CASTELLA MARIS BALTICI 6

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Back cover: Royal palace in an Upper castle.
Corrected S. Lasavickas sketch-project 1977–2001,
3 - D view by V. Abramauskas, drawn by A. Mizgirienė

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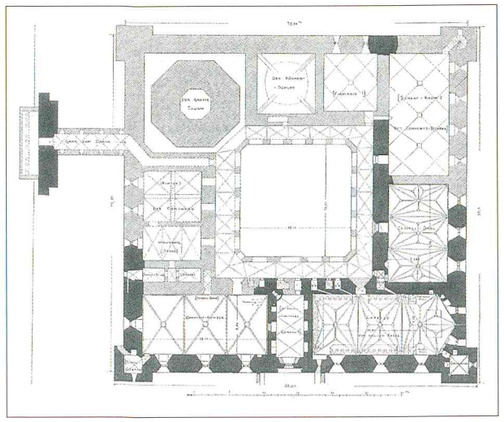
On September 18–22, 2001 the Symposium Castella Maris Baltici VI was held in Lithuania. This is already the 6th symposium for the researchers of the medieval castles. The first symposium was held in Turku, Finland in 1991, the second – in Nyköping, Sweden in 1993, the third - in Malbork, Poland in 1995, the fourth - in Estonia in 1997, and the fifth – in Denmark in 1999.
The topic of the conference held in Lithuania was "Contacts and Genetically Dwellings in the Castle Buildings". Over 40 scientists participated in the conference from Denmark, Belarus, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, Great Britain, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. In the conference there were not only reports presented but also the most famous castles of Lithuania visited in Vilnius, Trakai, Kernavė, Kaunas and Klaipėda.
The time of this conference coincided with the European Heritage Days "Defensive Fortifications in Lithuania".
This conference was organised by the Public Institution Academy of Cultural Heritage established by Vilnius University, Vilnius Academy of Arts, Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania and Department of Cultural Heritage Protection. The Symposium Castella Maris Baltici VI was sponsored by the Department of Cultural Heritage Protection.
The Center of Cultural Heritage funded the publishing of this publication. I would like to express my gratitude to Diana Varnaitė, Director of the Department of Cultural Heritage Protection, Vitas Karčiauskas, Director of the Center of Cultural Heritage, Alvydas Nikžentaitis, Director of Lithuanian Institute of History, Juozas Bardauskas, Director of the Publishing House Savastis, and editors of the publication prof. Werner Meyer and dr. David Gaimster.

Especial thanks deserve my colleagues who organised this event Rita Mosiejienė, dr. Justina Poškienė and dr. Gintautas Zabiela.

Dr. Albinas Kuncevičius



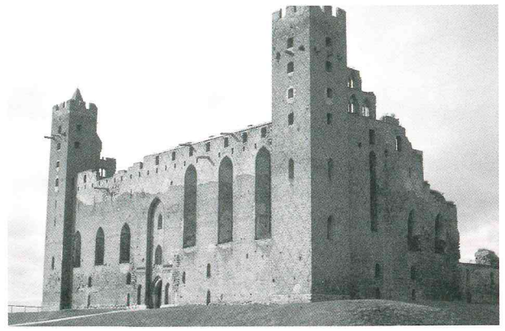


Abb. 6. Konventburg zu Rehden, um 1300–1330, a – Grundriss des Hauptgeschosses (nach Steinbrecht), b – Ansicht des Kirchenflügels von der Süd-Ost-Seite (Photo Verfasser)

sicherlich im benediktinischen Geist, liturgische Fußwaschung statt (Arszyński 1993: 160). Das festlich-sakrale Ritual wurde aber schnell im Laufe des 14. Jahrhunderts – den meisten Forschern nach kutzner 2000: 283–292; Torbus 1998: passim – als höfisch-ritterliche Zeremoniell übernommen, und der Kreuzgang war auch nicht nur religiöses, sondern auch feierliches Zentrum des weltlichen Konventslebens. In der Tat ging es seit Anfang, wie die Baugeschichte der Marienburg zeigt, um eine Selbstdisziplinierung nach monastischen Regeln der weltlichen Ritter, die aber seit 1309 dem immer größeren Einfluss der höfischen Kultur unterworfen wurden (Pospieszny 2001 b: 49).

