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SOME ASPECTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF TWO MANOR-BOROUGHS IN ŽAGARĖ IN THE 13TH–16TH CENTURIES

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INTRODUCTION

Hillforts, manors and boroughs

While studying the cultural landscape and urban development it is notable that there are places which due to their functions of economical, political, legal and ideological nature clearly distinguish themselves from the surrounding vicinity. In terms of cultural geography such places are called central. The central importance of a certain site might be presented by archaeological find material: evidence of long trade and crafts, luxury imports, hoards, etc. Central place may also include objects of cultural landscape: strongholds, manors, market places, cult sites and churches. All of that taken together very frequently are interpreted as an expression of power (Lundquist, 1997, p. 179, 180).

Looking from this perspective, numerous late prehistoric hillforts in Lithuania can be considered as still visible remnants of central places or main components of the power landscape in the past. With the end of wooden fortifications on the hillforts in the early 15th century (Zabiela, 1995, p. 182) many places of former castles continue throughout Middle Ages and post-medieval period as settlement sites with more and less expressed urban features (Miškinis, Šešelgis, 1965, p. 218, pav. 2).

Manors were a medieval phenomenon, which in the 14th and 15th centuries appear ed firstly in central and some decades later in peripheral areas of medieval Lithuanian state. Generally it is considered that soil quality and human resources were most important when choosing to establish a new manor. Manor, church and market place were primary components for manor-boroughs to appear. It is stated that the origin of 72% of so called small towns, located in the territory of present Lithuania, in one or another way are connected with medieval and post-medieval manors (Miškinis, Šešelgis, 1965, p. 220–222).

Previous research

A systematic research on urbanisation in Lithuania appeared in 1960, and from the beginning was mainly based on historical source material. Origin, economy and urban development of small boroughs in nowadays Belarus and Lithuania (former Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in 13th–16th centuries was the main study object taken for analysis by Polish urban historian S. Alexandrowicz. According to their location and ownership, they were divided into six groups. Boroughs, originated from the market places, belong to the most numerous group. They started to appear in manors, which belong both to the king and local noblemen in the end of the 15th century (Alexandrowicz, 1970, p. 52–57).

Some ideas of S. Alexandrowicz were further developed by the Lithuanian architects A. Miškinis and K. Šešelgis. In their common works much attention was paid to the origin of medieval and post-medieval boroughs and their development in the context of regional settlement (Miškinis, Šešelgis, 1965) and analysis of spatial forms of urban structures (Šešelgis, Miškinis, 1966). Talking on the problem of urbanisation and rural periphery a couple of monographs are worth to be mentioned where economical relations (Meilus, 1997) and legal status (Kryževičius, 1981) of the boroughs in the 17th and 18th centuries are taken under the detailed study.

Archaeologists, historians and architects were the main participants in the discussion on urban begin-

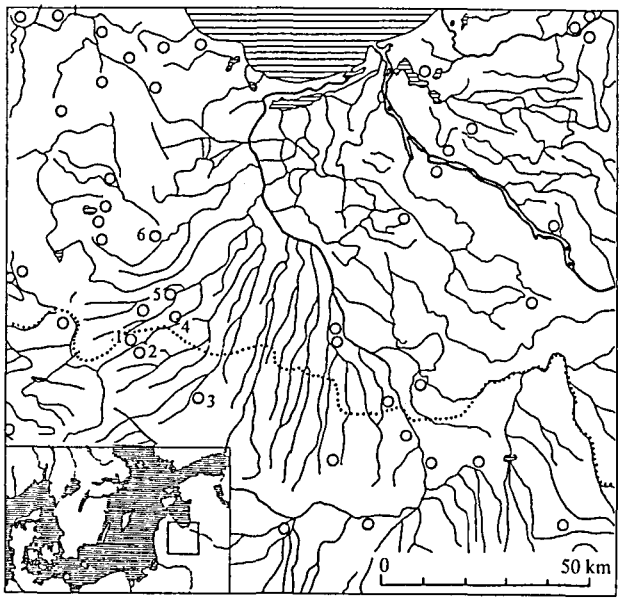

Fig. 1. Map of study area. Castles mentioned in the text: 1 – Žagarė; 2 – Raktė; 3 – Sidabrė; 4 – Silene; 5 – Tėrvete; 6 – Dobele. O – Iron Age hillforts ... – modern Latvian–Lithuanian border. Drawing made by the author.

nings in Lithuania which rose in the mid of 1970's. Since that time archaeological source material for the first time was involved into the discussion (Jurginis, 1977; Tautavičius, 1977; Miškinis, 1977), where most attention was given to the main centres and central regions, where medieval Lithuanian state was started in the 13th and 14th centuries (Gudavičius, 1991). West Lithuania is only one peripheral region, where some aspect of urbanisation process in periphery in transition period from late prehistory and through the Middle Ages was studied (Žulkus, 1994; Žulkus, Klimka, 1989; Genys, 1989, 1994).

Study object, methods and aims

Urban development of two manor-boroughs in Žagarė locality in North Lithuania is here chosen as research object in the presented study (Fig. 1, 2). Five pairs of indications which may be used to describe a central place: two hillforts, two castles, two manors, two churches and two territories situated on opposite banks of the river are taken for analysis and comparison. Comparison results are given using the theoretical concept of resistance and power.

