## URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF KĖDAINIAI By the kiszka and radziwiłł families

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Keywords	Abstract
Kėdainiai, urbanisation, the Kiszkas, the Radziwiłłs, post-medieval archaeology	This article delves into the subject of urban development on the right bank of the Nevėžis River in Kėdainiai, with a focus on the formation of urban space. Established in the mid-17th century largely by the owners of Kėdainiai, the Kiszka noblemen and Radziwiłł dukes, the urban planning remained unchanged until the first half of the 20th century. The article presents archaeological data and historical sources revealing the main features of urban development on the right bank of the Nevėžis River, the formation of market squares, and the structuring of plots.

#### Introduction

Evidence of the uniqueness and novelty of the urban development of old Kėdainiai lies in the rational order visible on the right bank of the Nevėžis. Its formation began in the late 16th century and was complete by the middle of the 17th century, remaining unchanged until the first half of the 20th century.

The town's planners adapted its right bank to the distinct terraced valley relief, where Evangelical Reformed, Evangelical Lutheran and Jewish communities gathered in separate territories (Fig. 1). Based on the community-aligned division of the territory, a rectangular planned town with separated centres and a network of straight streets formed, where a variety of architectural styles could flourish. The initiators of such innovative urban development were the town's owners, the Kiszka noblemen and the Radziwiłł dukes.

It is said that the development on the right bank of Kėdainiai was started by Anna Radziwiłł-Kiszka, after the proclamation of the Volok Land Reform Law in 1557 (Miškinis 2004, p. 194). However, this claim is not confirmed by historical sources. Most probably, it was Jan Kiszka, son of Anna Radziwiłł-Kiszka, who started to develop Kėdainiai on the right bank of the river. In 1581, he founded a port in the southwest area close to the Nevėžis River (VUB RS corpus, collection 210, file 16493) (Fig. 2a).<sup>1</sup>

Either at the same time or several years later, the rectangular Great Market Square measuring 135 x 110 m was formed between the port and the wooden bridge over the river (Pilypaitis and Baršauskas 1966, p. 293) (Fig. 2b). It is likely that the square was formed after the town was granted self-government in 1590. Due to the naturally raised terrace, it had two levels — a lower eastern level and a raised western one (Juknevičius 2017). The surface irregularities in an area where a higher and a lower level meet became even more evident when the town's resident Thomas Schaffler built a tavern at the beginning of the 17th century (Jablonskis and Jučas, 1962, p. 20) and after Stanislovas Laurinkevičius built a brick house near this tavern in the first half of the 17th century (VUB RS, corpus 4, collection 217, file 1723).

At the beginning of the 17th century, Janusz Kiszka's brother Stanislaw Kiszka completed the planning of the southern territory. On his instruction, the rectangular Knypava Market Square (90 x 60 m) was created in the southwest and the suburb established nearby was called Knypava (Jablonskis and Jučas, 1962, p. 20) (Fig. 2c). The name of the suburb probably comes from Kneiphof, the independent quarter of Königsberg (currently in Kalin71

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A permit to construct the port was obtained by A. Radziwiłł Kiszka in Grodno Seijm in 1568 (Buszyński 1873, p. 38). The location of this port remains unknown.



Figure 1. Territorial structure of concessions on the right bank of Kėdainiai in the 17th century. Drawn by Vaidas Špečkauskas.

ingrad Oblast in the Russian Federation), an important trade partner of Kėdainiai.

#### 1. The planning of streets and squares

A straight street leading from the northeast corner of Knypava Market Square to Great Market Square was called Arklių Street (currently Radvilų Street, Fig. 2.1). Another straight street (now the northern part of Josvainių Street) led from the northwest part of Knypava Market Square to Didžiosios Pilies Street (currently Didžioji Street) (Fig. 2.2). A further straight street led from the southeast corner to the Nevėžis port and was later called Cerkvės Street (currently S. Jaugelio Telegos Street) (Fig. 2.3). The straight southern part of Josvainių Street led from the southwest corner to the old Josvainių road (Fig. 2.4).

