The inventory of Vyborg was done at an intriguing moment. By the time the manuscript was finished, new radiocarbon dates had already led not only to the need to update it but also to revising its main hypothesis.

Near the easternmost edge of the medieval town area, a log was dated to the 1270s (Su-3589: cal AD 1245 (1272) 1283; Saksa *et al.* 2003a). This is the first evidence of the possible settlement continuation from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages outside the castle island. The find material does not speak for Scandinavian immigration but rather for local inhabitation (Saksa 2004b; for discussion see also Korpela 2004, 86).⁸

There is a legend of a predecessor of the medieval town called Old Vyborg.⁹ However, connection between this assumption and archaeological material or the ¹⁴C dating is not proved scientifically.

⁸ In my paper at the 22nd Nordic Archaeology Conference (Oulu 2004) I made some critical comments on the current discussion (Suhonen, in print B). Ethnicity in archaeological interpretations in the first volume of *Viipurin läänin historia* is the case study in Suhonen (2004a).

⁹ Different hypotheses concerning Old Vijborg have previously led to investigations on Linnansaari Island in Vyborg (Saarnisto 2003, 13–23; Кишук 2001, 121–141) and Primorsk (Björkö in Swedish, Koivisto in Finnish) (Salo 1982, 18–22, 31–33, 71–74). See Hiekkänen (2003b, 486–487), Korpela (2004, 83–86), list of references in Suhonen (2004c, note 6).

The radiocarbon analysis of burnt seeds of fat hen (*Chenopodiaceae sp.*) from the excavation area close to the harbour suggest that the lowermost layer should be dated to the beginning of the 14th century (Poz-4297: cal AD 1310). Above this layer there were planks, probably part of a floor, dated as cal AD 1410 (Poz-4383) (Saarnisto & Saksa 2004a; 2004b). Permanent 14th-century settlement of handicraftsmen and tradesmen near the castle was assumed by Ruuth (1908, 21–38; Ruuth *et al.* 1982, 50–66). The recent dating result perfectly supports this generally accepted hypothesis (Korpela 2004, 246). No empirical material is available until now that would refute or verify his suggestion.

In other words: a log was cut in the 1270s. At a later time it was used for construction work at the place which became part of the medieval town. This second, more rigorous reading of the analysis may not be very inspiring, yet it cannot be ignored. The dated log was unearthed in the corner of the excavation area in 2001 and its connection to other building remains is unclear. Two dendro-chronological dates were obtained for a wooden building which was excavated about 25 m east of the construction with the ^{14}C dated log (analysis by Pentti Zetterberg, University of Joensuu). This building was very well preserved and it lay on the bedrock. Its dating to the late 1470s (75% probability) raises the question whether the radiocarbon dated log could have been re-used, which would not be exceptional in Vyborg (Saksa *et al.* 2002a, 51–53; Saksa *et al.* 2003a).

The layers that yielded the burnt seeds and floor planks are probably undisturbed. In the early 14th century, cattle was held on the shore opposite the Swedish castle, where later a wooden building was erected. The artefacts related to the dated material are medieval but typological arguments concerning their exact date have not been published.

Laboratory dating of buildings can be accurate or misleading, as well as dates of letters or chronological “facts” in chronicles. In addition to the risk of actual failures in dating methods, relying on the exactness of dates is somewhat complicated for another reason, too. Events like constructing a house or establishing an institution can be precisely datable events in local history but never independent from long-term processes. In a wider context a single date is only a detail.

Iron Age fortification revisited

The position of Vyborg as the Iron Age central place in the western Karelian Isthmus is not self-evident at all (Fig. 2). In terms of traffic connections the location of Vyborg in the estuary of the main water route was profitable but not necessarily safe.¹⁰ In the light of the known archaeological material it seems that the late Iron Age inhabitation of the coastal area around the Gulf of Vyborg was scarce (Hiekkanen 2003b, 480–489). The geographical context of Vyborg is open for re-interpretations because the known empiric material is not sufficient at all.

¹⁰ Instead of the importance of the river, Korpela underlines the maritime connection of Vyborg. According to him, similarities with Tallinn are worth noting (Korpela 2004, 87).



Fig. 2. The location of Vyborg on the Karel'ian Isthmus. The arrows mark the flow of the Vuoksi and Neva rivers in the Middle Ages. The eastern mouth of the Vuoksi River opened in 1867.

Joon 2. Viiburi asend Karjala maakitsusel. Nooled tähistavad Vuoksi ja Neeva jõe suunda keskajal. Vuoksi jõe idapoolne suue avanes 1867. aastal.

After his first excavations in the Smith's Yard on the castle island, V. A. Tjulenev wrote a new chapter to the early history of Vyborg, suggesting that the castle island was fortified by the Karelians in the late Iron Age. In 1293 the stronghold was taken by the Swedes with violence (Tjulenev 1982; 1987).

Tjulenev and his expedition team worked in Vyborg from the late 1970s until the mid-1990s. After 1983 investigations on the castle island, only small-scale test excavations were carried out by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Tjulenev did not change his opinion about the Iron Age Karelian settlement, and ten years later he presented it in one of his main publications, which was published posthumously (Тюленев 1995, 15–18).

Tjulenev did not get much response to his radical, probably a priori intentional and politically biased interpretation.¹¹ This is not quite surprising. From the viewpoint of Novgorodian medieval history, Vyborg was on the other side of an early political border line. Swedish and Finnish archaeologists had only silent interests in Karelia because their contacts with Soviet archaeologists were rather restricted and formal until the 1990s.

Some of the artefacts collected by Tjulenev's expedition are stored in the castle of Vyborg but there are probably a number of finds the address of which is currently unknown (illustrations of finds: Tjulenev 1982; 1987; Тюленев 1995, 68–75; summary of published finds: Uino 1997, 345–346). Many excavation reports remained unwritten or are not exact (stored at the IHMC RAS).¹² Tjulenev's hypothesis must be read with critical eye because the insufficient documentation does not allow proper testing of the empiric material. Tjulenev did not make any statements about possible settlement outside the castle island in the 13th century.

The above-mentioned problems with source material used to make researchers unwilling to discuss the question of the late Iron Age in Vyborg. Today it is one of the most interesting challenges for archaeological research in the Vyborg district. The 13th-century radiocarbon date from the Old Town is an important addition to the available material, though one single date should not be given too much emphasis.

