

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS OF THE ŠIAULIAI CROWN ESTATE FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

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Abstract

Favourable conditions for the development of towns in northern central Lithuania occurred only as late as the 15th and 16th centuries. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, some settlements developed into small towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was at this time that a mixed urbanistic system with a radial street network and a rectangular market square formed. The absolute majority of 16th to 18th-century buildings in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, just as in most of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were built of timber. Only from the early 17th century did the construction begin of brick buildings intended for religious or public purposes (such as the town hall in Joniškis). A more distinct separation between the development of towns can be made on the basis of the specific features of finds. These are finds related to trade, handicrafts and business: coins and hoards of coins, certain types of pottery, tiles, and work tools related to specific handicrafts, products and materials.

Key words: brick buildings, coins, cultural layer, handicraft, pottery, stone paving, tiles, town, trade, Šiauliai Crown Estate.

Introduction

Recently, the cultural layers of old towns have been researched extensively; however, there are still few summarising studies. During the Soviet period and the period of independence, historians (Zigmantas Kiaupa, Vincas Kryževičius, Elmantas Meilus, Kazys Šešelgis, Antanas Tyla) and urbanists (Algimantas Miškinis) became interested in the history and development of Lithuania's towns. The majority of the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate (Gruzdžiai, Joniškis, Šiauliai, Žagarė) have been discussed in individual and detailed studies written by historians.

Over a number of years, quite a lot of archaeological material has been collected: this material makes it possible to answer questions about the development of towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This includes the urban settlements of the Crown Estate of Šiauliai, in which archaeological investigations started comparatively late, in 1990 (in Joniškis in 1990, Žagarė in 1995, Šiauliai in 1997, and Skaistgirys in 2006). All the towns situated in the area discussed here (Joniškis, Šiauliai, Žagarė) have been described in individual studies written by archaeologists.

In 1524, the district (in Lithuanian *valsčius*) of Šiauliai and its towns fell to the lot of Bishop John of Vilnius. In 1567, the Lithuanian Metrica listed Šiauliai, Joniškis, Žagarė and Radviliškis as non-privileged towns. The first three of these were listed as towns later on, too, whereas Radviliškis was only listed as a town occasionally; usually it was mentioned as a small town,

just like Gruzdžiai and Meškuičiai.¹ On the basis of the amount of taxes paid, Šiauliai, Joniškis and Žagarė were classed as small towns (Kiaupa 1991, pp.37, 40).

By 1791, out of all the towns of the Crown Estate, only Joniškis had been granted self-governance (called Magdeburg rights), in 1616. In fact, Šiauliai was granted the right of self-government in 1713, but it was never implemented in reality. The town was granted Magdeburg rights in 1791, during the Four Year Sejm (1788–1792), just like another small town, Šakyna (1792). The towns (Šiauliai) and small towns (Meškuičiai, New Žagarė, Radviliškis) of the Šiauliai Crown Estate enjoyed trading rights; the remaining small towns mentioned in written sources (Gruzdžiai, Povilaičiai, Skaistgirys, Šakyna) did not have such rights until the end of the 18th century (Meilus 1997, pp.19–46, 162, 164–165, 167, 169) (Fig. 1).

The Šiauliai Crown Estate was formed out of a commune, or *valsčius*, in 1589. However, its actual existence began in 1616, following the death of Mikołaj Krzysztof “the Orphan” Radziwiłł (in Lithuanian Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila Našlaitėlis). Only then did the reorganisation of the property into the Crown Estate begin (Kiaupa 1991, pp.16, 17). The Crown Estate existed until 18 August 1795, when it was handed over to Count Platon Zubov, on the orders of Catherine II, the Empress of Russia.

¹ During certain periods, several small towns of the *powiat* of Upytė belonged to the Šiauliai Crown Estate: Pakruojis (1639–1649), Padubysys (1657), Lygumai (in the late 16th and early 17th centuries) and Šeduva (Miškinis 1987, p.22).



Fig. 1. The distribution of towns in Lithuania before the 18th century (after Meilus 1997, p.26).

Until the very start of Antoni Tyzenhauz's economic reforms in 1765 and 1766, a peasant on the Šiauliai Crown Estate would pay a pecuniary rent (in Lithuanian *činšas*). There was no corvée duty; therefore, peasants were relatively independent in an economic sense (Marčėnas 1969, pp.13, 21, 27), and this undoubtedly served as a special incentive for the development of trade relations on the estate. This is illustrated by the revenue of the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. For example, in 1765 and 1766, the Šiauliai Crown Estate brought in revenue of 422,530 *auksinas* (in Polish *zloty*) to the treasury, whereas all four Lithuanian crown estates (Šiauliai, Alytus, Grodno and Brest-Litovsk) accounted for around 50% of the treasury's total revenue (Marčėnas 1969, pp.26, 27).

The aim of this article is to determine the development of the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate (Joniškis, Šiauliai, Žagarė²) from the 16th to the 18th centuries, on the basis of archaeological data collected up to 2009 (and supplemented with research conducted in Joniškis and Šiauliai in 2010). The specific features of cultural

² Both New Žagarė and Old Žagarė should be regarded as towns in terms of the nature of the finds and the size of the population. Since both were a single unit from an economic and urbanistic point of view, on most occasions material from both towns is used in this article.

layers, the functional structure of the towns, buildings and finds will be reviewed, and stages of development will be defined. By using comparative material from former manor properties researched (Joniškis, Old Žagarė, Šiauliai) and former villages of the bailiwick (in Polish *wójtostwo*) of Joniškis (Drąsutaičiai, Džiugiai, Kalnelis, Slėpsniai, Šluostikiai), attempts will be made to define to what extent these towns were 'urban', and what differences existed between 'rustic' and 'urban' material.

We hope that the development shown of towns and small towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate will make it possible to comprehend more easily the development of towns and small towns of the Duchy of Samogitia in the 16th to the 18th centuries.

Archaeological investigations were carried out in one small town only (in Skaistgirys in 2006). The lack of such investigations makes the analysis of the development of the small towns of the estate a more complicated task.

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The rudiments of urban settlements in the Šiauliai region

For the purpose of comprehending more easily the development of the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, it is necessary to review processes that took place previously.

When the Scandinavians became more active in the Baltic Sea region in the ninth to the 11th centuries, the northern central part of Lithuania, the Šiauliai region,³ did not remain unaffected either. In the burial grounds, settlements and treasure troves of the region discussed here, artefacts related to trade have been found: weapons, ornaments, work tools, silver ingots, scales, weights, and so on. In settlements and hill-forts, artefacts related to handicrafts have been found: casting molds, jewellers' hammers, tap cinders, and so on. In some places, on the basis of the concentration of such artefacts, it is possible to distinguish larger trading and handicrafts centres that were under formation or had already formed in the 12th and 13th centuries: Bubiai, Jurgaičiai, Žagarė and Sidabrė/Kalnelis. These centres developed in hill-forts situated next to major trade routes, as well as in settlements situated at the foot of such hill-forts. They developed simultaneously with administrative centres; they were the centres of lands or castle districts mentioned in written sources of the 13th and 14th centuries.⁴ Artefacts related to trade and handicrafts have also been found in old settlements situated some distance from the aforementioned hill-forts (Slėpsniai, 5.5 kilometres southwest of Sidabrė/Kalnelis) (Vasiliauskas 2009a, pp.251, 256ff).

The Crusades interrupted the natural development of urban settlements, proto-towns, in the 13th and 14th centuries. When the military confrontation came to an end, the settlement of deserted northern Lithuania in the 15th and 16th centuries increased: villages, parish churches and small towns were established. After a lengthy break, the written sources of the mid-15th and 16th centuries once again mention numerous settled areas and small towns.⁵ It is interesting to note that most of the large towns and the small towns of the

³ The term 'Šiauliai region' is conditional, that is, geographical. In the Prehistoric Period, this term covers the areas of the upper reaches of the basins of the Rivers Lielupe, Venta and Nemunas, inhabited by Semigallian, Curonian and Samogitian tribes. These areas correspond roughly with the present-day administrative districts of Joniškis, Šiauliai, Akmenė, Mažeikiai, Pakruojis and Radviliškis. As far as the later period is concerned, the term 'Šiauliai region' is used as a synonym for the 'Šiauliai Crown Estate'.

⁴ About the lands of the Semigallians and their centres, see Vasiliauskas, 2007c.

⁵ About settlement processes in the region, see Vasiliauskas, 2009c.

Šiauliai Crown Estate in the 15th to the 17th centuries were established next to major trade routes, on the sites of former centres (Žagarė), or next to them (Joniškis, three kilometres southeast of Kalnelis; Šiauliai, 12 kilometres north of Bubiai and 11 kilometres south of Jurgaičiai hill-fort).⁶

The network of towns on the Šiauliai Crown Estate

Researchers of Lithuanian urban development point to the fact that the network of small towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate was far sparser than that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (3.5 towns and small towns to 1,000 square kilometres, whereas in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at large it was 4.3 per 1,000 square kilometres) (Miškinis 1987, p.26).

In comparison with the small towns of the neighbouring eastern *powiat* of Upytė, the denser network of small towns that formed there was most likely predetermined by the specific character of private land ownership; the small towns in that area were established more spontaneously than on the Šiauliai Crown Estate (the granting of rights was probably subject to stricter control). In this *powiat*, archaeological investigations have been carried out to some extent in Biržai (which had the right to self-government), Linkuva, Pašvitinys, Rozalimas, Šeduva, Žeimelis, and more recently in Panevėžys. We can see a different picture in the neighbouring west commune (*valsčius*) of Beržėnai. Here, the network of small towns is even sparser, and is highly unevenly distributed: all but one of the small towns (Old Žagarė) were concentrated in the southern part (Beržėnai, Kuršėnai, Kurtuvėnai, Šaukėnai), and even fewer of them have undergone archaeological investigation (Kurtuvėnai, Old Žagarė).

Historical data and population numbers

As has already been mentioned, historians have carried out an analysis of written sources pertaining to the towns discussed here. Therefore, it will not be discussed in detail in this article. The main data to help comprehend the question discussed is given in Table 1.

Historiography gives the size of the population of the towns of Joniškis, Šiauliai and Žagarė in a period similar to that being discussed here as around 1,000

⁶ In the eastern part of the town of Šiauliai, at a distance of a few kilometres from the centre, the hill-fort of Žuvininkai (Salduvė), which, it is assumed (there is still a lack of archaeological data), was the centre of one of the castle districts of the Šiauliai land.

Table 1. Historical data of towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate

Town	first mention	first mention as a small town	start date of the construction of the church	date of receiving Magdeburg rights	date of trading rights
Gruzdžiai (Užmušė)	1623	1636	1672	–	–
Joniškis	1536	1536	1536	1616; repeated in 1635, 1650, 1679, 1718, 1736; restored in 1791	1691
Meškuičiai	1st half of the 17th century	1691	1677	–	1691
New Žagarė	1254, 1547	1547	1623	–	1687, 1702, 1718
Radviliškis	1567	1581	1597	–	1687, 1710
Skaistgirys	1426	1735	1838	–	–
Šakyna		1775	1636	1792	–
Šiauliai	1236, 1445, 1524	1524	1445	1713 (not confirmed); 1791	1639

to 1,100. As the historian Z. Kiaupa indicates, only from the second half of the 18th century, when the importance of Šiauliai as a political and administrative centre increased, did the size of the population of the town reach around 2,000 to 2,200 (Kiaupa 1991a, p.20; 1991b, p.52).

However, other authors give different data. Let us assume that in 1639 the townsfolk of Joniškis owned 175 houses, while the townsfolk of Šiauliai owned 120 houses, those of Žagarė 110, and those of Radviliškis 40. This means that at that time, Joniškis was the largest town on the Šiauliai Crown Estate, far larger than the very centre of the estate. Judging by the number of inhabited plots, 183 (26¾ on Market Square, 156¼ in the streets) and by making the assumption that there were six to seven people in a family, the population of Joniškis numbered 1,050 to 1,225 people. At that time, there were 179 inns, 30 craftsmen and 30 lodgers in the town. A total of 941 residents were recorded in Joniškis in 1783. At that time, it was the largest town on the Šiauliai Crown Estate (records show that there were only 550 people living in Šiauliai in 1783) (Tyla, Miškinis 1981, pp.75, 76, 87, 92).

According to V. Kryževičius, in 1789 approximately half the urban families of the Šiauliai Crown Estate lived in Joniškis. At that time, around 400 urban families lived on the estate: 107 in Šiauliai, 31 in Gruzdžiai, 78 in Žagarė, and 185 in Joniškis (1991, No.55, p.2).

The situation was slightly different in Žagarė, because during the period discussed here it consisted of two separate small towns which belonged to different administrative formations. Likewise, their legal dependence was also different: Old Žagarė was a private

noble property and belonged to the Beržėnai commune (*valsčius*). On adding together the population numbers of both towns, it was found that the total number varied from around 750 to 1,000 (in the middle of the 17th century) to 1,000 to 1,100 (in the 18th century). However, from as early as the 17th century, New (Royal) Žagarė prevailed against Old (gentry) Žagarė in terms of both the population size (New Žagarė had 550 to 860 inhabitants, and Old Žagarė 200 to 220) (Miškinis 1984, pp.67ff, and 82ff; Vasiļausks 2008, p.17) and its economic and trade potential.

Cultural layers

Archaeologists' main source for research into the development of towns is the cultural layers of the towns. Their dating and intensity are extremely relevant to the problems discussed here.