Rectangular plots were planned along streets and squares. According to the planning principles widespread throughout western and central Europe, the plots were of equal size. This was done in order to receive a stable income from owners. Additionally, the planning of regular-shaped plots in the town reduced the spread of fires (Miškinis 1991, pp. 36–38). According to the data of the town inventory of 1604, there were 298 concessions and 233 residential buildings (Jablonskis and Jučas 1962, pp. 20–30). In these buildings, as many as 103 taverns<sup>2</sup>

were opened (Jablonskis and Jučas 1962, pp. 20–30). Most of them were established on approaches to Great and Old Market Squares as well as on the left bank of the Nevėžis, on Kaunas Street leading to Kaunas. Such a high number of taverns indicates that at the beginning of the 17th century Kėdainiai was an important trade and transit town that was well-established in the road network of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was one of the so-called 'hubs' of the road system (Čelkis 2019, p. 46).

The planning of the right bank of Kėdainiai, started by the Kiszka noblemen, was continued by a new owner of the town, Duke Krzysztof II Radziwiłł. In 1627, he allowed foreign merchants and craftsmen as well as 'honest and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The inventory list includes 35 beer taverns, 45 beer and vodka taverns, 22 vodka taverns and 1 vodka, beer, mead and wine tavern (Jablonskis and Jučas, 1962, pp. 20–30).



Figure 2. A map of the right bank of Kėdainiai at the beginning of the 17th century. 2a. Port; 2b. Great Market Square (in Polish: Wielki Rynek); 2c. Knypava Market Square (in Polish: Knipowski Rynek); 2d. Old Market Square (in Polish: Stary Rynek); 2.1 Arklių (in Polish: Konska) Street; 2.2. Didžioji Pilies (in Polish: Wielka Zamkowa) Street; 2.3. Cerkvės (in Polish: Cerkowna) Street; 2.4. Josvainių (in Polish: Jaswojnska) Street. Drawing by Valdas Sedeika.

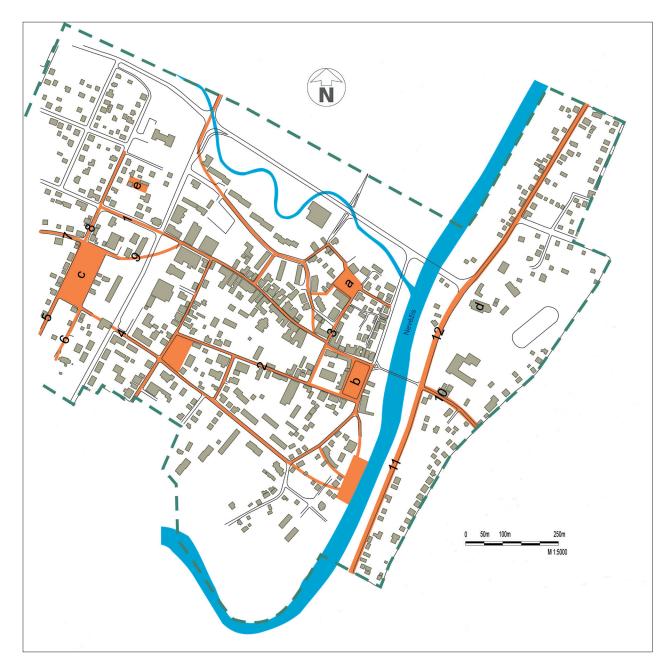
good-mannered Jews' to settle in the town (Tyla 2002, pp. 103–104). To accommodate the new arrivals, the duke undertook a major reform of the central part of the town and the manor lands lying on the western plateau (Miškinis 2004, p. 198).

