

ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN THE CIVITAS RUTENICA AREA OF VILNIUS: THE QUESTION OF LOCATION

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Abstract

The Orthodox community which settled in the Civitas Rutenica area in Vilnius started building their houses of worship (Orthodox churches) as early as the first half of the 14th century. At the beginning of the 15th century, there were 12 of them inside the quarter and two outside it. These churches, reflecting Orthodox culture and showing the usual features of their construction, predetermined the further development of this part of the city, and the development of whole areas of Vilnius. Locating them precisely enables us to better understand the urban development of Vilnius, and trends within this development.

Key words: Civitas Rutenica, Orthodox church, Medieval Vilnius, Medieval landscape, urbanisation.

Introduction

'A town can be seen as a map, in which separate areas have different and opposing social features' (Giddens 2005, p.531). In 13th and 14th-century Vilnius, several such areas were established: the Upper Castle on Gediminas Hill; the low ground around the northern foot of the hill and Altar Hills,¹ which were pagan areas; the present-day site of the cathedral, a Catholic mission; and the 38th to 45th quarters of the Old Town of modern Vilnius, the Civitas Rutenica quarter. Orthodox newcomers were likely to know the layout of the town and the principles of urbanisation. At the end of the 13th century² and the beginning of the 14th century, Civitas Rutenica was developing in the most practical and strategically important place around the Old Town of modern Vilnius. This is the present-day 41st quarter and neighbouring quarters of the Old Town. This is also confirmed by fragments of domestic Slavic pottery, found on present-day Latako St (Vaitkevičius 2004, p.232). The first settlements were around a corridor between the second and the third terraces (Fig. 1) (Valionienė 2009, p.443). This corridor was a crossroads between major trading routes. It linked routes leading to the east (Smolensk, Polotsk), the south (Medininkai, Rūdininkai), the west (a part of the route to Trakai), the north (the Upper Castle, the Lower Castle, Altar Hills, and Livonia). Next to the crossroads, one of the first Orthodox churches of Civitas Rutenica was built (St Parasceve, or Piatnitskaia; in Russian Св. Параскева, Пятницкая). The location of Civitas Rute-

nica was also good because it was a safe distance from pagan areas.

By the beginning of the 15th century, there were already 12 Orthodox churches in the Civitas Rutenica quarter. Research into them started in the 19th century. These were general studies (Batiushkov 1872; Krachkovskii 1897; Vinogradov 1908). Throughout the entire 20th century, the quantity of material for research increased. New historic and architectural research was carried out, and the material is now in the Vilnius Regional Archive. The most important thing is that new archaeological material is now available, and the opportunity has arisen to include data from geomorphological research. Despite this, there is still a lack of new general studies (within the boundaries of the location). Works that touch on the topic are based mostly on studies from the 19th century; however, their authors lacked modern data and were subject to the strong influence of the political situation. Therefore, the aim of this article is to evaluate impartially and anew the location-related question in the Civitas Rutenica quarter, introducing new data.

The Civitas Rutenica is based on the cultural layer and its extent (Vaitkevičius 2010, p.62), and also on the arrangement of churches in accordance with the Slavic tradition. They used to be built within residential areas, usually on small hills. Based on the concentration of these churches, it is possible to trace a range of areas occupied by Civitas Rutenica (Ochmanskii 1971, p.65). These Orthodox churches also functioned as strongholds. This was the principle employed for the construction of Civitas Rutenica churches. From natural and geographical points of view, the positions selected by the Orthodox communities corresponded with all the requirements. Bell towers (mostly stone) in Ortho-

¹ Altar Hills, on the right bank of the River Vilnia, east of Gediminas Hill.

² The latest finds in Vilnius, at 6 Bokšto St, enable us to trace the presence of the Orthodox community in Vilnius to the mid-13th century.



Fig. 1. A reconstruction of the Vilnius primary relief. The Civitas Rutenica area is indicated in grey circle (after Valionienė 2009, Fig. 4).

dox colonies of Western Europe were also used for the safe storage of goods. Historical sources confirm that most bell towers in early Orthodox churches in Vilnius were built of stone (Krachkovskii 1897, pp.223-250). The largest expansion of Civitas Rutenica was in the times of Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377). The construction of churches was patronized particularly by both Orthodox wives of Algirdas. They were Mariia (Мария) of Vitebsk and Julianiia (Юлиания) of Tver. This was one of the reasons (patronage and tolerance by the elite) why Civitas Rutenica in Vilnius grew to become a separate town with a typical infrastructure. In comparison, in West European towns belonging to the Hanseatic League, Orthodox colonies consisting mainly of traders were limited to small quarters (or yards) (Rybina 2009, p.37). This part of Vilnius did not go unnoticed by the chroniclers of the Teutonic Order.

In 1383, Wigand of Marburg (1365–1409) mentions Civitas Rutenica for the first time in his ‘Chronica nova Prutenica’ (§ VIII.135a).

Traditionally, Orthodox houses of worship were built on the very edges of towns. However, with the passage of time and the growth of the towns, they ended up inside these towns. The accurate location of Orthodox churches, showing the distinction of Civitas Rutenica, and an understanding of the reasons for building them in one place or another, enables us to understand better the urban development of Vilnius and the trends in its development. After a reconstruction of the primary relief and the identification of higher ground, it is possible (with the help of archaeology and written sources) to locate all Civitas Rutenica churches more precisely, and to specify the range of the area it occupied.

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Fig. 2. Vilnius in the first half of the 14th century: A the area of the Catholic mission; B the Upper Castle on Gediminas Hill; C the pagan areas; D the Civitas Rutenica area; 1 the Church of the Holy Mother of God; 2 the Church of St Nicholas (Uspeniia); 3 the Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia) (after Jonaitis 2009, Fig. 1).

The location of churches in the Civitas Rutenica quarter

So far, not a single foundation of any old Russian church has been traced in Vilnius, except, it is thought, the stone substructure of the bell tower of the Church of St Nicholas (Uspeniia, in Russian Св. Николая; Успения) on the corner of Bokšto and Latako streets, just below the present-day hall of residence of the Art Academy (Banikonienė 1964; Dambrauskaitė 1975). There is also another view of this substructure. After extensive architectural and archaeological research, it was established that it is also likely to be the base of a tower or a similar structure (Kaplūnaitė, Tomoi 2010). Besides, the base discovered is dated archaeologically to the middle and the second half of the 15th century; the process of its construction started after the destruction of some burials (Gendrėnas 1981).

By the 15th century, there were 12 Orthodox churches within the Civitas Rutenica quarter, and two outside it. These were the Holy Trinity Church near the Gates of Dawn (in Lithuanian Aušros Vartai), and the Resurrection Church on the west side of Didžioji St.³

As has already been mentioned, the early core of Civitas Rutenica occupied the present-day 41st quarter of the Old Town, forming a triangle. In the north and the south, the quarter bordered on two ravines (present-day Latako and Išganytojo streets). These streets are some of the early routes in the area of the modern Old Town. Therefore, the three earliest churches were erected in corners of this triangle (Fig. 2).

The first Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia) was built above the southern ravine, next to the present-day Piatnitskaia Church, which was last rebuilt in 1864. A more accurate location of the church could be defined by using data of the primary relief. The church was built on a higher position (Fig. 3.1). The location of this church is important, as the marketplace can almost undoubtedly be located on the basis of it. In accordance with Slavic tradition, churches dedicated to St Parasceve in towns in Kievan Rus' used to be built close to marketplaces (except in Kiev itself) (Tikhomirov 1956, p.249). Naturally, we can assume that Vilnius was no exception. This could be confirmed or denied by archaeological research around the former church. On a diagrammatic plan of 1672, the church is located in front of the Church of St Il'ia (Св. Ильѧ), which was in the eastern part of the 41st quarter in the Old Town.

Exploratory archaeological research has been carried out in the courtyard of the palace of the Chodkiewicz (in Lithuanian Chodkevičiai) noble family, which is

³ The present-day names of the streets are used in this article.

close to the Church of St Parasceve (Patkauskas 1978). In the process of this research, ten holes were explored. Sterile soil was not reached; instead, finds from the 16th to the 18th centuries were traced. However, there is no dating for the cultural layer.