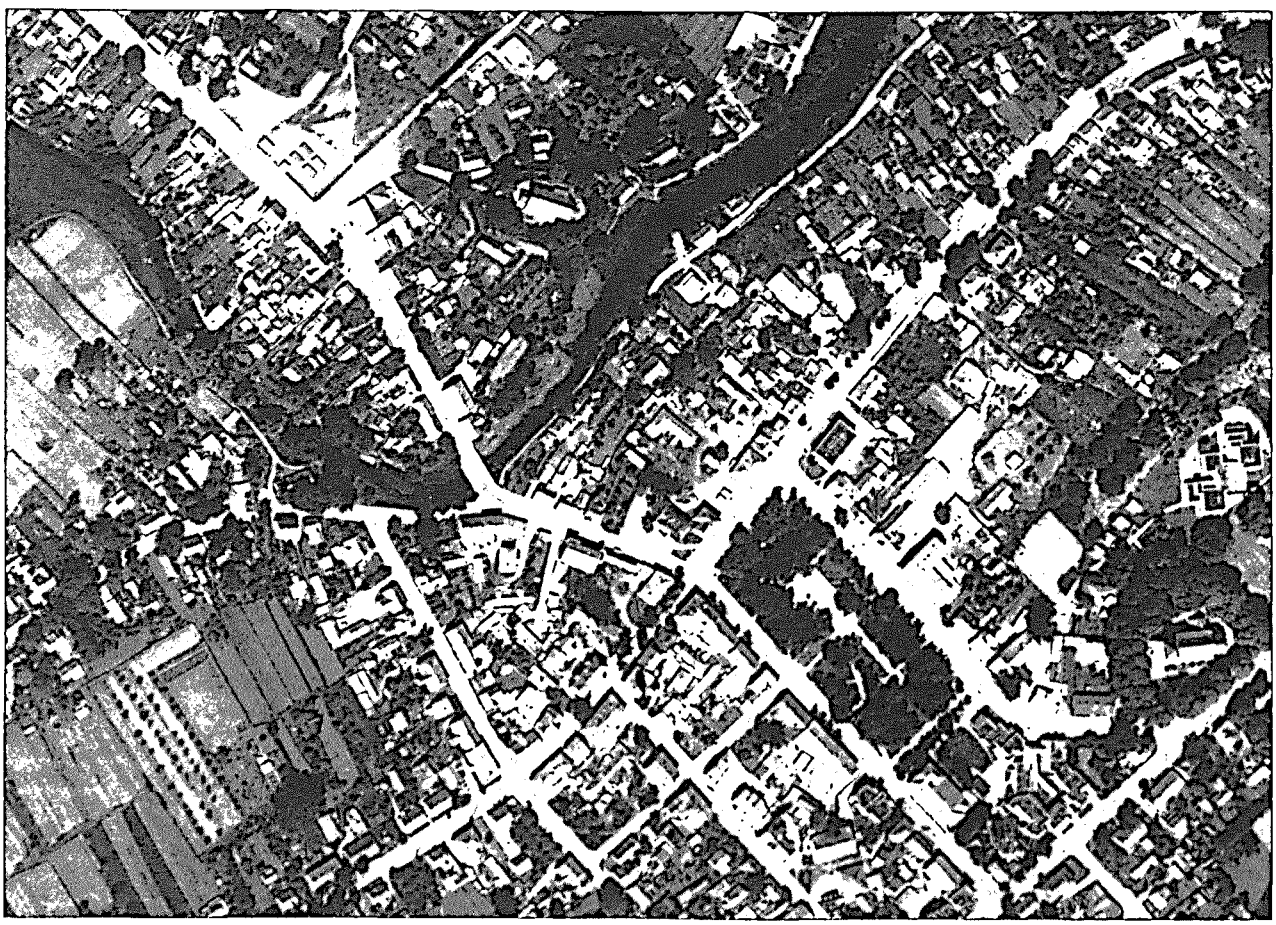

Fig. 2. Ortophoto of Žagarė borough in 1997. Printed under permission of GIS-Centras.

The principle aim of my study is to present the origin and urban development of two manor-boroughs in the context of the medieval changes which took place in this part of East Baltic in the 13th–16th centuries. Demonstration of how two central places and two powers standing in front of each other were manifested in cultural landscape is another purpose of the present research. The river Švėtė is dividing study into two parts. To prove that long continuity of river boundary was the main axis, along which the local urbanised landscape was formed, is the third aim of this article.

TWO HILLFORTS: LOCATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

There are two hillforts in W-SW part of a small town Žagarė situated on opposite banks of the Švėtė river (Fig. 3.).

Žagarė

Žagarė Hillfort also called *Aukštadvaris, Žvelgaičio Kalnas* hill of Žvelgaitis is located on the elevated left bank of the river. And NW slopes are steep, 18–20 m high. Other slopes are much more lower reaching height of just 1,5 m in SW and 9 m in NE where it goes down to a 1,5 m deep and 16 m wide ditch. Area is approximately 55x65 m and has a shape of an irregular quadrangle. Along the edges of the hillfort plateau the remains of the earth wall still can be seen (Lietuvos, 1975, p. 186, 187). Some of 50 m² was investigated in NW part of the hillfort area in 1956. The remnants of a wooden constructions and some finds dating back to the 13th–17th centuries were found during archaeological excavations. The excavation data have not yet been published and were differently dated: 11th–14th, 11th–17th, 13th–17th centuries (Naudužas, 1959; Šliavas, 1967, p. 56, 57; Kulikauskas, 1965, p. 237; Lietuvos, 1975, p. 187).

In order to specify the date and stratigraphy of the cultural layer, a small archaeological excavations took place in NE part of the area in 1999. According to archaeological data there is 150–200 year difference between two settlement horizons recovered during the excavations (Fig. 4). The first stage is presented by up to 30 cm thick, dark cultural layer. According to wheel made pottery it could be dated back to 13th, or even 14th century (Fig. 5:5, 6). The second one, 40–60 cm thick layer contains stones, pieces of broken clay bricks and numerous fragments of tiles that dates back to 16th–18th centuries (Jarockis, 2000, p. 95, 96) (Fig. 6:1–5).

A thin cultural layer is spread over the whole territory of the river bank elevation to NE from the hillfort. The total area covers some 1800 m². The date of this layer is not yet clear, but it may be that this is the remain of the 16th–18th century buildings, we know from historical documents (Jarockis, 1998a, p. 66, 67). Four coins-pendants dated to the 13th century were found as strait finds in the Žvelgaičiai village N-NW from Žagarė hillfort (Ivanauskas, 2000, p. 10). It could be that late prehistoric-early medieval cemetery was situated there.