# 2. Reconstruction of the squares and their approaches

The reconstruction of the central area was probably started by Krzysztof Radziwiłł with the remodelling of the rectangular (110 x 60 m) Old Market Square. This

square, located near the Kaunas–Riga road, which went along present-day Smilgos Street, was planned around the middle of the 15th century (Juknevičius 2002, p. 9 (Fig. 2d). After the formation of rectangular plots in the southern part of the square, by the above-mentioned road, the square was halved in size (Juknevičius 2002, pp. 9, 13) (Fig. 3a). In around 1627, several Jewish families were settled on these plots. However, until the middle of the 17th century their number in Kėdainiai, as well as in the whole of Samogitia, was small (Meilus 1997, p. 47).

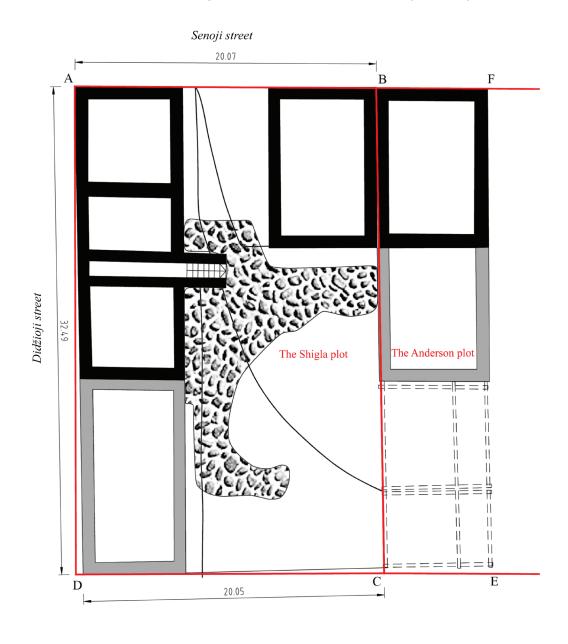
Great Market Square started being remodelled at the same time. On its central area, Krzysztof Radziwiłł





3a. Old Market Square (in Polish Stary Rynek); 3b. Great Market Square (in Polish Wielki Rynek); 3c. Januszawa Market Square (in Polish Januszewski Rynek); 3d. St George's Catholic Church; 3.1. Didžioji Pilies (in Polish Wielka Zamkowa) Street; 3.2. Arklių (in Polish Konska) Street; 3.3. Senoji (in Polish Stara) Street; 3.4. Knypavos (in Polish Knipowska) Street; 3.5. Karaliaučiaus (in Polish Królewiecka) Street; 3.6. Vokiečių (in Polish Niemecka) Street; 3.7. Raseinių (in Polish Rosienska) Street; 3.8. Dvaro (in Polish Dwórowa) Street; 3.9. Kreivoji (in Polish Krzywa) Street; 3.10. Vilnius (in Polish Wilenska) Street; 3.11. Kaunas (in Polish Kowienska) Street; 3.12. Šėta (in Polish Szatska) Street. Drawing by Valdas Sedeika.

founded a Reformed school in the brick-built Schaffler family house (Valančius 1972, p. 254) and on its raised part, in 1629, the construction of a large brick Reformed church was started (Tyla 2002, p. 154). Next to the church, a plot of 42 ares was formed and a cemetery was established (Ragauskas 2020, p. 20). Scottish Presbyterian settlers were given permission to settle near to the square (110 x 50 m) (Fig. 3b) and along the closest streets: Didžioji Pilies Street (Fig. 3.1), Arklių Street (Fig. 3.2) and Senoji Street (Tyla 2002, p. 160) (Fig. 3.3). Krzysztof Radziwiłł allowed the Scots and other foreigners to buy houses and land from the local Lithuanian, Polish and German inhabitants (LVIA corpus 1280, file No. 702). Newcomers settled in elongated rectangular plots of 6–10 ares formed in the late 16th century. The shape of the plots and some buildings are preserved in the present-day plots: Didžioji Street 20, Senoji Street 7, Didžioji Street 36 and Radvilų Street 21 (Juknevičius 2015). Some elongated