The Church of the Holy Mother of God (Пресвятая Богородица, an Orthodox Cathedral since 1415) was built in the place where it is currently standing (Fig. 3.2). Naturally, its original forms in the present-day Orthodox Cathedral, which has experienced many changes and reconstructions, have survived only fragmentarily. The church was built on the right bank of the River Vilnia (the water course was changed to the present route in the times of Algirdas' rule), on a small rise (about H_A 96.30 metres in height). Archaeological investigations in the area of the Orthodox Cathedral were performed on the other side of present-day Maironio St. In 1990, in the backyard of the building at Maironio 13, an area of 36.5 square metres was explored. The maximum depth reached was 2.4 metres; further activities were impossible due to groundwater. A cultural layer from the end of the 16th century and the 17th century was recorded. Its lower horizon has not yet been identified and explored. In part of the southwestern area, a part of a Gothic wall, probably belonging to a defensive tower, was found. The tower is mentioned in historical sources.

Archaeological investigations were carried out in the cellar of the bell tower belonging to the Orthodox Cathedral (now Maironio 13/6), and in the yard of the same structure (Vainilaitis 1994). An area of 96 square metres was explored in the cellar, and 19 square metres were explored in the yard. A cultural layer of 130 centimetres, dated to the 14th to 17th centuries, was recorded in the cellar. Due to the high groundwater, a 50-centimetre horizon of a lower cultural layer remained unexplored. Five stages of construction were recorded. A destroyed burial was found in the earliest layer, dated to the 14th or 15th century. It was destroyed during the 14th or 15th century while digging a well, which means that the burial must have been older. This burial could have belonged to the churchyard of the Orthodox Cathedral.

The Orthodox Church of St Nicholas (Uspeniia) stood where a hall of residence of the Art Academy is now located, on the northeast corner of the junction between Latako and Bokšto streets (Fig. 3.3). During research carried out in 1981, the quadrangle-shaped substructure of a stone building was found there (Gendrėnas 1981). This probably belonged to a stone bell tower, as the church itself was wooden. Most researchers share this opinion, although other approaches to this substructure also exist (Kaplūnaitė, Tomoi 2010). There

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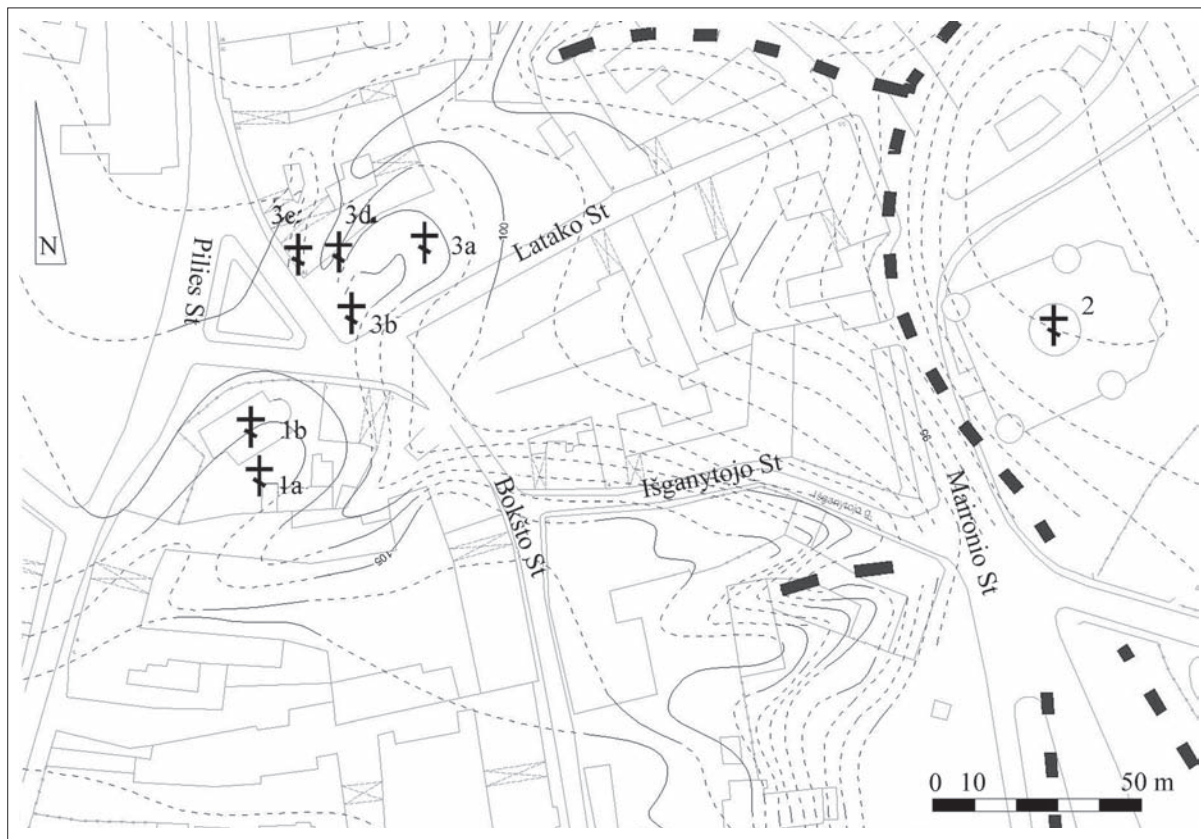


Fig. 3. The locations of the first three churches: St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia) (1), the Holy Virgin (2), St Nicholas (Uspeniia) (3). The Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia): 1a the supposed location; 1b after Krachkovskii 1897; Batiushkov 1872. The Holy Virgin Church: 2. The Church of St Nicholas: 3a the supposed location; 3b according to Krachkovskii 1897; 3c according to Batiushkov 1872; 3d according to the 1672 plan. The dotted line marks the former course of the River Vilnia (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

was a large cemetery near this church. It stretched across the left side of Latako St (Krachkovskii 1897, p.232). The cemetery was found during archaeological explorations (Gendrėnas 1981). The total number of burials discovered was 141. The burials had no exceptional abundance of grave goods, these were found only in ten burials. There was one single temple ornament adorned with six beads, earrings, and several rings (sash-like with a broadened front).

