

IMPORTED TABLEWARE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF EARLY MODERN VILNIUS

MIGLĖ URBONAITĖ-UBĖ*

Klaipėda University, Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology, Herkaus Manto St. 84 LT-92294, Klaipėda, Lithuania

Keywords

Pottery, tableware, Vilnius, tin-glazed, stoneware, early modern period

Abstract

The period from the 16th to the 17th century is known for changes in material culture, especially in dining traditions, as different tableware appeared, replacing the dominant pottery of the medieval period. New types of technologically and functionally advanced vessels and dishes including Dutch and Italian tin-glazed earthenware, German stoneware, and a variety of slipwares were changing dining traditions across Europe. All this can be observed from the archaeological material uncovered in what is today Vilnius old town. Tableware from both western European and Ottoman manufacturers was found during archaeological excavations in Vilnius. Compared to the Middle Ages, the total number of imported wares increased significantly. Medieval tableware was very rare in Vilnius and available exclusively to individuals of high social classes but during the early modern period the situation changed. Imported pottery of the 16th and 17th centuries showed that inhabitants of the town were influenced by western dining traditions and usage of imported tableware in their everyday rituals had grown significantly. Focusing on this change traced from Vilnius old town archaeological material, the paper will examine whether imports were available to the representatives of specific social classes or were widely known to the town's community. Imported tableware as a marker of urban lifestyles suggests that town dwellers, especially noble families, monks and nuns used a variety of imported tableware. This fact represents that dining practices anchored into early modern Vilnius society and changed traditional dining practices.

Introduction

From the early 14th century, Vilnius was the capital of Grand Duchy of Lithuania, thus the main political, economic and cultural centre. The archaeological record from Vilnius is exceptionally abundant and diverse. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that this town is considered to be the most extensively excavated archaeological complex in Lithuania (Zabiela 2001, p. 62). Even so, only a small part of artefacts has been systematically studied and classified.

Analysis of imported artefacts can provide information about the multicultural environment and spread of new traditions. Pottery is considered to be one of the most suitable types of archaeological artefact for this kind of research (Orton et al. 2010, p. 23; Jervis 2013, p. 219; Hunt 2017, p. 3). This is because ceramic vessels were used for a short period of time due to accidents when vessels got

broken, or they lost their aesthetic and functional value. Moreover, the rapid technological and stylistic development of pottery craft led to changes in the function and visual characteristics of ceramic vessels. Analysis of this can help to identify and reveal cultural and social processes which took place in the past.

However, only a small number of analytical publications in Lithuania have been dedicated to early modern period pottery (Žvirblė 2017; Urbonaitė-Ubė 2015; 2018; 2019), and all of them investigated aspects of development and chronology of local ceramic vessels (Vaitkevičius 2004; 2010; 2012). Imported pottery, which found its way into archaeological layers by means of trade and exchange, has not been thoroughly studied. Socio-cultural studies of historical ceramic vessels have already been in development for the past few decades (Gaimster 1999; 2005; 2014; Mehler 2009; Naum 2014; Immonen 2007; Trzeciecki 2016;

* Corresponding author. E-mail: migle.urbonaite-ube@ku.lt



Figure 1. Map of analysed sites in Vilnius old town.

1. Dominikonų Street 4; 2. Maironio Street 11; 3. The Bishop's Palace; 4. Pranciškonų Street 4A; 5. Šv. Mykolo Street 12; 6. Gaono Street 8; 7. Didžioji Street 8 and 10; 8. Klaipėdos Street 7B; 9. Pilies Street 8 (Vilniaus archeologijos atlasas 2006, modified by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

Jervis 2017). Imported pottery is used as a source for determining the stages of a more accurate chronology of advancements and is also interpreted as being representative of particular cultural or social groups. It is perceived as an indicator of shifting traditions within societies, which occurred through the adoption of innovative technological solutions and changing standards of daily life (Gaimster 1999). Archaeological material is perhaps the only source which provides data about everyday life and allows the analysis of cultural and social changes that took place in Vilnius and affected its inhabitants during the early modern era.

This paper applies a concept of the ceramic dish as a multivariate and multifunctional cultural object. This model is used to analyse imported vessels of the 16th–17th centuries found in the old town of Vilnius. This period is known for changes in material culture, especially in dining traditions, as different tableware appeared and replaced the dominant pottery of the medieval period. Technologically and functionally new types of vessels and dishes were changing dining traditions across all of Europe. However, it is still not clear as to how these transformations are represented in the archaeological material from Vilnius. Therefore, the aim of this article is to determine cultural and social transformations that took place during the 16th

to 17th century in Vilnius based on imported tableware artefacts.

The article is based on a conference paper presented at the Urban Cultures in the Baltics (from the Middle Ages to the 20th century) conference in 2018.

1. Research material and methods

This study covers 575 imported tableware fragments retrieved from nine archaeological sites in the old town of Vilnius (Fig.1; Table 1). These excavations were chosen because of the wide variety of exclusive vessels which were found in undisturbed cultural layers of the 16th to 17th centuries, and also because they were thoroughly archaeologically documented. Material was classified by ware type and then attributed to production sites.

The artefact analysis revealed that most of the imported vessels were produced in western Europe and Poland. The popular Siegburg, Cologne, Raeren, Frechen, and Westerwald stoneware from the 16th and 17th centuries were produced in the Rhineland. Meanwhile, tin-glazed pottery was imported from the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal. Whiteware vessels can be linked to production sites in Germany, the Netherlands and Poland. The uniquely abundant collection of imported whitewares was

Table 1. Imported vessels of the 16th–17th centuries by production centre and excavation site

Location	German stoneware				Tin-glazed earthenware				Whiteware		Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Dominikonų St. 4		1		2	1		3		1	10	18
Maironio St. 11		2		16	1		15			3	37
The Bishops' Palace	1	1		2		2	4		1	45	56
Pranciškonų St. 4	2			1		2	8	3		70	86
Pilies St. 8						1				14	15
St. Mykolas St.12		1	2			1	2	1	3	35	45
Gaono St. 8						1	9			184	194
Didžioji St. 8	1	1								34	36
Klaipėdos St. 7B						1	1			86	88

Production centres. 1. Cologne; 2. Frechen; 3. Raeren; 4. Westerwald; 5. Italian maiolica; 6. Dutch maiolica; 7. Dutch faience; 8. Portuguese faience; 9. Western Europe; 10. Poland