Das Ziel Eberhards war nicht nur die Erhebung Elbings zum Sitz des Landesmeisters und der Versammlungsstätte des jährlichen Provinzialkapitels, Sondern auch um die schon angefangene „klösterliche“ Reform der Lebensweise bei den Ordensrittern im Feldlager der ersten Eroberungszeit, in der Chronik von Peter Dusburg für die Zeit um 1250 erwähnt (Dusburg 1861: 123–125). Es handelte sich um die nach der Regel funktionierenden ständigen Konvente, die die Territorien der Komtureien unter Anlehnung an die Burgen verwalten sollten (Kantorowicz 1927: 250 ff.). Vor allem ging es aber um eine transzendente, tiefreligiöse Aussage der neuen, ritterlich-monastischen Herrschaft in Preussen (Kutzner 2000: 288–289). Man verwirklichte diese Idee mit einem neuen Burgmodell ab Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts zuerst in Elbing, dann folgten die Komtursitze in Brandenburg und Marienburg. Die monumentalen Turmburgen, die in Süditalien den Kaiser repräsentierten, haben in Preussen ein ideales Bild des „neuen Jerusalem“ verkörpert. Die Burg Rehden im Kulmerland, aus einer Reihe der Konventhäuser nach 1300 gebaut, wurde mit großen, dem verteidigungsfähigen Öffnungssystem wiedersprechenden, gotischen Fenster geschwächt (Pospieszny 2000 b: 94–96). Die in der Literatur als „klassisch“ bezeichnete Turmburg (Torbus 1998: 144–211), musste mit mächtigem Bergfried versehen sein, was nicht anders als „nachklassisch“ zu betrachten ist (Abb. 6 a, b).

Die rekonstruierte Übertragung des kaiserlichen Burgmodells nach Preußen hat noch eine weitere Begründung. Der streng politisch motivierte Charakter dieser Aufgabe konnte nur in dieser und keiner anderen Zeit durchgeführt werden. Es geht um den für den Orden, recht fruchtbaren Zeitabschnitt, der mit der Gründung von Montfort im Heiligen Land 1228/29 angefangen und durch Friedrich II. unterstützt wurde. Damals bestand ein geistliches Ordenszentrum bei der Elisabetkirche zu Marburg, 1234 gegründet, die Eroberungsdekade Preußens fand 1230–40 und die Übernahme Livlands 1236 statt. Die territorialen Gewinne in Preußen bei gleichzeitig in Sizilien praktizierender Landesverwaltung, wo die kaiserlichen Idealburgen gebaut wurden, bildeten der gute Grund, haben das ritterliche Orden zur Neuaufgabe als Territorialherrscher vorbereitet. Kurz vor Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts ist ein Versuch der Herrschaftsstabilisierung in Preußen gekommen, die mit der Periode der intensiven Tätigkeit der kaiserlichen politischen Erben nach dem Tod des Kaisers 1250 zusammenfiel. Das Ausmaß der imperialen Aktionen Friedrichs II. in der zum Teil von Moslems bewohntenDoppelherrschaft Apulien und Sizilien ist mit dem riesigen Vorhaben in Preußen vergleichbar, bei dem das apulische Musterbild inhaltlich einer Generation übertragen wurde. Die Gründung von Elbing 1251 als das „zweite Montfort“ zeigte viele Ähnlichkeiten mit der politischen Situation 1228/9 in Palästina, wo die Burg erstmals beim Deutschen Orden als ein territoriales Machtzentrum notwendig war.

Gintautas Rackevičius

THE ROYAL PALACE IN VILNIUS UPPER CASTLE - PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

Der Palas der Oberen Burg zu Vilnius - zum Problem seines Wiederaufbaus

Die wichtigste und zugleich älteste erhaltene Quelle, die den Herrscherpalas zeigt, ist der im Atlas von Georg van Bruyen und Frans Hoogenbergh aus dem Jahre 1581 enthaltene „bebilderte“ Stadtplan von Vilnius. Aus dem beigefügten Text geht hervor, dass es auf dem Vilniusser Burggelände zwei königliche Palasbauten gegeben hat. Den Quellen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert zufolge hat sich einer der beiden Palasbauten, über den nur sehr spärliche Informationen vorhanden sind, auf dem Berg befunden.