Tjulenev's hypothesis forms the basis for the scheme which is taken under consideration in *Viiipurin läänin historia* (Saksa *et al.* 2003b, 437–438; see also Taavitsainen 2003). However, the authors do not discuss it in detail, and the suggestion will hopefully be followed by supporting and opposing arguments in the future. According to Saksa, Uino and Hiekkanen, a trade place existed in Vyborg in the 13th century, established by the Karelians. Excavations on the castle island of Kexholm at the other end of the Vuoksi sailing route play a major role in this discussion (Uino & Saksa 1993; Kankainen *et al.* 1995; Suhonen 2004b and cited sources). It is logical to believe that some suitable landing places on islands and shores of the Gulf of Vyborg were regularly visited in the late Iron Age. Surveys in the area have so far not led to any empirical evidence of “Old Vyborg” (see above) or any other possible Iron Age central place somewhere outside medieval Vyborg.

Dialogue about the criteria for urbanization

None of the functional criteria alone would be enough to distinguish a town-like centre from a central place of more temporary character. The attribute *urban*

¹¹ There were some critical comments on scientific forums which, anyhow, did not lead to argumentative writing. Ethnic aspects in archaeological interpretations are touched upon in Suhonen (2004a) and in my manuscript *Karjalankannaksella kaukana karjalaisista* (Suhonen, in print A). In my opinion the question is relevant in the study of Vyborg even today although it hardly allows but discrete comments; see Hiekkanen (2003b, 483).

¹² For first-hand knowledge about Tjulenev's finds and reports I have relied on the kind help of Saksa and Stanislav Belsky.

can be applied to the general character of a place as a whole only if several phenomena together point to the same direction. For example, towns are not merely trade places or strategic points but many-sided knots in the spatial network. Their position as a heart of the area is more stable than that of a trade place, a cult place or a stronghold with only a safeguarding purpose.

According to the prevailing hypotheses the Iron Age fortification in Vyborg had several central functions. It was a control point of trade by the river and a trading place for the Karelians. In the case of an attack a fortification on an island would protect local inhabitants. A fortified island might have been a suitable place for property assembly as well.

As far as we know, Iron Age holy places were situated at a distance from trade and battle. Vyborg became a religious centre at the beginning of the medieval times. The congregation of Vyborg was first mentioned in 1352 – half a century after the “crusade” of 1293 (REA p. 98). However, Hiekkänen is no doubt correct in opining that the society needed religious services soon after new Catholic inhabitants settled down in Vyborg (Hiekkänen 2003a, 244–247; 2003b, 501). Tax revenues were collected both by the church and the crown, and were probably stored on the castle island several decades before the congregation was mentioned in preserved documents (for documents on taxation in Vyborg in the early 14th century see Korpela 2004, 203 and Hiekkänen 2003b, 502–503).

It should be repeated that the Iron Age fortification is a scientific construction, and lacks real archaeological evidence. In any case, a small fortified island is not an urban centre. “Urban” is a word to describe the living environment and way of life.¹³ Functions of a place as a centre have to match with topographical criteria. There is no space for urban infrastructure on the castle island of Vyborg. Social communication in a town is quite different from the life of a small society and temporary visitors in a fortification.

Trade together with institutional duties and services connect hinterlands with a centre, which in turn grows in size and the building density of which increases. In a densely built-up settlement, communication is based on continuous interaction between services and consumers, not between more independent economic and social units like farms or households. A short distance from neighbours and public buildings affects the lifestyle in many ways. In the 14th century Vyborg became a town in administrative terms. Andersson (1990) points out that the establishment of new institutions caused changes in the spatial organization of a centre and thus the dialogue between functional and topographical aspects continued. Difference between town and countryside became more and more significant. In the 1470s a stone wall was built and it separated bourgeois of the town and countryside dwellers.¹⁴

¹³ The concept “way of life” is connected with unwritten laws of social communication and common sense. Suggestions for its application in archaeology have aroused discussion in Turku (for summary see Suhonen 2005). Distinction between a collective way of life and a more subjective lifestyle is problematic.

¹⁴ The primary function of the town wall was of course to protect citizens. The building of the wall was started by Erik Axelsson (Tott) during his time as lord of the castle (1457–1481) (Saarnisto 2003, 104).

Was the young town an urban milieu in the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries? An urban infrastructure should include public buildings, squares, plots of households, main streets and side streets. Did the environment become more urban during the medieval times? For example, the two convents, the Dominican convent established in 1392 and that of Franciscans built some time before 1403, were new elements, possibly located as “control points” by the main road(s) leading eastwards from the small peninsula (Neuvonen 1994, 10–16; Hiekkänen 2004). Did the mendicant orders settle down in a physically urban milieu and how did the new strongholds of Catholicism change the way townsmen experienced the environment? Reconstruction of the town plan on different time levels is necessary for understanding urbanization from the town-dweller’s view.

Elements of infrastructure in cultural layer

Geodetic survey methods improved radically at the beginning of the 17th century, and systematic land survey started in Sweden. Mapping of the streets and quarters in medieval towns was often caused by the need to renovate the street net into the gridiron plan. Towns founded in the Swedish State only in the 17th century had rectangular street network from the beginning (Kostet 1995).

The first map of Vyborg was probably drawn by land surveyor Olof Gangius in 1639 (Kostet 1995, 37–42). All reconstructions of the medieval infrastructure have to be based on this single chorological description of “irregular” town. The time gap between the medieval period and the year 1639, however, causes methodological difficulties. Still, the following map from 1642 is already a plan for the reorganization of the town area and later mappings were done after regularization had been completed (Kauppi & Miltšik 1993; Kostet 1995, 92–94).

During Saksa’s excavations, streets as well as walls and floor planks of wooden buildings were documented in the 15th- and 16th-century layers near the town wall, close to the harbour and next to the so-called guildhall.¹⁵ Some of these remains may belong to the same streets which still crossed the areas in 1639. For example, a stone pavement on the surface of the bedrock has been interpreted as a street that led to the Dominican convent at the beginning of the 16th century (Saksa *et al.* 2002a, 50–51). It is apparently easy to distinguish pre-regularization streets and walls from later architecture but the orientation of buildings can easily cause misinterpretations, too. Many buildings along smaller lanes and in yards remained in an “illegal” orientation despite the rebuilding of the street net. After big fires new houses were erected but on the rocky slopes the orientation according to the gridiron plan was not always possible.