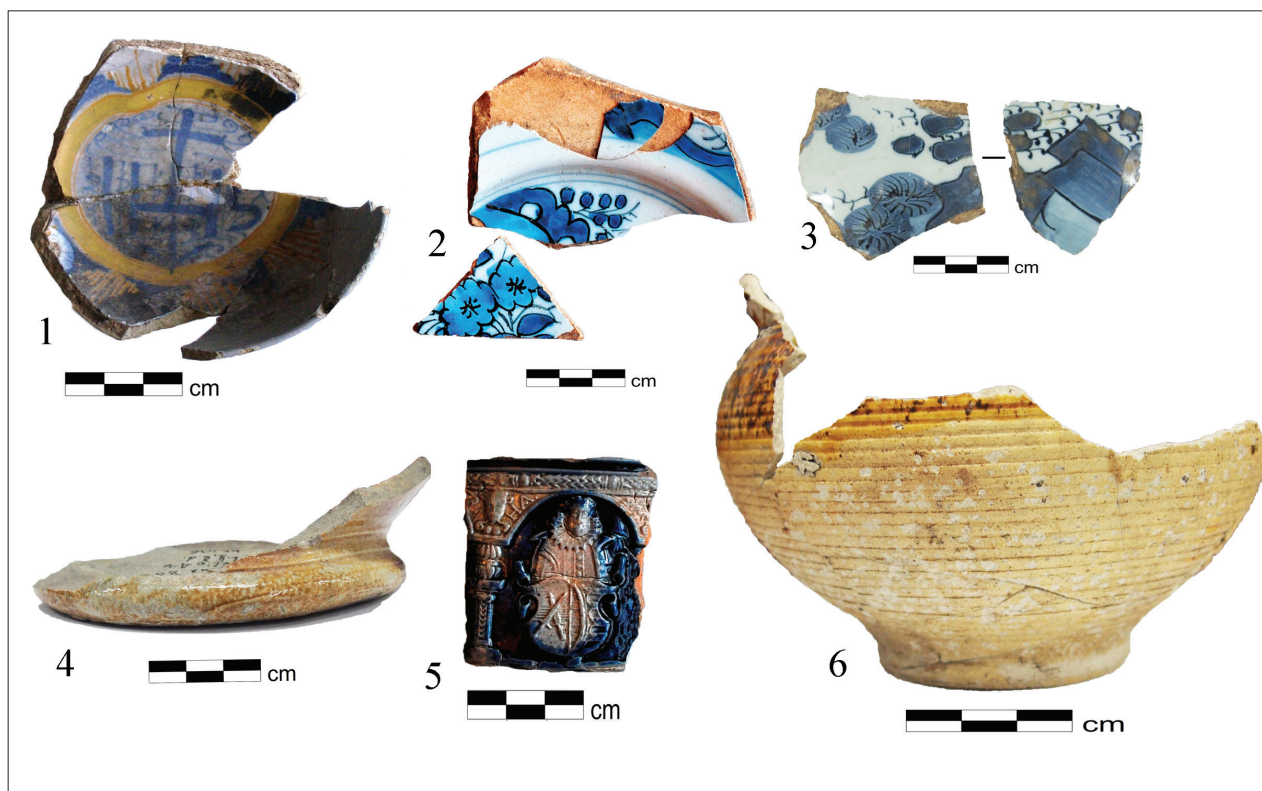


Figure 2. Selected examples of imported vessels from Dominikonų Street.

1. Italian tin-glazed earthenware; 2, 3. Dutch tin-glazed earthenware; 4. Frechen stoneware; 5. Westerwald stoneware; 6. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

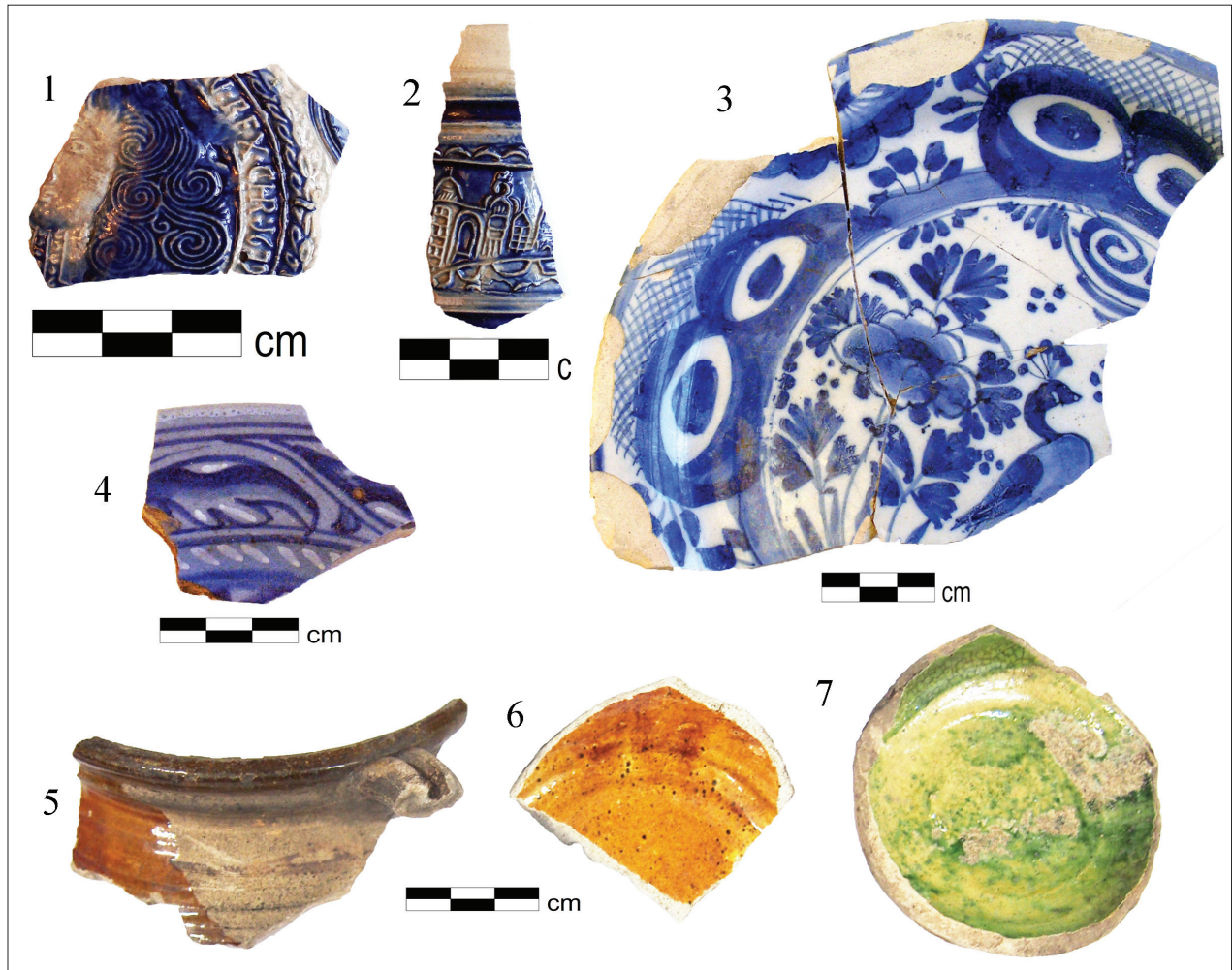


Figure 3. Selected examples of imported vessels from Maironio Street).

1, 2. Westerwald stoneware; 3. Dutch faience; 4. Ligurian maiolica; 5–7. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

linked with the Kielce region (Poland). Also, comparative material from other artefacts (stove tiles, glassware etc.) were used in order to determine the contexts of pottery finds and to evaluate their significance. The collections of pottery which were used in this study are stored in the holdings of the Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology Department in the National Museum of Lithuania.

Sites are distributed across various parts of Vilnius's old town (Fig. 1). The archaeological material and habitation history of these sites are distinct. However, the number of imported vessels makes them all suitable for further analysis.

Dominikonai Street 4 was excavated between the years 1986 and 1989 (Grišinas, 1987m; Grišinas, 1990), during which time more than 2,000 artefacts were collected (Fig. 1.1; Table 1). This area was settled by Dominicans as early as 1501 when Grand Duke Alexander (Polish: Aleksander Jagiellończyk) granted Saint Spirit church to this order (Klajumienė 1999). This was the first place where Dominicans settled in present-day Lithuanian territory. Import-

ed vessels were dated from the end of the 16th century to the end of 17th century. Identified pottery consisted of Italian maiolica, Dutch faience, Frechen and Westerwald stoneware and whitewares (Fig. 2). An Italian maiolica bowl with the inscription 'IHS' is unique in the context of Vilnius excavations (Urbonaitė-Ubė 2015, p. 165). It can be associated with religious activities that took place at the end of the 16th century.