Raktė

Raktė Hillfort, called *Raktuvės kalnas,* is located in the distance of 700 m to E from the Žagarė Hillfort,

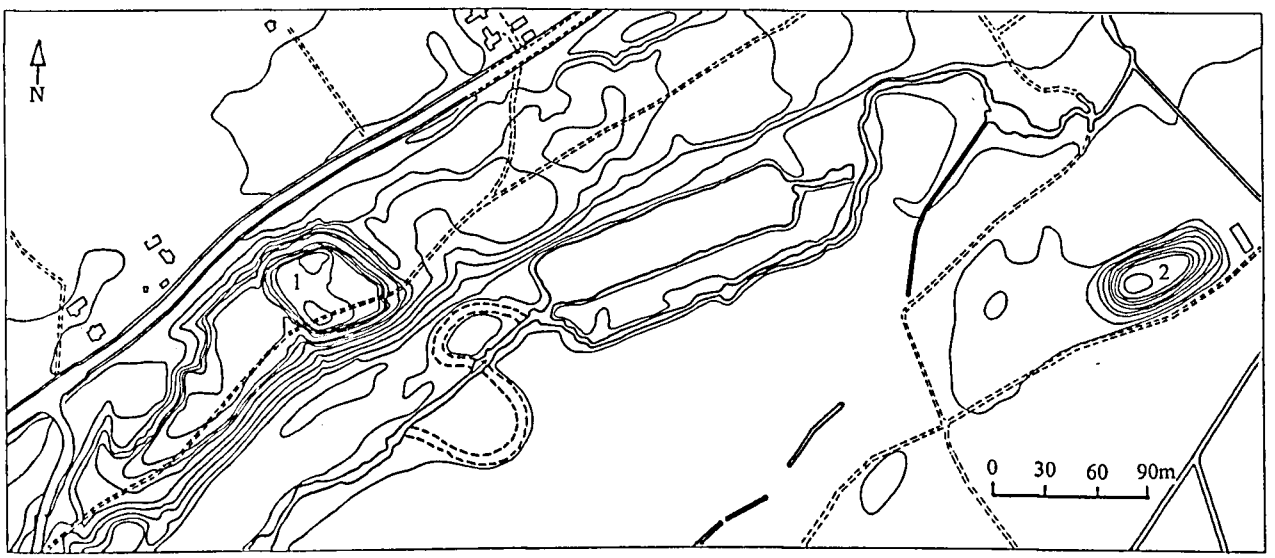

Fig. 3. Žagarė and Raktė hillforts: 1 – Žagarė; 2 – Raktė. Drawing by G. Gajauskaitė.

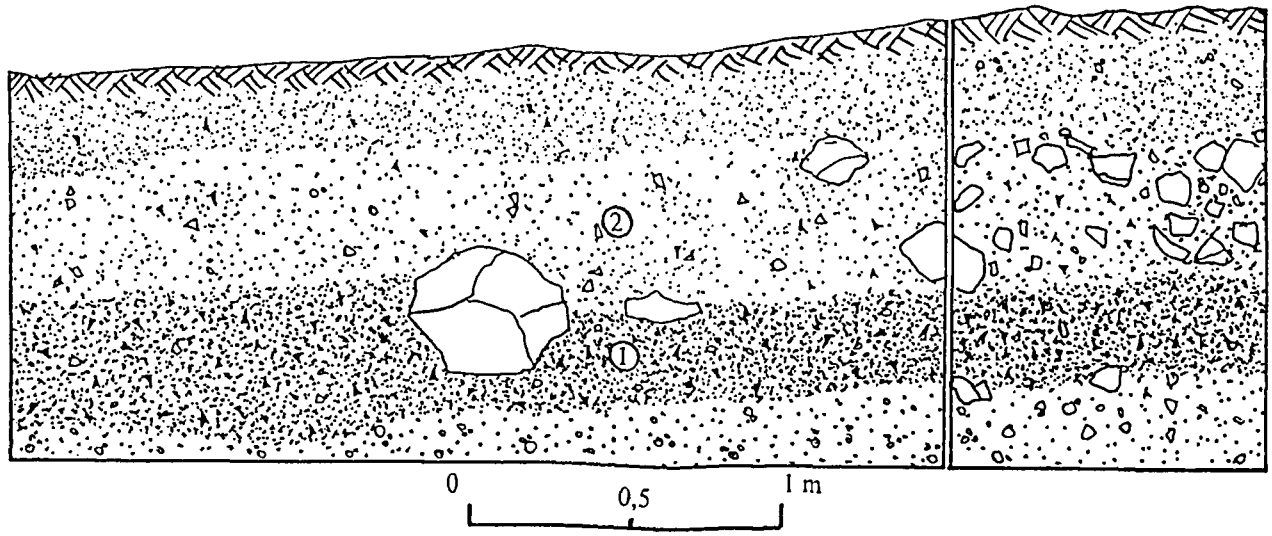

Fig. 4. Archaeological excavations in Žagarė hillfort in 1999. Trench Nr. 1. West and north profiles: 1 – hillfort cultural layer; 2 – manor cultural layer. Drawing by the author.

on opposite (right) side of the river. The hill is approximately 6–7 m high, surrounded by marshy meadows of a river valley. Hillfort area has an oval shape and is 70 m long from NE to SW and 30 m wide. In NE part of the area it used to be a rampart, which is badly damaged by modern cemetery, situated on the hill. While digging pits for the graves several archaeological finds, dated to the Iron Age and early Middle Ages, were found. Numerous pieces of wheel and hand made ceramics and iron slag were found at the SE foot and in the area between the hillfort and river (Šliavas, 1969, p. 92; Lietuvos, 1975, p. 186).

A small archaeological excavations were conducted in the hillfort at the N and E foot in 1996 and NW part of the area in 1999. According to recent archaeological data, a 2.3 m thick cultural layer consisting of five occupation layers is dated from the Late Bronze Age until the 13th century. A large, up to 2 ha settlement, which surrounded the hillfort, existed throughout the entire Iron Age (Jarockis, 1998b, p. 72–74; Vasiliauskas, 2000).

Comparing archaeological data from both of hillforts most visible difference is of chronology. Raktė was inhabited already in the Late Bronze Age and it continued until the Middle Ages. While Žagarė hillfort is much younger, but there is no doubt that both hillforts existed simultaneously for a short period of time in the 13th century.