¹⁵ One of the oldest stone buildings of Vyborg in Vyborgskaya Street is known in literature as the house of the guilds but its age and original function are not known. Alternatively, a stone house in the neighbouring plot has been suggested to be the medieval guild hall (Neuvonen 1994, 117; Viiste 1994, 28–29).

The town architect of Vyborg and supervisor of ancient monuments Otto-Iivari Meurman studied the map of 1639 in relation to modern town plan (Fig. 3). The orientation made by him is still a relevant starting point for the discussion concerning the elements of town space in medieval Vyborg. After 1639 no major changes have been made in the street plan of the Old Town. In the future it would be reasonable to check the coordinates by modern methods. So far, Meurman's map has been successfully used by Saksa's expedition in identifying archaeological sites in the town plan before 1639 (Lankinen 1982; Saksa & Suhonen 2001; Saksa *et al.* 2002a).

Identification and interpretation of subterranean remains was essential to Meurman, too. Between 1927 and 1937 he systematically collected data of construction remains, artefacts and human bones which came into daylight in

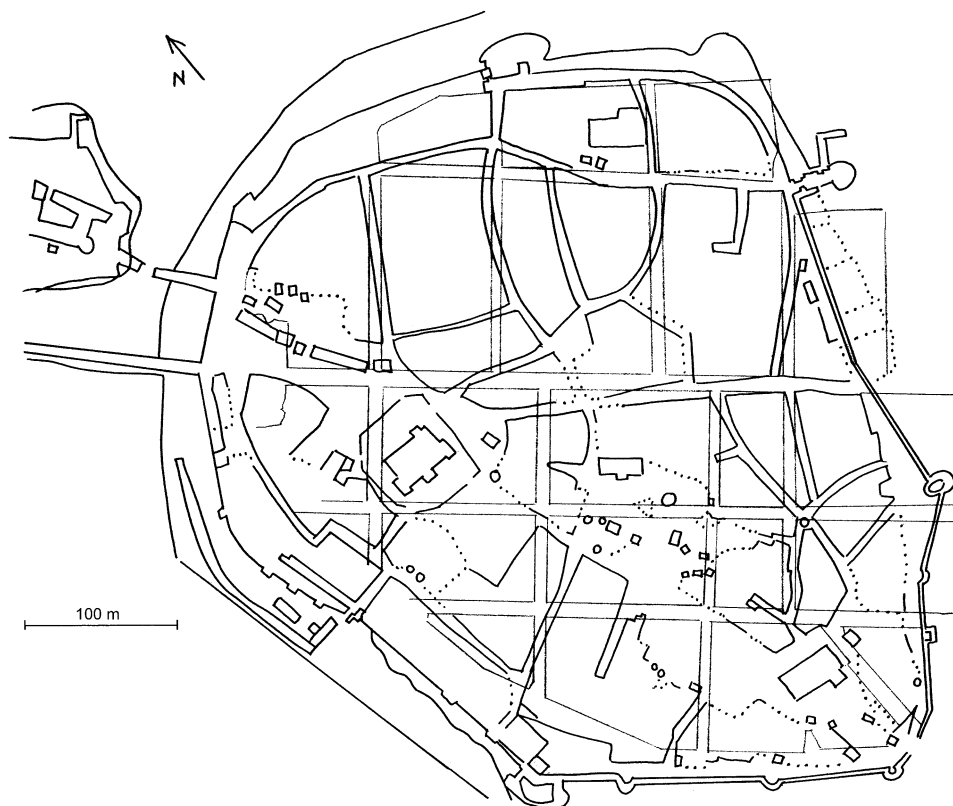


Fig. 3. The Old Town of Vyborg in the 1630s and the gridiron plan. Orientation of the map according to the map by Otto-Iivari Meurman (1933) (Archives of the National Board of Antiquities/Department of Monuments and Sites, Helsinki).

Joon 3. Viiburi vanalinn 1630. aastatel ja võrestikplaan. Kaardi suund Otto-Iivari Meurmani (1933) järgi.

ditches for pipelines, cables and foundations of houses (Meurman 1978; Salmela 2004, 195–214). Near the medieval tower *Ratushnaya Bashnya*, tower of the Town Council, he discovered the remains of the medieval town wall (NBA/DA; NBA/DMS; Sinisalo 1971; Viiste 1994, 26–27). Stone constructions on the site of the Franciscan convent probably date to the Middle Ages but their interpretation is disputable (Hiekkanen 1993; 1994, 139–140 and endnote 269; 2004).

Elsewhere in the Old Town Meurman documented stone pavements, log constructions, stone cellars and graves. It is impossible to say if any of these constructions were medieval. Meurman's drawings and reports are brilliant but individual building remains are not very informative. Most of them were found in small pits or diggings without any archaeologically interpretable context. The number of artefacts collected by Meurman is very small (NBA/DA: Index of finds).

Although sporadic, the material collected by Meurman clearly demonstrated that the cultural layer had survived in places all over the Old Town. In addition, he strongly emphasized the value of old stone architecture (for drawings see, e.g., Viiste 1994; Salmela 2004). The protection of the Old Town as a historically valuable area became a matter of discussion at the end of the 1930s. Meurman had already quitted his post in Vyborg and due to the start of the war no measures were taken to realize his idea (NBA/DA; Salmela 2004, 202–203). The last excavations by Finnish archaeologists were conducted in connection with the reparation of the medieval Dominican church in 1943 (NBA/DA; NBA/DMS; Hiekkanen 1994, 196, 242, 252, 343).

Field archaeology in Vyborg ceased totally for over two decades after the war. In the 1960s investigations were carried out on the castle island (Kaljundi 1970), and it was only at the end of the 1970s when archaeologists returned to the Old Town. Tjulenev's expedition started its work in Vyborg and an area at the foot of the Round Tower at the market square was excavated (reconstruction of the fortifications: Tjulenev 1987, 29–34; Тюленев 1995, 46, 80). Between 1980 and 1994 he made numerous test pits in the Old Town. According to his reports, almost all trial excavations revealed a thin or uninteresting cultural layer. On the other hand, small-scale surveys on the ruins of the convents and the medieval town church were sufficient for commentaries on the architecture (Тюленев 1995, 48–58). Tjulenev's interests lay in the history of buildings, and he never published any conclusions about the development of the town plan. During the Soviet period, rescue excavations were not always carried out in a satisfactory way in Vyborg.