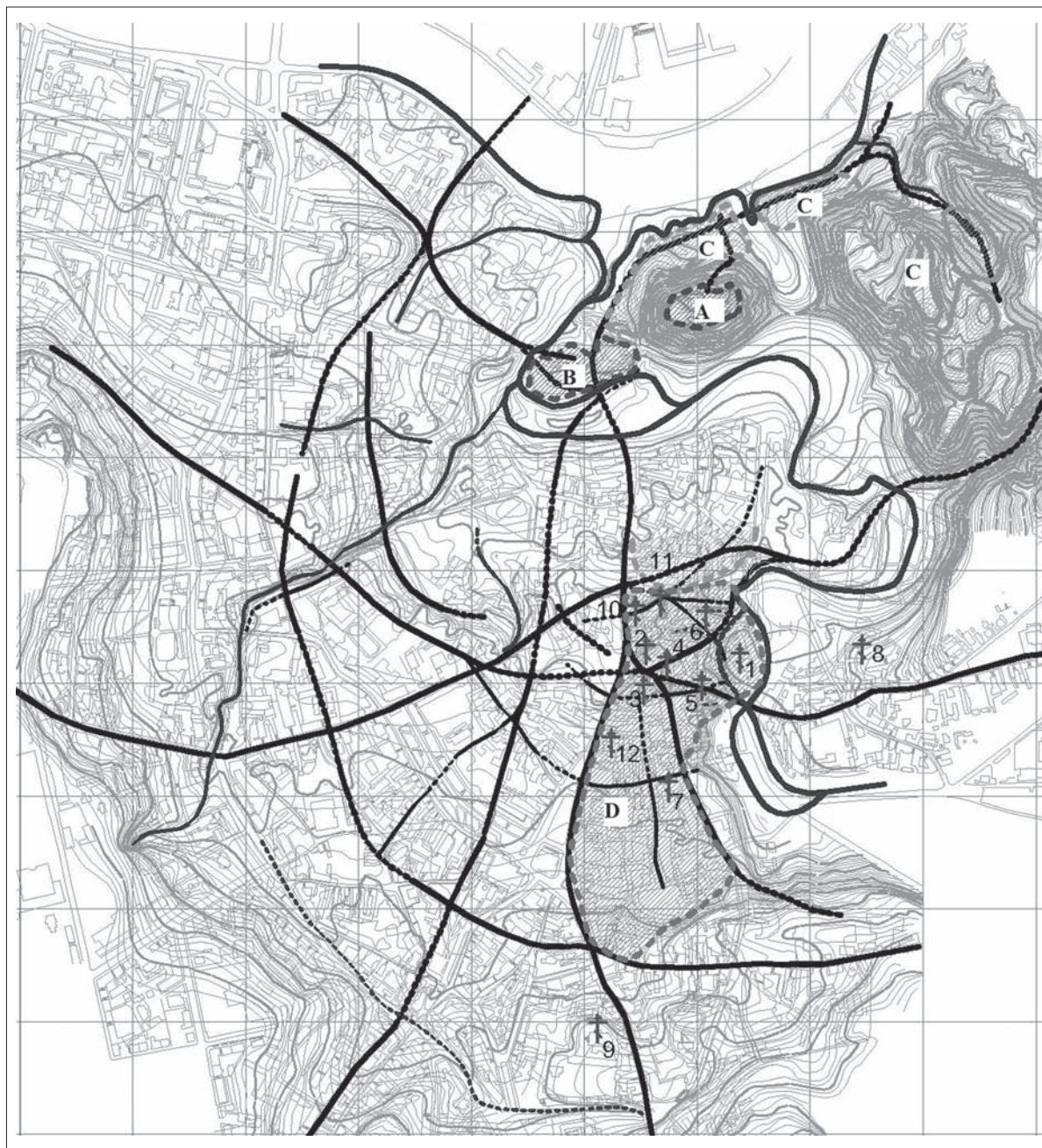
The appearance in Vilnius of these first three churches, namely those of St Nicholas, St Parasceve and the Holy Mother of God, were no accident. St Nicholas was the patron saint of traders, St Parasceve was particularly worshipped by traders, craftsmen and pilgrims, and the Holy Mother of God was treated as a patron saint of all Russians (Jonaitis, Viazhiavichienė 2009, p.96).

The location of the churches shows that they were all built on mounds, along the very edge of the centre of the early part of Civitas Rutenica. In many Russian towns, churches were surrounded by monasteries, which were treated as defensive strongholds (Tikhomirov 1956, p.258). This tradition was also observed in the Ruthenian part of Vilnius, although in a different

way. It was more compact: a large number of churches were built in a small area. Besides, there were no monasteries.

The expansion of areas around Civitas Rutenica was followed by an increasing number of churches in it (Fig. 4). It is likely that at the time, Civitas Rutenica was able to expand into the quarter beyond the River Vilnia, into so-called Užupis (in Russian Заречье) (Jonaitis, Viazhiavichienė 2009, p.96). No serious questions arise about the locations of the above churches. However, the remaining ones are located differently by different authors. When locating churches, 19th-century Russian historians referred to the diagrammatic plan of the Orthodox metropolis of 1672, and to church visitation acts of 1619. The use of modern archaeological investigations, a new approach to historical and cartographic data, and the use of a reconstruction of the primary Vilnius relief and modern digital technology, enable us to specify the location of other churches around the Russian town.

The Church of St Il'ia the Prophet (Св. Илья Пророк) on the 1672 plan is positioned in the centre of the western part (the 41st quarter), very close to Bokšto



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Fig. 4. Vilnius in the second and third quarters of the 14th century: A the area of the Catholic mission; B the Upper Castle on Gediminas Hill; C the pagan area; D the Civitas Rutenica area: 1 the Holy Virgin Church; 2 the Church of St Nicholas; 3 the Church of St Parasceve; 4 the Church of St Il'ia the Prophet; 5 the Nativity Church; 6 the Church of St Ekaterina; 7 the Church of St Cosmas and St Damian; 8 the Church of St Peter and St Paul; 9 the Holy Trinity Church; 10 the Church of St Michael the Archangel; 11 the Church of St John the Baptist; 12 the Church of St Nicholas (drawing by O. Valionienė, with R. Jonaitis' additions).

St. Iulian Krachkovskii locates it at the corner of Bokšto and Latako streets, opposite the former Orthodox Church of Nicholas (Uspeniia) (1897, p.238). The same location is indicated by Pompei Batiushkov (Batiushkov 1872, p.83) (Fig. 5.4). Historians in the 20th century note that its churchyard occupied the entire 114th holding, in the northwest corner of the quarter. However, the church itself is not located. With respect to the reconstruction of the primary relief, it would be appropriate to locate it in the position indicated by I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov. The eastern part of the present-day block is the highest one. There was a tiny hollow there. Besides, the 1672 plan also points to this place (with regard to the Piatnitskaia Church). The church could hardly be built in the hollow. It was probably built in a higher place to the north of this hollow.

Archaeological research in the area of the church has been fragmentary (Grishin 1982). In fact, it was just the supervision of geological holes, aiming at the discovery of a substructure and its bottom in the building at Latako 3. In the process, a three-metre mixed layer with finds from the 17th and 18th centuries was found.

The Nativity Church (Рождества Христова) was located by different researchers in three different areas. In the 1672 plan, this Orthodox Church is located on the left side of Išganytojo St, approximately where a house is standing now (in the eastern part of it). I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov locate it on the corner of present-day Išganytojo and Maironio streets, in the 41st quarter (Krachkovskii 1897, p.39; Batiushkov 1872, p.82). The groundwater is very high there, the place itself is very damp, and not all attempts to reach sterile soil during archaeological research were successful (Patkauskas 1988). Therefore, it would be illogical to build a church in such a low and damp place, let alone perform burials in the churchyard. Sigita Gasparavičienė locates this church in the area of the 44th quarter, in the future holding No 522, closer to the site at Bokšto 6 (Gasparavičienė 1990). According to the primary relief of the site and the results of the latest archaeological research, another location for this church can be identified (Jonaitis 2009).⁴ We presume that the church could be at Bokšto 6, where now the northwest block is (closer to present-day Išganytojo St) (Fig. 5.5).

Two projections (southern and northern) stand in the place of the above block. Taking into account the Orthodox tradition of building houses of worship on

higher locations along the perimeter of a residential area, it is possible to presume that the church could have stood on one of these projections (Jonaitis 2009, p.424ff). The church is located by S. Gasparavičienė somewhere around this place, on the southern projection. In my opinion, the church stood on exactly the northern projection, where there is now an enclosed yard between the first and the fourth sections in the group of buildings at Bokšto 6.

Next to the northern projection, at its northern base, the present-day Išganytojo St makes a loop, as if circling this rise. This could have been a junction of two transit routes until the end of the 14th century. One of them led to Altar Hill, the other to places in old Russia. It would be logical to maintain that the Nativity Church could have been built on this junction. Naturally, the church could have stood elsewhere; however, this could be confirmed or denied only after the completion of research in all sections, and after exhaustive research in the yards of the site around Bokšto 6. It is currently still in progress.

Prior to thorough archaeological excavations in the above site, exploratory archaeological research was accomplished in 2005 (Sarcevičius 2006). In the western corner of it, a 1.8 to 2.6-metre cultural layer from the 14th to the 20th century was discovered. Fragments of a wooden structure from the 16th and 17th centuries, and fragments of a stone and wooden floor were found in the central and southern parts of the yard. A cultural layer of two to 2.75 centimetres was found in the northern yard of the site. A stone construction from the end of the 18th century and the 19th century was also found there. Cultural layers from 1.8 metres (in the western part) to 7.2 metres (in the eastern part), dated to the rather long period from the 14th century to the 20th century, were identified in the eastern yard of the site. In the process of exploration, pieces of domestic and building ceramics and pottery, coins, lead and various metal articles were discovered. Five burials were found in the western part of the east yard. Human bones from destroyed graves were also found in the eastern and northern yards. It was then discovered that there is an old cemetery at Bokšto 6.