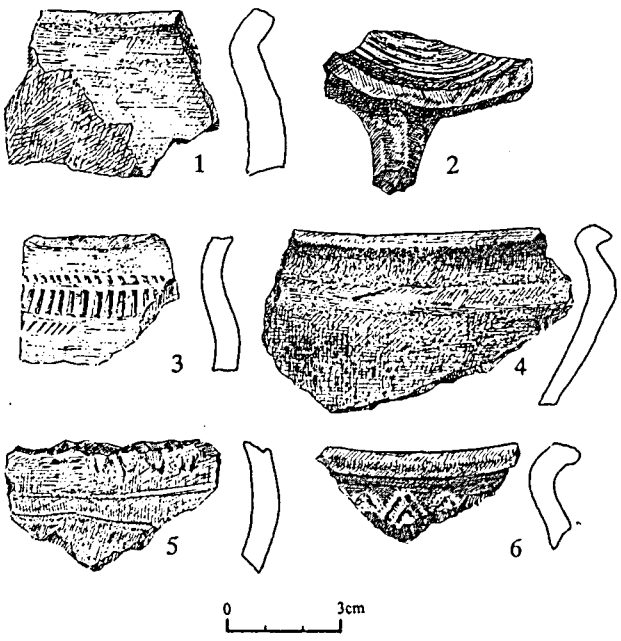

Fig. 5. Archaeological excavations in Žagarė hillfort in 1999. Archaeological finds: ceramics. Drawing by R. Butvilienė.

TWO CASTLES: WRITTEN SOURCES AND PLACE NAMES

Žagarė

The name of Žagarė land (*Sagera*) in written sources for the first time appeared in 1254. In land sharing agreement between Riga archbishop and the Livonian Order it is stated that Silene and Žagarė, "*Silene et Sagera cum suis terminis*", was transmitted to archbishop (LUB I, Nr. 264; Mugurēvičs, 2000, p. 68). In historiography there is a formed view, that Žagarė hillfort located on the left bank of the river was probably the same place mentioned in historical sources – the centre of *Sagera* land (Ozols, 1971, p. 129).

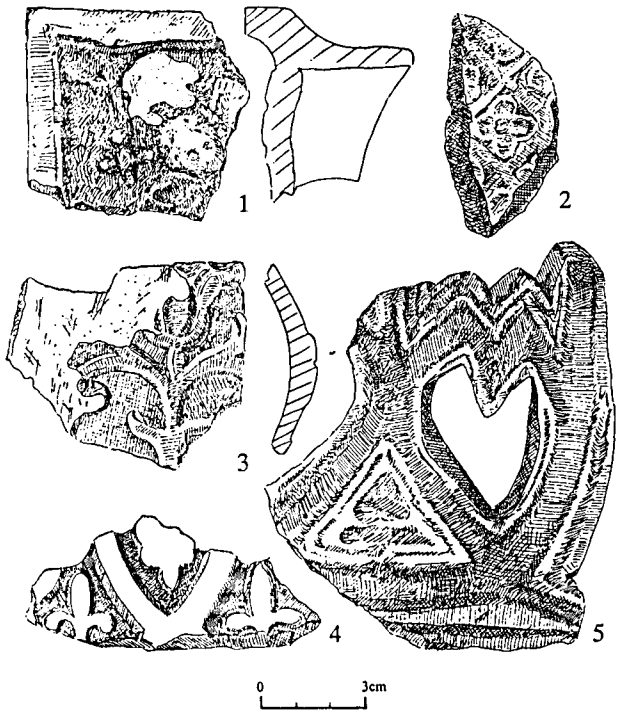

Fig. 6. Archaeological excavations in Žagarė hillfort in 1999. Archaeological finds: tiles. Drawing by R. Butvilienė.

According to the 13th century historical sources there were 7 such lands in Semigallia, the main centres of which were both castles and their land, with several exceptions, were described under the same name (Būga, 1961, p. 254–256).

The name of Žagarė (*Sagare*) appeared in written sources for the second time in 1271. In one of the documents of the Livonian Order it is stated that in order to cover the expenses of the building of Tērvete castle, the archbishop to the benefit of the Order had to refuse one of his castles – Syrene or Žagarė "*unum de castris suis Syrene scilicet aut Sagare*" (LUB I, Nr. 425; Mugurēvičs, 2000, p. 68). It is not clear yet, whether one of the mentioned castles or any other location belonging to the bishop was transmitted to the Order (Mugurēvičs, 2000, p. 68).

Žagarė, which at that time was located on the border of Riga archbishopric, was again mentioned in the document dating back to the year of 1333 (Miškinis, 1984, p. 58). In similar circumstances the name of Žagarė was mentioned once more in 1475 (Miškinis, 1984, p. 58).

Raktė

The name of Raktė (*Ratten*) for the first time was mentioned in 1271. At that time the army led by the Master of the Livonian Order Walter von Nortecken occupied the following Semigallian castles: Mežotne, Tērvete and Raktė (LR, 1998, 8035–8060). In 1286 this castle was mentioned for the second time, when the Semigallians under the pressure of the army of the Order burned down themselves Tērvete castle, which is 20 km to NE from nowadays Žagarė and moved to Raktė (*Racken*) (LR, 1998, 10123–10125). In the winter of 1288–89 the army of the Master of the Livonian Order Kune von Hatzigenstein attacked Raktė (*Racketen*) again; consequently the vicinity of the hillfort was ruined, however, the castle was not captured (LR, 1998, 11041–11075). In 1289 the name of Raktė castle (*Rakel, Racketen, Racken*) was mentioned for the last time, when resisting Semigallians left Dobele castle, which is situated 30 km to NW, and moved to Raktė. However, in the approaches of Raktė the Livonian army overtook with troops of the locals and beat them; consequently the castle and the nearby located settlement were burned down (LR, 1998, 11357–11430).

In 1426, after the peace treaty of Meln, while the border negotiations were still going on, the name of Raktė (*berg Rattow, Ratowsher bergh*) was mentioned as the landmark establishing border between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia. The border at that time was 1 mile to S from the hill where more than one hundred years ago Raktė castle was located (LUB II, Nr. 472).

Comparing the context of historical sources of the 13th century, where the two castles were mentioned, two major differences could be noticed. First of all, the name Raktė in all cases is related to war conflict between locals and the Order. While both the Žagarė locality and the castle itself were mentioned exceptionally as the object of the negotiations between the Order and Riga archbishop.

It is necessary to note that in agreements of the 15th century establishing borders between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia, both the above mentioned place names have a different meaning. The mentioning of Raktė hill can be understood as geographical landmark only. Additionally, the placename of neighbouring Sidabrė castle (*Sydobren, Sydobre*), which was also destroyed by the Livonian army in 1290, is another analogical landmark, mentioned as Sidabrė hill (*ein geberg Sydobber, Suddoberschen bergh*) in one of border agreements between Livonia and Grand Duchy in the 15th century (LUB VII, Nr. 472, 473). On the ground of the fact that the former sites of castles which some 150 years after their destruction are mentioned in the written sources as geographical landmarks only, the conclusion was drawn that after their destruction the habitation of the ancient centres of southern Semigallia was

interrupted until the middle of the 15th century (Šenavičius, 1995a, p. 59, 60).