Later excavations supervised by Saksa have proved that Vyborg is a very interesting and many-sided town beneath the modern surface. The new evidence opens several promising topics for further study. Saksa has discussed the relation of the new town wall to the settlement in the 15th century (Сакса 2002a). Another example is the 17th- and 18th-century waste water systems, the remains of which have been dated by the ^{14}C method (Saksa *et al.* 2003a; Saarnisto & Saksa 2004a; 2004b).

Geographical perspective to an old map

One of the basic concepts of the project *Medeltidsstaden* was borrowed from cultural geography. The idea that the number of functions of a central place indicates its importance as a centre was popular in Scandinavian geography in the 1970s. Accessibility by traffic routes, economic and administrative functions and other criteria were put into quantitative terms and the hierarchical order of central places in an area was modelled.

Change of paradigms in both geography and archaeology since the 1970s is necessarily reflected in our approach to spatial and social processes. Today we seek for the person's view on his/her environment. Urban geography is a social science, the research field of which ranges from physical infrastructure to virtual connections and from comparisons in global scale to an individual's perspective.

Geographical perspective is now relevant in urban archaeology, too. Archaeological material and methods are sufficient for reconstructing some elements of medieval infrastructure. We can find out where a public building, a street or a market place was situated in the medieval times. At the same time, coordination of the development and planning of a megalopolis of today requires many-sided and methodological research of the urban space as a spatial, social and mental environment.

The first theoretical interpretations of the oldest map of Vyborg were published by Lagus (1893a; 1893b) and Ruuth (1903; 1908). Ruuth suggested that the medieval town was divided into four quarters separated by two crossing streets (Figs. 1, 2). Although this assumption and some other statements by him are guesses rather than scientific hypotheses, they have not been rejected (Ruuth *et al.* 1982, 47–66). Empiric basis pro or contra Ruuth's vision is missing.

After having collected all available material for the reconstruction of medieval Vyborg from archives, literature and field work, I was both enthusiastic and suspecting. The situation led to lengthy writing about how little was known and how much more basic work there was to do! At the same time, it also opened an interesting perspective to the obscure position from which a town archaeologist approaches medieval societies.

My own approach to the town plan is a critical dialogue with prevailing hypotheses known from *Viipurin kaupungin historia I* (Ruuth *et al.* 1982), which are based on Ruuth's original ideas. I would like to point out the seemingly geometrical pattern of the infrastructure of the Old Town. A triangle of the churches surrounded by the round town wall gives an illusion of order (Fig. 1). On the map of 1639, two streets cut the area into four parts, and all of the three churches fall into different quarters. In medieval Sweden the quarters were numbered from I to IV, and the town hall should be mentioned first. Ruuth concluded that the re-numbering of the quarters in Vyborg at the beginning of the 16th century was caused by the fact that a new town hall was built near the town church (Ruuth 1908, 32–33, 134). The location of the medieval town hall is unknown.

There is some self-irony behind my comments – too few arguments are available for the reconstruction. The medieval town area of Vyborg is hilly and the most favourable flat places were chosen for the medieval town church and the two convents. In Euclidean geometry three points always form a triangle. The town wall followed the semicircular shore of the peninsula and actually it was not quite round, either. Scientific abstractions are not necessarily needed for understanding the topographical pattern. On the other hand, my argumentation does not end at triangles and circles but I also consider the dating of different elements of the urban milieu. I believe that one of the two streets which crossed the town area in 1639 was not formed before the late 16th century. The core of medieval infrastructure there was a long square between the town church and the Dominican convent.¹⁶

A recent article by a Finnish researcher of region studies Jouni Häkli (1995) again drew my attention to maps as a tool of power. Accurate maps are a prerequisite for handling an area and its inhabitants like a model. Without a realistic view of the present situation it is impossible to look for alternatives and to test plans in theory. However, an archaeologist has to test suggestions for reconstructions of medieval environments on maps which do not picture the area in question in the time period under focus. This gives him/her theoretical and unfair superiority over those who once built the town and settled down in its quarters.

Mapping an abstract world

A medieval king had only a fragmentary picture of his own country. He had no opportunity to view it on a reliable map. For him the area under his rule was a net of strategic points. Travelling time was more important than actual distances in miles. Towns and villages were surrounded by the wilds and desert lands (*erämark*), which offered hiding places for unwilling taxpayers. Local administration was in the hands of bailiffs, officials, the Catholic Church and noblemen. Unsystematic background information was reflected on plans which the royal ruler had for the development of different parts of his lands.

Documents and stories tell how kings and governors got surprised and dissatisfied because of poor conditions they witnessed when travelling in their lands. As a consequence, local inhabitants were forced to immediate improvements while other areas remained out of the majesty's actual control. Andersson (1990) argues that the role of the central power (in late medieval times: state) was to favour the economic and political stability of a town. In western Sweden "too many" medieval towns formed. Some of them lost importance or ceased to exist and were later re-established in new locations (Andersson 1990, 77–82). Vyborg lay far from Stockholm and all other urban centres. Most medieval bailiffs

¹⁶ I share the idea presented by Knut Drake in a guided excursion to Vyborg in April 2001. It was discussed in my paper in the seminar "Medieval towns" in Tartu in June 2002 (Tartu City Museum). See also Korpela (2004, 87).

there were fairly independent but the strategic position of the town was still favourable. It was the “capital” in the western Karelian Isthmus through the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern/Modern Period.

In 1555 Gustav Vasa was annoyed because of the dirt and disorder in Vyborg (Ruuth *et al.* 1982, 197–198). For safety reasons he had ordered the townsmen to remove houses away from the foot of the town wall but the inhabitants had not obeyed his will. “Town planning” caused contradictions between those in power and those in subordination. Does it not sound all too familiar to us?

Medieval maps were false in scale and illustrated with descriptive drawings that may look humorous to us. Development of land surveying techniques enabled observation of the landscape from above. A decisive step towards modern town planning had been taken. Man was no longer tied to his immediate three-dimensional environment. Maps gave him wings long before the discovery of hot balloon, airplane and satellites.

The core of Häkli’s argumentation is the distinction between absolute and abstract about the world views (Häkli 1995, 199–202). In the classical period knowledge was equal to correct reading of the visible world. Philosophers tried to understand what the knowledge available to man actually was. The world order was in the hands of gods. Men and women were bound to the absolute space the borders of which could be crossed in fantasy but not with the aid of scientific calculations. Accordingly, maps in medieval Europe were drawn for practical purposes like sailing, building a temple, warfare, etc. On the outskirts of the known world there were dragons and giants, whose existence was a matter of belief. Nothing helped man to know more than the gods allowed him to witness with his own eyes.