In 1981, a series of boreholes and sampling of cultural layers of the Old Town were performed (Vaitkevičius 1981). In the process, it was discovered that the above territory had been flattened, making terraces around it. This was probably done in the times when the church and the monastery were built. The cultural layer varies from two metres (in the western yard) up to 7.8 metres (in the eastern yard).

Archaeological investigations were also performed on present-day Maironio St, which is to the east of Bokšto

⁴ In 2009, the research was continued, and it is in progress now (R. Jonaitis is in charge of these investigations; for this, see Jonaitis 2009, p.137ff; 2010, p.129ff). It is being carried out in sections and in both yards of the complex. This research will either confirm or deny the location of the church.

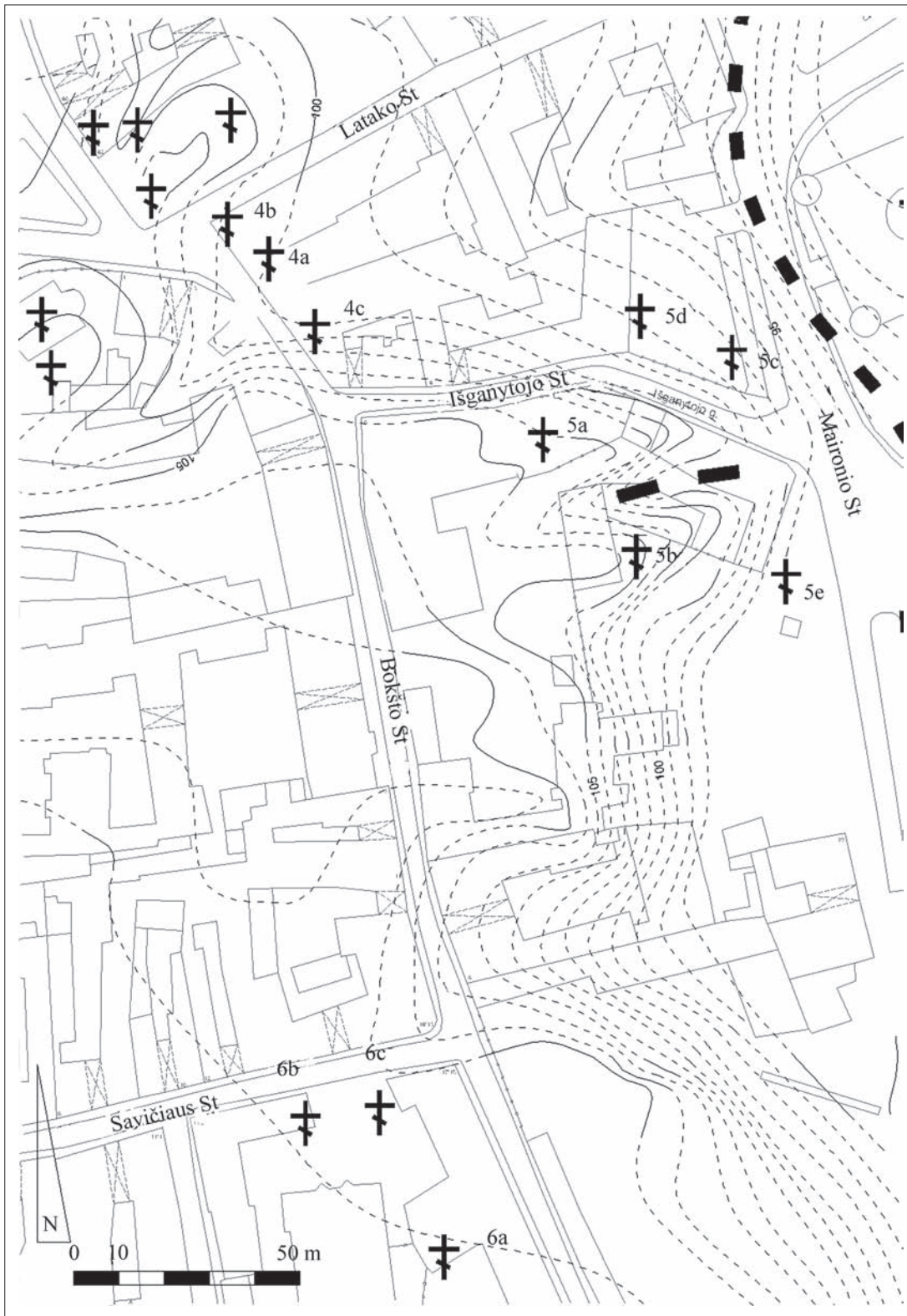


Fig. 5. The locations of the Church of St Il'ia the Prophet (4); the Nativity Church (5); the Church of St Cosmas and St Damian (6).

The Church of St Il'ia the Prophet: 4a the supposed location; 4b the location after Krachkovskii 1897; Batiushkov 1872; 4c after the 1672 plan. The Nativity Church: 5a and 5b the supposed location sites; 5c after Krachkovskii 1897; Batiushkov 1872; 5d after the 1672 plan; 5e after research by historians in the 20th century. The Church of St Cosmas and St Damian: 6a the supposed location (according to the 1672 plan); 6b after Krachkovskii 1897; 6c after Batiushkov 1872. The dotted line shows the former course of the River Vilnia (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

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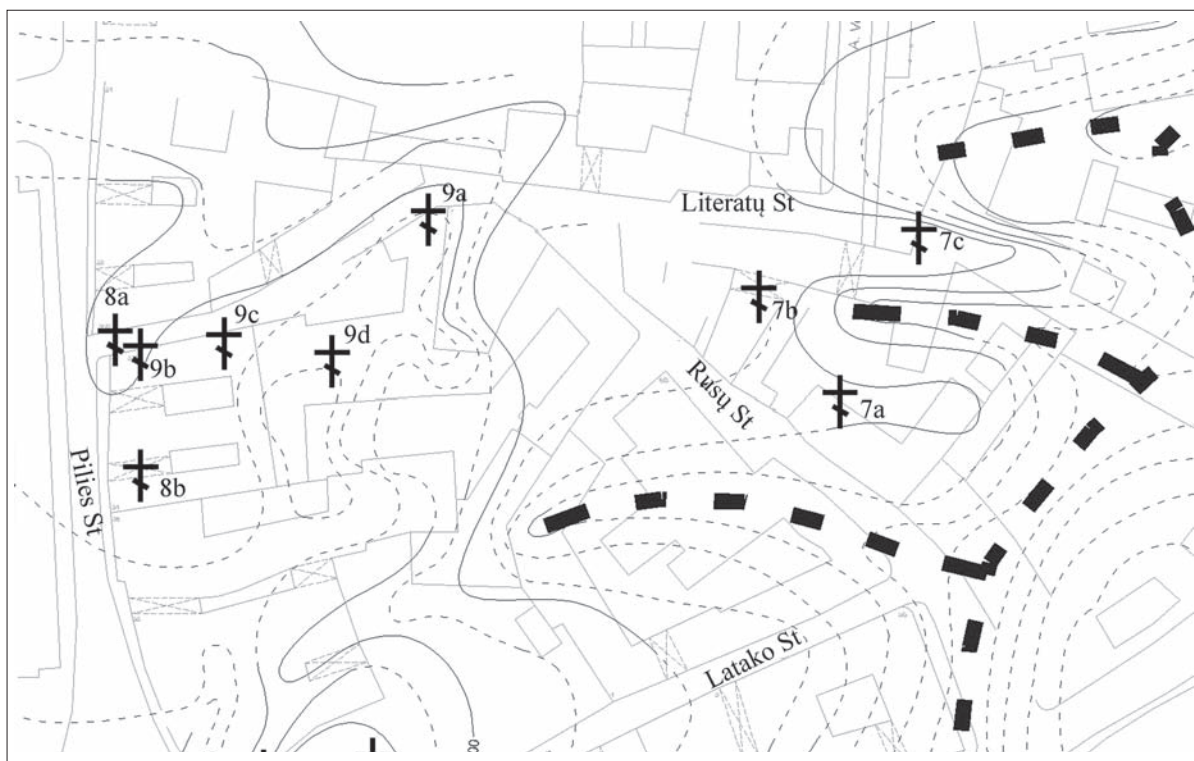


Fig. 6. The locations of the Church of St Ekaterina (7); the Church of St Michael the Archangel (8); the Church of St John the Baptist (9).