Plots of the Scots Shigla and Anderson on the corner of Didžioji and Senoji streets

	Survived building and unearthed foundations	
	Outbuildings	
Lohterebe	Survived pavement of an inner yard	
	Troughs	
=====	Unearthed outbuildings	
A-B-C-D	The first corner plot on a corner of Didžioji and Senoji streets	M 1:200
B-C-E-F	The northern part of the second plot	
D-C-E	A plot by Didžioji street	0 2 1000 2000

Figure 4. The Scotsman Shigley's plot, mid-17th century. Drawing by Vaidas Špečkauskas.

rectangular plots formed in the 17th century are shown on the Kėdainiai town maps of 1869 and 1922.<sup>3</sup>

The structure of plots formed in the 17th century is known from archaeological excavations (Juknevičius 1988; 2003). A plot of 6.5 ares located on the corner of Didžioji and Senoji Street, which was excavated in 1992, was 20.07 m in width along Senoji Street and 32.49 m in length along Didžioji Street. A building that stood on that plot in the first half of the 17th century was a two-storey L-shaped brick house consisting of two blocks. The time of the building's construction is indicated by a silver coin with the Elbing (in Polish: Ebląg) mint mark and the inscribed date of 1627. The coin was found in the grout of a basement vault. A rectangular northern block of the house, 19.5 m in length and 7 m in width, built on the basement, adjoined Didžioji Street by its side facade. A rectangular extension, 14.5 m in length and 7 m in width, was connected to the northern block and the rear facade of the house. The eastern part of the house, 10.5 m in length and 7 m in width, adjoined Senoji Street. In the joint of the eastern and northern blocks there was an arched entrance, 5.5 m in width and 7 m in length. The entrance was paved with stones, and a spacious courtyard, 21.5 m in length and 13 m in width, was also paved with stones (Juknevičius 1993) (Fig. 4). This plot, with an inscription 'Shigla szota' (of the Scotsman Shigley),<sup>4</sup> is shown on the map of the central part of Kėdainiai of 1661 (Ciechanowiecki 1959, p. 5) (Fig. 5). Plots with similar plans and similar buildings also belonged to the Scotsmen George Bennett and Jacob Gray located in Didžioji Pilies Street, to George Anderson on the southern edge of the Great Market Square and to John Arnot in Arklių Street (Juknevičius 2015).

# 3. Development of the independent part of the town

Krzysztof Radziwiłł embarked on major reforms in the manor lands lying on the western plateau (Lukšaitė 1970, p. 19). In around 1630, the duke started to form Januszawa suburb, naming it after his son Janusz Radziwiłł.5 In the centre of the suburb, along the Raseiniai road, an elongated rectangular (150 x 60 m) square was planned. Kėdainiai now had its fourth marketplace (Fig. 3c). From each corner of the square, two streets perpendicular to each other were built. However, only seven, not eight, streets led from the four corners. It was not possible to build a street leading from the northeast corner of the square due to the proximity of the Evangelical Reformed church built in 1629 and a cemetery established by this church (Ragauskas 2020, p. 20). The names of the built streets were Knypava (Fig. 3.4), Königsberg (currently Lauko Street, Fig. 3.5), Vokiečių (Fig. 3.6), Raseiniai (currently Janušavos Street, Fig. 3.7), Dvaro (Fig. 3.8) and Kreivoji (no longer in existence, Fig. 3.9). On the eastern, southern and western approaches to the square, rectangular plots were formed. Their owners were taxed by the duke in proportion to the size of the concessions and obtained plots number (Tyla 2002, p. 176). Such taxation promoted better management of plots and their use, and also strengthened owners' entrepreneurship and profitability, as well as the economic viability of the town. The formed plots were settled by the Evangelical Lutherans, who called themselves the Augsburg believers (Ptashkin 1899, p. 11). It is not known where they came from. They could have been arrivals from Saxon and Prussian towns. Kėdainiai's links with Prussia can partly be found in the name of Königsberg Street, the Latin name of which is 'platea Regiomontana' (Tyla 2002, pp. 219-220).