Concerning Žagarė, which in border division documents of the 14th–15th century only is mentioned as a place-name, and there is no notifications related to a specific settlement or manor. Probably the nature of the documents mentioned above did not require these specifications, and there was a tendency to use a well known settled locality as a landmark establishing border between two states (Miškinis, 1984, p. 58).

TWO MANOR-BOROUGHS: LOCATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Old Žagarė

The manor of Žagarė for the first time was mentioned in historical sources in 1490. It is considered that foundation of the manor-borough is related to the document which permits to establish a market place in the manor of Žagarė on the condition that it will not give negative impact on king's manors and on the neighbouring boroughs. This privilege issued by the king Alexander in 16 July, 1495 granted not only the right to organise markets but also open a public house to sell beer and set up workshops of craftsmen (Miškinis, 1984, p. 58; Baliulis, 1995, p. 134).

The location of the first Žagarė manor house is still not clear. J. Šliavas raised a hypothesis that *Syrene* castle mentioned in the land division documents of the 13th century together with *Sagare* was located on a small hill on the left side of the river just 1,5 km NE from Žagarė hillfort. Further he suggested that even first manor house in Žagarė was set in the place of the former *Syrene* castle (Šliavas, 1975, p. 94, 101) (Fig. 7:1). A. Miškinis raises a logical question why this place as a manor or borough was never mentioned in the later documents under the name of *Silene* or *Syrene*; every time it had the name of Žagarė (Miškinis, 1984, p. 60). However, despite his doubts, he used the above mentioned act concerning the location of the first manor while reconstructing urban development of Žagarė manor-borough, even though there were no archaeological or historical prove of above mentioned hypothesis. According to him Žagarė hillfort is located too far from the church, and the reside of the manor on the former hillfort had neither economical nor strategic reason (Miškinis, 1984, p. 60, 61).

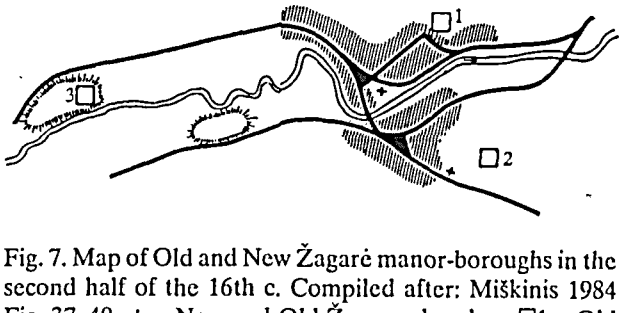

Fig. 7. Map of Old and New Žagarė manor-boroughs in the second half of the 16th c. Compiled after: Miškinis 1984 Fig. 37–40. + – New and Old Žagare churches; □1 – Old Žagarė manor; □2 – New Žagarė manor; □3 – Old Žagarė High manor; — – main roads/streets.

Manor on the hillfort

It is believed that after great fire in the middle of the1580's the plan of Žagarė borough was changed. At the same time a manor house was moved out of the borough and built on the hillfort on the left bank of the river (Fig. 7:3). Since then the manor in the historical sources is mentioned under the name *Wysóki dwor* (High manor) (Miškinis, 1984, p. 64, 65; Baliulis, 1995, p. 135). As it was mentioned above, the upper cultural layer found in the hillfort area dated to the 16th–18th century proves the documented fact that the manor was located here.

A lot of valuable informative to study fortified manor houses could be found in Žagarė High manor inventory compiled in 1647. From this document it is known that the entrance to the manor was built from borough's side. Passing through the gates in the right side a two floor wooden living house (palace) was situated. Further to the right there was a kitchen to the left of which there were three granaries and a barn, the walls of which were made of tree branches. Further to the left behind the barn there were stables the one side of which reached the gate. The manor house and its premises were surrounded by high paling. Outside the paling several buildings belonged to the manor: another living house, threshing-floor, a barn for corn keeping and granary. A bathhouse was at the foot of the hill down to the river (Baliulis, 1995, p. 136, 137).

Until now there are only a few hillforts in Lithuania where prehistoric castles in medieval or post-medieval periods were replaced by fortified manors. Besides their similarity in defence construction (Zabiela, 1995, p. 182) it should be noted another characteristic feature – to collect and store cereals. According to archaeological data the amount of cereals found in the Iron Age hillforts considerably increases in upper cultural layers dated to 1000–1300 (Rasiņš, Tauriņa, 1983, tab.1–8; Zabiela, 1995, p. 131, 132). An archaeological evidence from Tērvete hillfort where remains of tones of burned grain were found in the cultural layer dated to the 12th–13th century (Бривкалне, 1959, с. 266) show that late wooden castles beside the military function had also a function of large scale processing of agricultural surpluses. Another example is Maišiagala hillfort where during

archaeological excavations in the cultural layer dated to the 14th and the early 15th century a large collection of agricultural tools consisting of 3 ploughshares, 4 scythes, 6 sickles and 1 hoe together with a big amount of cereals was found in within remains of burned barn (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, 1974).

Turning back to Žagarė High manor it might be so that the fear of being attacked and robbed was the reason why the hillfort was chosen as a place for building an fortified manor. From historical documents it is known that Žagarė manor was robbed once by the Livonians in 1582 (Miškinis, 1984, p. 64). According to statistics of courts it used to be very often when manors were attacked and robbed at that time (Vansevičius, 1981, p. 81).

According to historical documents, in 1580 Žagarė manor was transferred to another noble family (Baliulis 1995, p. 135). This could be also the reason why a new manor house was built on the hillfort. On the other hand, moving of the manor house out of the area of settlement and fortification can be interpreted as local nobleman's manifestation of his economical and political power (Andersson, 1989, p. 287).