The oldest cultural layers could be found in the old town of Šiauliai, next to the market place (Fig. 2; Plates II.1; III.1, 2) (Šapaitė 2002, p.176ff, Fig. 38; 2008, p.97ff). In the area surrounding the market place in New Žagarė, only a few potsherds decorated with notches and dated to the 16th and 17th centuries could be found. In all the towns where excavations were carried out (Joniškis, see: Fig. 3; Plate II.2, 3; Žagarė and Šiauliai), layers dated to the 17th and 18th centuries could be determined in most locations.

The cultural layers are uncovered at different depths, at 50 to 100 centimetres, and their thickness is normally 40 to 100 centimetres, whereas in household pits they are found at a greater depth of 190 to 200 centimetres. The thickest layer is found in locations next to streets,

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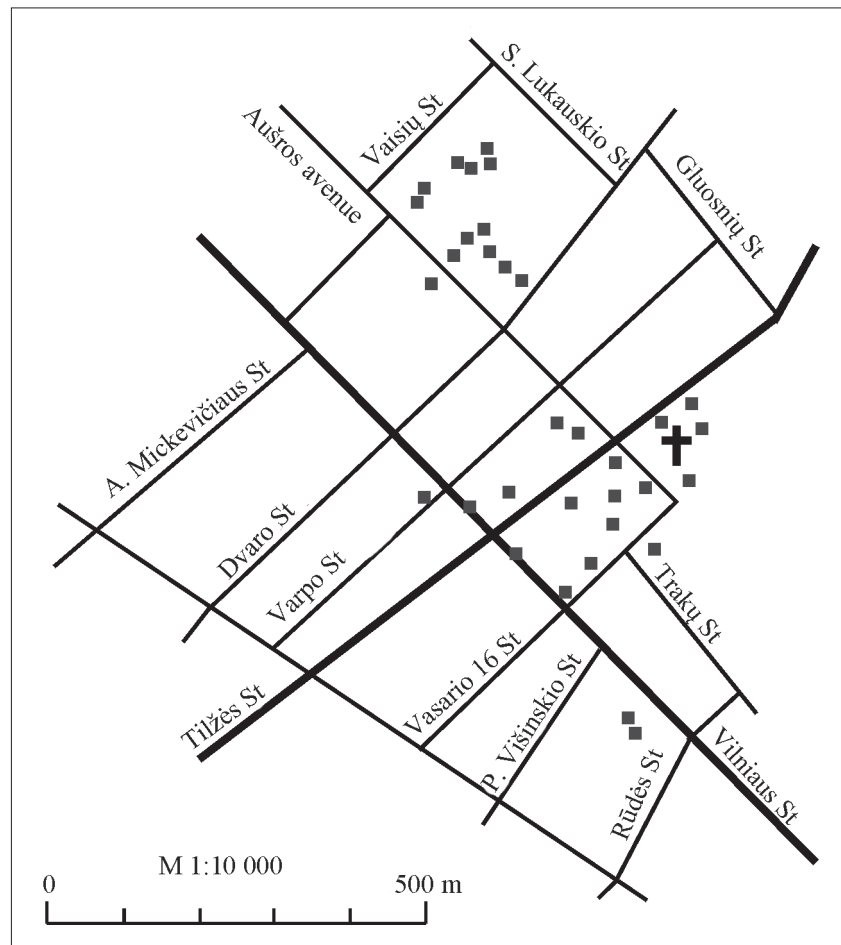


Fig. 2. Findspots of 16th to 17th-century cultural layers in the town of Šiauliai (until 2010) (compiled by A. Šapaitė, with supplements by E. Vasiliauskas).

where buildings used to be concentrated; whereas the thinnest layer is found in more remote locations, in backyards, where the vegetable gardens of the townsfolk normally were. A typical layer was determined in Joniškis, in the backyards of 3 to 7 Livonijos St, and in New Žagarė, at Vilniaus St (2001), 3 Tilto St (2006), and 8 Miesto Square (2008).

Thin (up to 40 centimetres) and non-intensive layers from the 17th and 18th centuries were found in small towns (in Skaistgirys of the Šiauliai *powiat*, just as in Pašvitinys of the Uplytė *powiat*; a layer richer in finds (also up to 40 centimetres thick) was identified in former village sites (Kalnelis).

Until the end of 2009, in the towns of Joniškis, Žagarė and Šiauliai discussed here, archaeological excavations and surveys were carried out in areas of various sizes: Joniškis (2,753.1 square metres, including an area of 226.3 square metres in a former manor site, and 61 square metres in an assumed former burial site), Žagarė (2,192.5 square metres, including an area of 94.3 square metres in churchyards, and 132.6 square metres in the park of the manor) Šiauliai (3,537.2 square

metres, not including an area of 61 square metres in a former manor site, 92.6 square metres in a churchyard, and 236.4 square metres in burial grounds), and in Skaistgirys (19 square metres).

In the majority of these locations, mostly disturbed or late-period layers dated to the 19th and 20th centuries were determined. This applies especially to Šiauliai, which sustained the most damage in the area discussed here during the Second World War (in 1944) (Fig. 4). During the postwar years and later, up to the beginning of the 21st century, construction and utility installation works were carried out in the city without the supervision of archaeologists. Consequently, the use of the statistics for the total investigated area of Šiauliai remains problematic, and distorts the overall view. Therefore, in the towns, intact layers from the 16th to the 18th centuries, which are valuable from a research point of view and which were excavated, make up from 420 square metres (in Šiauliai, excluding the manor and the former burial grounds) to 500 square metres (in Joniškis, excluding the manor), and slightly more than 60 square metres in Žagarė.



Fig. 3. Findspots of 17th to 19th-century cultural layers in the town of Joniškis (until 2010). The distribution of objects: 1 the church (1536, 1605, 1901); 2 the market place; 3 the town hall; 4 the manor; 5 former burial grounds (?); 6 the homestead (an inn) (compiled by E. Vasiliauskas).

Spatial urbanistic structure

When discussing issues of the development of towns, it is important to consider their spatial urbanistic structure. Much to our regret, up till now, cartographic and iconographic material related to the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate in the 17th and 18th centuries has not been abundant, compared to that of the towns in the neighbouring Duchy of Courland and Semigalia (new and formerly unknown material has recently been found in archives), or Biržai. The item that helps to solve this problem is the oldest drawing of Joniškis dating back to the beginning of 1703, which was discovered in the National Library of Sweden;⁷ the drawing depicts five streets, the market place, the buildings, the church and the surrounding area (Fig. 5).

Therefore, in the course of the reconstruction of the urbanistic structure, we need to use archaeological data and apply a retrospective method. The main part is the streets and the market place, as well as their spatial structure. In Joniškis, Šiauliai, Radviliškis (from 1557 [?]) and Žagarė (from the 16th to the early 17th centuries), a mixed building plan with a radial street plan and a rectangular square formed. From 1764 to 1765, A. Tyzenhauz, the manager of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, started implementing an ambitious plan for the reconstruction of Šiauliai: rectangular blocks were laid out, and the town acquired the rectangular planning features typical of a Classicism town. Such plans for reconstruction were drawn up for Joniškis and Žagarė, too. However, they were not implemented, probably due to lack of funds.

Historiography indicates that in Šiauliai and both towns of Žagarė, the market places were of a rectangular plan (typical of the Renaissance, designed according to urban construction and reconstruction trends that prevailed in Europe, and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the 14th century)

As urbanistic researchers point out, the market place in Joniškis was an irregular triangle in shape, wider in the north and narrower in the south. However, following the discovery of the location of the foundations of the town hall in 2006, the plan of the market place in

⁷ I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Henrik Johansson of the Swedish Army Museum for his assistance. The drawing was first published in Sweden in 1907 (Hedegren 1907, p.344).

Iconographic material collected during the implementation of the project ‘Search for Iconographic Sources of the Šiauliai Crown Estate and the Upytė Powiat of the 17th and 18th Centuries’ in Swedish archives, financed within the framework of the fourth call for applications (2011) of the National Development Programme for Lithuanian Studies 2009–2015 by the Research Council of Lithuania (Agreement No. LIT-4/1), has been used in this article.

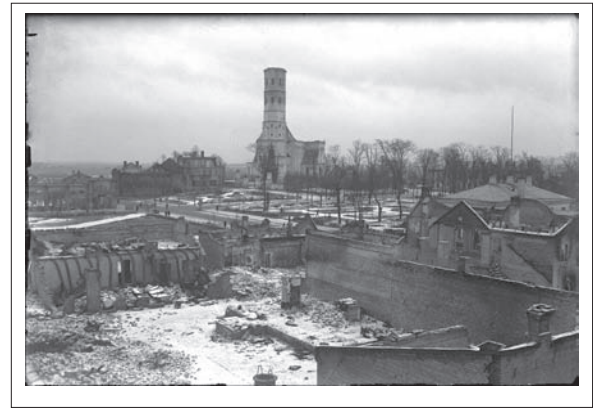


Fig. 4. A view of the central part of destroyed Šiauliai (Turgaus Square) in 1944, seen from the roof of the present Drama Theatre. Archaeological excavations were carried out in this part of the town in 2000 and 2006. ŠAM Neg. No. 15290 (photograph by S. Ivanauskas).

the 18th and early 19th centuries can be adjusted. If an imaginary straight line is drawn from the church (the tower) to the western axis (the wall) of the town hall (the present-day ‘White’ Synagogue), the market place acquires a plan that is shaped like an almost regular rectangle, orientated in a north-south direction, just like all other Renaissance market places of that period in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and other countries (Figs. 2; 3). This statement does not contradict a document from 1557, which mentions a rectangular square of one *margas* (in Lithuanian) in area in Joniškis (Miškinis 2004, p.130), or the aforementioned drawing from 1703 (Fig. 5). The triangular square might have formed in the first half of the 19th century, after the town lost its right to self-government in 1776 and 1795, and the town hall fell into decay. At the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, it was demolished (the building materials were sold off or re-used), and the ‘White’ Synagogue was erected in 1823 on the site of the town hall or next to it. A row of commercial buildings was built between the synagogue and the market place. For this reason, the market place became narrower in its southeast part. An environment of seclusion typical of synagogues formed: synagogues were usually situated near the central square of a town, in the depths of a block, and they were more visible from side streets than from the central street (Vasiliauskas 2007b, p.28).

Buildings serving religious, public (a town hall) and trading purposes were usually built next to market places.

Buildings were concentrated in the market place and the main streets, and the townspeople’s vegetable



Fig. 5. The drawing of the town of Joniškis by Carl Magnus Stuart, dated 1703. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. No. D768, I. p.61.

gardens were some distance from the main streets, in backyards.

There were cemeteries for the townspeople in the churchyards. In Joniškis (Fig. 3) and Šiauliai, former burial grounds dating from an earlier or simultaneous period could be determined.

Near all the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate discussed in this article, there were manors that were not related to the towns, or their self-government or economic activities. This phenomenon was widespread throughout the western part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Due to the lack of research into former manor sites, it is not clear yet whether the manors formed as administrative and economic units simultaneously with the towns, or much later.

Only a small amount of data has been gathered concerning the appurtenances of the towns, homesteads outside the towns situated along the main roads. One such homestead was found in 2008 in Joniškis, at 20 to 23 Dariaus ir Girėno St. It used to stand at a distance of about 400 metres south-southeast of the town hall (Fig. 3). Here, at the site of a trench two metres wide and 29 metres long (this way, a section of the homestead could be made out in a southwest-northeast direction), a total area of 74.4 square metres was investigated; the items found were a cobbled pavement (repaired and levelled on numerous occasions), the foundations of buildings, and a cultural layer 15 to 20 centimetres thick, contain-

ing numerous finds dated to the second half of the 17th to the first half of the 19th centuries. Most likely, there used to be an inn at the excavated site (Vasiliauskas 2009b, pp.304-310). It is likely that a similar homestead is depicted at the end of Šiauliai St in the Joniškis drawing from 1703. The same drawing also shows a rather large homestead at the end of Upytės St; the arrangement of the buildings of the homestead is U-shaped, or rather a square with a closed yard. There is yet another homestead depicted at some distance from the town, next to the Upytė road (Vasiliauskas 2010, p.98) (Fig. 5).

The remains of another homestead outside the town were discovered in 1999 and 2007 during excavations in Žagarė (29 Raktuvės St). The items found were the site of a cobbled 'path' one metre wide, 17th-century thrown 'rustic' pottery, slag, cinders, and pieces of burnt clay plaster. Some of the finds (the slag, the cinders) might attest to the fact that at this location, some distance from the town of New Žagarė, there was a homestead intended for production (Vasiliauskas 2008, p.8). The homestead used to stand at a distance of about 600 metres southwest of the market place, and about 360 metres in the same direction from the supposed outermost homestead of the town. From the point of view of fire safety, the distance from the town was sufficiently large that a homestead could be equipped for production purposes, that is, for crafts involving the use of fire.

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Until 1557 (?), the rest of the small towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate (Gruzdžiai, Meškuičiai,⁸ Skaištgirys and Radviliškis) were of a street-linear plan; this means that a church with a cemetery and a market place would usually be situated at one end of a street.