Excavations in Maironio Street 11 were conducted in 1994 and 2007 (Stanaitis, 1994; Girlevičius and Poška 2008) (Fig. 1.2). A total of 1,004 square metres were investigated. The research was conducted in the inner yard of the convent of the Clarisses which was established at the end of the 16th century by the noble Sapiega family (Janonienė 2010, p. 28). This convent existed until 1886 when the nuns and a church were moved to another facility. Of the 3,824 artefacts collected, 37 can be attributed to imported vessels of the 16th–17th centuries (Table 1). Pottery of foreign origin consisted of Frechen and Westerwald stoneware, Ligurian berrettino-style maiolica, Dutch



Figure 4. Selected examples of imported vessels from the Bishop's Palace.

1. Frechen stoneware; 2. Westerwald stoneware; 3, 4. Dutch maiolica; 5. Kielce glazed whiteware; 6. Western glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

faience and glazed whiteware artefacts (Fig. 3). A Ligurian berrettino-style plate dated to the end of 16th century is the second artefact of Italian origin which has been found in the old town territory to date.

The Bishop's Palace and surrounding area were excavated in 1995–2000 and 5,000 square metres were investigated (Luchtanienė 2007, p. 39) (Fig. 1.3). This site was inhabited by bishops and their craftsmen during the 16th–17th centuries. The rich collection of bone and antler, leather scraps and items, crucibles and metal slag indicates that this area was inhabited by different craftsmen who served the needs of bishops (Luchtanienė 2007, p. 49). Jewellery, decorated and gilded glassware, musical instruments, toys and stove tiles suggest that the lifestyle of bishops and craftsmen was different from and more sophisticated than that of other people in the surrounding areas (Luchtanienė 2007, p. 39; Luchtanienė 1996, p. 257). It should also be mentioned that 16th-century Dutch tin-glazed tiles were found here. These artefacts are extremely rare in Vilnius and are also seldom found in northern Europe, therefore they can be attributed to the luxurious interior of the palace (Gaimster and Hughes 1999, p. 175). The imported pottery collection consists of Cologne, Frechen and Westerwald stoneware, Dutch maiolica and faience, and glazed whiteware vessels (Fig. 4).

Pranciškonų Street 4A was excavated in 2015; 245 square metres were investigated and 3,208 artefacts were collected (Vėževičienė et al. 2015, p. 380) (Fig. 1.4). The first his-

torical record of this site dates from the late 16th century when the castle warden and architect Ulrich Hosius (German: Ulrich Hosse, Polish: Ulryk Hozjusz, Lithuanian: Ulrichas Hozijus) built a manor for himself and his son (Drėma 2013, p. 231). During the 17th century, the manor was bought by other noble families and underwent various interior repairs and reconstructions. Recovered artefacts, which date from the 16th–17th centuries, mainly consisted of decorated tableware, glassware and different types of decorated tiles, suggesting that individuals of an upper social class lived here (Vėževičienė et al. 2015, p. 383). Imported vessels consisted of Cologne and Westerwald stoneware, Dutch tin-glazed earthenware, Portuguese faience and an abundant number of glazed whiteware vessels (Fig. 5).

Excavations in Šv. Mykolo Street 12-1 were conducted in 2002; 32 square metres were investigated and 3,529 artefacts were registered (Stankus 2003, p. 229) (Fig. 1.5). The imported vessels are dated to the first half of the 17th century. This assemblage contains Raeren and Portuguese faience vessels which are rarely found in Vilnius and are considered to be expensive items (Gaimster 1997, p. 224; Casimiro 2014, p. 6043) (Fig. 6). Unfortunately, there are no historical records concerning this building until the 18th century. However, the archaeological context suggests that this was a waste site, used during reconstruction of surrounding buildings during the 17th century (Stankus 2003, p. 231). The pottery assemblage from this



Figure 5. Selected examples of imported vessels from Pranciškonai Street.

1. Cologne stoneware; 2, 3. Dutch tin-glazed earthenware; 4, 5. Portuguese faience; 6–10. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

site indicates that decorated tableware was predominant across the neighbouring area.

Gaono Street 8 was excavated in 2002–2003; 637 square metres were investigated and a total of 1,850 artefacts were collected (Girlevičius 2005, 2005b). Imported vessels consisted of Dutch tin-glazed earthenware plates and glazed whiteware vessels (Figs. 1.6 and 7). Pottery was found in a waste pit which dates from the late 16th to the late 17th century. From 1665, buildings on this site belonged to noble families and high-ranking officers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Girlevičius 2003m, p. 3). These buildings underwent numerous reconstructions during the 17th and 18th centuries, reaching their final form at the end of the 18th century (Čerbulėnas et al. 1985, p. 282).

The Didžioji Street 8, 10 site was investigated in 1993. Excavations took place in an area which measured 600 square metres and 1,046 artefacts were registered (Poška 1994, p. 239) (Fig. 1.7). Imported pottery was collected in

an intensive cultural layer which dates to the middle of the 17th century (Poška 1994, p. 240) (Fig. 8; Table 1). Two Netherlands gold ducats, dated 1649 and 1650, were found here, thus confirming the dating of this assemblage (Poška 1994, p. 239). From 1642 this house belonged to the Dominican order, who renovated it in 1661 (Poška 1994, p. 4). Therefore, excavated layers and artefacts can be associated with the activities and lifestyle of the Dominicans.

The Klaipėdos Street 7B site was excavated in 2011; in the region of 1,106 square metres were investigated and 5,398 artefacts were recorded (Poška 2011) (Fig. 1.8). During the 16th century, wooden buildings dominated here and in the 17th century, masonry buildings started to appear. However, cartography from the 18th and 19th centuries shows that this area was already used as gardens by the town's inhabitants and no buildings were depicted (Poška 2011, p. 505). The assemblage of imported vessels consisted of Dutch tin-glazed plates and glazed whiteware pottery. It can be dated to between the end of 16th and



Figure 6. Selected examples of imported vessels from Šv. Mykolo Street Raeren stoneware; 2. Portuguese faience; 3. Dutch faience; 4. Dutch whiteware; 5. Western glazed whiteware. (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

the middle of the 17th century (Fig. 9). These imported vessels and other artefacts of the 16th–17th centuries are attributed to the period when the site area was inhabited by craftsmen (Poška 2011, p. 506). Waste of different materials indicates that potters, blacksmiths and bone workers were operating here (Poška 2011, p. 508).

The total excavation area of Pilies Street 8 site was 172 square metres with more than 800 artefacts found (Kvizikevičius 2001) (Fig. 1.9). Stove tiles were the most abundant artefact, and local redware and imported whiteware from the Kielce region were the main pottery types. One especially rare find for Vilnius of maiolica albarello (Fig. 10) was unearthed in a 17th-century context along with Kielce pottery. This albarello was produced in the 16th century and discarded much later. The phenomenon of long use of some types of pottery is recorded in other European countries and can be associated with higher economic value (Gaimster 2006). The excavated area was under the cathedral chapter's ownership (Drėma 2013, p. 345). This might suggest that albarello and other excavated artefacts were used by monks.

2. Discussion

2.1. The 16th-century transformation of pottery production and dining traditions in Europe

Social and cultural transformations during the 16th century can be traced in every region of Europe. Changes were not contemporaneous and differed in time and scale across the various regions (Kiaupienė and Lukšaitė 2013, p. 273). Some elements of these processes can be identified in technological and visual aspects of pottery production.