New Žagarė

In 1530 a new manor together with a market was established on the right bank of the river in front of an already existing manor-borough. According to the rules before a new market in private manor was opened it was necessary to keep a distance of 3 miles from the towns and manor-boroughs which belong to the state (Alexandrowicz, 1970, p. 51). But a new manor in Žagarė was established by the king. From the beginning it belonged to Vilnius bishop who was the son of king Sigismund (1506–1548) and ruler of the local rural district (Baliulis, 1995, p. 133, 134; Šenavičius, 1995b, p. 67). Even though on this side of the river Raktė hillfort is located, neither the new manor nor later the borough was called after the previous name of this locality. It was chosen to call the new manor-borough New Žagarė. The new name appear in 1547 in the documents concerning border between Lithuania and Livonia. The proper manor and borough of Žagarė on the left side of the river for the first time was called Old or Noble (Šenavičius, 1995b, p. 67).

Fig. 8. Žagarė borough. Fragment from map of Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1613. After: Miškinis 1984 Fig. 42.

While studying historical documents it is notable from the middle of 16th century that the name of New Žagarė started gradually to replace the name Old Žagarė. In 1595 the Žagarė was for the first time marked on the map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the map of 1613 Žagarė was marked only on the right bank of the river where a local administration centre was already established at that time (Fig. 8). All this shows that in turn of the 16th–17th centuries New Žagarė became more important than the Old one (Miškinis, 1984, p. 66).

TWO CHURCHES: CHRISTIANISATION, REFORMATION AND CONTRAREFORMATION

The first Christianization phase of Lithuanian state and society started in East Lithuania (Vilnius bishopric was founded here in 1387) and ended in western part of country by establishing Samogitian bishopric in 1417. Until the beginning of the 16th century the number of parish churches in Vilnius bishopric increased up to 130. While in Samogitian bishopric, to which Žagarė used to belong, the process of parish and church building was much more slower and at the end of the 15th century their number reached only 26. The first churches were established by the king and bishop mainly. The number of rural churches funded by local noblemen was not numerous (Kiaupa, Kiaupienė, Kuncevičius, 1998, p. 139, 141, 174). Situation changed during the Reformation and Contrareformation. Starting with second half of the 16th century and through the whole 17th century, 65 new churches where established in Samogitia. Some 1/3 of them was funded by king, the rest-by local noblemen (Valančius, 1974, p. 201–224; Kiaupienė, 1988, p. 50).

Old Žagarė

It is believed that the church in Old Žagarė was built in the end of the 15th century. From a document, which dates back to 1499, it was found that inhabitants attending church would be granted 40 day indulgence (Baliulis, 1995, p. 144). However, the official day of the establishment of the church is generally considered to be 4 March, 1523 when *Marina Sirowycz*, the owner of Žagarė manor, funded maintenance of the local church. She awarded it with the right the ownership of the land, granting it with 1/3 of the market tax profit and 4 peasants. She as the provider of the church was the one to chose a priest (Baliulis, 1995, p. 144). The paper written in Latin states the following: "*that is why, I Marina the widow of Stanislai Sirowycz, desiring to keep up to the will of the former predecessors and my husband, and wish to fulfil it. Then the church in Žagarė was funded but there were no privileges granted*" (Šimaitis, 1995, p. 189).

According to written sources, in the 16th–17th centuries the church of Old Žagarė was on fire a number of times, but the location of the church remained the same. The stone church was built by the owner of the manor in 1712 (Miškinis, 1984, p. 60, 61; Baliulis, 1995, p. 144, 145).

New Žagarė

The opening of the church of New Žagarė is connected with activity of Vilnius bishop. In the early 16th century visiting areas bordering with the Livonia he admitted that there were almost no churches and stated the fact that people living here are still heathens. This is the reason why in literature quite frequently can be found the statement that the church funded by him on the right bank of the river was build in 1520, at the same time as the manor was established (Kviklys, 1983, p. 48, 49; Šliavas, 1967, p. 87). However, A. Miškinis noted that there were hardly so many inhabitants at that time on both banks of the river that it was necessary to build the second church. Even though the manors had different owners, it could not be an obstacle for not numerous local Christians forbidding to attend the same church (Miškinis, 1984, p. 62).

In written sources the church of New Žagarė was mentioned for the first time in 1609 when royal inspectors measured the land on the right bank of the river and allotted some to the "*old wooden church*". A. Miškinis doubted about the age of the church and proposed that the building of the church on the right bank of the river might be predetermined by the Reformation (Miškinis, 1984, p. 62). Facts found in the documents of general visitation of New Žagarė church proves the existence of the conflict between Catholics and Reformers. The above mentioned acts state that in the land located on the left bank of the river and which belongs to Noble Žagarė, was a parish church which "*...territory was partly occupied by heretics in the former times...*". This is the reason why "*...obedient servants of the his majesty left without God's word and church service <...> built a wooden church in the land of the king* (i.e. on the right bank of the river) *and this church even though in a very bad shape* (27 November, 1609) *still stands*" (Šimaitis, 1995, p. 192).

A new Catholic parish of New Žagarė was established in 1618. It is notable that the northern boundary of new parish was set along the Švėtė river. Short after that, around the year of 1630 in New Žagarė in the place of the old wooden church a stone church was built funded by king Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) (Šenavičius, 1995b, p. 68).

TWO TERRITORIES: OWNERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

"*Yet much of the historic landscape, and one very important element in particular, is not visible, thought its influence is enormous. This is ownership*" (Aston, 1997, p. 32). The name of *Mikolaus Sirowycz* who was the owner of Žagarė manor for the first time is mentioned in the king's market privilege given to him in 1495. As already mentioned the manor was owned by this family until the late 1580's. There is a thought that, *Sirowycz* family roots can be related with the above mentioned land division documents of the year 1254 and 1271 in which *Silene* land and *Syrene* castle are mentioned (Šliavas, 1975, p. 94, 101). These two place names are a bit different however they have the same meaning-forest/wood (Būga, 1961, p. 257; Mugurėvičs, 2000, p. 69). The site of Syrene castle is localised in the *Augstkalnes Silakalns* hillfort just some 10 km to NE from Žagarė, in territory of modern Latvia (Latvijas, 1974, p. 340). After Sirowycz family, the manor of Old Žagarė had many owners in the course of 300 years, while the manor of New Žagarė belonged to the king up to the collapse of Polish-Lithuanian state in 1795 (Miškinis, 1984, p. 88; Baliulis, 1998, p.134–144).