Buildings and pavements

The iconographic material, that is, the already mentioned drawing of Joniškis from 1703 (Fig. 5), makes it possible to get a certain idea of the building system of the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate. In the foreground of the drawing, in the middle and on the left, we can see a homestead with outbuildings (up to four, whereas the wills of rich town residents in the first half of the 18th century mention more), fences (the remains of two wattle fences were found during archaeological excavations at 20 to 23 Dariaus ir Girėno St in 2008) and vegetable gardens (maybe stock enclosures, too). The roofs of the buildings are hipped and double-pitched (some of them next to the market place have mezzanines). The majority of the buildings are depicted as having windows and doors, but no chimneys: these are smoke cottages (?). Maybe the artist did this on purpose, because it was a sketch for a copper etching and due to a shortage of time he just wanted to accentuate the most important buildings of the town? This proposition might be supported by cartographed finds of deep pot-shaped stove tiles and panel stove tiles from the 17th century found in different locations of the excavated central part of the town of Joniškis (Fig. 3; Plate III.4). Despite this, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the town's houses were smoke cottages (Vasiliasuskas 2010, p.98). For the sake of comparison, in a drawing of neighbouring Bauska,⁹ and in drawings and a copper etching of Jelgava (Mitau) from the same period (Lancmanis 2006, Figs. 4; 5; 24; 2010, Figs. 78-82), nearly all the town houses are depicted as having chimneys. There is no mention of smoke cottages in the towns of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia in literature pertaining to the history of architecture either. The issue of the presence of smoke cottages remains open: archaeological investigations and a detailed analysis of written sources (including Swedish) are needed. For the sake of comparison, smoke cottages existed in villages of the Courland governorate until the middle of the 19th century, and in some places until the end of the 19th century (in Latgale, and to some extent in Augšzeme) (Latviešu 1969, p.123).

⁸ A. Miškinis indicates that in the 17th century Gruzdžiai was restructured with a rectangular plan, and Meškuičiai with a radial plan (Miškinis 1987, p.28).

⁹ AM (Armémuseum, Sweden, Stockholm) No. 4332.

In this picture of Joniškis dating from 1703, two cottages with double-pitch roofs, a mezzanine, chimneys, windows and doors are more prominent north of the church, in the northwest part of the market place¹⁰ (Fig. 5). The plots of rich town dwellers or officials of the town (the burgomaster, clerks, court assessors and counsellors) must have been situated there. Written sources from the first half of the 18th century indicate that the majority of the plots on the market square belonged to municipal officials: the burgomaster and others.

It is known that in 1703, during the occupation of Joniškis, the command staff of the young Oginski was accommodated in the burgomaster's house. Therefore, it can be assumed that one of the houses belonged to the burgomaster; otherwise, the artist of the drawing would not have paid such special attention to make it prominent. During the archaeological investigations in the yards of 15 Miesto Square in 1997, 2001 and 2005, a cobbled pavement of the yard dating from the 17th century and a tile stove that was demolished in the second half of the 17th century were found. One of the buildings of the investigated area is depicted more prominently in the drawing (Vasiliasuskas 2010, p.97ff).

The oldest known drawings and etchings of the town of Šiauliai date from the second half of the 19th century, whereas the oldest remaining brick buildings (recorded in technical drawings or photographs) were built in Šiauliai in the first half of the 19th century.

For the reason mentioned earlier, that is, the lack of visual material pertaining to the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate in the 17th and 18th centuries, the main source for research into the development of constructions is still archaeological and historical data. All the buildings of the towns situated within the area discussed here were wooden, and their foundations were normally made of stone (Fig. 6; Plate II.3). Wood is the prevailing construction material in the eastern and northern parts of the Baltic Sea region, as well as in the rest of the East European region, and to some extent in the Carpathian region (Slovakia), unlike in other European countries.

Due to insufficient archaeological investigations of the area discussed here, it is difficult to identify the arrangement of houses within homesteads in the 17th and 18th centuries. A typical feature of the old build-

¹⁰ A nearly identical house owned by Joachim Schröder, the burgomaster, and built in 1699 has survived in Liepāja. Charles XII, King of Sweden, stayed in the house on several occasions during the Great Northern War. The building then consisted of three parts, with a chimney in the middle, a mezzanine, two utility rooms and two living rooms at the ends (Lancmanis 1983, pp.30, 130).



Fig. 6. The east wall of a mid-18th century cellar in the town of Joniškis (3 Upytės St, 1994). ŠAM A-N 265/73934 (photograph by A. Šapaitė).



Fig. 7. A view of the church and the central part of Joniškis from 1891. No. LCR02520 (photograph by P. Lancrenon [online]). Available from the Ministry of Culture of France – The Digital Library of Architecture and Heritage – RMN http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/memoire_fr (accessed 9 March 2011).

ing plan of Joniškis of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries is the fact that the longer buildings on the streets would face the street with their ends and sides (this is confirmed by investigations carried out at 4b Miesto Square in Joniškis in 2010 and 2011), whereas in the case of shorter buildings, they would face the street with their sides (like the homesteads of street villages of western Aukštaitija (Bertašiūtė *et al.* 2008, p.10). The buildings situated in the square would face the street with their facades (as in the towns of the neighbouring Duchy of Courland and Semigallia). A typical feature of the old building plan of Žagarė from the same period is the fact that both in the streets and in the market squares, the facades of the buildings would normally face the street or the square, like the 17th and 18th-century buildings of Liepāja (Libau) and other towns in the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (Jansons 1982, p.52; Lancmanis 1983, p.28).

Some Lithuanian historians tend to relate the emergence of brick buildings to the expansion of West European civilisation into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Without any doubt, the presence of stone buildings distinguishes an urban settlement from a village.

Of the oldest stone buildings, we should mention the churches built in the first half of the 17th century in Joniškis (1601–1605)¹¹ (Fig. 7), New Žagarė (1626)

¹¹ The photographer of the church of Joniškis taken on 1 June 1891 was Marie-Paul Mathieu Lancrenon (1857–1922), an army officer and a famous amateur photographer. During his military career, he led a number of expeditions that he documented in photographs (in 1987, the French government acquired about 4,000 of his negatives). During one journey in 1891, Lancrenon travelled by bicycle for six months around Europe (and took photographs). Available from: <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belfort> via Tilsit, Skaudvilė, Kelmė, Šiauliai, Eleja, Jelgava, Valmiera, Tartu and Narva to St Petersburg.

Among the photographs, there is a rare image of the southern side (taken from the present-day Miesto Square) of the brick church of Joniškis (the second one) built in 1601–1605. Until now, only the front of the church (taken from the northwest) has been known from a 1925 composite photographic postcard by Yankel Fischer from Joniškis. The earlier photograph is an important source of information on the architecture of the second church of Joniškis, before its reconstruction in 1895–1901. In the photograph we can see a white single-storey building next

and Šiauliai (1617–1634). Historians have carried out detailed research into these churches. It is interesting to mention that the churches in Joniškis and New Žagarė share a number of similarities with churches of the neighbouring Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (Augstkalne/Mežmuiža, Bauska, Lielaucē, Mežotne, Tērvete), whereas the church in Šiauliai shares similarities with other churches of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in present-day western Belarus (Slonim, Smarhon). In the rest of the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, wooden churches were built until the very end of the 18th century. A brick church was built in Šakyna between 1789 and 1790.

Written sources from the second half of the 18th century indicate that brick buildings also began spreading gradually in the Šiauliai Crown Estate. There are mentions of several in Joniškis, Šiauliai and Žagarė. The increase in the construction of brick buildings in Šiauliai is related to the activities of the aforementioned A. Tyzenhauz (approximately 30 brick buildings were built in the town from 1764) (Kiaupa 1991a, p.48ff). The remnants of brick buildings built in Šiauliai before the end of the 18th century (vaulted cellars, foundations) were found during an archaeological survey in 1998 at 138 Vilniaus St (a three-room cellar, 11.7 by 11.7 metres in size, with walls 95 to 155 centimetres thick, and foundations, was uncovered); in 2000 at 157 Tilžės St (four walls, 75 to 95 centimetres thick, were uncovered) (Šapaitė 2000, p.470ff; 2002, p.175; 2008, p.98); and in 2009 at 140 Vilniaus St. In Joniškis, the foundations of a brick building from the 17th or 18th century was discovered in 2010 at 4b Miesto Square.

A similar situation could be observed up to the beginning or even the middle of the 19th century in the medium-size towns (medium-size for the eastern part of the Baltic region) of Jelgava (a governorate centre) and Kuldīga (Goldingen) of the neighbouring governorate of Courland, where single-storey wooden buildings prevailed. In the 1840s, the town dwellers of the governorate of Courland owned 2,454 wooden and 292 brick buildings (Latvija 2000, p.147).

The foundations of the oldest brick secular building, the 17th and 18th-century town hall, was discovered in Joniškis in 2006. The foundations were 94 to 96 centimetres (three feet) in width, and made of whole field boulders, 37 by 43, 23 by 36, 12 by 23, and 16 by 20 centimetres in diameter. The spaces between the boulders are filled with lime and fragments of brick with lime stuck to them (Plate II.2). The walls of the ground floor of the town hall of Bauska, built at the beginning

to the churchyard fence (1 Upytės Street). In the depth of the square (in the northern part) we can discern former wooden buildings.

of the 17th century according to the charter of 1615, were of a similar width, that is, three feet (94.2 centimetres) (Vasiliauskas 2007b). Joniškis town hall was shown in the 1703 drawing to the right (the south) of the church, between Upytės and Šiaulių streets, next to the market place. It was made more apparent on purpose, and depicted with windows, doors and a chimney (Fig. 5), whereas most of the neighbouring buildings and houses seen in the foreground are drawn without these details. This drawing gives us an idea of the appearance of the single-storey town hall. A. Miškinis, a researcher into urbanistics, has pointed to the fact that Joniškis town hall had a tower before the fire of 1748 (Miškinis 2004, pp.133, 138); however, the tower is not depicted in the drawing (Vasiliauskas 2010, p.97).

Summarising all this information, it can be claimed that from the beginning of the 17th century, brick buildings intended for public and religious purposes began to spread in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate. Their numbers grew in the second half of the 18th century. However, up to the middle of the 19th century, and in some places (Žagarė, Joniškis) even until the end of the 19th century, the prevailing construction material was still wood.

Individual bricks, grooved or without grooves, and dating from the 17th or 18th centuries, have been found in all the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate: Joniškis, Šiauliai and Žagarė. Several burnt and sooty fragments of brick were found in 2007 in the former village site of Kalnelis, next to the remnants of a tile stove dated to the second half of the 17th century (Vasiliauskas 2008, p.120).

During archaeological investigations in the towns, other items related to construction were found: fragments of 17th and 18th-century tiles (mostly 'Dutch'), iron door and window hinges (Joniškis, Žagarė), door lock bindings (Joniškis), locks (Šiauliai, Žagarė) and keys, door rivets and hooks (?), nails, various bars, and shards of greenish window glass. Fragments of stained-glass window frames made of lead alloy (Sn, Pb) dating from the second half of the 18th century and found in Žagarė (14 Miesto Square) in 2003 indicate that some of the town's buildings had stained-glass windows (Vasiliauskas 2008, Fig. 7).

Another peculiarity that distinguishes the towns of the area discussed here from villages of the same period is cobbled pavements found during investigations. The earliest pavements, dated to the 17th century, have been found in Joniškis and Šiauliai. No pavements dating from the 17th or 18th century have been found in Žagarė yet, due to the limited scope of investigations. On the basis of the accumulated research data, we can

claim that stones were used to pave part of the yard (probably the 'clean' yard and certain rooms within the buildings). The 1657 regulations of the Šiauliai Crown Estate mention poor-quality and neglected pavements in Joniškis and Žagarė. Every town dweller was ordered to repair the pavement by his house in a year, or to pave the area if there was no pavement at all; the same order applied to Šiauliai, too (Kiaupa 1991a, p.19). Cobbled pavements are often found in former manor sites from the same period.

The pavements were cobbled with stones of different sizes. In some places (a homestead outside the town of Joniškis at 20 to 23, Dariaus ir Girėno St), paved yards were used for a longer time (100 to 150 years) and repaired in order to level the depressed ground surface (smaller stones 17 by 14, 17 by 23, 16 by 18, 18 by 12 and 12 by 14 centimetres were placed on larger flat stones 56 by 35, 33 by 20, 25 by 19, 19 by 17, 26 by 25, 32 by 40, 37 by 28, 39 by 27, 31 by 31 centimetres) (Plate II.3).

On a hypothetical comparison of the archaeological research results from Joniškis (at 15 Miesto Square to Mažoji St at 20 to 23 Dariaus ir Girėno St; in 2001 and 2005, a stretch 6.9 by ten metres in size was detected; the northern part had been disturbed during heating system construction work in 1997) with the 1703 drawing, the conclusion can be drawn that in the 17th and 18th centuries cobbled pavements could only be found at the homes of rich town dwellers. In order to substantiate or reject this claim, we need to gather additional archaeological data and check written sources.

Finds. Trades

The historian Z. Kiaupa points to the fact that as early as the 16th century, Šiauliai became a local trade and crafts centre for the southern part of the estate, whereas Joniškis and Žagarė dominated in the north. Merchants from the towns of the estate acted as mediators between villages and small towns in their trading area (hinterland) on the one hand, and merchants from Kaunas, Riga and towns of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, who traded with Western Europe, on the other. Craftsmen supplied the town and the surrounding area, the southern part of the estate, with their goods. We could say that trade was the basis of economic life in Šiauliai, whereas handicrafts played a less important role (Kiaupa 1991a, pp.23, 26, 37).