Krzysztof Radziwiłł gave the new arrivals one and a half hectares of land for a church, rectory and cemetery (Ptashkīn 1899, p. 10). In 1638, the Lutherans built a wooden church on the southern approaches to Januszawa, paid for with money donated by the residents of Courland towns (Ptashkīn 1899, p. 11). The church and southeast corner of the marketplace were connected by the straight Vokiečių Street, the Latin name of which was 'platea Germanica' (Tyla 2002, pp. 219–220) and from the same corner of the square the straight Knypava Street leading to Knypava Market Square connected Januszawa with old Kėdainiai. A part of the winding Raseiniai road (Fig. 3.9), which became Kreivasis Lane, as well as Dvaro (Fig. 3.8) and Didžioji Pilies (Fig. 3.1) Streets, also connected Januszawa with the town.

After the duke's death in 1640, Januszawa's development was continued by his wife, Anna Kiszka-Radziwiłł. In 1643 she confirmed privileges granted by the duke and instructed a deputy of the manor to form new plots (Tyla 2002, pp. 181–182). It has been claimed that from the establishment of Januszawa in 1630 until the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Duchy of Moscow and the Kingdom of Sweden in 1654, about 80 plots were formed and settled (Miškinis 2004, p. 198). However, the number of established and settled concessions has also been put at 65. It was also claimed that the number of formed and settled plots was 65 (Banys 2001, p. 17). Wooden buildings were constructed on most plots, whereas brick buildings were built only on a limited number (Banys 2001, pp. 17-27). Presumably, residential brick houses in Januszawa did not become widespread because of wet soil, which was not suitable for such construction. In 1995 and 2016, during the excavations of two plots on

<sup>3</sup> Copies of the maps are kept in the archive of the Kėdainiai Regional Museum.

<sup>4</sup> The real Scottish surname was most likely Styckle (Juknevičius 2015, p. 27).

<sup>5</sup> Today, the town's residents refer to this suburb in two ways – Januszawa and Jonuszawa.

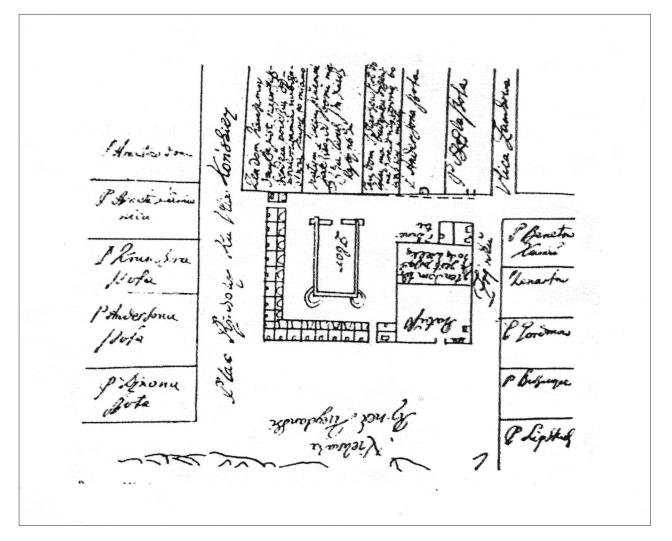


Figure 5. Plots near approaches to the Great Market Square. A drawing from 1661.

the northern and western approaches to the square, the excavated places were covered with water coming from the upper springs (Juknevičius 1996; 2018). Only the raised southern and northeastern locations of Januszawa in Vokiečių and Dvaro Streets were suitable for the construction of brick buildings. In these locations, the timber-framed Evangelical Reformed church and the brick Evangelical Lutheran church, as well as a brick Lutheran hospital, were built.