Ein vom Kunstwissenschaftler und Historiker Vladas Drėma angefertigtes Modell der Vilniusser Burgen zeigt, dass im 17. Jahrhundert die nordöstliche Ecke des Palas auf dem Berg einen Erker und die südwestliche Ecke einen Eckturm aufgewiesen hat. Das nach verschiedenen historischen Quellen rekonstruierte Modell der königlichen Residenz der Oberburg von Architekt Sigitas Lasavickas zeigt aber den Palas mit jeweils einem Erker an allen vier Ecken (Abb.1).

Der Text zum oben erwähnten Vilniusser Stadtplan lässt darauf schließen, dass der königliche Palas auf dem Berg mit mindestens zwei Türmen versehen war. Der Vilniusser Stadtplan von Karl Grunert aus dem Jahre 1808 enthält zusätzliche Angaben über zwei Ecktürme an der Südwand des königlichen Palas (Abb. 2). Die Zeichnung von Pranciškus Smuglevičius (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts) zeigt die Ruine des Palas auf dem Berg mit einem erweiterten Obergeschoß an der südöstlichen Ecke, das aber nur beim ersten flüchtigen Blick als Erker gedeutet werden kann (Abb. 3). Die vergleichende Auswertung der drei erwähnten Quellen legt die Annahme nahe, dass die Burg über zwei Ecktürme mit Schießscharten im breiteren oberen Teil verfügte. (Zeichnung in der Rückseite).

Den vorhandenen Quellen zufolge ist die Burg nach dem Brand von 1419 wiederaufgebaut worden. Der königliche Palas, der als Residenz von Vytautas dem Großen diente, nahm im 15. Jahrhundert gotische Formen an. Nach seiner zweimaligen Flucht aus Litauen 1382/84 bzw. 1390/92 fand Vytautas Zuflucht beim Deutschen Orden. Hier bot sich ihm auch die Möglichkeit, verschiedene Ordensburgen näher kennenzulernen, so auch die Marienburg. Die Bauweise des Palas des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens auf der Marienburg mit zwei Ecktürmen an der westlichen Seite dürfte sich auch auf die Architektur der königlichen Residenz in Vilnius, die zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts entstand, ausgewirkt haben.

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I would like to attend you to the text of explanation to the panoramic plan of Vilnius made by Georg van Bruyen's and Frans Hoogenbergh's during the second half of 16th century. This source reveals two Royal palaces in Vilnius castle. One of these was down the hill, and another on the hill.

An art critic and historian Vladas Drėma in his model of Vilnius castle as they were in the middle of the 17th century (made in 1950) has reconstructed the Royal palace on the hill with the oriel in the north-eastern corner and a corner tower in the south-western corner (NML; Drėma 1991: 111, fig. 131, 132). Later V. Drėma agreed, that in the light of modern research, some details of his model became incorrect. In particular he wanted to correct the buildings of Upper Castle (Drėma 1991: 110). An architect Sigitas Lasavickas, in his sketch-project of reconstruction (made in 1977) of the same palace on Upper castle, showed a fine Gothic styled residence with four oriels in each corner (AVD: F2 86-58), (Fig. 1).

The text of the most ancient plan of Vilnius describes the Royal palace on the hill as towered. So it had at least two towers (AML: G 10821).The Plan of Vilnius made in the beginning of the 19th century by Karolis Grunertas also gives us additional information,such as that the Royal palace in Upper Castle had two corner towers at the corners of the southern frontage (Drėma 1991: 43, fig. 35), (Fig. 2). Another source, sepia drawn by Prančiškus Smuglevičius at the end of the 18 th century, shows the ruins of the Royal palace with enlargement in the south - eastern corner (Drėma 1991: 84, fig. 86), (Fig. 3). Only at first sight it is possible to interpret this widening as oriel. Combining these three sources it is better to conclude, that the southern frontage of Royal palace in Upper castle had two defensive corner towers with widening at the top, also with *balistrarias* (Armbrustschieäscharte) for the crossbow armed shots (Fig. On a Back page).