From the 15th century, a diversification of pottery forms occurred, suggesting gradual improvements in living standards and a higher degree of functional specialisation in households (Gaimster 2006, p. 141). Dining routines became more individual and adjusted to personal needs and preferences (Wood 2006, p. 141). This tradition spread first among higher social strata and then became dominant among ordinary people between the 17th and 18th centuries (Gaimster 2006, p. 205). Thus the medieval tradition of sharing meals and dishes was gradually

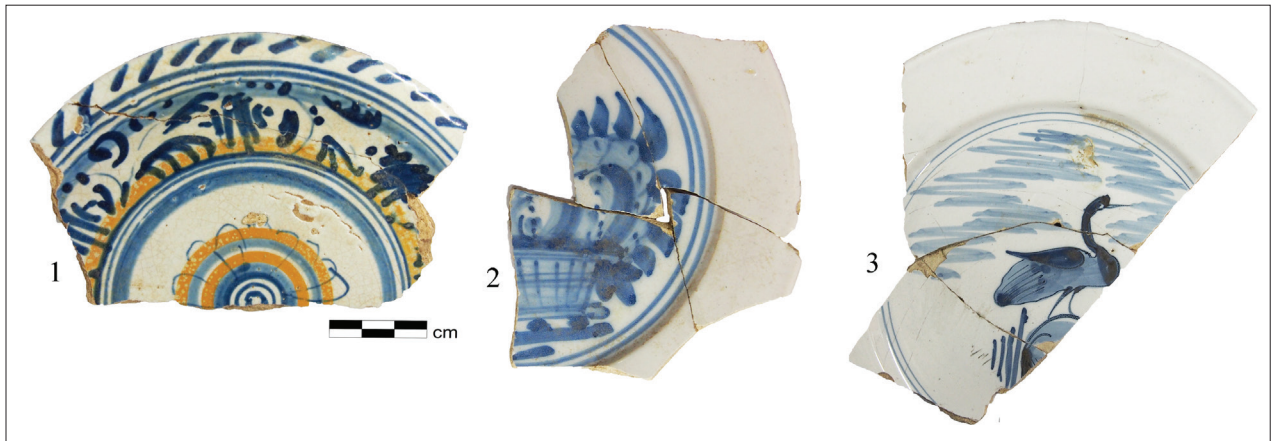


Figure 7. Selected examples of imported vessels from Gaono Street.
1. Dutch maiolica; 2, 3. Dutch faience (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).



Figure 8. Selected examples of imported vessels from Didžioji Street.
1. Frechen stoneware; 2, 3. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

replaced. A wider introduction of glazing and whiterwares in Europe implied a greater economic and social value to the pottery.

New technological solutions in pottery production were influenced by the Northern Renaissance style. The intro-

duction of stamped and incised decorations and applied relief motifs on Cologne and Siegburg stonewares raised the status of these types of pottery (Gaimster 1997, pp. 115–116). The motifs consisted of biblical, heraldic and allegorical scenes taken from contemporary engravings

of northern Europe. Vessels with applied relief ornaments were more expensive than plain ones and this indicates higher social value (Gaimster 1997, pp. 115–116; 1999, p. 1). Also, the introduction of tin glazing technology in present-day Belgium and the Netherlands changed the northern European ceramic market (Gaimster 1999, p. 1). Dutch maiolica meets the criteria for social ranking outlined in our model: it is a relatively scarce imported commodity, with ornate decoration, which is relatively expensive to produce, with a role as tableware (Gaimster 1999; 2006, p. 142). Orton attributes its eligibility as a status possession to its suitability for rapid changes in design without the need for technical or technological change (Orton 1985, p. 28). Thus decorated vessels demonstrate a relatively high social status of users.

Various types of plates, including maiolica, faiences, slipwares or incised and decorated redwares, started to be used as display ware. They were hung on walls as a decorative element of an interior, as well as displayed on shelves or sideboards. Suspension holes are found in a lot of sherds of maiolica plates, suggesting they were used as display ware. Also, contemporary iconographic material depicts the same behaviour (Bliss 1990).

Changes within society are also seen from the record of stove tiles as more and more middle class urban individuals were able to build heating stoves in their houses (Gaimster 2006, p. 141). These facts suggest that during the 15th century in western Europe the desire to emulate the social standing of others, in this case the lifestyle of wealthier individuals, became more popular and started to emerge in the archaeological material (Gaimster 2014, p. 70).

2.2. The 16th-century cultural and social transformations in Vilnius

During the early stages of development, Vilnius had a polycentric urban structure which consisted of a few individual settlements (Valionienė 2008, p. 58). This structure was determined by the natural relief of hills, rivers, streams and swamps. Occupation of swampy areas occurred during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, when almost all of the territory of today's old town was settled by individuals of differing social groups.

The following features of the early modern period can be emphasised: the rapid expansion of urbanised territories and emergence of Catholic convents and noble family mansions within the town. These mansions were erected in different parts of Vilnius, mostly around the main routes, while the convents emerged in previously uninhabited areas across the western and eastern part of Vilnius old town.

Changes in pottery traditions in the early modern period can be identified in archaeological material and in the historical record. Unglazed wheel-turned pots had constituted the main functional group of local pottery since the Iron Age and it was this unglazed pottery, along with local wooden artefacts, which comprised the main group of vessels used in medieval Vilnius. (Kaminskaitė 2010; Vaitkevičius 2004). However, during the first half of the 16th century, the technology of local pottery production technology changed. Glazed wheel-thrown earthenware production developed and became the dominant technological type of local pottery by the end of the 16th century. Multifunctional unglazed pots were gradually replaced by different forms of tripods, pipkins, colanders, plates, bowls, jugs, mugs and other drinking vessels. This change is associated with the emergence and acceptance of western traditions in local pottery manufacture (Mikaila and Vaitkevičius 1983, p. 38).

Pottery production changes are also confirmed by historical sources. On 16 September 1634, Vilnius's pottery guild was granted a charter by King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Władysław IV Waza (Lithuanian: Vladislovas Vaza). This is the earliest record of professional potters in Vilnius (Vaitkevičius 1999, p. 9). Technological innovations and stylistic elements applied in local pottery production suggest crucial transformations within society (Vaitkevičius 2004). Potters working in Vilnius introduced western traditions to local pottery almost at the same time as in northern Europe (Vaitkevičius 2004; Stellaccio 2011, pp. 63–64; Johansson 2007; Russow 2007, pp. 77–78; Stephan 1987, p. 305).

Along with the diversification of local pottery, changes in local stove tile production took place during the first half of the 16th century. Studies of the stove tiles from Vilnius suggest that during the medieval period tiled stoves were more of a rarity than a common attribute in the homes of town dwellers (Rackevičius 2012, p. 77). Stove tiles spread during the mid-16th century and this fact implies that stoves were not only erected in high social status households, but in those of town dwellers as well (Katalynas 2015, p. 34). According to some researchers, the spread of green glazed and unglazed plain stove tiles is attributed to emerging demand for these items from lower social strata (Katalynas 2015, pp. 33, 35). Popular stove tiles with Reformation motifs are also found in Vilnius's cultural layers, and these ideologically and culturally distinct tiles are associated with growing awareness of political and cultural events and reaction to social changes in Europe (Katalynas 2015, p. 34)

During the 16th century, significant transformations in living standards can be identified in local pottery and technological and stylistic alterations in stove tile production. The urban structure of Vilnius changed as well. The

old town was surrounded by a town wall, and a considerable number of masonry buildings were constructed. A network of public spaces and streets was formed, which remained almost unchanged until the 19th century (Klovas et al. 2014).