Finds are no less important for determining the development of the towns of the estate. For us, the most relevant finds are those related to trade, handicrafts and different occupations, which distinguish the town unmistakably from the village: coins and coin hoards,

pottery (especially 'urban' pottery, imported faience, stoneware and chinaware), tiles, tools related to particular handicrafts, products, and so on. Some of them unmistakably identify the towns of the estate as local trading and craft centres, with their trade areas, which were normally limited to the area of an individual bailiwick. In order to answer the question, more research data from former village sites is required, which at the moment is in short supply.

Numismatic material¹² is related to both long-distance and short-distance trade. During particular periods, coins would reach the Šiauliai Crown Estate via major towns or ports of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Vilnius, Kaunas), Livonia (Riga), and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (Jelgava, Liepāja). The majority of coins minted or brought to Riga (Livonia) would find their way into Riga's trading hinterland, the northern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including the Šiauliai Crown Estate. Therefore, as early as the beginning of the 16th century, coins minted in the town of Riga, in Livonia, began to be brought to northern Lithuania in large quantities. It should be pointed out that until 1581 the weights and measures system of shillings of the free city of Riga (found in Žagarė) did not correspond with the monetary system of that time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the 17th century, the amount of these coins grew even larger. When Riga and Livonia, which had been ruled by the Swedes, were joined to Russia between 1710 and 1721, Russian coins began to be brought in large numbers from the port town to the hinterland, Joniškis, Žagarė, the villages of the Joniškis bailiwick, Kalnelis, Ropininkai (a copper Peter I kopeck from the Russian Empire, dated to 1707; 2009), along with highly popular Saxonian coins (Žagarė, Šiauliai, the villages of the Joniškis bailiwick: Džiugiai, Šluostikiai [Vasiliauskas 2009a, pp.254, 256], Drąsutaičiai). The system of Russian coins differed considerably from that of Western Europe; however, even up to the first half of the 19th century, West European coins remained in circulation in the region (this was encouraged by the Imperial government in the 18th century), the basis of which were thalers. This is supported by finds of hoards and individual coins both in present-day Latvia (Ducmane, Ozoliņa 2009, p.32ff) and in northern Lithuania.

In the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, coins have been found both in hoards (three¹³ were buried in the

¹² Dalia Grimalauskaitė, head of the Numismatics Department at the National Museum of Lithuania, and Eduardas Remecas, a specialist at the museum, assisted in identifying the coins. The author extends his sincere thanks for the advice.

¹³ An error was entered into historiography concerning a coin hoard of 16th-century Prussian coins allegedly found in the town of Joniškis in 1942 (see Ivanauskas 1995, p.28).

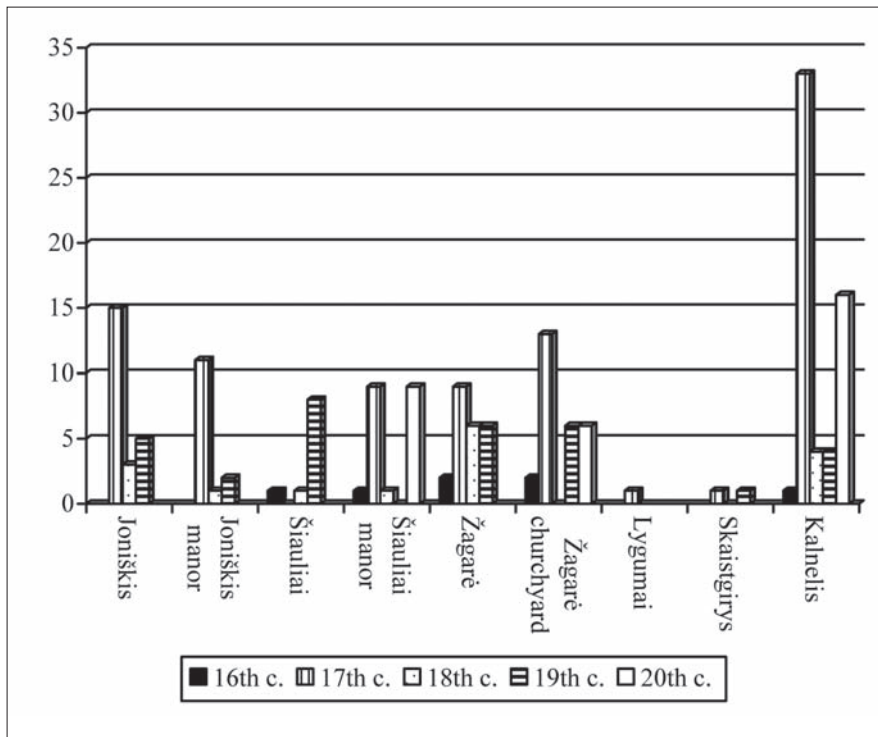


Table 2.
16th to
20th-
century coins

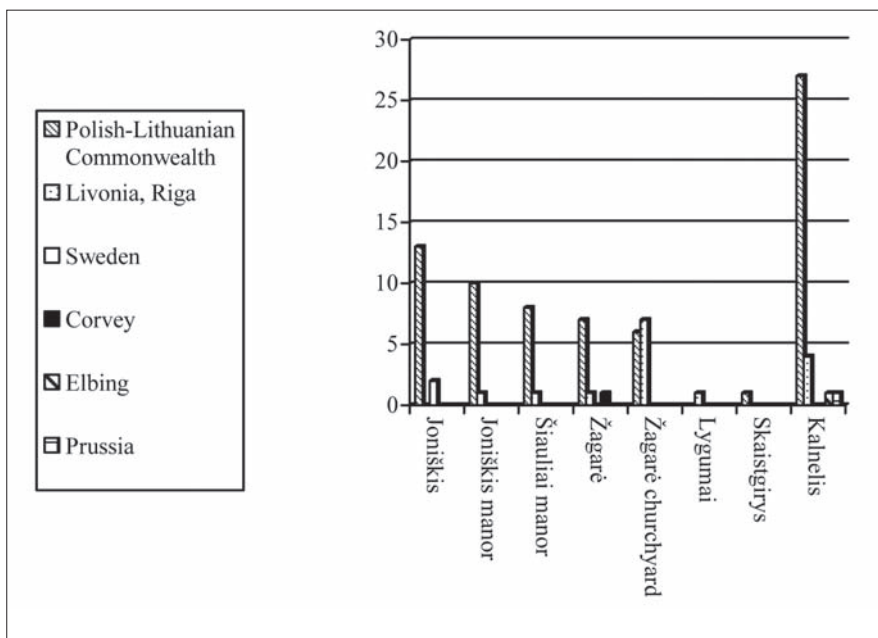


Table 3.
17th-century
coins

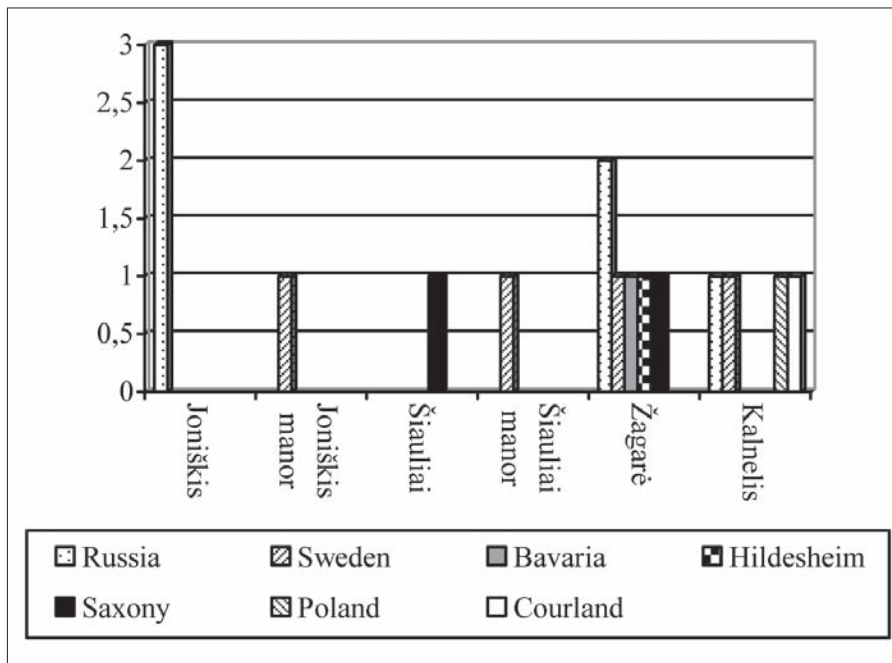


Table 4.
18th-century
coins

17th century in Joniškis, and one in 1803 in Žagarė) and in cultural layers as individual finds (Table 2). Exhaustive information about the coin hoards has been published. One of them (1625/1904), found in Joniškis, consisted of a Christian IV of Denmark mark (1617), a Sigismund III Vasa of Poland groat (1610), 1.5 groats (1619, 1620, 1623, 1624, 11 pieces), an ort (1622, 1623), Lithuanian two-denarii (1611, 1620, two pieces), shillings (1618, 1619, 1623, 1624, a total of 13 pieces), 1.5 Georg Wilhelm of Prussia groats (1625), an ort (1622, 1623), Sigismund Vasa of Riga shillings (1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, a total of 25 pieces), Gustavus Adolphus shillings (1621, 1624, 1625, a total of 20 pieces), and 1.5 groats (1623, 1624, a total of four pieces). The second coin hoard (1698/1862) consisted of 66 patagons, 16 half-patagons and quarter-patagons of Albert, Elisabeth, Philip IV and Charles II of the Spanish Netherlands, 15 rijksthalers and silver ducats of the United Netherlands, a half-rijksthaler, eight Liège ducats, and two half-écu coins of Louis XIV of France. The coins were dated from 1612 to 1698. The third coin hoard (1699/1911) consisted of coins dated to the late 17th century (Ivanauskas 1995, p.85, 199, 220). The coin hoard found in the market place plot of Old Žagarė consisted of 15 five-kopeck coins of the Russian Empire, dated to 1760–1803, and was placed in a copper cup (1803/1995) (Vasiļausks 2008, p.19, Fig. 5). There is also data of a questionable coin hoard consisting of nine 17th-century coins found in Šiauliai.¹⁴

The author of this article at a later time repeated this error (Vasiliauskas 2005, p.116; 2006, p.20). This coin hoard was actually found in Joniškėlis (in the Pasvalys district).

¹⁴ The researcher Eugenijus Ivanauskas indicates that 35 coins were brought to Šiauliai Aušra Museum (Ivanauskas 1995, pp.224, 225); however, on checking the museum

We will review individual coins found in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate in more detail. The largest number of 16th to 19th-century coins were found during investigations of the old parts of Žagarė (23 pieces) and Joniškis (20 pieces). The material from the town of Šiauliai (a total of seven pieces only) (Table 2) is not sufficient, due to the scope and methods of investigation. Without any doubt, the number of coins found is not sufficient: the current general conclusions may change in the future, when more material is collected.

On summarising the numismatic material from the town of Joniškis (Vasiliauskas 2007a, p.13) we can see that the majority of the coins found date from the 17th century (12 pieces, or 60% of the total number) (Table 2). Most of the coins from the 17th century (ten pieces, 83%) are copper shillings minted in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and two (17%) öre minted in Sweden (Table 3). The situation concerning the 18th century is slightly different: 100% (three pieces) of the total number of coins are Russian (dengas, five-kopecks) (Table 4).

The coins found in the old part of Šiauliai were: one coin dating from the 16th century (a Sigismund Augustus of Poland denarius (1545–1563), and another one dating from the 18th century (a Christian of Saxony 1/12 thaler from 1763); the rest of the coins were 19th-

records and coins, only nine coins could be found (Register of Received Exhibits [GEK] No. 1241/I-N 14338:1–9): an Albert and Elisabeth of the Brabant Province of the Spanish Netherlands quarter-patagon from 1617; a Philip IV of Flanders patagon from 1648; a John Casimir Vasa of Poland ort from 1667; tymfs from 1663 and 1664; a ducat from the province of Guelders of the United Netherlands from 1699; a Zealand ducat from 1675; three Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia groats from 1695; and a Rudolf II of Tyrol thaler from 1607.



Fig. 8. A plate from Joniškis dated to the second half of the 17th century (4b Miesto Square, 2010). JIKM, non-inv (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).



Fig. 9. A pot from the former manor site of Joniškis dated to the mid-17th century (9 Žemaičių St, 2004). JIKM Register of Received Exhibits No. 10738/AR 64:40, (restored by L. Šalkovska, photograph by J. Ambrazaitytė).

century coins from the Russian and German empires. A larger collection of coins was collected during an investigation of the old manor site of Šiauliai.¹⁵ Among them was the oldest coin ever found in Šiauliai, a Sigismund the Old of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania half-groat from 1510; also, eight John Casimir Vasa of Grand Duchy of Lithuania copper shillings (four pieces) and John Casimir Vasa of Poland (three pieces) (one has not been identified more precisely), a Charles XI of Livonia shilling from 1662, and a Frederick I of Sweden öre from 1722.

A slightly different situation was ascertained in Žagarė (Vasiļausks 2008, pp.19-21). During the investigations there, more 16th and 18th-century coins from foreign countries were found than anywhere else in other towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate (Tables 2-4). These were city of Riga from 1539 and free city of Riga (1561–1581) shillings, Theodore IV of Corvey Abbey groats (1612–1616) and Emanuel of Bavaria groats from 1721, a Friedrich Wilhelm of Hildesheim 1/12-thaler from 1764, and two Ernest Frederick I of Saxony (Hildburghausen) two groats from 1718. Most of the 17th-century coins are copper shillings minted in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, seven pieces (78%), and single coins (11% each) minted in Corvey Abbey and Riga. These finds differ considerably from the numismatic material collected in self-governing Joniškis or the centre of the estate, Šiauliai.