The Church of St Ekaterina: 7a the supposed location of the church; 7b after Krachkovskii 1897; 7c after Batiushkov 1872. The Church of St Michael the Archangel: 8 the supposed location of the church; 8b after Krachkovskii 1897; Batiushkov 1872. The Church of St John the Baptist: 9a the supposed location of the church; 9b after Krachkovskii 1897; 9c after Batiushkov 1872; 9d after the 1672 plan. The dotted lines mark the courses of nameless streams (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

6 (Patkauskas 1988). Fragments of gates from the town wall and a part of the wall itself were found. The cultural layer was destroyed when installing various items of the infrastructure. The cultural layer from the 16th to the 18th centuries survived; however, due to the high groundwater, its lowest part was out of reach. The quality of the exploration was undoubtedly affected by the use of an excavator.

In the 1672 plan, the Orthodox Church of St Cosmas and St Damian (Св. Козьма и Дамиян) is located very close to the present-day Bokšto St. It once occupied a plot on the corner around the present-day junction of Bokšto and Savičiaus streets. I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov locate it closer to the junction of Savičiaus and Augustijonų streets (Krachkovskii 1897, p.240; Batiushkov 1872, p.83) (Fig. 5.6). A primary relief reconstruction shows that there is no rise here. It remains unclear why this exact place was chosen for the church. As we know, St Cosmas and St Damian were patron saints of smithery. Archaeological materials related to this craft were discovered close to the place where the church supposedly stood (Vaitkevičius 1981b).

Archaeological explorations were performed inside the Augustinian monastery, which borders on the for-

mer Orthodox Church of St Cosmas and St Damian (Kavaliauskas 2003). An area of 143 square metres was investigated by archaeologists. A horizon of cultural layers up to 3.5 metres was located. Antanas Kavaliauskas dates the beginning of the construction in the Augustinian monastery to the 16th or the 17th century; however, we know that a wooden church stood there before (it has been known since 1503). Unfortunately, it burned down in 1610, and was finally destroyed in 1655. The construction of the Augustinian monastery started in 1677. The earliest cultural layer there is dated to the 16th century.

A total of 35 boreholes were drilled in the area of the church (the 43rd quarter of the present-day Old Town) (Vaitkevičius 1982). An intact cultural layer was identified only at Bokšto 11. The chronology of the layers is not clear.

In 1992, archaeological investigations near Augustijonų 3 were performed (Vainilaitis 1992). An area of 243 square metres was explored. Cultural layers from the mid-14th century to the 20th century were found there. The collected archaeological data permits us to suggest that people settled there in the middle or in the second half of the 14th century. Probably the artefacts

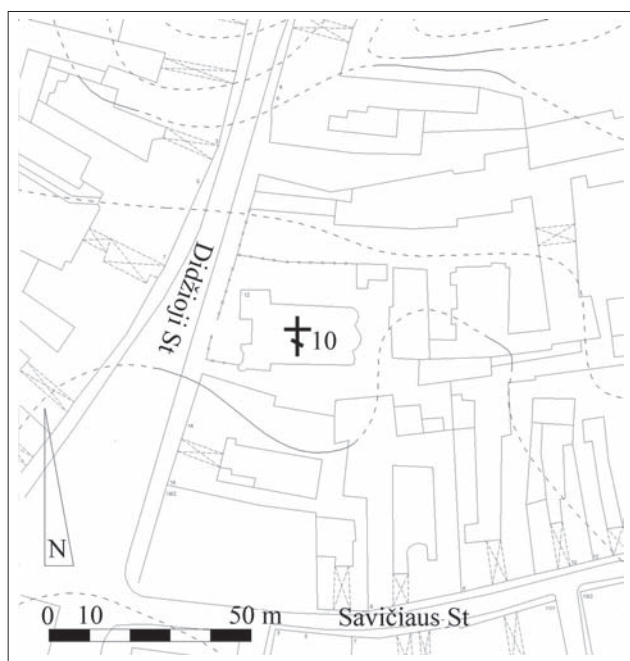


Fig. 7. The location of the Church of St Nicholas (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

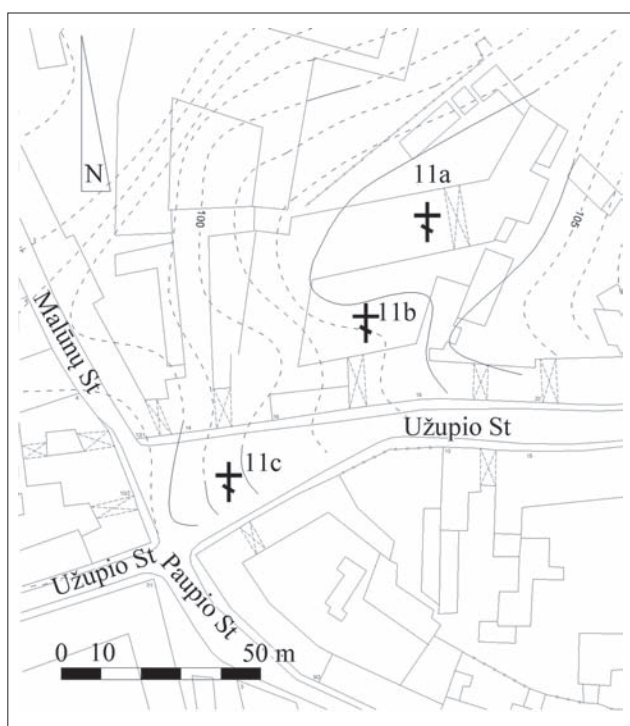


Fig. 8. The location of the Church of St Peter and St Paul. 11a the supposed location; 11b after Krachkovskii 1897; Batiushkov 1872; 11c after research by historians in the 20th century (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

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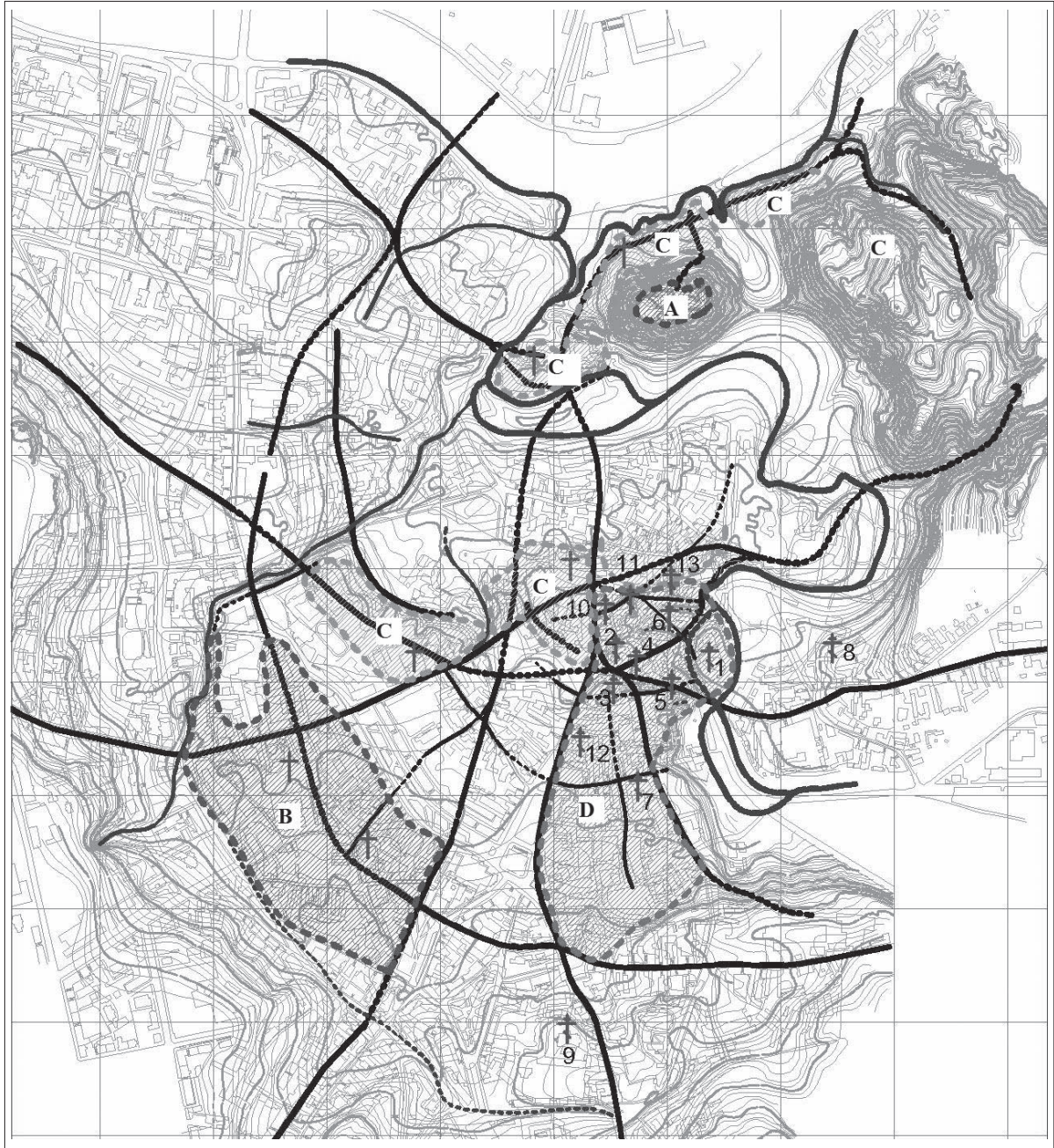