The beginning of the modern times is characterized by a new, abstract view about the world. Man became free to study the universe and responsible for finding knowledge which could not be received directly from the gods. This necessitated large numbers of measurements, calculations and maps and step by step modern science developed in all branches. As a consequence, it also became possible to reorganize physical and social space according to different political aims.

Giants build medieval towns

In a modern or post-modern town or city, the concepts such as “urban space” and “urban culture” create a large variety of associations. These are no doubt strongly reflected in our imagination and interpretation of the medieval urban way of life. Does the use of the attribute “urban” lead to misunderstandings in pre-modern contexts?

Modern documentation and planning are based on exact geometrical measurements, correct visual presentation, accurate verbal expressions and correct calculations. It is good to remember how easy it is for us to see geometry and other regularities in past environments where such rules were not intentional.

Post-modern urban environment is multi-dimensional, subjective and in continuous motion. The physical infrastructure is reproduced by individual and collective subjects. People move in the urban space not only on foot or by vehicles but also virtually via data lines. It is the actors' experiences that give the infrastructure its meanings. For example, geography of fright is unfortunately very essential today. Control and successful visions for further development of the urban scene require the understanding of current collective and subjective urban experiences. Can we also understand the absolute world of medieval town-dwellers through post-modern eyeglasses?

Table hockey players make miniature figures play a game. Similarly, archaeologists can be considered as giants. It is a comfortable challenge to reorganize medieval streets, walls and buildings on a computer screen. A new date or interpretation can make a public building disappear from the medieval townsmen's living environment for many decades. For example, a connection between squares can become a dead end because of a building found in excavations. We dress the town-dwellers in fashion clothes which maybe were not worn by any of them. Probably they would have been quite surprised to see the trade goods which we offer them for sale and impressed by the number of pubs we open for them to visit.

Military and bloody scenes cannot be denied from history in retrospect. In archaeology we have more choice. Tjulenev painted an episode in the early history of Vyborg in bloody colours. In general, Christianization and division of Karelia by a political border in 1323 are today seen as more peaceful and gradual processes than they were treated before (Korpela 2004, 65–74, 102–110 and cited sources). However, the juridical and economic integration of the eastern Karelian Isthmus under Swedish rule was no doubt a complex and painful development. In terms of cultural changes, urbanization reflects contradictions, not merely spread of innovations and progress.

Responsibility goes hand in hand with superiority and power. Aside with abstractions and modelling, the urban geographic approach presents environments from the individual's point of view. In archaeology we struggle for similar all-human viewpoints. The closer we get to medieval views about the world, the better we can analyse the process of urbanization and understand it on the same everyday level where material culture was produced and consumed in the past. One of the most frequent arguments to defend the importance of medieval archaeology is that we have access to remains of everyday life.

Material criteria for urbanization

It is surprising that material culture was not among the criteria of urbanization in the outline of *Medeltidsstaden* although the project focused on archaeology. The explanation is that the timetable and budget for the inventories did not allow any thorough studies of artefacts (Projektprogram 1976, 19–20). Some authors wished to make comments on certain find categories. For example in Turku Aki

Pihlman studied the distribution of small stove vessels and different types of leather shoes, in order to get a view of the growth of the town in medieval times (Pihlman & Kostet 1986, chapter 3.5.2).

Attributes of material culture do not offer easy criteria for urbanization. Interpretations are likely to be distorted. In Finnish town archaeology nearly all imported artefacts from medieval layers are interpreted as indicators of urban values and growing welfare. Stoneware, glass beakers and a variety of leather and metal artefacts as well as textiles of foreign origin were prestige goods among the town-dwellers. Was this characteristic of towns only? Innovations spread somewhat slower in the countryside but desire for novelties and goods of foreign origin was not alien among village-dwellers, either.

Medieval urban culture creates associations with the accelerating development, growth of contacts and integration of the peripheral northern areas to broad geographic, economic and cultural contexts in Europe. But why not to interpret a medieval layer rich in artefacts as the material culture of rich and open-minded people? Medieval is international. Imported goods, innovation in handicraft and building techniques go together with institutional organization of administration and ideology. Medieval and modern processes of Europeanization have surprisingly much in common – if so desired.

In such jargon traditional “medieval” attributes like stagnation, darkness and pressure are avoided. Excavated medieval buildings are interpreted as cosy private areas of ordinary families or workshops of innovative craftsmen. Dirt is placed in backyards and streets. Diseases are mystified: the Black Death wears black clothing and less fatal health problems are treated with magi or prayer.

At the same time archaeologists are depending on carelessness in medieval towns. The cultural layer grew fast because medieval environment was unhygienic and the growth of living quarters was chaotic. In our imagination the medieval craftsman was a selfish entrepreneur. Was responsibility for public space carried by anyone? Is the lack of common responsibility an ever-lasting phenomenon in urban societies? Many of these up-to-date questions are relevant in a medieval context, and vice versa.

Medieval archaeology is more than excavations of layers which date to the Middle Ages. Urban archaeology is not just archaeological work within a modern town area. Archaeology of a medieval town requires understanding of both the medieval and the town.

Meeting with other giants

Today urban excavations are planned and conducted quite flexibly as a part of construction or restoration works in historical town areas both in Sweden and Finland. Archaeology of historical documented centuries is appreciated by historians, and it raises interest among general public. The projects *Medeltidsstaden* and *Keskiajan kaupungit* have played an important role in establishing urban archaeology. Nevertheless, contradictory interests of building companies and an

antiquarian office do cause hot debates from time to time. Archaeologists have to defend their interests like all other actors in the field of cultural politics do.

The problem of following the continuously accumulating data was expected in the project *Medeltidsstaden* from the beginning. According to the project plan the inventory reports should be published in a simple format in order not to give a false picture of them being final (Andersson 1990, 10–11). Even so the “unfinished” reports give an excellent *tpq* in the research history of urbanization in Sweden. Documentation of the status quo in research at the beginning of the 21st century may be the most important achievement of the project in Vyborg.