Anna Kiszka-Radziwiłł granted the new settlers a concession: they were exempt from paying taxes for ten years and, most importantly, they were allowed to leave Kėdainiai without loss of their property (Tyla 2002, pp. 182–183). The concession attracted new arrivals. In the middle of the 17th century, their number increased, and Januszawa expanded to such an extent that in 1647 the duchess's son Janusz Radziwiłł allowed the community to have its seal (Tyla 2002, p. 188). Confirming the seal in 1648, Grand Duke Wladyslaw Vasa granted Januszawa partial autonomy, the right to have its own coat of arms and to elect its community elder (Rimša 2000, p. 276). Thus, following the tradition of medieval European cities, another almost independent and legally valid offshoot was formed near old Kėdainiai. This was a new phenomenon in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the only example of such innovative town planning (Miškinis 2004, p. 198).

## 4. Prosperity of hierarchical volumetric composition

In the middle of the 17th century, Janusz Radziwiłł added new features to the right bank of Kėdainiai. Under his rule in 1644–1655, the construction of brick houses, shrines and public buildings intensified. The duke encouraged the town's expansion: he donated town residents free plots of land, allowed the establishment of clay quarries and brickworks, ordered brick houses to be built in place of burned-down wooden cottages, and banned straw roofs (LVIA corpus 1280, file No. 702). As the number of brick houses and public buildings increased, the town grew denser (Ayre 2020, p. 59) and volumetric accents became more distinct. They emerged in the form



Figure 6. Kėdainiai in the first half of the 19th century. Lithograph, author unknown.

of the Renaissance Evangelical Reformed church built in 1652, a town hall built in 1654, the Reformed gymnasium built in Didžioji Street, and the ornate residential manor palace on the plateau near the Smilga stream (Oksas 1990, p. 55) (Fig. 3e). These buildings formed a balanced hierarchical volumetric composition for the right bank of Kėdainiai, dominated by the massive rectangular Evangelical Reformed church with its five towers rising above the town's silhouette (Fig. 6). The new Reformers' shrine began to compete with the St George's Catholic Church, which had been dominating the Kėdainiai panorama from the second half of the 15th century.

The separate community centres attained more expressive contours and volumetric accents. Old Market Square, which was settled by Jews, was smaller than the other centres, had strictly defined boundaries and was densely built-up with structures of small volume (Juknevičius 2002). Dominating in this area were a wooden synagogue on the northern edge of the square and a brick shelter located not far from the synagogue by the Smilga (Bagdonavičius 1993, p. 102). The wooden Orthodox St Andrew's Church built on the southern approaches to the square and a monastery of the Transfiguration of Christ built nearby were to become the highlights of Knypava (Pashkevich 1908, p. 17). The brick Evangelical Reformed church of timber frame construction (Ragauskas 2020, p. 20) and the wooden Evangelical Lutheran church stood out in the Januszawa panorama. The construction of a new brick shrine beside the latter was begun in 1648 (Ptashkin 1899, p. 11), while a brick hospital was completed in 1654 (VUB R, corpus 7, collection 5/5959).

The surging growth of Kėdainiai and its innovative planning came to an end with the outbreak of the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Duchy of Moscow and the Kingdom of Sweden in 1654 and the sudden death of Janusz Radziwiłł in December of 1655. From this date, no more major changes to the structure of urban planning of the right bank of Kédainiai, the streets network and separated former community centres initiated by him and his father, Krzysztof II Radziwiłł, were made. Even though many plots were later re-planned, and the buildings lost their 17th-century features during the reconstructions carried out in the 19th–20th centuries to keep pace with changing styles, the right bank of Kėdainiai remained a unique and important part of Lithuania's urban planning heritage.