For the sake of comparison, valuable numismatic material was collected in 2007 and 2008 during a survey of the churchyard of New Žagarė. A total of 21 16th to

19th-century coins were collected there (Tables 2, 3). The 16th to 18th-century coins were six (40%) 17th-century coins minted in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (copper shillings, a two-denarii), seven (47%) 17th-century coins minted in Livonia and Riga (shillings), and two (13%) 16th-century coins minted in the free city of Riga (shillings).

The Žagarė finds stand out from the general Lithuanian context: especially large numbers of coins from Livonia, Riga and the German mini-states of the Holy Roman Empire were found there. This indicates that two different monetary systems, those of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia, circulated in Žagarė and in the surrounding area in the 16th century, because from the 16th century the area came under the economic influence of Riga and constituted Riga's trade hinterland. As the investigation of the churchyard of Old Žagarė carried out in 2009 indicates, the cultural influence of Livonia was felt from as early as the 16th century.

The numismatic material from the former village site of Kalnelis, which has been investigated and surveyed in greater detail (the settlement is situated at a distance of three kilometres northwest of the self-governing town of Joniškis) adds to the picture of the monetary circulation in the Joniškis bailiwick¹⁶ (Tables 2-4). The larger part of the 17th-century coins are Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth copper shillings; the number of bullion shillings minted in Livonia and Riga collected is slightly smaller. Coins from foreign countries have been found, too: a Kristina Augusta Vasa of Elbing 1 1/2-groats from 1635, and a Friedrich Wilhelm of Prus-

¹⁵ My sincere thanks to the archaeologist Virginija Ramanauskaitė-Ostašenkovienė for her permission to use her research material.

¹⁶ The analysis does not include the 41 coins from the 17th century contained in the hoard (cf Vasiliauskas 2008, p.121ff).

Table 5. The percentage distribution of pottery collected at 4b Miesto Square (Joniškis, 2006, 17th and 18th century), 4b Miesto Square (Joniškis, 2010, the second half of the 17th century), 20 to 23 Dariaus ir Girėno St (a homestead outside Joniškis, the second half of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century) and 9 to 11 Žemaičių St (the site of Joniškis manor, 2006, 17th and 18th century)

Findspot	Total	Traditional regional (rustic)	Number of pots	Oxidised ('urban')			
				Unglazed	Number of pots	Glazed	Number of pots
4a, Miesto Sq.	158 pieces	67 pieces / 42.4%	0.8 / 8.16%	10 pieces / 6.33%	1 / 10.2%	81 pieces / 51.27 %	8 / 81.64 %
4b, Miesto Sq.	354	153 pieces / 43.22%	3.3 / 22.76%	2 pieces / 0.57%	0.2 / 1.38%	199 pieces / 56.21%	11 / 75.86%
20–23, Dariaus ir Girėno St	227	88 pieces / 34.64%		24 pieces / 9.45%		115 pieces / 45.28%	
9–11, Žemaičių St, area No. 2	134 pieces	104 pieces / 77.62%	1.3 / 28.89%	2 pieces / 1.49%	0.2 / 4.44%	28 pieces / 20.89%	3 / 66.67%
9, Žemaičių St, test pit No. 19	124 pieces	81 pieces / 65.32%	1 / 20.83%	8 pieces / 6.45%	0.8 / 16.67%	35 pieces / 28.32%	3 / 62.5%
9–11, Žemaičių St, test pit No. 23	211 pieces	157 pieces / 74.41%	2 / 27.4%	3 pieces / 1.42%	0.3 / 4.1%	51 pieces / 24.17%	5 / 68.5%
9–11, Žemaičių St, test pit No. 24	78 pieces	60 pieces / 76.92%	0.7 / 28%	5 pieces / 6.41%	0.5 / 20%	13 pieces / 16.67%	1.3 / 52%

Table 6. The percentage distribution of pottery from the second half of the 17th century collected in the household pits of the site of Joniškis manor (9 Žemaičių St, 2004)

Pit No. 1	number, percentage/depth 100–190 cm	Number of pots	number, percentage/depth 147–190 cm	Number of pots
rustic	366 / 90.15%	4.5 / 52.94%	208 / 92.86%	2.5 / 60.98%
oxidised unglazed	3 / 0.74%	0.3 / 3.53%	3 / 1.34%	0.3 / 7.32%
glazed	37 / 9.11%	3.7 / 43.53%	13 / 5.8%	1.3 / 31.70%
Total:	406 / 100%		224 / 100%	
Pit No. 2	depth 100–190 cm		depth 130–160 cm	
rustic	950 / 95.29%	11.5 / 71%	941 / 95.82%	11.5 / 73.72%
oxidised unglazed	10 / 1.00%	1 / 6.17%	5 / 0.51%	0.5 / 3.20%
glazed	37 / 3.71%	3.7 / 22.83%	36 / 3.67%	3.6 / 23.08%
Total:	997 / 100%		982 / 100%	
Pit No. 3	depth 100–190 cm		depth 160–195 cm	
rustic	67 / 56.3%	0.8 / 13.79%	33 / 43.42%	0.4 / 8.51%
oxidised unglazed	–	–	–	–
glazed	52 / 43.7%	5 / 86.21%	43 / 56.78%	4.3 / 91.49%
Total:	119 / 100%		76 / 100%	

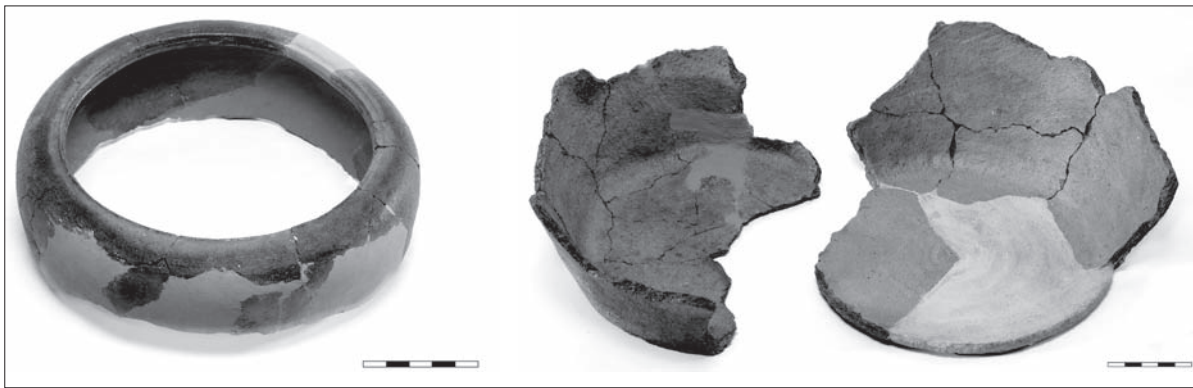


Fig. 10. Parts of pots from the former village site of Kalnelis dated to the mid-17th century (2007). ŠAM GEK No. 122489, 122490/I-A 323:1, 2 (restored by L. Adomaitytė, photograph by V. Šileikienė).

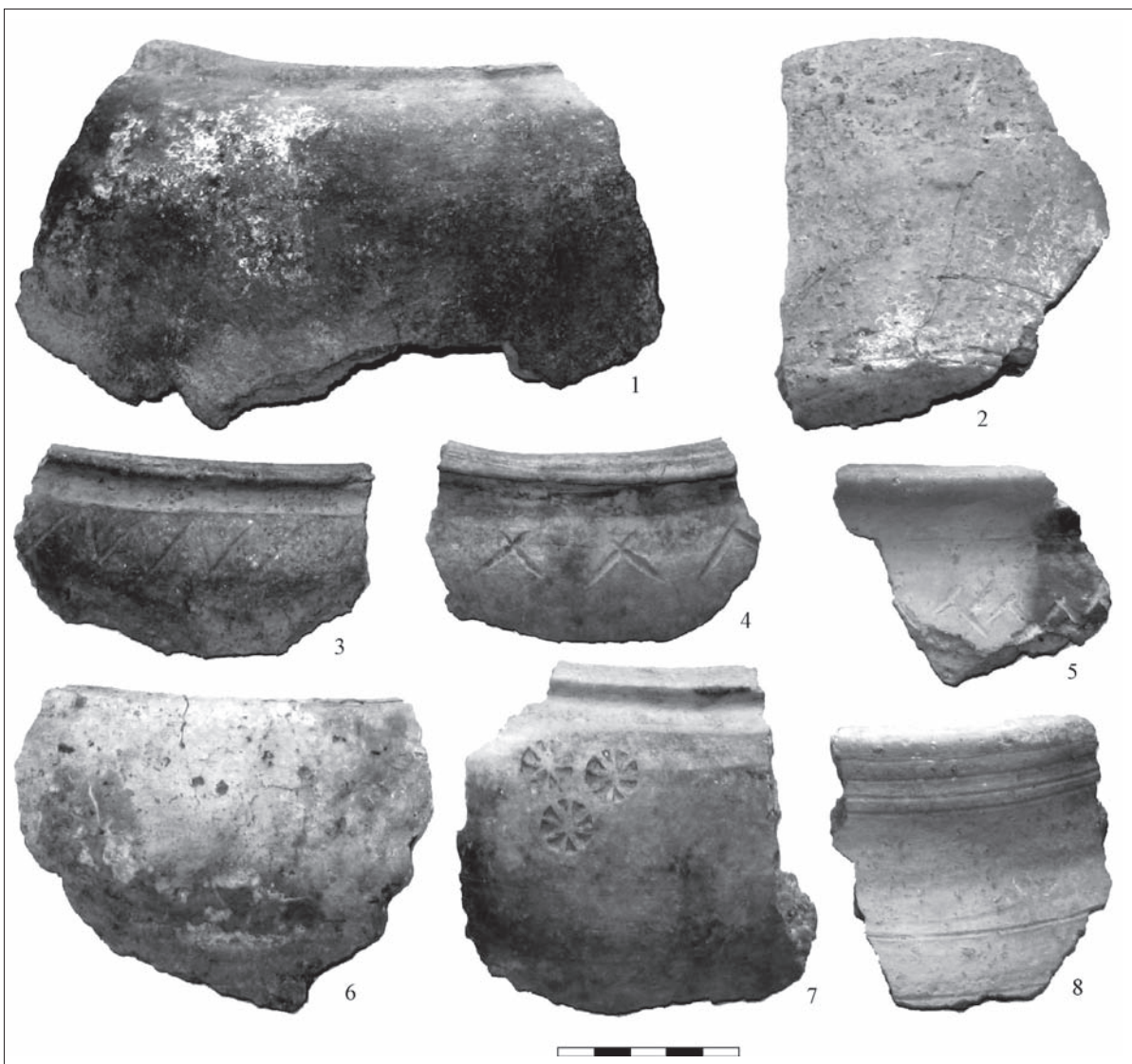


Fig. 11. Shards of thrown 'rustic' pottery from the former market place of Šiauliai, dated to the 16th or 17th century (2006). ŠAM I-A 212:184, 159, 141, 167, 133, 169, 166, 143 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

III
FROM
ANCIENT
SETTLEMENTS
AND PIRACY
TO TOWNS

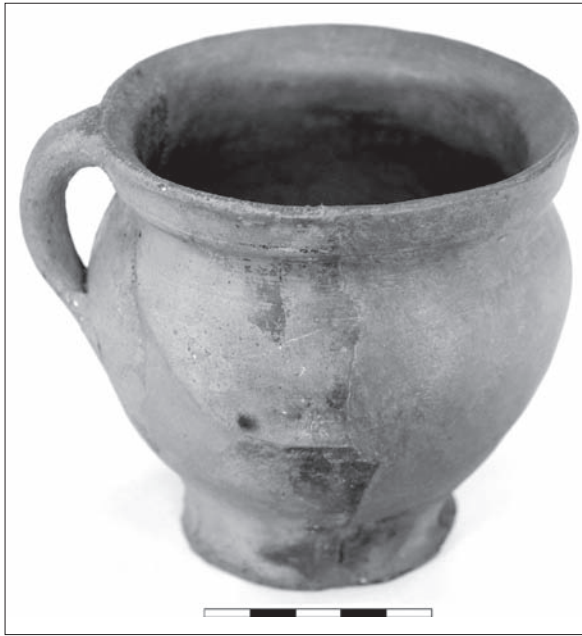


Fig. 12. A glazed earthenware jar from Joniškis dated to the 17th century (4b Miesto Square, 2010). JIKM, non-inv (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).



Fig. 13. A glazed green plate from Šiauliai (Prisikėlimo Square, 2006). ŠAM I-A 212:113 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).



Fig. 14. A glazed green plate from Šiauliai (Prisikėlimo Square, 2006). ŠAM I-A 212:162, 129 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

sia six-groats from 1682. The number of 18th-century coins found was smaller. These were a Peter I of the Russian Empire polushka from 172?, a Frederick I of Sweden öre from 1743, a Stanislaw Augustus Poniatowski of Poland 1 1/2-groats from 1756, and an Ernst Johann von Biron of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia three-groats from 1764. Furthermore, two hoards of 17th-century coins have been found in Kalnelis, the composition of which is identical to those which had been buried in the towns.