The Reformation and political and economic decisions had an impact on the emergence of different convents and churches (Katalynas 2006, pp. 81–82; Lukšaitė 2013, p. 488). Researchers emphasise that during the 16th to 17th century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania attempted to become part of the western cultural area (Kiaupienė and Lukšaitė 2013, p. 273; Lukšaitė 2013, p. 488). Changes in public, religious, social and daily life as a result are identified in the archaeological and historical data.

2.3. Imported tableware of the 16th–17th centuries in Vilnius: reaction to changing living standards

During the 16th century, local pottery production changed, with the introduction of different forms and types of green and brown glazed redwares and a variety of slipwares. These pottery changes should be attributed to the rapid reaction to European trends. Imported pottery research is therefore crucial to understanding social and cultural changes. While the study of local tableware is still in progress, the research on imported pottery of the 16th–17th centuries suggests that town dwellers of differing social status were influenced by western dining traditions because imported ceramic vessels were more widely found in the old town than during the medieval period (Urbonaitė-Ubė 2018, p. 118). The diversity of imports also suggests closer trade connections. Distribution of imported pottery from the 16th–17th centuries in Vilnius old town reveals that maiolica and stonewares with applied relief first appeared in newly established Catholic convents and the households of noble families and craftsmen.

Two main entry routes of imported vessels of the 16th–17th centuries can be distinguished: from western and southern Europe and from the Kielce region in Poland. The earliest Renaissance-influenced wares are found in small numbers, but they are from different production centres and of various types, which suggests that the demand for these new vessels was just starting to grow. One very interesting piece, which can be attributed to the earliest Dutch maiolica production at the beginning of the 16th century, was found in Pilies Street in a cesspit. This type of albarello is rarely found even on Dutch soil, and can probably be related, according to Dutch researchers, to the very beginning of the grain market between Flanders and the Baltics (Gawronski 2012, p. 51). The other Flanders finds were from Augustinian convents and the Bishop's Palace,

while Italian artefacts were associated with Franciscan and Clarisses convents.

It is worth noting that a Malling jug fragment was found in Pranciškonų Street. These jugs are dated to the second half of the 16th century and were very popular in England and Flanders. Malling jugs were more common in the southern Baltic and were associated with the Hanseatic trade network (Gaimster 2007, p. 48). In Scandinavia, Malling jugs are found in royal or aristocratic residences and the same situation can be identified in Vilnius (Gaimster 2007, p. 48). Perhaps this could be explained by the fact that Malling jugs were a relatively expensive pottery type because of the applied silver decoration and silver lids.

Imported tableware dates more commonly to the 17th than to the 16th century. Vessels are found in almost every Vilnius old town excavation where 17th-century cultural layers were investigated. Frechen and Westerwald stonewares and Dutch faiences are found in higher numbers as well. These types of vessels were very popular and common in western Europe at that time. Portuguese faience plates dated to the first half of 17th century were found in the Palace of the Grand Dukes but were present in old town territory too (Fig. 6.2). Portuguese faience is rare in northern Europe and is considered to be luxurious (Casimiro et al. 2015, p. 71; Casimiro 2014, p. 6043).

A few glazed whiteware pottery sherds from the Netherlands or Germany were also found in the excavations (Fig. 6.4). However, the small number of these vessels suggests that they were unpopular. Glazed whitewares from Poland are the dominant type of import during the first half of the 17th century (Figs. 2.6; 3.5–7; 4.5–6; 5.6–10; 8.2, 3; 9.3, 4; 10.2, 3). The abundance of excavated vessels indicates the intensive regional trade routes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Close political, economic and social relations are recorded in historical sources and can be traced in the archaeological material.

Kielce pottery is found in almost every excavation in the old town, as well as in the territory of the castle. This suggests that it was available to every household in the town. Late 16th-century custom book records give us information about 22 carriages from Ilża (today in Masovian Voivodeship, Poland) with white and glazed pottery travelling to Vilnius (Mikaila and Vaitkevičius 1984, p. 5; Tautavičius 1960, p. 41). This historical account can be associated with whiteware artefacts excavated in Vilnius.

The high number of these vessels and historical records concerning imported whitewares suggest that Kielce pottery was a popular and salable type of ceramic dish. Thin-walled redware vessels imitating forms and decoration of Kielce pottery are also found in Vilnius in large quantities. This suggests that whiteware vessels were indeed a very popular commodity and that local potters produced

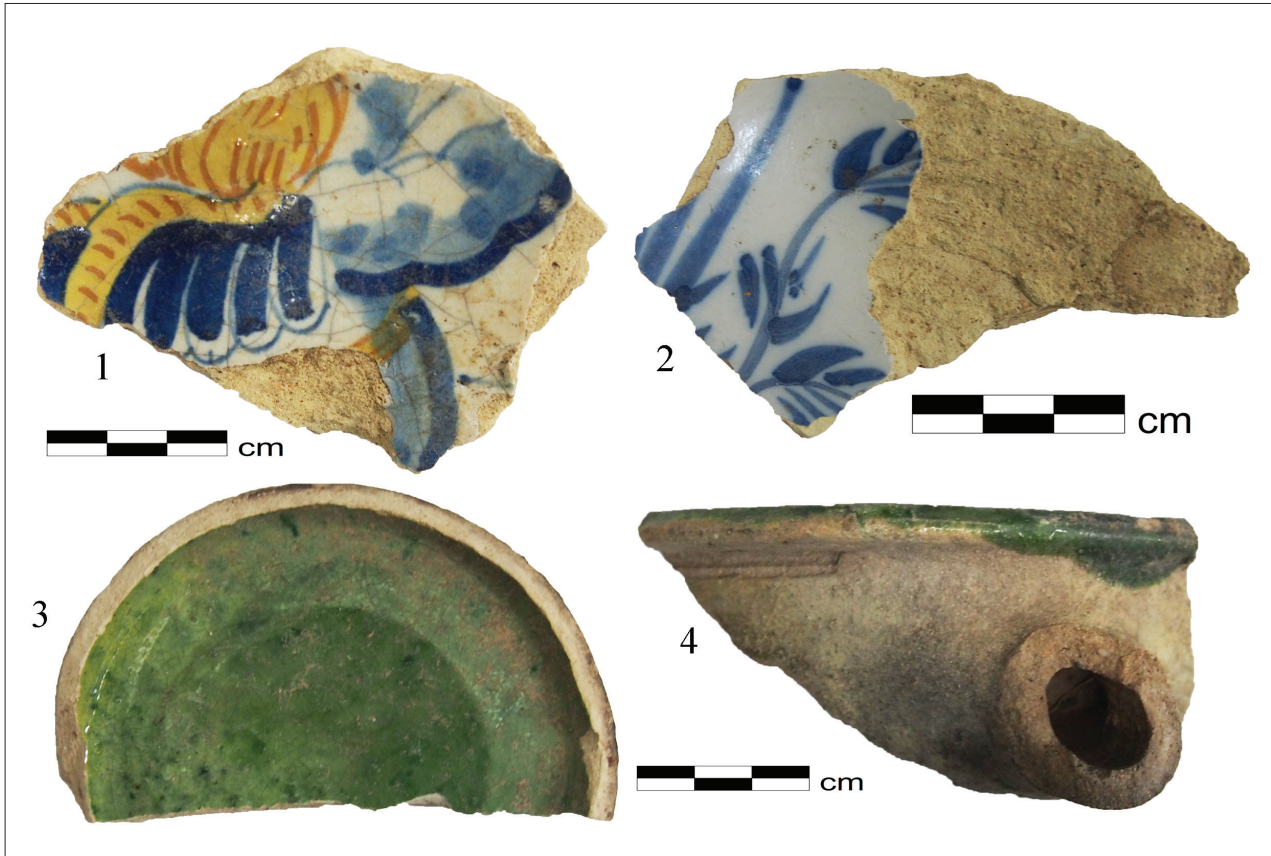


Figure 9. Selected examples of imported vessels from Klaipėdos Street.