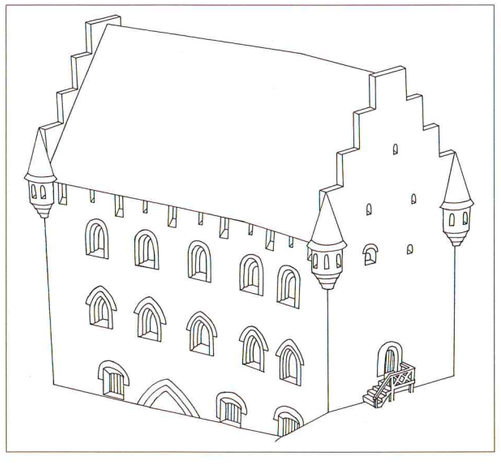

Fig. 1. Royal palace in an Upper castle. By S. Lasavickas sketch-project 1977
(3 D view by V. Abramauskas, drawn by G. Rackevičius)

Written sources record that king Jogaila Vladislav donated to bishop of Vilnius one brick and four wooden houses in Vilnius castle in 1387 (CDCV 1948: 5). It is also very important that first known residence of the bishop of Vilnius a Lower castle in Vilnius also had two corner towers. That building as well as the Royal Palace in the Upper Castle was built with defensive walls which were built earlier: the most important purpose of that building was to defend the very important western part of Lower castle.

Chronicles describe the burning a wooden. The castle was fired by crusaders in 1390 (Vygandas Marburgietis 1999: 199; CEV 1882: 196, 1009, 1033). The majority of researches agree, that the Curved Castle situated on Bold (Plikasis) hill on another bank of eastern branch of the river Vilnia, in front to the east of Castle (Pilies) hill (Kitkauskas 1989: 14). Bold hill is higher than Castle hill, that it is why in another chronicle Curved castle defined as Highest castle (Johann von Posilge 1866: 167). So at the end of the 14 th and the beginning the 15 th century there was a military necessity of reinforcement of Upper castle from the east side. It' s possible that it coursed a reason to launch two corner towers with additional positions for the crossbow armed shots, because Upper castle just from south - eastern corner was not defenced by defencive walls of the Lower castle.

Well known researcher of Castles Napaleonas Kitkauskas, dated the building of the Royal palace on the hill dated to the second half of the 14 th century (Kitkauskas 1989: 153). The last and greatest reconstruction of the Upper castle was carried out after a fire in 1419 by a rule of Vytautas - Alexander the Great. To the opinion of historian Juozas Jurginis the Upper castle was reconstructed in a period of short time. Since already in summer of 1422 Vytautas - Alexander had wrote a letter to Archbishop of Riga and received envoys of the Pope at Vilnius castle (Jurginis 1971a: 29; CEV 1882: 555). Vytautas - Alexander visited the German Order twice in the years of 1382–1384 and 1390–1392. He had an opportunity personally to see Order castles, including Marienburg (Malbork). It is possible that palace of the Great master (Der Hochmeister-Palast) in the Middle Castle (Mittelschloss) of Marienburg, with two corner towers on the western frontage, influenced the reconstruction of the Royal palace in Vilnius Upper castle.

Archeologist Alina Kietlińska excavated the deepest layers beside the western and southern frontages of Royal palace in 1938. Perhaps, she founded remains of two corner towers at the corners of the southern frontage. All documents of archeological record were at the author's apartments during the nazi occupation. She prepared excavation material for publication. It is a pity, but during the uprising