In the villages of Kalnelis and Slėpsniai (Vasiliauskas 2009a, p.252, Fig. 6), and likewise in the manor site of Joniškis (one item in each site), finds typical of towns have been found: 17th and 18th-century lead seals from fabrics. Regrettably, such finds have not yet been found in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate; only 19th and 20th-century seals have been found.

If we compare the numismatic material from Kalnelis and other village sites of the Joniškis bailiwick (Džiugiai, Šluostikiai) (Vasiliauskas 2009, pp.254, 258) with that from towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, we can say that the material from Kalnelis is exceptional in its diversity. However, these distinct differences can be explained by research methods and the survival of cultural layers. Virtually no intensive construction work was carried out at the village site of Kalnelis in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The most numerous group of finds from settlements of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period is pottery. There is still a lack of a thorough analysis of 14th to 18th-century Lithuanian pottery. Nevertheless, the abundant collected material enables us to make some generalisations.



Fig. 15. Glazed cups and a goblet from Šiauliai (Prisikėlimo Square, 2006). ŠAM I-A 212:114, 146, 125, 115, 116 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

The pottery collected in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate and other locations is divided into several groups: 'rustic' pottery (also called traditional regional pottery), oxidised pottery ('urban' pottery or 'pottery of the Early Modern Period'), reduced pottery ('black' pottery), imported stoneware, faience and chinaware.

The most numerous group of pottery items collected is 'rustic' pottery (Figs. 8; 9), which in the Joniškis layers of the mid-17th century to the 18th century makes up around 35% to 78%, and in the household pit holes of the manor site of mid-17th century Joniškis as many as 90.15% to 95.29% of the total pottery items collected (Vasiliauskas 2005, pp.117-119; 2006, pp.16-17; 2007a, p.11). However, if we count the number of pots, and not pieces, the distribution of pots (in per cent) changes considerably. For example, during the archaeological investigations at the Joniškis manor site (9 Žemaičių St) in 2004, a cooking pot of 'rustic' pottery dated to the mid-17th century could be put together from 82 shards (height 29 centimetres, diameter of top 27 centimetres, diameter of shoulder 37.3 centimetres, diameter of base 19.3 centimetres) (Fig. 9), whereas a plate dated to the second half of the 17th century could be put together from 11 shards (height 7.9 centimetres, diameter of top 24.7 centimetres, diameter of base 14.2 centimetres; 4b Miesto St, 2010) (Fig. 8). A small glazed earthenware jar of oxidised pottery from the same period can be reconstructed from 12 (height

10.6 centimetres, diameter of top 11.1 centimetres, diameter of base 7.2 centimetres; 9 Žemaičių St, 2004) or 18 shards (height 10.75 centimetres, diameter of top 10.5 centimetres, diameter of base 6.6 centimetres; 4b Miesto St, 2010), and a small jug (height 16.1 centimetres, diameter of top 9.5 centimetres, diameter of base eight centimetres) can be reconstructed from seven shards (9 Žemaičių St, 2004). Cups, small plates and bowls have been reconstructed from a single shard or from three larger shards. Consequently, the number of 'rustic' pottery-type pots is obtained by dividing the total number of shards, depending on the type of vessel, by 11 to 82 (46 on average), whereas that of 'urban' pottery is obtained by dividing by three to 18 (on average by ten). On recalculating this data, the picture changes drastically: the number of 'rustic' pottery-type pots as compared to the number of shards drops by two to 2.5 (and in some cases even by five) times (making up 8.16% to 28.89%), whereas that of oxidised pottery goes up by 1.5 to three times (making up 72.6% to 91.84%) (Table 5). Similar changes can be observed in the case of the pottery from the site of Joniškis manor (Table 6). However, the oxidised pottery pots differ considerably in their size and capacity as indicated by the measurements given here.

During the excavations at the site of the village of Kalnelis and the survey of other former village sites of the Joniškis bailiwick, quite a rich collection of pottery

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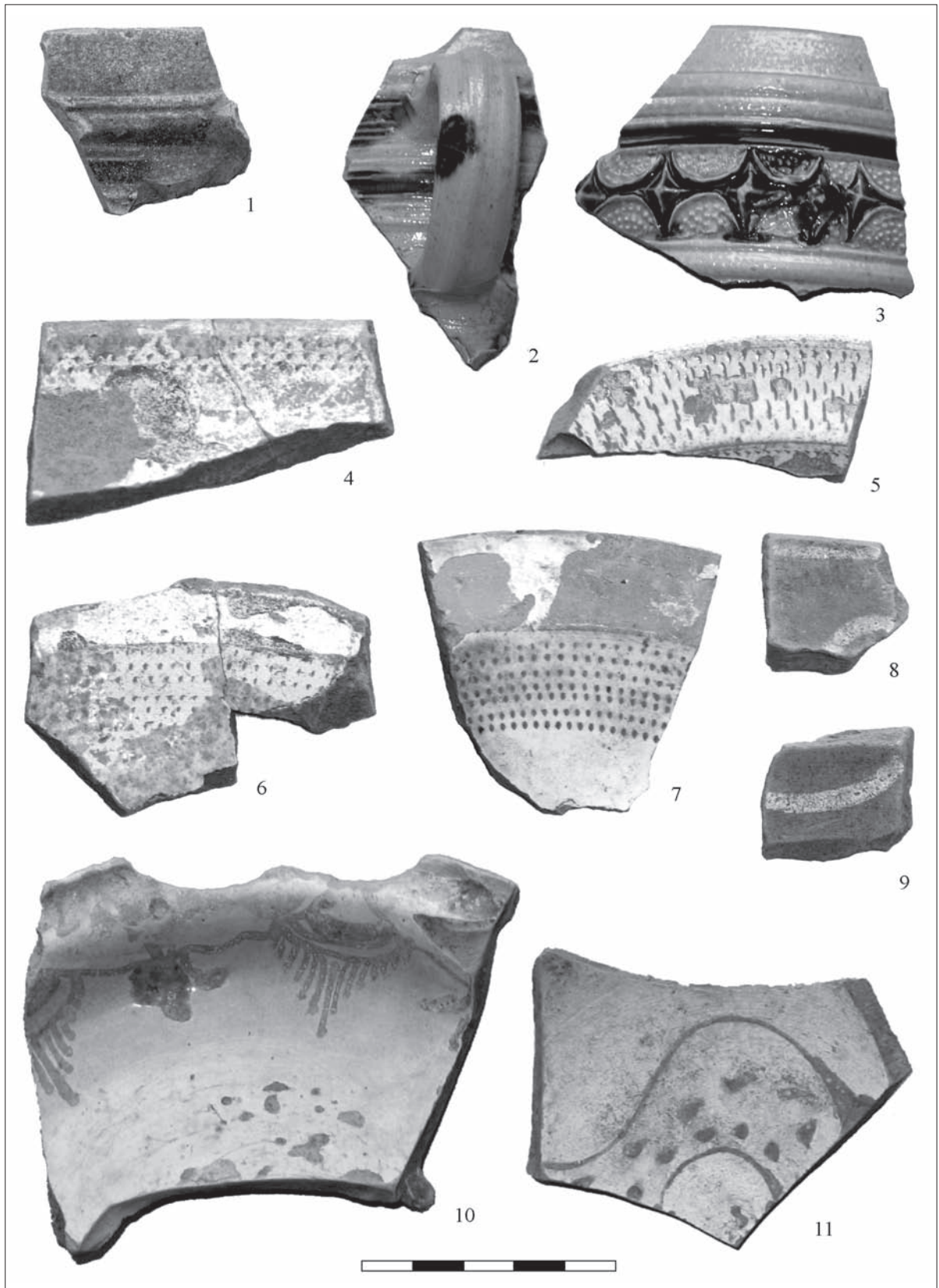


Fig. 16. 1-3 fragments of 17th-century stoneware mugs; 4-9 18th to early 19th-century oxidised pottery; 10, 11 glazed faience plates (2, 3, 10, 11 from the former market place in Šiauliai, 2006; 1, 4-9 from Vilnius St, Žagarė, 2001). JIKM AR 26:20 (1), 44 (4), 45 (5), 43 (6, 7), 46 (8, 9), ŠAM I-A 212:161 (2), 118 (3), 194 (10), 153 (11) (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

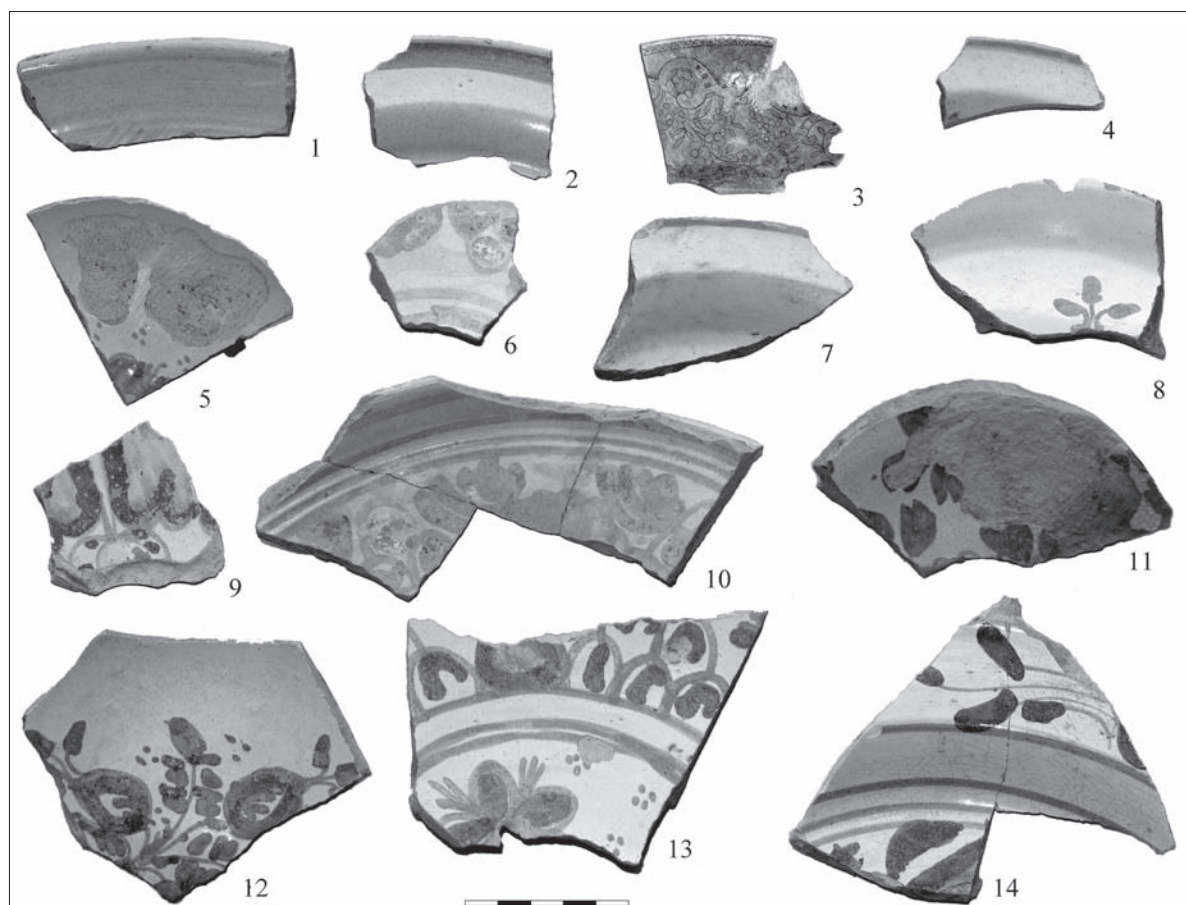


Fig. 17. Fragments of 18th-century plates: 1, 2 faience (4 to 14 Prisiškėlimo Square, Šiauliai, 2006); 3 chinaware (2 to 4 Šiaulių Senoji St. Joniškis, 2001). JIKM AR 18:55 (3), ŠAM I-A 212:197 (1), 157 (2), 156 (4, 7), 191 (8), 196 (5, 9, 13), 154 (6), 198 (10), 152 (11), 150 (12), 195 (14) (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

could be collected. In these locations, as in the neighbouring town of Joniškis, the prevailing type was 'rustic' pottery. Several similarities between pots from the mid-17th century from Kalnelis and ones found in the town and at the manor of Joniškis have been noticed: the edges (very often with a groove), the rims (bent inwards), the shapes (with puffed sides; a diameter of 22.5 centimetres at the top, a diameter of 29.8 centimetres at the shoulder) (Fig. 10), and their production technique. These similarities raise doubts concerning the 'rustic' character of these pots dated to the same period, the middle and the second half of the 17th century; they should probably be considered works of professional master potters from Joniškis, which spread in a small area, the trade hinterland of the town, that is, the bailiwick.

'Rustic' pottery has been found in Žagarė and Šiauliai. Here, just as in Joniškis, the items were made by the potters of the towns. When comparing the profiles, the peculiarities of shoulder ornamentation and the edges of 17th-century 'rustic' pottery from the three towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, quite distinct differences can be seen. In Joniškis, the necks are usually pro-

filed, bent inwards, and there is a groove in the edge; whereas in Žagarė and Šiauliai, the necks are bent outwards at a right angle, and the edges are rounded. The shoulders of the pots are more often ornamented in Žagarė (by a wavy line, oblique incisions) and Šiauliai (by wavy lines, broken lines, 'X' motifs, small stamps) (Fig. 11) than in Joniškis. No 'rustic' pottery whatsoever was found during the investigation of the 16th to 18th-century layers of the old town of Riga, the main metropolis of the eastern Baltic shore.