1. Dutch maiolica; 2. Dutch faience; 3. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).



Figure 10. Selected examples of imported vessels from Pilies Street.

1. Dutch albarello; 2, 3. Kielce glazed whiteware (photographs by M. Urbonaitė-Ubė).

imitations affordable for every group in society. Similarities between local redwares and imported whitewares were analysed in the 1960s by Adolfas Tautavičius (Tautavičius 1960, pp. 40–41, Fig. 69–70). Hence imported whiteware influenced traditions of local pottery production in terms of new forms and decoration. Given the large amounts of

Kielce pottery in cultural layers, it can be interpreted as an affordable and common commodity rather than an exclusive one. Regional trade and interactions had a major impact on traditions and living standards in Vilnius. This tendency can be observed in many European countries (Gaimster 2004, p. 143).

The higher number of imported vessels indicates that they were more accessible than in the 16th century. It can be noted that rich assemblages of western European vessels can still be associated with individuals of higher social status: rich burghers, nobles and priests. Assemblages with imported vessels are richer, with glassware and locally produced tableware as well. The stove tile materials are also more complex. All this archaeological material indicates that western dining traditions and living standards were assimilated by a small group of people, but did not have significant influence in other parts of society. However, individual finds of imported vessels are distributed in a wider territory than in the 16th century. This can be interpreted as a sign of the slow integration of western habits in a wider spectrum of society.

Imported tableware of the 16th and early 17th century from western and southern Europe constitutes the common types of vessels found in all of western Europe but on a smaller scale. The question of why so little western tableware is found in Vilnius is still open. This situation can partly be explained by its geographical situation. Vilnius was and still is far from ports, and safe transportation of pottery by land routes was more difficult and less efficient than by ships via sea and river trade routes. Waterways had always been the main pottery transportation routes since the establishment of the Baltic ceramic market in the Middle Ages (Dermuth 2015, p. 348; Gaimster 1999, p. 35). However, historical records of Kielce pottery suggest that pottery from the southern part of the Commonwealth state reached Vilnius by land and not by river. To sum up, the early modern period is marked by cultural and social changes, and wider distribution of imported vessels. This fact implies the hypothesis that changes to living standards were occurring primarily in the higher social status households and were slowly spreading within the society.

Conclusions

The research revealed that European cultural transformations of the 16th century had an effect on Catholic Vilnius. These ideas can be identified through the material culture as well. Changes in local pottery production are documented at the beginning of the 16th century, when the potter's wheel and glazing techniques were introduced. As a result, items which were morphologically and technologically similar to western European products started being made. At the same time, rising living standards were recorded in the history of stove tiles, when in the middle of the 16th century those innovative heating systems began spreading in the houses of the town's residents. Finds of imported pottery were also gradually increasing in the cultural layers.

Intensifying cultural communication was also seen in the variety and spatial distribution of imported ceramic vessels. It was determined that imported vessels, dating back to the 16th century, were found in the contexts of noble residences, religious buildings and in some cases in the households of craftsmen. Archaeological contexts showed that European trends came to Vilnius through Catholic monasteries and the nobility. This was also supported by the intensification of intercultural communication, which manifested through the desire of the aristocracy to become part of the European cultural space. This was attempted through the import of ideas, knowledge, fashion, and cultural and material items.

The dominance of vessels from the Kielce region in Poland among imports during the late 16th century and first half of the 17th century, should be noted. Pottery from the Kielce region was found in almost all archaeological strata of the old town and castles, regardless of the social level of the residence. It was this type of import that made up the largest portion of identified pottery. Historical sources and archaeological research complemented each other and suggested that it was the establishment of the common statehood that led to the growing economic and cultural ties with Poland. Therefore, it is believed that imported pottery from the Kielce region testified to the most important cultural transformations in Vilnius during the early modern period. Pottery produced in the Kielce region can be regarded as the result of strong cultural interactions between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland.

Abbreviations

Archaeol. Baltica – Archaeologia Baltica

ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje metais / Archaeological Investigations in Lithuania in ..., Vilnius

FA – Fennoscandia Archaeologica

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

References

Manuscripts

- Girlevičius, L., 2004. *Archeologijos tyrinėjimų, vykdytų Gaono g. 8, Vilniuje, 2002 metais ataskaita Vilnius 2003*. Vilnius. Unpublished excavation report. In: LII f. 1, b. 3918.
 Grišinas, V., 1987. *Vilnius, pastato Garelio g. 4 išplėtimo archeologinių tyrimų ataskaita. I dalis. Lauko darbai 1986*. Vilnius. Unpublished excavation report. In: LII f. 1, b. 1430.