The National Board of Antiquities has applied the concept of the project *Medeltidsstaden* to ten post-medieval towns in Finland. Inventory was carried out in the towns which were established during the regime of the Vasa dynasty (<http://www.nba.fi/fi/kaupunkiarkeologia>). As a result, historically valuable areas were identified and classified, which the National Board of Antiquities recommends to take under protection. The author of the reports Teemu Mökkönen applied GIS methods to orientation of old maps in relation to modern town plans. The old maps used in the project are available in digital form and thus handy to use for revising the situation if needed. The National Board of Antiquities published the reports on the Internet and just a restricted number of printed copies were taken. In principle it allows easy updating of the results. The Internet is a suitable forum for this kind of data. I wonder if an electronic publication would have been at least a partial solution in the projects *Medeltidsstaden* and *Keskiajan kaupungit* if this possibility had existed at that time.

Town planning is a political process. In our democratic bureaucracy politicians and officials in charge of the plans do not have free hands because the voice of town-dwellers has to be taken into account. Nevertheless, plans are frequently realized with delay but without major improvements according to opinions from beneath. Town planning institutions are giants. In this game archaeologists do not need to be acquiescent dwarves. In this respect there are good reasons for optimism in Vyborg.

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Mervi Suhonen

KESKAEGNE LINN VIIBURI

Resüme

Viiburis on säilinud keskajast palju muudki kui ainult linnus. Keskaegse linna maa-alal on viimastel aastatel toimunud arvukalt päästekaevamisi, mille käigus on päevavalgele tulnud elamute jäänuseid, tänavaid ja veejuhtimissüsteeme. Artiklis on arutletud selle üle, milliseid kriteeriume on arheoloogial kasutada, selgitamaks, millisest ajahetkest võib Viiburit ümbruskonna linnaliseks keskuseks pidada ja kui linnapäraseks ta keskajal kujunes. Lähtepunktiks on need linnastumiskriteeriumid, mida on rakendatud Rootsi keskaegsete linnade kahes arheoloogilises inventeerimisprojekti.

Rahvusvaheline koostöö Viiburi linnaarheoloogias

Arheoloogilisi välitöid Viiburis juhatab vanemteadur Aleksandr Saksa (Vene Teaduste Akadeemia Materiaalse Kultuuri Ajaloo Instituut, Sankt-Peterburg). Alates 1998. aastast on igal aastal kaevatud ning inspekteeritud ja see töö jätkub ka tulevikus. Saksaga koostööd tegevad Soome uurijad on huvitatud muu hulgas makrofossiilidest, maapinna geoloogilistest proovidest ja loodusteaduslikest dateeringutest.

Arheoloogiliselt uuritud alad asuvad keskaegse linna idaserval ja sadama lähedal (joon 1). Aastail 1998–2000 uuriti keskaegset linnamüüri. Müüri juurde kuulunud raetorni lähedalt leiti hästi säilinud elamu jäänused, mis on dendrokronoloogia järgi ehitatud 15. sajandi lõpul. Ka 2003. ning 2004. aastal sadama juures ja keskaegse linnakiriku naabruses toimunud kaevamistel avastati hästi säilinud kultuurkiht, mis sisaldas ohtralt orgaanilist ainet.

Inventeerimisprojekt "*Medeltidsstaden – den tidiga urbaniceringsprocessens konsekvenser för nutida planering*" ("Keskaegne linn – varase linnastumise tähendus tänapäevasele linnaplaneerimisele") sai Rootsis alguse 1970. aastate keskel (*Projektprogram 1976*). Soomes toimusid samasugused inventeerimised 1980. aastatel projekti "*Keskiajan kaupungit – varhainen kaupungistumiskehitys ja nykyinen suunnittelu*" raames. Viiburi jäi toona projektist välja, kuid hetkel on vastav inventeerimisaruanne valmimisel.

Viiburi arheoloogiliste kaevamiste ainese ja dokumentide käsitlemine, arhiiveerimine ning avaldamine on Saksa ja tema poolt juhitud Vene ekspeditsiooni kanda. Viiburi kaevamistulemusi on Venemaal avaldatud sageli. Võõrkeelsed artiklid on sündinud Saksa, ekspeditsiooni teiste liikmete ja Soome kolleegide ühistöö tulemusena (Saksa *et al.* 2002a; Belsky *et al.* 2003; Saksa *et al.* 2003a; Saksa 2004a; Saarnisto & Saksa 2004a).

Inventeerimise välitööd toimusid osana Turu Ülikooli arheoloogia õppeaine uurimisprogrammist, milles keskenduti lisaks ka muudele ajaloolise aja objek-

tidele Ida-Soomes. Töid finantseeris Alfred Kordelini Fond Helsingist. Viiburi arheoloogiliste kaevamiste peamine rahastaja on seevastu Karjalaisen Kultuurin Edistämisseätiö Joensuust. Inventeerimisaruanne ilmub eraldi köitena Soome keskaja arheoloogia ühingu sariväljaandes *Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae*.

Radiosüsinikdateeringud ajaloolises ja uurimisloolises kontekstis

Viiburi keskaegse kultuurikihi esimesed ^{14}C proovid tehti professor Matti Saarnisto (Geoloogia Uurimiskeskus, Espoo) ettevõtmisel. Hiliskeskaegse linnamüüri lähedalt võetud proov andis üllatavalt varase tulemuse: dateeritud palk on langetatud juba enne Viiburi linna asutamist (Su-3589: cal AD 1245 (1272, 1283). Leid saadi alumisest, hilisemast elutegevusest puutumata pinnasest, kuid kahjuks pärineb ehitisest või konstruktsioonist, mis asus täpselt kaevamisala nurgas ja mille otstarve jäi seetõttu ebaselgeks. Sellegipoolest sunnib ajamäärang küsima, kas Viiburis oli püsiasiustus juba enne, kui paigast sai strateegiline punkt rootslaste ja novgorodlaste huvifääri piirimail?

2003. aasta arheoloogilistelt kaevamistelt saadud dateering viitab sellele, et linnuse vastas oli 14. sajandi algul karjamaa või õueala (Poz-4297: cal AD 1310). Selleks loodusteaduslikuks prooviks olid hanimaltsa (*Chenopodiaceae sp.*) seemned, mille kontekst näib olevat olnud puutumatu. Sama kaevandi ülemises lades tuses päevavalgele tulnud puitpõranda konstruktsiooni üks plank pärineb aastast 1410 (Poz-4383).

Varasemate arheoloogiliste järelevalvetööde ja proovikaevamiste käigus oli tehtud arvukaid tähelepanekuid kivi- ning puuhoonestuse kohta, kuid nende konstruktsioonide vanust määravad leiud puudusid. Saksa poolt juhitud kaevamiste leiumaterjali põhiosa pärineb 15. sajandi lõpust ja 16. ning 17. sajandist.