Fig. 9. Vilnius at the end of the 14th century: A the German area; B the Upper Castle on Gediminas Hill; C the area of the local Lithuanians; D the Civitas Rutenica area: 1 the Church of the Holy Virgin; 2 the Church of St Nicholas (Uspeniia); 3 the Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia); 4 the Church of St Il'ia the Prophet; 5 the Nativity Church; 6 the Church of St Ekaterina; 7 the Church of St Cosmas and St Damian; 8 the Church of St Peter and St Paul; 9 the Church of the Holy Trinity; 10 the Church of St Michael the Archangel; 11 the Church of St John the Baptist; 12 the Church of St Nicholas; 13 the Holy Mother of God (Pokrovo) Church (drawing by O. Valionienė, with R. Jonaitis' additions).

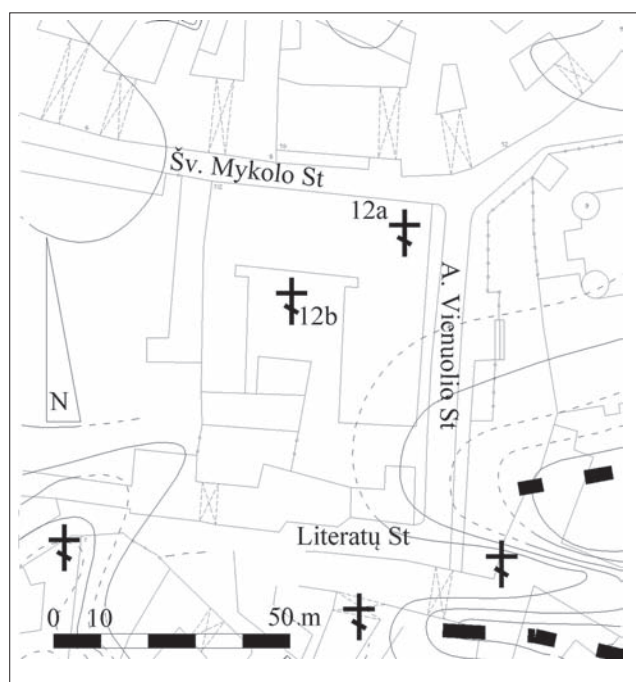


Fig. 10. The location of the Holy Mother of God (Pokrovo) Church: 12a the supposed location; 12b after the 1672 plan. The dotted lines mark the course of nameless streams (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

most important to the chronology are the jewellery that was worn by women. Among them, a bronze temple adornment, typical jewellery worn by Russian women during the 14th and 15th centuries, and a disintegrated fragment of a hat with a brass spiral and bead-shaped decoration should be mentioned (Vainilaitis 1992). In 2001, the exploration of the above area was still in process (Daminaitis 2002). An area of 220 square metres with a four-metre cultural layer, dated to the 15th to the 17th centuries, was investigated.

The Orthodox Church of St Ekaterina (Св. Екатерина) is located on the 1672 plan to the east of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God, in the present-day 38th quarter. I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov specify its location more exactly on the site of holding No 118, where the building at Rusų 9/2 is now (Krachkovskii 1897, p.238; Batiushkov 1872, p.82) (Fig. 6.7). However, geo-morphological and archaeological data show that this site is very peaty, that is, damp and not suitable for habitation.

Archaeological investigations around the Church of St Ekaterina were performed at Literatų 9/2 (Zhukovskiy 2000) and Literatų 9 (Ušinskas 1985). A Gothic cellar from the 15th century was discovered there in 2000. Single human bones from destroyed burials were

found in the filling of the cellar, which points indirectly to the presence of a churchyard cemetery. An area of 62 square metres was explored. Sterile soil (peaty sand) was reached at a depth of 1.2 to 3.4 metres. In 1985, the cultural layer in the exterior and interior of the building at Literatų 9, found during geological works, was mostly destroyed during digs at different times. The damp and peaty soil of the site contributed to the survival of wood (early wooden constructions), but the wooden construction itself was not found during these excavations. The cultural layer came to 4.2 metres. Twenty holes were made. The present-day shape of the site formed in the 17th to the 19th centuries. Traces of previous stone structures were not discovered. Therefore, early cultural layers could have been destroyed during later construction works.

Two mounds along the course of a supposed stream were traced around this quarter. The first (southern) one was in the northern part of the present-day building at Rusų 4. The other (northern) one stood on the site of the present-day building on A. Volano St. From the point of view of access, the southern mound was more important, as a transit route went past it. This route was part of a network, which appeared on an even incline on the slope of terrace III, and was cut off from the abrupt slopes to the west and the east. Close