- Kvizikevičius, L., *Vilniaus senamiesčio, Pilies g. sklypo Nr. 8A archeologinių tyrimų ataskaita*. Unpublished excavation report, In: LII f. 1, b. 3795.
- Poška, T., 1994. *Archeologiniai tyrimai Vilniuje, Didžioji g. 8, 10. Ataskaita*. 1993. Vilnius 1994. Vilnius. Unpublished excavation report. In: LII f. 1, b. 2162.
- Stanaitis, A., 1994. *1994 m. archeologiniai tyrimai Vilniuje, Maiorionio g. Nr. 11, buv. Bernardinių vienuolyno teritorijoje*. Vilnius. Unpublished excavation report. In: LII f. 1, b. 2238.
- Žvirblė, K., 2015. *Importinė buitinė keramika Vilniaus Žemutinėje pilyje (XIV–XVII a. I pusė)*. Master thesis. Vilnius University.
- ### Literature
- Bliss, J.R., 1990. Source for Design of Maiolica Dish at the British Museum. *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 10 (1), 14–19.
- Casimiro, M.T., 2014. Portuguese Faience and Historical Archaeology. In: C. Smith, ed. *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. New York: Springer, pp. 6037–6044.
- Casimiro, T.M., Varela Gomes, M.T., Varela Gomes, T. Portuguese Faience Trade and Consumption across the World (16th–18th Centuries). In: J. Buxeda i Garrigós, M. Madrid i Fernández, J.G. Iñáñez, eds. *Global Pottery 1. Historical Archaeology and Archaeometry for Societies in Contact*. BAR International Series 2761. Oxford: British Archaeology Reports, pp. 67–79.
- Čerbulėnas, K., Glemža, J., Jankevičienė, A. 1985. *Vilniaus architektūra*. Vilnius: Mokslas.
- Demuth, V., 2015. If Sherds Could Tell. Imported Ceramics from the Hanseatic Hinterland in Bergen, Norway. Producers, Traders and Consumers: Who Were They, and How Were They Connected? In: G. Hansen, S.P. Ashby, I. Baug, eds. *Everyday Products in the Middle Ages. Crafts, Consumption and the Individual in Northern Europe c. AD 800–1600*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 339–359.
- Drėma, V., 2013. *Dingės Vilnius*. 2nd ed. Vilnius: Versus Aureus.
- Gaimster, D., 1997. *German Stoneware 1200–1900: Archaeology and Cultural History*. London: British Museum Press.
- Gaimster, D., 1999. The Baltic Ceramic Market c. 1200–1600: An Archaeology of the Hanse. *FA*, 16, 59–69.
- Gaimster, D., 1999. Maiolica in the North: the Shock of the New. In: D. Gaimster, ed. *Maiolica in the North. The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe c. 1500–1600*. British Museum Occasional Paper, 122. London: British Museum, pp. 1–3.
- Gaimster, D., Hughes, M., 1999. South Netherlands Maiolica Floor Tiles from the Broad Arrow Tower, Tower of London. In: D. Gaimster, ed. *Maiolica in the North. The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe c. 1500–1600*. British Museum Occasional Paper, 122. London: British Museum, pp. 175–180.
- Gaimster, D., 2005. A Parallel History: The Archaeology of Hanseatic Urban Culture in the Baltic c. 1200–1600. *Historical Archaeology*, 37 (3), 408–423. Doi: [10.1080/00438240500168483](https://doi.org/10.1080/00438240500168483).
- Gaimster, D., 2006. *The Historical Archaeology of Pottery Supply and Demand in the Lower Rhineland AD 1400–1800*. Studies in Contemporary and Historical Archaeology. BAR International Series 1518, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Gaimster, D., 2007. The Baltic ceramic market 1200–1600: measuring Hanseatic cultural transfer and resistance. In: H. Rootenburgh, ed. *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Foraging European Identities, 1400–1700*, vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 30–58.
- Gaimster, D., 2014. The Hanseatic Cultural Signature: Exploring Globalization on the Micro-scale in Late Medieval Northern Europe. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 17 (1), 60–81. Doi: [10.1179/1461957113Y.0000000044](https://doi.org/10.1179/1461957113Y.0000000044).
- Gawronski, J., 2012. *Amsterdam Ceramics. A City's History and Archaeological Ceramics Catalogue 1175–2011*. Amsterdam: SPA Uitgevers.
- Girlevičius, L., 2005. Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai sklype Vilniuje, Gaono g. Nr. 8. In: *ATL 2002 metais*, Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 188–190.
- Girlevičius, L., 2005. Tyrinėjimai Vilniuje, Gaono g. 8. In: *ATL 2003 metais*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 183–185.
- Girlevičius, L., Poška, T., 2009. Vilniaus Bernardinių vienuolyno statinių ansamblis. In: *ATL 2007 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos archeologijos draugija, pp. 290–295.
- Grišinas, V., 1990. 1989 m. archeologiniai tyrimai buvusio Dominikonų vienuolyno kieme Vilniuje. In: *ATL 1988 ir 1989 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Lietuvos istorijos institutas, pp. 136–138.
- Hunt, A., 2017. Introduction to the Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Ceramics Analysis. In: A. Hunt, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Ceramic Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–6.
- Immonen, V., 2007. Defining a Culture: The Meaning of Hanseatic in Medieval Turku. *Antiquity*, 81, 720–732. Doi: [10.1017/S0003598X00095685](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00095685).
- Janonienė, R., 2010. *Bernardinų bažnyčia ir konventas Vilniuje*. Vilnius: Aidai.
- Jervis, B., 2013. Objects and Social Change: A Case Study from Saxo-norman Southampton. In: B. Alberti, A. M. Jones, J. Pollard, eds. *Archaeology After Interpretation: Returning Materials to Archaeological Theory*, Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 219–234.
- Jervis, B., 2017. Ceramics and Coastal Communities in Medieval (Twelfth–Fourteenth Century) Europe: Negotiating Identity in England's Channel Ports. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 20 (1), 148–167. Doi: [10.1017/eea.2016.3](https://doi.org/10.1017/eea.2016.3).
- Johansson, M., 2007. Tukholman punasavikeramiikka. In: K. Majantie, ed. *Ruukkuja ja ruhtinaita. Saviastioita ja uunikaakeleita ajalta 1400–1700. Pots and Princes. Ceramic Vessels and Stove Tiles from 1400–1700*. Turku: Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova, pp. 52–58.
- Kaminskaitė, I., 2010. Mediniai stalo indai ir įrankiai Vilniaus žemutinėje pilyje. *Istorija*, 77, 195–239.
- Katalynas, K., 2006. *Vilniaus miesto plėtra XIV–XVII a.* Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas.
- Katalynas, K., 2015. *Vilniaus kokliai XV–XVII amžiuje*. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus.
- Katalynas, K., Luchtanienė, D., 1998. Tyrinėjimai Vilniuje, Reprezentacinių rūmų teritorijoje, 1996–1997 metais. In: *ATL 1996 ir 1997 metais*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 382–386.
- Kiaupienė, J., Lukšaitė, I., 2013. Ankstyvųjų naujųjų laikų visuomenės kūrimasis ir nauji sociokultūriniai portreto bruožai. In: J. Kiaupienė, I. Lukšaitė, eds. *Lietuvos istorija*, 5, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, pp. 273–284.
- Klajumienė, D., 1999. Vilniaus buvęs dominikonų vienuolynas ir Šv. Dvasios bažnyčia. In: D. Klajumienė, ed. *Lietuvos vienuolynai*. Available from: <http://vienuolynai.mch.mii.lt/V8-46/Vildvasios.htm> [Accessed 22 01 2022].
- Klovas, M., Meilus, E., Valionienė, O., 2014. *Vilniaus senamiesčio posesijų raidos XVI–XVIII a. apžvalga*. Available from: <http://www.istorija.lt/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Vilniaus-senamiescio-pos-esiju-raidos-XVI-XVIII-a-apzvalga.pdf> [Accessed 25 02 2022].
- Luchtanienė, D., 1996. Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Vilniuje, Prezidentūros teritorijoje. In: *ATL 1994 ir 1995 metais*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 256–258.