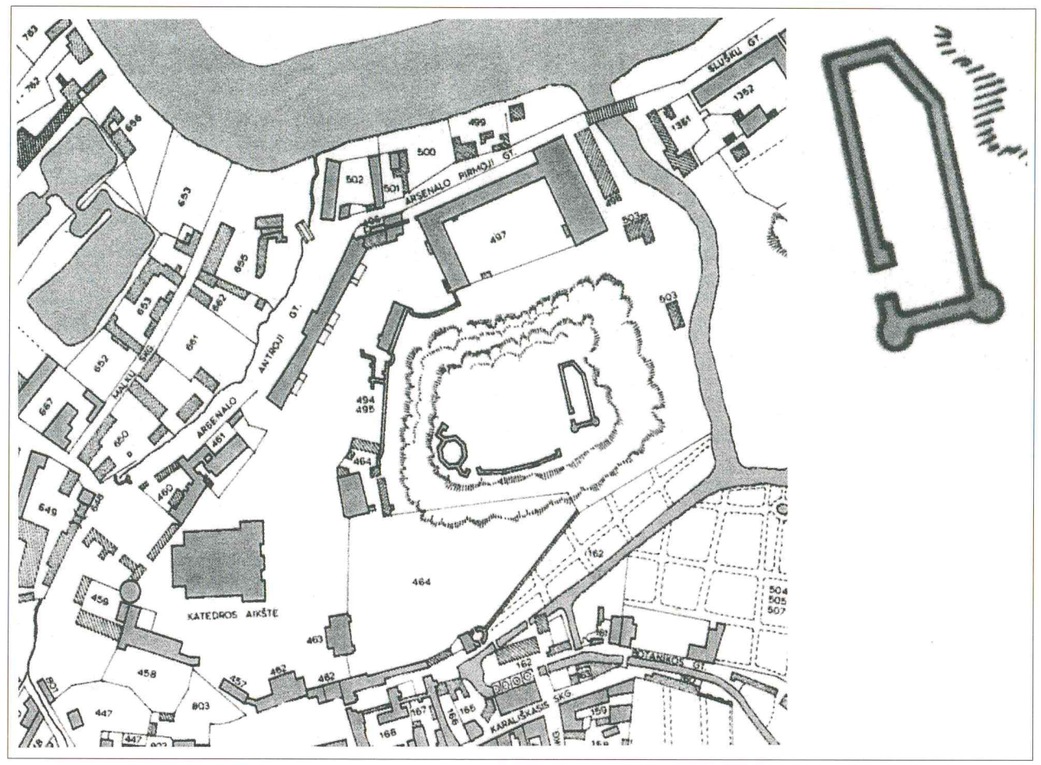

Fig. 2. Part of an Old City plan of Vilnius. K. Grunertas 1808

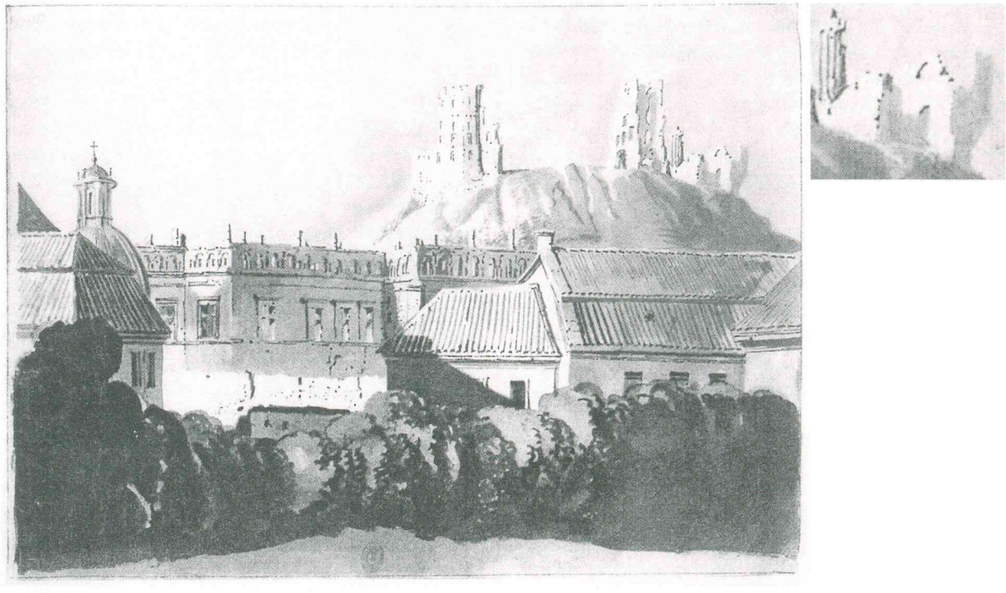

Fig. 3. Vilnius castle from the south. Sepia. P. Smuglevičius 1785

in Warsaw in 1944 A. Kietlińska's family home was demolished and all documents disappeared (Tautavičius 1960: 4, 5).