The second largest group of 17th and 18th-century pottery is the oxidised ('urban') glazed and unglazed pottery (Figs. 12–15; 16.4–9): bowls, cups, goblets, earthenware jars, jugs and frying pans. This pottery is found in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate from the 17th century. Over the course of time, its quantity increased continuously, and in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, this type of pottery, along with faience, almost ousted 'rustic' pottery (the latter is found in quite large numbers during surveys of 18th and 19th-century former vil-

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Fig. 18. Part of a 17th-century glazed faience cup found near the market place in New Žagarė (14 Miesto Square, 2003). JIKM GEK No. 10117/ AR 26:92 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

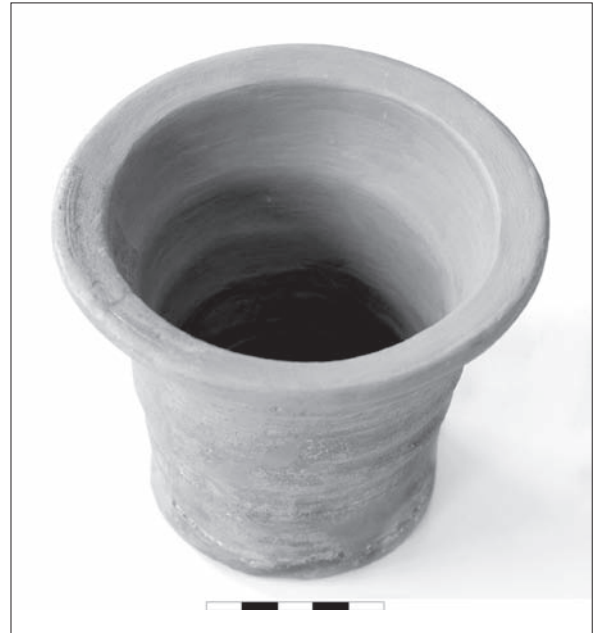


Fig. 20. A deep pot-shaped stove tile (2 to 4 Žemaičių St, Joniškis, 2006). JIKM, non-inv (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

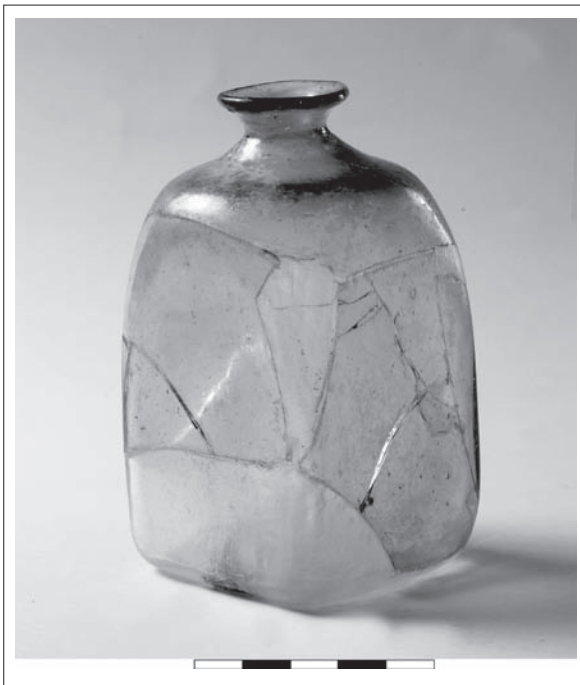


Fig. 19. A glass vial from Joniškis dated to the 17th century (4b Miesto Square, 2010). JIKM, non-inv (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

lage sites). Oxidised pottery is found in large quantities in the larger towns and castles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Livonia and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia. The ‘urban’ pottery collected in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate is quite often identical to the pottery found in other large towns; this indicates that quite a large part of it was imported. The 17th and 18th-century oxidised pottery collected in the investigated former village site of Kalnelis is neither numerous nor diverse: it consists mostly of pieces of the same shape, similar ornamentation and glazing (Vasiliauskas 2008, pp.119, 120). A variety of ‘urban’ pottery has been ascertained in the former manor sites of Joniškis and Old Žagarė.

The items of imported stoneware found in Žagarė and Šiauliai are not numerous (Fig. 16.1-3). They originate from the region of the Rhine. Such pottery is found in rather large numbers in the towns and castles of Livonia and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia.

Imported majolica and chinaware from the 17th and 18th centuries is a rare find in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate. Items of faience could only be found in Šiauliai (Figs. 16.10-11; 17.1-2, 4-14), Žagarė (Fig. 18) and Joniškis (a few shards, 2010). Also, a piece of a small china plate dated to the late 18th or the early 19th century was found in Joniškis (Fig. 17.3).

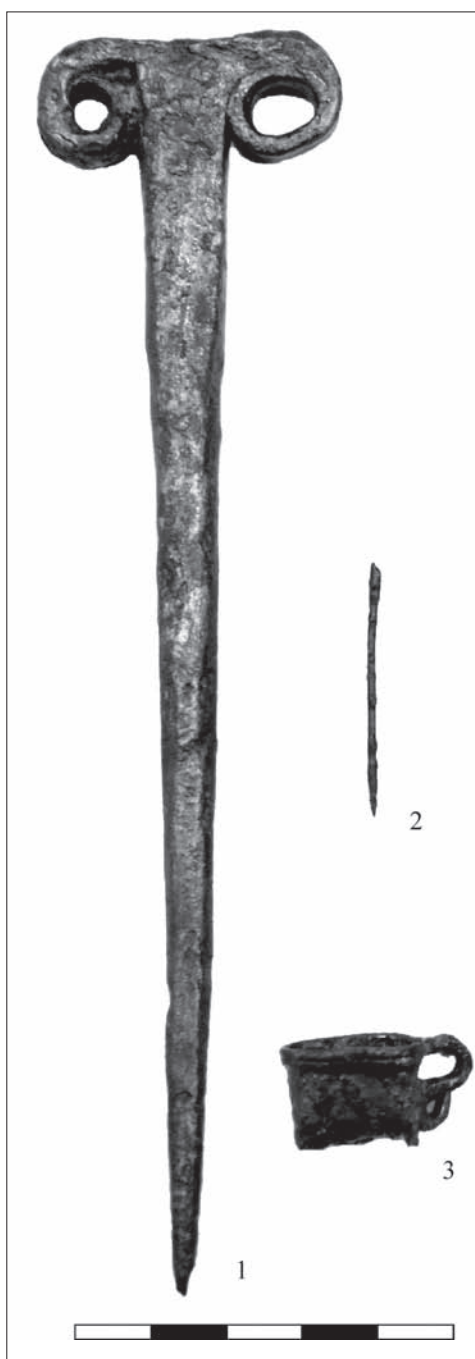


Fig. 21. An iron awl, a needle, and part of a brass needle box dated to the 17th or 18th century (Old Žagarė, 2007). ŠAM GEK No. 117077/I-A 208:32, 117079/I-A 208:34, 117078/I-A 33 (photograph by E. Vasiliauskas).

Glass artefacts have been found in small numbers only in the layers from the second half of the 17th and the 18th centuries; these were fragments of bottles, medicine vials (Fig. 19), mugs and goblets.

Another numerous group of finds both from towns and manors is tiles. In terms of their shape, they are divided into several groups: shallow pot-shaped tiles, deep pot-shaped tiles (*Topfkacheln*), panel tiles (*Blattkacheln*),

trim tiles, and band tiles. They reflect the styles of the period discussed here: Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque.

The oldest stove made of shallow pot-shaped stove tiles and panel tiles, dated to the mid-16th century, was found in Šiauliai in 2000 (Plate III.1-2) (Šapaitė 2002, p.176ff, Fig. 38; 2008, p.98ff).

In the 17th-century layers of the town of Žagarė, shallow pot-shaped stove tiles with a square opening prevail; whereas from the 18th century, deep pot-shaped stove tiles with a round opening began to spread. In the 17th century, glazed and unglazed panel tiles began to spread in Žagarė. Some of them were decorated with plant and heraldic motifs (Vasiļausks 2008, p.22, Figs. 8; 9).

In the town of Joniškis, just as in the manor, deep pot-shaped stove tiles with a round opening prevailed in the 17th century (Fig. 20). Here, as in Šiauliai, glazed and unglazed panel tiles decorated in different ways began to spread from the late 16th to the early 17th century (Plate III.3-4) (Vasiliauskas 2005, p.121ff).

Tiles are a rare find in former village sites. There is a notion that has become deep-rooted in the historiography of Lithuanian ethnology concerning smoke cottages, and the fact that 'upright' stoves (tile stoves) began to spread in the Lithuanian countryside only from the late 19th century (Dundulienė 1964, p.224). However, investigations carried out at the former village site of Kalnelis in 2007, and accidental finds in former village sites of the Joniškis vicinity (Džiugiai), indicate that deep pot-shaped tile stoves, and to a lesser degree panel tile stoves, could already be found in villages at that time (Vasiliauskas 2009a, p.256, Fig. 13). In Kalnelis, during the excavations of area No 7, the remnants of a stove made of deep pot-shaped stove tiles with a round opening (tiny stove tile shards), dated to the second half of the 17th century, were found widely scattered. It is difficult to tell what kind of house the investigated one might have been. It could have been the site of an inn.

Deep pot-shaped stove tiles were found in large numbers during the investigation of the site of the former manor of Joniškis. More panel tiles than shallow or deep pot-shaped stove tiles were found during investigations of the site of the former manor of Old Žagarė.

In the towns and manors of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, unlike in neighbouring German lands (Prussia, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, Livonia), few fragments of 17th and 18th-century Dutch white kaolin-

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ite smoking pipes have been found (only three pieces in Joniškis before 2010, and two pieces in Šiauliai). Also in towns (five in Šiauliai, three in Joniškis) (2005; 2010), only a few smoking pipe heads made of brown clay and dated to the second half of the 17th century and the 18th century have been found (Plate IV.2).

Toys from the 17th and 18th centuries have only been found in Joniškis and Šiauliai. A glazed clay whistle was found in 2008 (Vasiliauskas 2009b, p.306, Fig. 11) in Darius ir Girėno St (Joniškis), and a piece of another was found at the old manor site (9 Žemaičių St, Joniškis, 2004), and toggle was found in Šiauliai (146 Vilniaus St 20).

Other finds of no less importance are related to handicrafts. There are mentions of craftsmen in the main towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate, in Joniškis (the inventory register of 1649 mentions 30 craftsmen) (Miškinis 2004, p.133), New Žagarė (ten craftsmen are mentioned in 1638, 1649 and 1674, blacksmiths and bakers; in 1775, 1780 and 1786, blacksmiths, carpenters, cap makers, tailors, coopers, potters, furriers, bookbinders and others) (Miškinis 1984, pp.67ff, 76, 82, 83, 87), Šiauliai (between 1589 to 1761, mention is made of slaughterers, bakers, butchers, tailors, furriers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, glaziers, joiners, coopers, wheelwrights, harness-makers, a gunsmith, curriers, weavers, and a bookbinder (Kiaupa 1991a, p.22). A shoemakers' guild was established in Joniškis in 1617 (the privilege was confirmed in 1618). As can be seen from the list of craftsmen, they must have catered for the needs of the town and the surrounding villages, and produced items for a market no wider than the catchment area of the town.

Tools related to wood processing (a plane and a gouge) were found during the investigation of the homestead outside Joniškis in 2008.

In the northeast part of the market place in New Žagarė (14 Miesto Square), a bookbinder's workshop dated to the second half of the 18th century, including iron tools (chisels) and artefacts (brass book clips), was discovered in 2003 (Vasišausks 2008, p.21, Fig. 7).

In the area surrounding Vilnius St and the market place in New Žagarė, artefacts related to the bone-processing trade and dated to the 17th to the early 19th century were found in 2001 and 2007: long processed cattle horns, and horns with traces of cuts (Vasišausks 2008, p.21).

Artefacts related to tailoring were found in the northeast part of the market place in Old Žagarė in 2007: a piece of a brass needle box, an iron awl and a needle (Fig. 21). A layer of slag containing pieces of blowers was also detected in the same place (Vasišausks 2008,

p.21ff). In the towns of the estate, some other artefacts related to the crafts of the tailor, the spinner or the shoemaker have been found (small spindles in Joniškis and New Žagarė, half the bone handle of an awl in Joniškis, and thimbles in Šiauliai). It goes without saying that not all of these artefacts were lost by people engaged in these occupations: they might have just been household articles.

Despite the fact that a comparatively small area (60 square metres) was excavated in Žagarė, a paradoxical situation emerged. It was there that the largest amount of data on the volume of the townsfolk's crafts and trade was accumulated, compared to self-governing Joniškis or the centre of the estate, Šiauliai (here, the largest number of craftsmen from among the estate towns was recorded in the 17th and 18th centuries; their number in other towns was far smaller (Miškinis 1987, p.27). There is no answer to this question as yet.

A comparison of data contained in written sources and archaeological data from Žagarė indicates that in both towns of Žagarė there was a certain specialisation of occupations during individual periods: in the smaller Old Žagarė, handicrafts and craftsmen prevailed (for example, between 1754 and the middle of 1756, there were 12 to 14 craftsmen in Old Žagarė, whereas in New Žagarė there were nine (Miškinis 1984, p.78); in the larger New Žagarė, traders and merchants prevailed.