While studying the formation process of cultural landscape it was noticed that river and stream courses functioned as landmarks of territory in late prehistoric times, very frequently were used to mark boundaries in the Middle Ages (Aston, 1989, p. 39–43). All three Lithuanian statute-books issued in 1529, 1566 and 1588 states that if the border of two private territories goes along a river, both landowners should use only his side of the river up to its middle. In case of the change of a river course, the old river bed was still the landmark dividing two territories (Vansevičius, 1981, p. 66).

The environs of Žagarė, divided by the river into two parts, in 1530 were considered as two separate locations, which belonged to two different administrative districts. As it was already mentioned after establishment of the bishop's manor on the right bank of the river in historical documents appeared the names of Old (Noble) and New Žagarė. In the sense of administrative dependence the left side of the river belonged to Biržėnai rural district, the right – to Šiauliai one. The border of the two districts was set along the river Švėtė (Miškinis, 1984, p. 61).

CONCLUSIONS

Chronological sequence from the 13th up to 16th century was kept in present study. Concluding I would like to start the other way round.

Starting with the 30's of the 16th century it is clear tendency notable to take control over an important trade route to Livonia by the king. A new manor and market were established on the right bank in front of the already existing private Žagarė manor-borough on the left bank. It grew up rapidly and until the end of the 16th century an economical and administrative centre was moved over the river. Simultaneously an administrative border between two rural districts was set along the river.

River became a frontier between to confessions during the time of the Reformation and the Contra-reformation period, which took place here in the second half of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century. Reformants for a short period established themselves in a private owned land on the left bank of the river, while Catholics on the right one which belonged to the king. It has resulted that a new border between two parishes which remained here for a long time. The stone church built on the right side of the river in the beginning of the 17th century is a result of king's official support to Contrareformation, but on the other hand it could be explained as some kind of victorious manifestation of prosperity of New Žagarė manor-borough over the Old one.

Fortified manor established in the late 16th century in the former hillfort might be caused by the necessity to protect property. Nevertheless, having in mind economical competition and confessional confrontation which took place here at that time, it could be that it was some kind of resisting reaction against the king's pressure. The fact of Žagarė High manor is very important looking for the relation between late prehistoric wooden castles and medieval and post-medieval fortified manors. It seems that in traditional agricultural areas one of the binding ties between late hillforts and early manors was an economic function to collect and redistribute cereal surplus.

The river boundary between two territories in Žagarė is rather well recorded in the documents of the 16th century. How far into prehistory it can be traced? The question whether Raktė and Žagarė castles in the 13th century belonged to the same territorial unit still need to be discussed. It is known that at least before the late 1250's most of Semigallian nobility differently from the other conquered territories in Livonia were not driven away from their lands if they recognised the rule of the Order (Gudavičius, 1989, p. 99). In the 13th century's written sources Žagarė land and castle twice in 1254 and 1271 was mentioned as object of land and property division, while the Raktė in the period between 1271 and 1289 – always in the context of military conflicts. This let us suggest that above mentioned castles with their immediate vicinity most probably were under the control of different rulers. It could be that different rulers or communities of these two castles were chosen different strategies during the conquest. It has resulted that resisting Raktė was totally destroyed and lost its population. While Žagarė situated on the opposite bank of the river, it has survived and continued its further settlement development.

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KAI KURIE SENOSIOS IR NAUJOSIOS ŽAGARĖS URBANISTINĖS RAIDOS BRUOŽAI XIII–XVI AMŽIUOSE

Romas Jarockis

Santrauka

Tiriant kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio formavimąsi pastebėta, kad tam tikros vietos dėl savo ekonominės, politinės, teisinės ar ideologinės reikšmės gerokai išsiskiria iš jas supančios per visą istoriją susiformavusios aplinkos. Jeigu kalbėsime geografijos terminais, tokios vietos vadinamos centrinėmis. Centrinė vieta gali būti nustatoma remiantis archeologine medžiaga – tokiose vietose aptinkama radinių, susijusių su prekyba bei amatais, importuotų prabangos reikmenų, lobių ir kt. Centrinę vietą tai pat gali reikšti priešistorinio ir istorinio laiko kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio elementų koncentracija bei kombinacija – įtvirtinimų, gyvenviečių ir kapinynų kompleksai, egzistavusį pagonišką tikėjimą liudijantys objektai, pirmosios krikščionių bažnyčios, dvarai ir miesteliai.

Taigi priešistoriniai piliakalniai gali būti vertinami kaip mūsų dienas pasiekę senovės centrinių vietų reliktai. XIV–XV a. galutinai išnykus šimtmečius piliakalniuose egzistavusiom medinėms pilims, centrinės vietos funkciją pamažu perima kitas, jau viduramžių reiškinys – dvarai. Priimta manyti, kad naujų dvarų steigimosi vietą daugiausia lėmė derlingos žemės. Tačiau, kaip rodo tyrimai, daugelis vietovių, kuriose stovėjo priešistorinės pilys, t. y. apgyvendintos vietos su daugiau ar mažiau ryškiais urbanizacijos požymiais, ir istoriniais laikais toliau liko centrine vieta.

Dvaras, bažnyčia ir turgaus aikštė buvo pirminiai komponentai dvarams ar miesteliams atsirasti. Maždaug XV a. pabaigoje jie pradėjo masiškai kurtis šalia karaliaus ir vietos didikų dvarų. Nustatyta, kad daugumos dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijoje esančių mažų miestelių ištakos vienaip ar kitaip susijusios su viduramžių ir naujųjų laikų dvarais.

Žagarės miestelio (istorinė Senoji ir Naujoji Žagarė) urbanistinė raida – pagrindinė šio straipsnio tema. Penkios poros tyrimo objektų, atliekančių centrinės vietos funkcijas – du piliakalniai, dvi pilys, du dvarai, dvi bažnyčios ir dvi teritorijos, išsidėstę priešingose Švėtės upės pusėse, pasirinkti siekiant analizuoti bei palyginti (pav. 1–3). Lyginamosios analizės išvados pateikiamos įspraustos į postprocesualinės pasipriešinimo ir jėgos teorinės koncepcijos rėmus.