At the beginning of the 15th century the style Royal palace on the hill took some exterior decoration of the late Gothic.

During archeological investigation of the Castle hill in 1969–1999 were founded over one hundred fragment of green - glazed tiles (Rackevičius 2000: 39, 41, 47). All these Gothic trough-shaped tiles with their external side covered by green glaze belonged to buildings of the Upper Castle, also, possibly, to the roofs of the defensive walls. It's impossible to say how exactly the roofs of the Upper castle were ornamented, because there is no iconography from 15th century. I would like to propose just one of a lot possible variants of roof decoration in Gothic style for Royal palace in Vilnius Upper castle.

The Insular castle of Trakai was reconstructed, or, by another opinion, built, also, at the beginning 15th century, (around 1407–1408); (Jurginis 1971b: 97). According to the written sources Vytautas-Alexander spent more his time in Trakai than in Vilnius (CEV 1882). Some documents about the Gothic trough-shaped tiles, found during restoration works at the Insular castle, proved that these roofs were decorated with green - colored glazed tiles as well as in Vilnius Upper castle, and also with black and grey tiles. Beyond all manner of doubt the roof of Luck Upper castle was already decorated with green colored - glazed roof tiles during the famous convention of 1429, when Vytautas-Alexander was proclaimed king of Lithuania (Rackevičius 2000: 40, 43). In one of the nearest European capitals of that time - Marienburg analogous Late gothic decoration of the roofs was well known. Here it is also possible to speak about Vytautas-Alexander relationship with the German Order and his personal impressions. I would like to pay your attention a well known example - the roofs of Marienburg Upper castle (Hohschloss) ornamented with yellow and green glazed tiles (Riestra 1998: 225).

Decorating of external walls with black brick headers was much more simple and spread wider in the Middle Ages. Architectural exploring on the hill was very complicated, because of the work - load of preserving and conserving the ruins of the Royal palace. Works of conservation started in 1905 (Kitkauskas 1989: 63). Some work preserving the ruins of walls and partial reconstruction continued till 1995. Archeological sources also gave no information about external decoration, because before the World War II and even later still the bricks were not treated as archeological finds.

I would like to base thisreconstruction of black brick ornaments on an analogy of the Trakai Insular castle,wich was reconstructed at the beginning 15th century (roughly 1407–1408), but it is impossible. During the restoration of Insular castle before World War II black brick ornaments on the towers and Royal palace were (Borovskis 1941: 203, 204, 207, 234, 235 Fig. 19 : 2). Illustrations of the published report by an architect of conservation do not show us what kind of ornaments were decorating the buildings of Insular castle. During later reconstruction of an Insular castle these Gothic decorations were not restored or recreated (there are just some small original parts of ornamented walls). Some brick walls of Trakai Peninsular castle also were decorated with black bricks, but it is not clear when (Orda 1960: 67).

The reconstructed decoration of external walls of corner towers at the Royal palace on the hill was based on nearest analogy from Vilnius city. For instance black brick ornament on the stair tower on the north-western corner of St. Mary church on Franciscan monastery. Franciscans built their church on Trakai street before the official conversion of Lithuania in 1387. But crusaders demolished that church in 1390.The new church was built at the beginning of the 15th century (about 1421) (Jankevičienė 1988: 129; Drėma 1991: 265). First references to St. Mary church came from a document dated to 1422 (CDCV 1948: 113).The last reconstruction of the Upper castle was finished at the same period (about 1421–1422).

One of the earliest catholic churches - St. Nicolas in Vilnius - was mentioned in written sources the first time in 1387 (CDCV 1948: 5, 8). After last restoration of the church on the southern facade it is possible to see the remains of analogous diamond - shaped black brick ornament of the St. Mary church.