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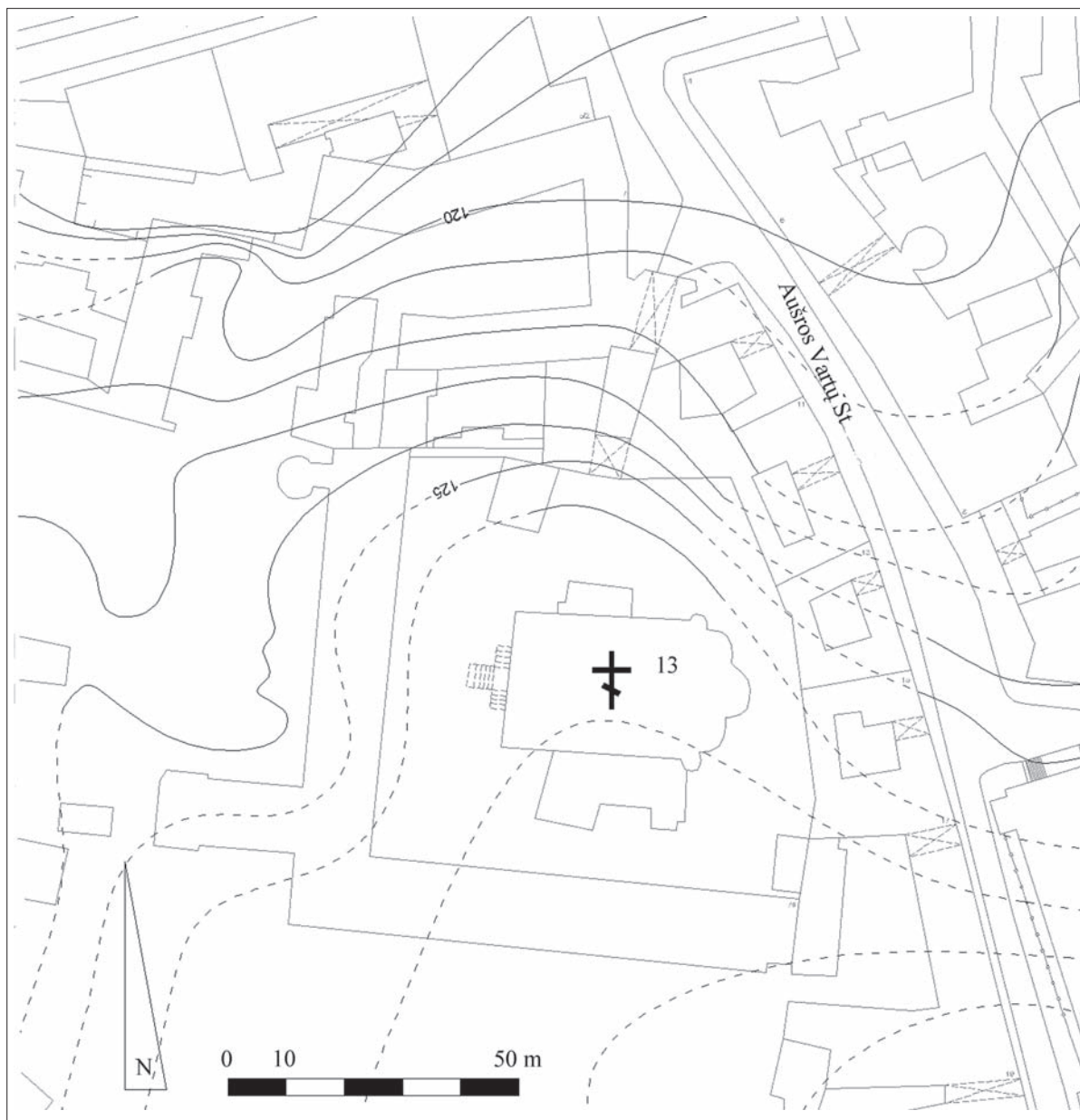


Fig. 11. The location of the Church of the Holy Trinity (designed by R. Jonaitis).

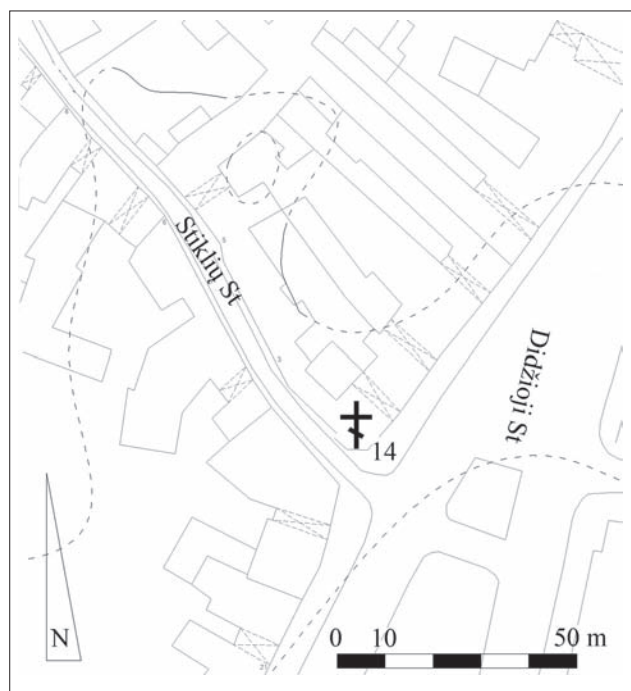


Fig. 12. The location of the Church of the Resurrection (Voskresenskaia) (drawing by O. Valionienė with R. Jonaitis' additions).

to it, the main routes to Trakai, Polotsk and Medininkai crossed the routes to Livonia, Alšėnai and Rūdininkai (Valionienė 2009). Thus, it would be logical to locate the above church on the southern mound.

On the 1672 plan, the site of the Church of St Michael the Archangel (Св. Михаил Архангел) is located on the corner of present-day Pilies and Literatų streets (Pilies 32/1) (Fig. 6.8). I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov locate the church to the south, close to Pilies St, where buildings No 34 and No 36 now stand (Krachkovskii 1897, p.237; Batiushkov 1872, p.83). However, in his description, I. Krachkovskii notes that the church stood on the same side street (present-day Literatų St), at the junction with Didžioji St (present-day Pilies St) (Krachkovskii 1897, p.237). Researchers in the 20th century have pointed to different locations. Marija Banikonienė gives a vague idea about the actual location of this church (Banikonienė 1964). She notes that the church 'was standing at the beginning of Literatų St', but later we find that 'Pilies 38 (holding No 107) is the address of a building standing on the former Orthodox Church of St Michael'. Later on, Banikonienė maintains that the church was at Literatų 5 (holding No 111). Finally, we can conclude that the researcher is not speaking about the church itself: she is speaking about the boundaries of the churchyard. In the research by Zita Zakrevskaitė (Pilies 32), we find several notes from the 17th century about the reinforcement of its

substructure and human burials found during this work (Zakrevskaitė 1989). After assessing all this data, it is possible to maintain that the church stood precisely at the junction of Latako and Pilies streets. Geomorphological data also points to the presence of a church on this little rise.

In the 1672 plan, the Church of St John the Baptist (Св. Иоанн Креститель) is located just next to St Michael's Church, to the east of it. I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov locate it at present-day Literatų 5 (Krachkovskii 1897, p.237; Batiushkov 1872, p.82). M. Banikonienė supports this version (Banikonienė 1964). We have to agree with I. Krachkovskii, P. Batiushkov and M. Banikonienė about the location of the Church of St John the Baptist (Fig. 6.9). The data about the relief confirms this: an elevation is traced between the present-day structures at Literatų 5 and 7.

In the 1672 plan, the site of the Orthodox Church of St Nicholas (Св. Николай (Перенесеня мощей)) borders that of the Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia) (Fig. 7). The current Church of St Nicholas was completed in 1514. It was built to replace a former wooden one. As reconstructed primary relief shows, a tiny rise was located around the present-day church.

In the 1672 plan, the Church of St Peter and St Paul (Св. Петр и Павел) was located around the present-day Užupio St, although I. Krachkovskii and P. Ba-

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Fig. 13. Vilnius at the beginning of the 15th century: A the Upper Castle on Gediminas Hill; B the German area; C the area of the local Lithuanians; D the Civitas Rutenica area: 1 the Church of the Holy Mother of God; 2 the Church of St Nicholas (Uspeniia); 3 the Church of St Parasceve (Piatnitskaia); 4 the Church of St Il'ia the Prophet; 5 the Nativity Church; 6 the Church of St Ekaterina; 7 the Church of St Cosmas and St Damian; 8 the Church of St Peter and St Paul; 9 the Church of the Holy Trinity; 10 the Church of St Michael the Archangel; 11 the Church of St John the Baptist; 12 the Church of St Nicholas; 13 the Holy Mother of God (Pokrovo) Church; 14 the Resurrection (Voskresenskaia) Church (drawing by O. Valionienė, with R. Jonaitis' additions).

tiushkov locate it exactly where the modern sculpture of the Angel of Užupis now stands, on the very crossroads of the streets (Krachkovskii 1897, p.240; Batiushkov 1872, p.81) (Fig. 8). Romualdas Firkovičius locates it at the crossroads of the present-day Malūnų, Užupio and Paupio streets (Firkovičius 1988). Aušrelė Racevičienė insists on the present-day houses 14 to 16 of Užupio St (Racevičienė 1989). Based on a reconstruction of the primary relief, a terrace or rise can be identified on the slope of the backyard at Užupio 16. It would be logical to maintain that this could be the place where the Church of St Peter and St Paul stood. The time of its appearance is still unclear.