The part of the town on the left bank of the Nevėžis was never planned. It retained its archaic linear from established in the 15th century along the roads leading to Vilnius (Fig. 3.10), Kaunas (Fig. 3.11), Upytė and Šėta (Fig. 3.12). The Gothic brick St George's Catholic Church (Figs. 3d and 6) dominated the panorama on this side of the town, while wooden houses, shops and taverns clustered in the narrow valley and on the terrace slopes. The architecture of these houses was of the traditional folk style, as in other Lithuanian towns and suburbs (Čerbulėnas 1966, p. 143). To date, this side of Kėdainiai town has been little investigated by archaeologists.

#### Conclusion

Evidence of the uniqueness and novelty of the urban development of Old Kėdainiai lies in the rational order visible on the right bank of the Nevėžis. Its formation was begun in the late 16th century and was complete by the middle of the 17th century, remaining unchanged until the first half of the 20th century.

The town's planners adapted its right bank to the distinct terraced valley relief, where Evangelical Reformed, Evangelical Lutheran and Jewish communities gathered in separate locations. Based on the community-aligned division of the territory, a rectangular planned town with distinct centres and a network of straight streets was formed, where a variety of architectural styles could flourish. The initiators of such innovative urban development were the town's owners, the Kiszka noblemen and the Radziwiłłs dukes. From the second half of the 17th century, no significant changes of the right bank Kedainiai were made in the structure of the town's planning. . The surging growth of Kedainiai and its innovative planning came to an end with the outbreak of the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Duchy of Moscow and the Kingdom of Sweden in 1654 and the sudden death of Janusz Radziwiłł in December of 1655. From this date, no more major changes to the structure of urban planning of the right bank Kėdainiai, the streets network and separated former community centres initiated by him and his father Krzysztof II Radziwiłł were made. Even though many plots were later re-planned, and the buildings lost their 17th-century features during the reconstructions carried out in the 19th-20th centuries to keep pace with changing styles, the right bank Kedainiai remained a unique and important part of Lithuania's urban planning heritage.

#### Abbreviations

LII f. 1, b. – cipher of unpublished archaeological excavations reports stored in Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius.

#### LVIA - Lithuanian State History Archive

VUB RS – Vilnius University Library, Manuscript department

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### KĖDAINIŲ URBANIZACIJA Radvilų ir kiškų šeimų Pastangomis

### ALGIRDAS JUKNEVIČIUS

#### Santrauka

Senųjų Kėdainių urbanistikos savitumą ir novatoriškumą liudija racionaliai sutvarkytas Nevėžio dešinysis krantas. Formuoti jis pradėtas XVI a. pabaigoje ir baigtas XVII a. viduryje. Nuo tada ši urbanistinė erdvė nesikeitė iki pat XX a. pirmosios pusės (1–6 pav.).

Kuriant dešiniojo kranto miestą taikytasi prie raiškaus terasinio slėnio reljefo, kuriame atskirose teritorijose telkėsi evangelikų reformatų, evangelikų liuteronų ir žydų judėjų bendruomenės. Dėl teritorijos pasiskirstymo čia formavosi stačiakampio plano miestas su išskaidytais centrais ir tiesių gatvių tinklu, klestėjo architektūros formų įvairovė. Tokio planavimo ir novatoriškos urbanistikos iniciatoriai buvo miesto savininkai didikai Kiškos ir kunigaikščiai Radvilos.

Audringą Kėdainių augimą ir novatorišką formavimą sustabdė 1645 m. prasidėjęs Abiejų Tautų Respublikos karas su Maskvos kunigaikštyste ir Švedijos karalyste. Nuo tų metų miesto savininkų didikų Kiškų ir kunigaikščių Radvilų suformuoto dešiniojo kranto Kėdainių plane, gatvių tinkle ir išskaidytų buvusių bendruomenių centrų struktūroje didelių pertvarkymų nebuvo padaryta. Nors bėgant amžiams daugelis sklypų buvo perplanuota, o pastatai per XIX–XX a. pradžios rekonstrukcijas ir stilių kaitą prarado būdingus XVII a. bruožus, dešiniojo Nevėžio kranto Kėdainiai išliko saviti ir reikšmingi Lietuvos urbanistikos palikime.