Uutest ajamäärangutest ei tohi teha liiga kaugeleulatuvaid järeldusi. Ümbruskonna keskaegsetest küladest ei ole andmeid ja Viiburi linna eelkäija kohta tehtud oletustele puuduvad arheoloogilised tõendid. Viiburi ümbrust pole süstemaatiliselt inventeeritud ja sealt ei ole leitud peaaegu mingit hilisrauaajast või keskajast pärinevat arheoloogilist ainet. Samas on Viiburit mainitud mitmes 14. sajandi kirjalikus allikas ehk teisisõnu: peatselt pärast 1293. aastal linnusesaarele asutatud rootsi kindluse rajamist.

Karjala maakitsuse lääneosa rannikuala oli võib-olla kuni keskajani suhteliselt hõredalt asustatud. Viiburi kujunes alles 14. sajandil ümbruskonna keskuseks ja märkimisväärseks kaubavahetuskohaks rahvusvahelises meresõidus. Linnaprivilieegide kohta on siiski andmeid alles 1403. aastast. Säilinud keskaegne kirjalik aines ei anna alust oletada, et Viiburil oleks olnud juba enne seda vormilisi linnaõigusi. Uus rahvusvaheline, katoliiklik ja strateegiliselt tähtis keskus oli ümbruskonnast oluliselt erinev elamis- ja käsitöökeskus. Kas elu rahvusvahelises kaubasadamas oli 14. sajandil linnalik ja kas linnuse vastas kõrguv kaljune neem oli juba toona niivõrd täis ehitatud, et seda võiks kujutleda linnana?

Hüpotees keskaegsele linnale eelnenud asustuse olemasolust Viiburis ei ole uus. Eelmise arheoloogilise ekspeditsiooni juhataja V. A. Tjulenev väitis 1970. ja 1980. aastatel linnusesaarel tehtud kaevamiste põhjal, et Vuoksi edelapoolse haru suudmes oli 12. ja 13. sajandil karjalaste linnus, mille rootslased põletasid oma 1293. aastal toimunud ristiretke käigus maha. Karjalaste linnuse tõlgendust on peetud poliitiliselt motiveerituks, kuid teisalt väideldi 1980. aastatel sellel teemal väga tagasihoidlikult. Sama tõlgendus kordub Tjulenevi 1995. aastal postuumselt ilmunud minimonograafias. Tjulenevi kaevamisdokumentatsioon ei vasta heale teadusliku kaevamisaruandluse tasemele, mille tõttu on uurimuste taustaks olevate empiiriliste tähelepanekute ja nende kontekstide hindamine tagantjärele väga keeruline.

Viiburi linnaarheoloogiline aines asetub oma ajaloolisesse konteksti varasemast mitmekülgsemalt, sest nüüdseks on ilmunud soomlaste poolt koostatud Viiburi lääni viieosalise ajalookogumiku esimesed kaks osa. Neist esimene hõlmab esiajaloo aastatuhandeid ja sisaldab sealhulgas põhjalikku uurimisloolist kokkuvõtet. Teine osa on Joensuu ülikooli ajalooprofessori Jukka Korpela põhjalik selgitus ja tõlgendus piirkonna keskaegse arenguloo kohta.

Täiesti kõrvale pole võimalik heita oletust, et Viiburi ja Käkisalme vahelist veeteed kontrollisid karjalased juba rauaaja lõpul ja Viiburi oli üks nende kindlustatud tugipunkte (Saksa *et al.* 2003b) (joon 2). Teisalt on selle põhjenduseks veenvaid argumente raske tuua. Korpela võtab oma tekstis ettevaatlikult seisukoha selle võimaluse poolt, et Viiburis võinuks olla juba enne linnuse asutamist karjalaste püsiasustus (Korpela 2004).

Arheoloogiline inventeerimine ja linnastumiskriteeriumid

Viiburi arheoloogilisel inventeerimisel järgiti samasuguseid printsiipe kui teistes projektide "*Medeltidsstaden/Keskiajan kaupungit*" käigus inventeeritud linnades. Aruande alguses on esitatud lühike ülevaade linna ajaloost ja teadaolevatest keskaegsetest allikatest ning asjaomasest ajaloolisest kaardimaterjalist. Allesolevad keskaegsed ehitised ja nende uurimislugu esitatakse kokkuvõtlikult. Arheoloogiliste kaevamiste nimekiri on esitatud võimalikult lühidalt. Säilinud kultuurkihi paksuse hindamiseks on aruandes avaldatud andmeid geoloogilistest puurimistest, kuid Viiburi puhul on vastavat teemat käsitletud ebapiisavalt, kuigi puurimistulemused ei ole enam salastatud andmed. Aruande lõpuosas on kokkuvõtte sellest, millise pildi annab praegusel hetkel teadaolev aineestik keskaegse linnaala infrastruktuurist ja arengust. Linnaarheoloogia tulevikuväljakutsete kohta võib Viiburis tõdeda sama, mida nii mõnegi teise linna kohta: teha on veel palju.

Inventeerimise käigus kogutud andmestiku põhjal võib linnastumise arengut hinnata kolme tüüpi kriteeriumide järgi. Kronoloogia seisukohalt täpsemad ja kasutamiskõlblikumad on halduslikud kriteeriumid, milleks on (usaldatavad) kirjalikud mainimised, näiteks linnavalitsemise või institutsioonide asutamise kohta käivad viited keskaegsetes dokumentides.

Halduslikud kriteeriumid sobivad linnadevaheliseks kronoloogiliseks võrdlemiseks ja suurema piirkonna linnastumisprotsessi illustreerimiseks. Projekti "*Medeltidsstaden*" lõpparuandes esitab professor Hans Andersson kokkuvõtte sellest, kuidas levis linnastumine 12. ja 13. sajandil Lõuna-Skandinaaviast Mälari järve piirkonda (Andersson 1990). Viiburi linnuse asutamine ja 14. sajandi jooksul tasapisi linnuse ümber moodustunud linna tekkimine näib kronoloogilisest seisukohast loomulikuna.

Aastaarvude ülerõhutamist on põhjust vältida. Ajaloolised sündmused on pöördpunktideks pikaajalistes protsessides. Isegi piirkonna esimesed formaalsed linnaõigused ei tähendanud äkilist muutust eellinnalisest keskusest linnalise eluviisi juurde. Vastavad arheoloogilise ainese täppisteaduslikud ajamäärangud tekitavad hõlpsalt illusiooni, et muutusi on võimalik ajalisel detailiselt ja ainuselgelt määratleda.