Comparative archaeological data on handicrafts in former village and manor sites is still scarce. In the course of research into the specific character of towns, as well as during their comparison with different objects (manors, former village sites), quite a large amount of data is obtained from studies of anthropological and osteological material (the physiological condition of the population, and nutrition).

Development stages of the towns

Summarising the accumulated archaeological material and comparing it with historical sources makes it possible to single out three stages in the development of the estate towns in the 16th to the 18th centuries. The development of towns remains undefined, due to a lack of material from archaeological excavations.

In the mid-15th century and up to the 16th century, urban-type settlements, or small towns, were undergoing their formation. During that period, the first mentions of the main estate towns of the later period were made (Šiauliai in 1445, Joniškis in 1356).

Some developed into towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as early as the second half of the 16th century (Šiauliai), and others at the end of the 16th century or

at the beginning of the 17th century (Joniškis, Žagarė). During that period, the mixed urbanistic structure of towns consisting of a radial street plan and rectangular (Renaissance) market places was formed. At that time, the first brick buildings were built in the towns, firstly buildings intended for religious purposes (the brick churches in Joniškis, New Žagarė, Šiauliai) and public purposes (Joniškis town hall). Thrown oxidised ('urban') pottery and stove tiles spread in the towns. Potters would make pots for the small market limited to a bailiwick. More coins from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and foreign countries dating from that period are found in the towns. The thriving trade that was the main business of the towns was largely promoted by their geographical and economic situation: the Šiauliai Crown Estate was part of the trade hinterland of Riga. Finds related to handicrafts are recorded in the towns; they provide information on the craftsmen that used to work in these towns.

In the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, there was quite a long period of decline in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and likewise in other towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, caused by the wars against the Swedes and the Russians, as well as political and economic turmoil.

The middle of the 18th century saw the beginning of a period of stabilisation and an upturn. During that period, the strong cultural and economic influence of the neighbouring Duchy of Courland and Semigallia and Livonia can be observed. More brick buildings were built in the estate towns (especially in Šiauliai). In the second half of the 18th century, some towns (Šiauliai) were laid out to a Classical plan.

Conclusions

Conditions for the formation of proto-towns in northern central Lithuania, like most of the eastern Baltic Sea region, occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Crusades which raged in the 13th and 14th centuries interrupted the natural development of the towns.

Favourable conditions for the development of the towns occurred as late as the 15th century or the 16th century. Some of them developed into towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the 16th century (Šiauliai), others in the late 16th century or early 17th century (Joniškis, Žagarė).

The earliest cultural layers dated to the 16th century have been found in Šiauliai only. An intensive 17th to 18th-century cultural layer has been found in all the estate towns. Poor layers have been found in the small towns of the same period (Skaistgirys).

In the 16th and early 17th centuries, a mixed building plan with a radial street network and a rectangular (Renaissance) market place formed in towns (Joniškis, Šiauliai, Žagarė). Buildings serving religious purposes (churches), public purposes (town halls) and trade purposes were usually built next to market places. The rest of the small towns (Gruzdžiai, Meškuičiai, Skaistgirys) were of a street-linear plan. This meant that the church with a churchyard cemetery and a market place would usually be situated at one end of the street.

The absolute majority of 16th to 18th-century buildings in the towns of the estate, just as in most of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were built of timber. Only from the early 17th century did the construction of brick buildings intended for religious or public purposes (town halls) begin. More brick buildings were built in the towns from the middle of the 18th century. Without any doubt, brick distinguished a town from a village. From the 17th century onwards, cobbled pavements began spreading in the towns.

A more distinct separation between the development of towns and villages can be drawn on the basis of the specific features of finds. For us, the most relevant finds are those related to trade, handicrafts and different occupations, which distinguish the town unmistakably from the village: coins and coin hoards, pottery (especially 'urban' pottery, imported faience, stoneware and chinaware), tiles, work tools related to definite handicrafts, and products. Some of them unmistakably identify towns of the estate as local trade and craft centres, with their trade hinterland, which were normally limited to the area of an individual bailiwick.

Neither the amount nor the content of numismatic material indicates the existence of essential differences between the towns and villages of the Šiauliai Crown Estate of that period. When comparing numismatic material from these towns, Žagarė stands apart as a town where 16th and 18th-century foreign coins have been found in large numbers. This fact indicates the strong economic influence of Riga, since the region belonged to the trade hinterland of the metropolis.

Another group of finds that helps us single out specific features of the development of the Šiauliai Crown Estate towns is pottery and stove tiles. In the middle of the 17th century, the larger part of this group was made up of 'rustic' pottery. It has been determined that the pottery items collected in the town of Joniškis and the village of Kalnelis have a large number of similarities. This fact allows us to update the notion of the 'rustic character' of the pottery. Most likely, these are products made by town potters, which spread in the trade hinterland of Joniškis, the bailiwick.

The oxidised pottery from the 17th and 18th centuries collected in the towns of the Šiauliai Crown Estate is numerous and diverse. Such finds are more rarely found in former village sites; besides, the variations of their shape are not as numerous as in the towns. Only a few items of imported stoneware and faience from the Rhine area could be found in Šiauliai and Žagarė, and some items of chinaware in Joniškis.

Artefacts (including pieces of slag, awls, needle boxes, thimbles, chisels) related to different handicrafts (blacksmithery, tailoring, bone-processing, book-binding) have been found in the estate towns.

Despite the fact that a comparatively small area was excavated in Žagarė, a paradoxical situation emerged: it was there that the largest amount of data on townsfolk's handicrafts and trade volumes was accumulated, compared to self-governing Joniškis, or the centre of the estate, Šiauliai.

Abbreviations

ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje metais. Vilnius (since 1967–).
 JIKM – Joniškis History and Culture Museum.
 ŠAM – Šiauliai Aušra Museum.

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ŠIAULIŲ EKONOMIJOS MIESTŲ IR MIESTELIŲ RAIDA XVI–XVIII AMŽIAIS

ERNESTAS VASILIAUSKAS

Santrauka

Sąlygos kurtis protomiestams Šiaurės vidurio Lietuvoje, kaip ir didžiojoje Rytų Baltijos jūros regiono dalyje, susidarė XII–XIII a. Natūralią jų raidą nutraukė XIII–XIV a. vykę kryžiaus karai. Palankios sąlygos miestams vystyti susiklostė tik XV–XVI a.

Miesteliai Šiaulių ekonomijoje pradėjo kurtis XVI a. pirmojoje pusėje. Remiantis archeologine medžiaga ir rašytiniais šaltiniais galima teigti, kad dalis jų nuo XVI a. antrosios pusės (Šiauliai), o kiti nuo XVI a. pabaigos – XVII a. pradžios (Joniškis, Žagarė) išaugo į vadinamuosius LDK mažuosius miestus.

Dalis miestų jau XVII a. pradžioje gavo savivaldos (Joniškis) (4 pav.), kiti – prekybos (Naujoji Žagarė, Šiauliai) privilegijas. Likusieji ekonomijos miesteliai tenkinosi XVII–XVIII a. trumpam suteiktomis prekybos privilegijomis, tačiau į didesnius miestus, tokius kaip Joniškis, Žagarė, Šiauliai, neišaugo (1 pav.).

Ankstyviausi – XVI a. – kultūriniai sluoksniai buvo aptikti tik Šiauliuose (2 pav.; II: 1; III: 1–2 iliustr.). Visuose ekonomijos miestuose aptiktas intensyvus XVII–XVIII a. kultūrinis sluoksnis (2; 3 pav.; II: 1–3 iliustr.), kurio storis paprastai siekia 0,4–1,0 m. Plonų (iki 0,3–0,4 m storio) ir skurdžių sluoksnių aptikta to paties laikotarpio miesteliuose (Skaistgirys), turtingesnis radinių sluoksnis (taip pat iki 0,3–0,4 m storio) aptiktas kaimavietėse (Kalnelis).

XVI a. – XVII a. pradžioje miestuose (Joniškyje (3; 5 pav.), Šiauliuose, Žagarėje) susiformavo mišrus užstatymas su radialiniu gatvių tinklu ir stačiakampe (renesansine) turgaus aikšte. Šalia aikščių statyti sakralinės (bažnyčios) (4; 7 pav.), visuomeninės (rotušės) ir prekybinės paskirties pastatai. Vieninteliai Šiauliai nuo 1764–1765 m. pradėti perstatinėti iš esmės – suformuoti klasicistinio stiliaus stačiakampiai kvartalai. Likę miesteliai (Gruzdžiai, Meškuičiai, Skaistgirys) buvo gatvinio-linijinio plano, kur viename gatvės gale

paprastai būdavo bažnyčia su šventoriaus kapinėmis ir turgaus aikšte.

Absoliuti dauguma XVI–XVIII a. ekonomijos miestų pastatų, panašiai kaip ir didžiojoje LDK dalyje, buvo mediniai (6 pav.). Tik nuo XVII a. pradžios pradėti statyti mūriniai sakralinės (4; 7 pav.) ir visuomeninės (rotušės) paskirties statiniai (5 pav.; II: 2 iliustr.). Daugiau mūrinių pastatų miestuose pradėta statyti nuo XVIII a. vidurio, o ypač ekonomijos valdytojui Antanui Tyzenhauzui Šiaulių mieste vykdant ambicingą miesto perstatymo planą. Mūras neabejotinai skyrė miestą nuo kaimo.

Nuo XVII a. miestuose plito iš akmenų sudėti grindiniai (II: 3 iliustr.). Akmenimis paprastai buvo grindžiami „švarieji“ kiemai, kai kurios pastatų patalpos.

Aiškesnę takoskyrą tarp miestų ir kaimų raidos galima nubrėžti pagal radinių specifiką. Mums aktualiausi visų pirma yra dirbiniai, susiję su prekyba ir amatais, verslais, kurie miestą vienareikšmiškai skiria nuo kaimo – monetos ir jų lobiai, keramika (ypač vadinamoji „miestų“, importinė fajansinė, akmens masės, porceliano), kokliai, su konkrečiais amatais susiję darbo įrankiai, gaminiai. Kai kurie jų neabejotinai kalba apie ekonomijos miestus kaip apie lokalius prekybos ir amatų centrus su savo prekybiniais užnugariais, kurie dažnai apsiribodavo vaitystės teritorija.

Numizmatinė medžiaga nei kiekiu, nei turiniu neatskleidžia buvus esminių skirtumų tarp to laikotarpio Šiaulių ekonomijos miestų ir kaimaviečių. Kaimaviečių (Kalnelio) medžiaga netgi turtingesnė lyginant su kai kuriais Šiaulių ekonomijos miestais (Joniškis, Šiauliai). Lyginant miestų numizmatinę medžiagą išsiskiria Žagarė, kur gausiai aptikta XVI ir XVIII a. svetimų kraštų monetų, kas kalba apie stiprią Rygos ekonominę įtaką – regionas priklausė metropolijos prekybiniam užnugariui. Tai byloja, kad Žagarėje ir jos apylinkėse XVI a. sėkmingai funkcionavo dvi skirtingos piniginės sistemos – LDK ir Livonijos.

Kita radinių grupė, padedanti išskirti Šiaulių ekonomijos miestelių raidos savitumus, yra keramika, kokliai. Didžiąją jos dalį XVII a. viduryje sudaro vadinamoji „kaimiškoji“ keramika (8–9; 11 pav.). Nustatyta, kad Joniškio mieste, dvare ir Kalnelyje surinkta keramika turi daug panašumų puodų formos, briaunų ir pakraštelių pavidalo atžvilgiu (10 pav.), o tai leistų koreguoti jos „kaimiškumo“ sąvoką. Tikriausiai tai miesto puodžių gaminiai, kurie išplito Joniškio miesto prekybiniame užnugaryje – vaitystėje.

Surinkta gausi ir įvairi XVII–XVIII a. Šiaulių ekonomijos miestų oksidacinė (arba vadinamoji „miestų“) keramika (12–15; 16: 4–9 pav.), kurios nemaža dalis,

matyt, buvo importinė. Tokie radiniai kaimavietėse yra retesni, o ir jų formos įvairovė lyginant su miestais nepasižymi. Tik Šiauliuose ir Žagarėje pavyko rasti nedaug importinės Pareinės akmens masės (16: 1–3 pav.) ir fajanso keramikos (16: 10–11; 17: 1–2, 4–14; 18 pav.), Joniškyje – porceliano (17: 3 pav.). Mažai surinkta stiklo dirbinių fragmentų (19 pav.).

Kokliai (20 pav.; III: 1–4 iliustr.) ekonomijos miestuose kaip ir dvaruose plito nuo XVI a. vidurio, o ypač nuo XVI–XVII a. sandūros. Šie radiniai (taip pat išimtiniais atvejais – puodyniniai) ypač retai aptinkami kaimavietėse.

Negausiai Šiaulių ekonomijos miestuose surinkta baltojo kaolino ir rudojo molio pypkių dalių (IV iliustr.). Tik Joniškyje aptikta XVII–XVIII a. žaislų – molinių švilpynių, o Šiauliuose – užlė.

Ekonomijos miestuose pavyko aptikti su įvairiais amatais (kalvio, siuvėjo (21 pav.), kauladirbio, knygrišio) susijusių dirbinių (šlako, ylių, adatų, adatinių, antpirščių, kirstukų, knygų sąsagėlių ir kt.). Įvairūs amatai minimi XVII–XVIII a. rašytiniuose šaltiniuose.