Pagrindinis straipsnio tikslas – remiantis archeologine medžiaga (pav. 4–6) ir rašytiniais šaltiniais nustatyti sąlygas, apimančias beveik 400 metų, kurios lėmė dviejų priešingose upės pusėse įsikūrusių dvarų–miestelių istorinę urbanistinę raidą (pav. 7–8). Kaip dviejų centrinių vietų ir dviejų jėgų priešprieša lėmė vietos kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio formavimąsi – kita šios studijos užduotis. Švėtės upė Žagarės vietovę dalija į dvi dalis. Kad upė, kaip riba, jau nuo XIII a. atliko skiriamąją funkciją ir buvo pagrindinė ašis, palei kurią formavosi vietos urbanizuotas kraštovaizdis, – trečia šio straipsnio autoriaus užsibrėžta užduotis.

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Tyrimo vietos žemėlapis. Pilys, paminėtos tekste: 1 – Žagarė; 2 – Raktė; 3 – Sidabrė; 4 – Silenė; 5 – Tervetė; 6 – Dobelė. O – Geležies amžiaus piliakalniai...dabartinė Latvijos–Lietuvos siena.

2 pav. 1997 m. Žagarės miestelio ortofotonuotrauka.

3 pav. Žagarės ir Raktės piliakalniai: 1 – Žagarė; 2 – Raktė.

4 pav. Archeologiniai kasinėjimai Žagarės piliakalnyje 1999 m. Perkasos Nr. 1 vakarinis ir šiaurinis profiliai: 1 – piliakalnio kultūrinis sluoksnis; 2 – dvaro kultūrinis sluoksnis.

5 pav. Archeologiniai kasinėjimai Žagarės piliakalnyje 1999 m. Archeologiniai radiniai: keramika.

6 pav. Archeologiniai kasinėjimai Žagarės piliakalnyje 1999 m. Archeologiniai radiniai: kokliai.

7 pav. Senosios ir Naujosios Žagarės dvaro–gyvenvietės žemėlapis antrojoje XVI a. pusėje. + – Naujosios ir Senosios Žagarės bažnyčios; 1 – Senosios Žagarės gyvenvietė; 2 – Naujosios Žagarės gyvenvietė; 3 – Senosios Žagarės aukštutinė gyvenvietė; — – pagrindiniai keliai/gatvės.

8 pav. Didžiosios Žagarės miestelis. Fragmentas iš Lietuvos Kunigaikštystės 1613 m. žemėlapio.

Iš anglų k. vertė
Rasa Tolvaišaitė

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ЧЕРТЫ УРБАНИСТИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ СТАРОЙ И НОВОЙ ЖАГАРЕ В XIII-XVI ВВ.

Ромас Яроцкис

Резюме

В результате исследований формирования культурного ландшафта замечено, что определенные места из-за своего экономического, политического, правового и идеологического значения значительно выделяются из окружающей среды, сформировавшейся в ходе исторического процесса. Оперируя терминами культурной географии, такие места называют центрами. Центр может быть установлен, основываясь на археологическом материале: находки, связанные с торговлей и ремеслами, импортные предметы роскоши, клады и др. Концентрация и комбинация элементов культурного ландшафта доисторических и исторических времен – комплексов укреплений, городищ и могильников, объектов языческих верований, первых христианских церквей, поместий и местечек, – также может указывать на центральную роль.

В контексте теории центральных мест, доисторические городища могут рассматриваться как физические реликты древних центров, сохранившиеся до нашего времени. На смену деревянным замкам, столетиями существовавшим в городищах и окончательно исчезнувшим в XIV–XV вв., функцию центра постепенно переняло следующее, уже средневековое явление – имение. Принято считать, что для заложения новых имений главную роль играли плодородные земли. Однако, как показывают исследования, в большинстве местностей, где были доисторические замки с более или менее выраженными признаками урбанизации, и в историческое время традиции центра продолжались.

Первичными компонентами для появления поместий-местечек были поместье, церковь и рыночная площадь. Приблизительно в начале XV в. городские поселения начали массово концентрироваться вокруг королевского двора и поместий местной аристократии. Установлено, что большая часть маленьких городов на территории современной Литвы своими корнями так или иначе связана с имениями средневековья и нового времени.

Главной темой данной статьи является урбанистическое развитие городка Жагаре (исторически Старая и Новая Жагаре). Для анализа и сравнения выбрано пять пар объектов исследования, выполняющих функции центра: два городища, два замка, два имения, две церкви и две территории, расположенные на противоположных берегах реки Швете (рис. 1–3). Результаты сравнительного анализа представлены в рамках пост-процессуальной теоретической концепции противоборства и силы.

Основная цель работы, основанной на археологических материалах (рис. 4–6) и письменных источниках, определить условия, в течении 400 лет формировавшие урбанистическое развитие двух поместий-местечек, расположенных на противоположных берегах реки (рис. 7–8). Другая задача данного исследования – выяснить влияние противоборства двух сил и центров на формирование местного культурного ландшафта. Река Швете разделяет Жагаре на две части. Третья задача, намеченная автором данной статьи – доказать, что река выполнила свою роль разделяющей границы уже в XIII в., и была главной осью, вокруг которой формировался урбанистический ландшафт местности.

СПИСОК ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЙ

Рис. 1. Карта исследуемой местности. Замки, упомянутые в тексте: 1 – Жагаре; 2 – Ракте; 3 – Сидабре; 4 – Силене; 5 – Тервете; 6 – Добеле. О – Укрепления железного века. ... Современная литовско-латышская граница.

Рис. 2. Ортофотоснимок Жагаре в 1997 г.

Рис. 3. Городище Жагаре и Ракте: 1 – Жагаре; 2 – Ракте.

Рис. 4. Археологические раскопки на укреплениях Жагаре в 1999 г. Западный и северный профили раскопа № 1: 1 – культурный слой городища; 2 – культурный слой имения.

Рис. 5. Археологические раскопки на городище Жагаре в 1999 г. Археологические находки: керамика.

Рис. 6. Археологические раскопки на городище Жагаре в 1999 г. Археологические находки: изразцы.

Рис. 7. Карта поместья-местечка Старая и Новая Жагаре во второй половине XVI в. 1 – костелы Старой и Новой Жагаре; 2 – поместье Старой Жагаре; 3 – поместье Новой Жагаре; 4 – главные улицы.

Рис. 8. Местечко Жагаре. Фрагмент карты Великого княжества Литовского 1613 г.

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