Funktsionaalsed kriteeriumid on need toimingud, mis eraldavad keskuse ja seda ümbritseva maapiirkonna teineteisest. Keskaegsed linnad olid ilmaliku ning vaimuliku valitsemise, kaubavahetuse, liikluse ja jõupoliitika kesksed kohad. Keskuse ja tagamaa vahelisele kaugusele tuginev viis kirjeldada hierarhilist territoriaalset struktuuri kuulus 1970. aastatel kasutatud geograafiliste meetodite hulka. Pärast seda on nii arheoloogias kui ka maateaduses loomulikult toimunud suuri teoreetilisi-metoodilisi murranguid, kuid arheoloogilises tõlgenduses pole geograafiline vaatenurk oma tähendust kaotanud.

Kolmandaks võib paiga linnalisust hinnata *ehituslike* kriteeriumide põhjal. Linna infrastruktuuri kuuluvad avalikud ehitised ja paigad, kauplemisega seotud kohad ja alad jne. Nendest moodustub linnalise elamise ja eluviisiga seotud miljöö.

Esemeleidude ja detailide selgitamine jäeti inventeerimisel kõrvale, sest see oleks eeldanud suuremaid ressursse, kui kiire uurimistöo raames oli võimalik kasutada. Seetõttu ei tugine linnastumiskriteeriumid esemelise kultuuri muutustele, kuigi see oleks arheoloogilisele alusmaterjalile tuginevas projektis loomulik.

Viiburi keskaegne linnaehitus läbi hiiglase silmade

Osa linnastumiskriteeriumidest eeldab kirjalike allikate kontrollimist, osa jällegi sobib arheoloogilise ainese valguses vaagimiseks. Infrastruktuuri kontrollimine kõneleb juba urbaniseeruva keskuse arengust keskaja jooksul. Arheoloogiliste tähelepanekute ühendamine kaardimaterjaliga on problemaatiline, kuna näiteks Viiburi vanim kaart pärineb alles 1639. aastast. Samas on see ainuke tänava-võrgustiku reguleerimisele eelnenud olukorda kujutav dokument. Juba saja aasta eest oletas Ruuth, et 1639. aasta kaardile märgitud kaks pikka ristipidist tänavat on Viiburi keskaegsed peatänavad, mis jagasid linna neljaks kvartaliks (joon 3). Uusi, oluliselt erinevaid tõlgendusi ei ole pärast seda avaldatud.

Inventeerimisaruandes esitasin mõningaid kriitilisi kommentaare Ruuthi tõlgenduste kohta. Revideerimise aluseks olev 1639. aasta kaardi positsioon praeguse asendiplaani suhtes on sama, mille koostas 1930. aastatel Viiburi muististe järele-

vaataja Otto-Iivari Meurman. Ka mõned Saksa ekspeditsiooni kaevamiste käigus päevavalgele tulnud teed on selle põhjal tuvastatud. Empiiriline tõendusmaterjal Ruuthi tõlgenduse poolt või vastu siiski puudub.

Keskaegse linna ehitiste ja tänavate leidmine ning tuvastamine linnaarheoloogiliste meetoditega on sageli mitmeaastase või aastakümnetepikkuse töö tulemus. Mõne linnaehitusliku elemendi identifitseerimisest ei piisa linnapiirkonna ja seal valitsenud eluviiside mõistmiseks. Keskaja linnale tuleb läheneda ka teoreetilisest vaatenurgast.

Keskaegne valitseja ei näinud oma valduses olevaid alasid tervikuna. Kaartidel antud kaugused ei olnud vastavuses reaalse vahemaadega, samuti pindalad ja pinnavormide kujutamised. Enne usaldatavatele mõõtudele tuginevate määrdõõtmismeetodite väljakujunemist oli inimene seotud oma vahetu füüsilise ümbruskonnaga. Empiirilise teadmise piir oli lähedal ja selle ületamine eeldas pidevat dialoogi jumalatega. Alles 17. sajandi kaardid vastasid reaalsusele piisava täpsusega, andmaks võimaluse näha oma ümbruskonda abstraktse pildina.

Nii arheoloogias kui ka maateaduses vaatab uurija maa-alale ülalt alla nagu hiiglane, kes oma loogika alusel suunab tegevusi ja liigutab füüsilisi konstruktsioone. Uurimisel elavad või seda minevikus asustanud inimesed on mängunuppudeks. Ühistöö arheoloogia ning linnauurimise vahel on soovitatav ja usun, et see võiks olla mõlemale poolele vägagi tulus.

Tänapäevaste linnade planeerimisel kasutatavate uurimismeetodite tundmine on linnaarheoloogias kasulik ka selle poolest, et arheoloogia on osa linnakeskkonna kaasaegsest kujundamistööst. Linnainventeerimiste käivitamise peamotiiviks 1970. aastail Rootsisis ja mujalgi oli see, et paljud vanad linnasüdamikud olid intensiivse uusehituse tõttu ohustatud. Teisalt pidid arheoloogid diskuteerima ajaloolise ja kultuurikihi eesmärkide ning meetodite üle. Projektide "*Medeltidsstaden/Keskiajan kaupungit*" tööviis on osutunud tarvituskõlblikuks, sest aruanded on heaks töövahendiks arheoloogide, planeerijate ja ehitajate vahelistel nõupidamistel. Nüüdseks on inventeeritud ka Soome varausajal asutatud Vaasa dünastia aegsed linnad ja vastavad aruanded on Internetis kõikide kasutada.

Linnaarheoloogia staatuse kinnistamise töö on hetkel Viiburis aktuaalne. Ette on võetud samme Viiburi kultuurikihi sobitamiseks kohaliku muinsuskaitseadusega. Inventeerimisaruande venekeelsest tõlkest on selles diskussioonis loodetavasti kasu. Teaduslikke väljakutseid on peaaegu piiramatult. Kaevamisi jätkatakse, esemeleidude uurimine on alles alguses, täppisteaduslikke dateeringuid on veelgi vaja ja linnalise arenemise väljaselgitamine on teoreetilis-metoodiliselt huvitav ülesanne. Käesolevas artiklis esitatud inventeerimisel kasutatud linnatumiskriteeriumid sobivad urbaniseerumisprotsessi dateerimiseks, kuid neist ei piisa piirkonna linnapärasuse kvalitatiivseteks hinnanguteks.