- Luchtanienė, D., 2007. XVI–XVII a. amatininkų kvartalas Vyskupų rūmų teritorijoje. *Kultūros paminklai*, 7, 39–52.
- Lukšaitė, I., 2013. Paveldėta ir nauja kultūrinė erdvė. In: J. Kiaupienė, I. Lukšaitė, eds. *Lietuvos istorija*, 5, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, pp. 487–559.
- Mehler, N., 2009. The Perception and Interpretation of Hanseatic Material Culture in the North Atlantic: Problems and Suggestions. *Journal of the North Atlantic*, 1, 89–108. Doi: [10.3721/037.002.s109](https://doi.org/10.3721/037.002.s109).
- Mikaila, V., Vaitkevičius, G., 1983. Kai kurie Vilniaus XVI–XVII a. raudono molio plonasienės keramikos tyrimai. In: A. Jankevičienė, ed. *Archeologinės ir numizmatinės medžiagos komplektavimas ir konservavimas. Jaunųjų muziejinių konferencijos pranešimų tezės*. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSP Istorijos ir etnografijos muziejus, pp. 38–40.
- Mikaila, V., Vaitkevičius, G., 1984. Kai kurie duomenys apie importinę Kelcų keramiką Vilniuje. *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 1983. Vilnius: Mokslas, pp. 5–19.
- Naum, M., 2014. Multi-Ethnicity and Material Exchanges in Late Medieval Tallinn. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 17 (4), 656–677. Doi: [10.1179/1461957114Y.0000000068](https://doi.org/10.1179/1461957114Y.0000000068).
- Orton, C., 1985. Diffusion or Impedance – Obstacles to Innovation in Medieval Ceramics. *Medieval Ceramics*, 9, 21–34.
- Orton, C., Tyers, P., Vince, A., 2010. *Pottery in Archaeology*, 11th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poška, T., 1994. Archeologinių tyrimų Vilniuje, Didžioji g. Nr. 8, 10 rezultatai. In: *ATL 1992–1993 metais*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 238–241.
- Poška, T., 2012. Klaipėdos gatvė 7B. In: *ATL 2011 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos archeologijos draugija, pp. 504–508.
- Rackevičius, G., 2012. *XVI a. koklinių krosnių rekonstrukcija. XVI a. koklių katalogas*. Vilnius: Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai.
- Russow, E., 2007. Joitakin huomioita punasavikeramiikasta keskiajan ja uuden ajan Tallinnassa In: K. Majantie, ed. *Ruukkujä ja ruhtinaita. Saviastioita ja uunikaakeleita ajalta 1400-1700. Pots and Princes. Ceramic Vessels and Stove Tiles from 1400-1700*. Turku: Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova, pp. 69–80.
- Stankus, J., 2005. Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Vilniaus senojo miesto teritorijoje, Šv. Mykolo g. 12-1. In: *ATL 2002 metais*, Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, pp. 229–232.
- Stellaccio, A., 2011. *Lithuanian Folk Pottery. Inside and Out*. Vilnius: Mintis.
- Stephan, H.G., 1987. *Die bemalte Irdenware der Renaissance in Mitteleuropa*, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Tautavičius, A., 1960. Vilniaus pilies teritorijos archeologiniai kasinėjimai. *Valstybinės LTSR architektūros paminklų apsaugos inspekcijos metraštis*, 2, 3–48.
- Trzeciecki, M., 2016. Patterns of Diversity: Using Ceramics to Examine the Social Topography of the Medieval Towns of Płock, Poland. In: B. Jervis, L. Broderick, I.G. Sologestoa, eds. *Objects, Environment, and Everyday Life in Medieval Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 113–135.
- Urbonaitė-Ubė, M., 2015. Earliest Maiolica Ceramic Dishes in the Old Town in Vilnius. *Archaeol. Baltica*, 21–22, 163–172. Doi: [10.15181/ab.v1i0.1144](https://doi.org/10.15181/ab.v1i0.1144)
- Urbonaitė-Ubė, M., 2018. *Vėlyvųjų viduramžių ir naujųjų laikų importiniai keraminiai indai Vilniaus miesto ir pilių teritorijoje*. Thesis (PhD). Klaipėda University.
- Urbonaitė-Ubė, M., 2018. Stoneware form the 14th to the 17th Centuries found in Archaeological Excavations in Vilnius. *Archaeol. Baltica*, 25, 191–202. Doi: [10.15181/ab.v25i0.1838](https://doi.org/10.15181/ab.v25i0.1838).
- Urbonaitė-Ubė, M., 2019. Between innovation and tradition. A case study of drinking vessels from Medieval Vilnius, *Medieval Ceramics*, 40, 1–9.
- Vaitkevičius, G., 1999. *Vilniaus buitinė keramika (14-17 a.)*. The-sis (PhD). Lietuvos istorijos institutas.
- Vaitkevičius, G., 2004. Puodininkystės profesionalizacija XIV–XVII a. Vilniuje. In: G. Vaitkevičius, ed. *Miestų praeitis* 1. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, pp. 175–276.
- Vaitkevičius, G., 2010. *Vilniaus įkūrimas*, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus.
- Vaitkevičius, G., 2012. 14–17 a. Vilniaus buitinės keramikos talpos. In: G. Vaitkevičius, ed. *Miestų praeitis*, 3. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas. Available from: <https://www.istorija.lt/leidiniai/mokslo-zurnalai-ir-testiniai-leidiniai/miestu-praeitis/669#content-2> [Accessed 02 20 2022].
- Valionienė, O., 2008. Viduramžių Vilnius: planinės struktūros raida XIV–XV a. *Lietuvos pilys*, 4, 51–61.
- Vėževičienė, V., Brazaitis, D., Dargytė, N., 2016. Pranciškonų gatvė 4A. In: *ATL 2015 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos archeologijos draugija, pp. 376–384.
- Wood, R., 2005. What Did Medieval People Eat from? *Medieval Ceramics*, 29, 19–20.
- Zabiela, G., 2001. Vilniaus senamiesčio archeologija: istorija ir dabartis. *Lietuvos miestų istorijos šaltiniai*, 3, Vilnius, 59–72.

ATVEŽTINIAI STALO INDAI IR MIESTO BENDRUOMENĖS SOCIOKULTŪRINIAI POKYČIAI: NAUJŪJŲ LAIKŪ VILNIAUS ATVEJIS

MIGLĖ URBONAITĖ-UBĖ

Santrauka

XVI–XVII amžiai žymi materialinės kultūros pokyčius, kurie ypač ryškūs stalo kultūroje – stilistiškai ir technologiškai nauji indai pakeitė daugiafunkčius Viduramžių indus. Šie pokyčiai reikėsi visoje Europoje ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės sostinėje Vilniuje. Tiriant kultūrinę kaitą, pasirinkta analizuoti indus, gamintus Vakarų Europoje ir kaimyninėje Lenkijoje.

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami 575 importuoti keraminių indų kompleksai iš devynių skirtingų Vilniaus senamiesčio vietų: Dominikonų g. 4, Maironio g. 11, Vyskupų rūmai (dab. Prezidentūra), Pranciškonų g. 4A, Šv. Mykolo g. 12, Gao-no g. 8, Pilies g. 8A, Didžioji g. 8, 10 ir Klaipėdos g. 7B (1 pav.). Tai iš nesuardytų ir gerai dokumentuotų XVI–XVII a. archeologinių sluoksnių surinkti indai, gaminti Vokietijoje, Nyderlanduose, Italijoje, Portugalijoje ir Lenkijoje (1 lentelė; 2–10 pav.). Kaip palyginamoji medžiaga naudota koklių, stiklo ir kita vienalaikė reikšminga tiriamų kompleksų archeologinė medžiaga. Indai identifikuoti ir datuoti pagal jų molio masę, dekorą, glazūrą bei analogijas iš gamybos vietų.

Tyrimas atskleidė, kad XVI a. Vilniuje vyko dideli kultūriniai pokyčiai, atsekami ir pagal atvežtinius indus. Šio lai-

kotarpio importuotų indų aptinkama didikų rezidencijose ir vienuolijose, o tai rodo, kad kultūrinės idėjos ir pokyčiai ėmė reikštis būtent per šiuos objektus. Šį faktą remia ir istorinės žinios apie suintensyvėjusią tarpkultūrinę komunikaciją bei didikų norą tapti integralia Vakarų Europos kultūros dalimi.

Tyrimu taip pat nustatyta, kad XVI a. pabaigoje – XVII a. pradžioje dominuojančia importo rūšimi tapo baltojo molio indai iš Kelcų regiono (dab. Lenkija). Šių indų aptinkama vykdant praktiškai visus archeologinius pilies ir senamiesčio tyrimus, jų turėjo visi gyventojai, nepriklausomai nuo socialinės ar turtinės jų padėties. Archeologiniai ir istoriniai šaltiniai pagrindžia, kad bendros valstybės su Lenkija sudarymas lėmė itin glaudų ekonominį ir kultūrinį bendravimą. Kelcų regiono indai rodo šiuos glaudžius kultūrinius saitus ir žymi vieną svarbiausių materialinės kultūros transformacijų Naujaisiais laikais.