In 1990, the maintenance of test plots was performed at Užupio 16 and 18 (Songaila 1990a; 1990b). Twenty-four test plots (46 square metres of total area) inside and outside the building at No 16 were explored. The cultural layer was destroyed, and only meagre artefacts dating from the second half of the 18th century to the 20th century were discovered (Songaila 1990a). Ten test plots (ten square metres of total area) were explored inside and outside the building at No 18. Only stray finds, dated to the late 19th century and early 20th century, were collected (Songaila 1990b).

One more church in the area of Civitas Rutenica was probably built at the end of the 14th century (Fig. 9). This was the Church of the Holy Mother of God (Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы), which is located on the above plan to the north of the Church of St Ekaterina (Св. Екатерина), in the eastern part of the present-day 38th quarter, on the junction between A. Volano and Šv. Mykolo streets, on the site of the Ministry of Education and Science (Fig. 10). I. Krachkovskii and P. Batiushkov point to the same location (Krachkovskii 1897, p.235; Batiushkov 1872, p.83). They are also joined by Teresė Dambrauskaitė (Dambrauskaitė 1976). The reconstruction of primary relief shows no mound there, except an insignificant rise. Why was the church built in this particular place? Its location is important from the point of view of transport: next to it is the northern branch of the Trakai–Altar Hill route.

Apart from this, another two stone churches, still standing outside the Civitas Rutenica area, should be mentioned. The Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity (Св. Троица) close to the Gates of Dawn is the older one (Fig. 11). Its appearance there is based on a legend. According to this legend, an oak wood used to grow in this place. Three Lithuanians were hanged from one of these oaks, since they had converted to the Orthodox faith. The wooden Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity was built in 1374 on the site of their martyrdom (Baronas 2000, p.118). In 1514, a stone church was built

by Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozhsy, (c.1460–1530). The church was erected on a small mound. Therefore, it is possible to assume that it was built in exactly this place because it was sacred to the Orthodox community. The three martyrs of Vilnius (Anthony, John and Eustace) were executed there in 1347 (Baronas 2000, p.94).

Only small-scale archaeological investigations have been performed around the Church of the Holy Trinity (Stankevičius 1992). They aimed at specifying some stages in the architectural development and identification of functional horizons in different periods. In the process, a mass human burial was found. Carelessly piled human bones formed a one-metre layer. Part of an intact burial without burial items was also discovered (mostly the bones of legs) (Stankevičius 1992). It looks as if this burial dates from the period of construction, when burials discovered in a foundation pit would be piled up in the same pit. This entombment appeared before 1514, so these burials belonged to the older, wooden Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity.

Another church outside the Civitas Rutenica area is the Orthodox Resurrection Church (Воскресения Христова), whose location is interesting: it is the only church west of Pilies and Didžioji streets. Civitas Rutenica never expanded to the west of this line (Fig. 12). By 1480, the construction and renovation of Orthodox chapels in Vilnius was already forbidden (Kasperavičienė 1989). Presumably, this church could have been completed in the first half or the middle of the 15th century. It was mentioned for the first time in 1511. The history of the Russian Church hints at the fact that in 1511 (when reconstructing the Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God), three churches in Vilnius served as pillars of the Orthodox faith. They were the Resurrection Church (Воскресения Христова), the Church of St Yuri (Св. Юрий), and the Church of St Cosmas and St Damian. The church and the surrounding cemeteries were fully formed by the second half of the 16th century. The act of its visitation in 1619 notes that ‘... that same day we visited the cemetery of the Resurrection Church, in the market on Stiklių Street, before the salt parade...’ (Kasperavičienė 1989).

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Civitas Rutenica area covered the largest area ever in its existence. It bordered present-day Literatų St in the south, the River Vilnia, Bokšto St, and part of Užupis in the east. Its northern part bordered on Šv. Kazimiero and Subačiaus streets, its western border was the line of Pilies and Didžioji streets (Fig. 13).

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Conclusions

This article has attempted to locate former Orthodox churches more precisely. Twelve Orthodox churches stood in the Civitas Rutenica area in Vilnius, although the exact locations of only two of them are known. These are the Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God and the Church of St Nicholas. The location of the other churches is known only approximately.

The reconstruction of the primary relief has allowed for the clarification of the location of churches. This way, the location of the first churches, St Parasceve and St Nicholas (Uspeniia) was specified. These churches, together with the Church of the Holy Mother of God, were built in the earliest period of Civitas Rutenica, on small hills.

The research also allowed us to specify the location of some later churches. These churches are the churches of St Ili'ia the Prophet, St Cosmas and St Damian, St Ekaterina, St Michael the Archangel, St John the Baptist, and St Peter and St Paul. Two possible places for the location of the Nativity Church were identified. The exact location of this church cannot be traced until the end of archaeological surveys at Bokšto 6. The location of the Church of the Holy Mother of God, most likely built in the 14th century, was specified during the research.

Apart from these 12 churches in the area of Civitas Rutenica, two churches were built outside the area. These were the Holy Trinity and the Resurrection churches. They are still standing in the places where they were built.

In identifying the sites of the locations, some main principles become clear. For example, all the churches, when they were built, were on the edge of the Civitas Rutenica area. Subsequently, with the passage of time and the growth of the area, they ended up inside it. Almost all the churches were built on small hills, away from the streets or set back from them.

Abbreviations

ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje... metais. Vilnius (since 1967–).
 VAA – Vilnius Regional Archive.
 LIIR – Lithuanian Institute of History, Archive.

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ORTODOKSŲ CERKVĖS „CIVITAS RUTENICA“ TERITORIJOJE VILNIUJE. LOKALIZACIJOS PROBLEMA

RYTIS JONAITIS

Santrauka

Šis straipsnis – tai mėginimas kuo tiksliau lokalizuoti buvusias cerkves (1–13 pav.). Iš dvylikos „Civitas Rutenica“ teritorijoje stovėjusių cerkvių tiksli lokalizacija žinoma tik dviejų – Skaisčiausios Dievo Motinos ir Šv. Nikolajaus (Palaikų perkėlimo). Kitų cerkvių lokalizacijos vietos buvo žinomos apytikriai.

Pažvelgus į pirminį reljefą pavyko patikslinti galimas cerkvių lokalizacijos vietas. Taip buvo patikslintos pirmųjų Šv. Paraskevos (Piatnitskos, Св. Параскева (Пятницкая)), Šv. Nikolajaus (Uspeniia, Св. Николая (Успения)) cerkvių lokalizacijos vietos. Kartu su Skaisčiausios Dievo Motinos cerkve jos buvo pastatytos ankstyviausiojo „Civitas Rutenica“ perimetru nedidėse aukštumėlėse.

Buvo patikslintos ir vėliau pastatytų Šv. Iljos Pranašo (Св. Ильи Пророка), Šv. Kozmo ir Damijono (Св. Козьмы и Дамияна), Šv. Jekaterinos (Св. Екатерины), Šv. Michailo Arkangelo (Св. Михаила Архангела), Šv. Jono Krikštytojo (Св. Ивана Крестителя), Šv. Petro ir Povilo (Св. Петра и Павла) cerkvių lokalizacijos vietos. Nustatytos dvi galimos Kristaus Gimimo (Рождества Христова) cerkvės lokalizacijos vietos.

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Kol sklype Bokšto g. 6 nebaigti archeologiniai tyrinėjimai, negalima tiksliai pasakyti, kurioje vietoje stovėjo Kristaus Gimimo (Рождества Христова) cerkvė. Tyrinėjimų metu patikslinta ir veikiausiai XIV a. pabaigoje statytos Švenčiausios Dievo Motinos Užtarytojos (Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы) cerkvės lokalizacijos vieta.

Be šių dvylikos cerkvių, buvo dar dvi cerkvės, esančios už „Civitas Rutenica“ teritorijos ribų – Šv. Trejybės ir Kristaus prisikėlimo cerkvės. Jos tebestovi tose vietose, kur ir buvo pastatytos.

Nustačius galimas cerkvių lokalizacijos vietas, pastebimi keli dėsningumai. Visos cerkvės statybos metu buvo „Civitas Rutenica“ teritorijos pakraščiuose. Vėliau, plečiantis Rusų miestui, jos atsidurdavo miesto viduje. Beveik visos cerkvės buvo pastatytos nedidelėse aukštumėlėse, kiek toliau nuo gatvių arba prie pat jų.