Franciscans built St. Marry church in Kaunas at the beginning of the 15th century.The first reference come from a document dated 1439, which permit services for foreigners, mainly merchants (CDCV 1948: 180). St. Marry church frontages also decorated with diamond - shaped and cross - shaped black brick headers ornaments (Jankevičienė 1991: 211). One of the Kaunas Cathedral church southern frontage buttresses also decorated with diamond - shaped black brick headers (Grinevičiūtė-Jankevičienė 1960: 134, 135, photo 11). According hypothesis, the Parish church (later Cathedral) in Kaunas was built approximately at 1408 –1413 (Grinevičiūtė-Jankevičienė 1960: 127).

Marienburg - the nearest capital of that time - castle buildings,defensive walls, as well as a residence of Great master were decorated with various ornaments of black brick headers (Chrzanowski, Kornecki 1995: fig. 393, 397). One of most distinctive examples of diamond - shaped ornaments are from German Order castle in Radzyń chelmiński (*castrum de Redino*, Reden), (Chrzanowski, Kornecki 1995: fig. 404).The German Order built St. George's Church on the Nevėžis river bank just on the border with Lithuanian Great Duchy in 1403.The right buttress on the main frontage at St. George church also has a diamond - shaped black brick headers ornaments (Jankevičienė 1988: 123, 124).

I just would like to express my opinion, that we just standing at the beginning of understanding our the architecture in Middle Ages, and also at the beginning of historical reconstruction of our castles. It is necessary not be in a hurry with the rebuilding of imaginations, which do not have much common with our history.

You may ask me - what was the reason for preparing that report ? I think, that as a corrected sketch - it is more realistic, but not enough. I would be grateful to all colleagues for additional information, especially about documents or publications of archeological excavations on the Castle hill by A. Ketlińska.

Special thanks to Vytautas Abramauskas, dr. Napaleonas Kitkauskas, Alvyra Mizgirienė.

Abbreviations

AVD - Archive of Vilnius district
AML - Art Museum of Lithuania
NML - National Museum of Lithuania

Summary

The most important source of representation of the Royal palace is a plan of the city of Vilnius made by Georg van Bruyen's and Frans Hoogenbergh's during the second half of the 16 th century. The explanatory text of the panoramic view reveals two Royal palaces at Vilnius Castle.

An art critic and historian Vladas Drėma in his model of Vilnius castle in the middle of the 17th century reconstructed the Royal palace on the hill with an oriel in the north - eastern corner and corner tower in the south-western corner. Later an architect, Sigitas Lasavickas, in his project of reconstruction of the same palace on Upper Castle, showed fine a Gothic - styled residence with four oriels in each corner (Fig. 1).

Let us go back to the text of the most ancient plan of Vilnius, which describes the Royal Palace in the hill as having towers. So it had at least two towers. The plan of Vilnius made at the beginning of the 19 th century by Karolis Grunertas also gives an additional information, that the Royal palace in the Upper Castle had two corner towers at the corners of the southern frontage (Fig. 2). Another source - sepia drawn by Prančiškus Smuglevičius at the end of the 18th century shows the ruins of the Royal palace with an enlargement in the south-eastern corner (Fig. 3). Only at first sight is it possible to interpret this widening as an oriel. Combining these sources it is better to conclude that the southern frontage of Royal palace in the Upper Castle had two defensive corner towers with widening in the top, also with balistrarias (Armbrustschieäscharte) for crossbow shots (Fig. On a Front page).

The last and largest reconstruction of the Upper castle was made after fire in 1419 and carried out by rule Vytautas-Alexander the Great. At the beginning of the 15th century reconstructed Royal palace on the hill took on some exterior decoration of the late Gothic. Vytautas - Alexander visited German Order twice in the years of 1382–1384 and 1390–1392. He had an opportunity personally to see Order castles, also Marienburg (Malbork). It is possible that the palace of the Great master in the Middle Castle of Marienburg with two corner towers on its western frontage, influenced on reconstruction of the Royal palace in Vilnius Upper castle.