

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

LAURA PRASCEVIČIŪTĖ

THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM HERITAGE:
RESEARCH AND PROTECTION PROBLEMS

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Scientific supervisor:

doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H).

The dissertation is being defended at the Council of Scientific Field of History at Vilnius University:

Chairman – prof. dr. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History - 05 H).

Members:

prof. habil. dr. Tamara Bairašauskaitė (The Lithuanian Institute of History, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H);

prof. dr. Jonas Rimantas Glemža (Vilnius Academy of Arts, Humanitarian Sciences, Art Studies – 03 H);

dr. Dalia Klajumienė (Vilnius Academy of Arts, Humanitarian Sciences, Art Studies – 03 H);

doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H).

Opponents:

prof. dr. Albinas Kuncevičius (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History - 05 H);

prof. dr. Rita Regina Trimonienė (Šiauliai University, Humanitarian Sciences, History - 05 H).

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LAURA PRASCEVIČIŪTĖ

VALAKŲ REFORMOS PAVELDAS:
TYRIMŲ IR APSAUGOS PROBLEMOS

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Mokslinis vadovas:

doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H).

Disertacija ginama Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos mokslo krypties taryboje:

Pirmininkas – prof. dr. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija - 05 H).

Nariai:

prof. habil. dr. Tamara Bairašauskaitė (Lietuvos istorijos institutas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H);

prof. dr. Jonas Rimantas Glemža (Vilniaus dailės akademija, humanitariniai mokslai, menotyra – 03 H);

dr. Dalia Klajumienė (Vilniaus dailės akademija, humanitariniai mokslai, menotyra – 03 H);

doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H).

Oponentai:

prof. dr. Albinas Kuncevičius (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija - 05 H);

prof. dr. Rita Regina Trimonienė (Šiaulių universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija - 05 H).

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INTRODUCTION

The Valakas Land Reform, started in the middle of the 16th century in the state lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was first and foremost related with the reforms in the economic and social spheres. However, this reform initiated by the Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismundus Augustus not only changed the agrarian relations between the estate and the village, the very system of rural economy, but also determined the first planned reform of the previously formed landscape of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. During the reform the system of land tenure and landowning, the structures of village settlement, their design and the network of local roads were reconstructed, some small towns redesigned and the network of the state estates expanded. In the 16th century, under the impact of the mentioned factors, the valakas-type landscape started to be formed, and it may be called the period of the development of the Lithuanian cultural landscape, whose separate elements had remained unchanged for the entire four centuries, reaching the first decades of the 20th century. The structure of the valakas-type landscape began to disappear due to the accomplishment of the grange reform of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century and the Soviet kolkhoz reform that took place in the middle of the 20th century. Some elements of such a landscape, i.e., street-strip villages, old cemeteries, the fragments of the restructured small town rectangular plan, the fragmentary network of roads have remained until today and may be recognized as objects of heritage in the contemporary landscape.

Problems of research.

The problem of the conception and protection of heritage. Although during the last two decades the typological conception of heritage has been expanding, yet similarly to other agrarian, social and administrative reforms, in the scientific works or in the very system of heritage protection the term the Valakas Land Reform heritage is not used on the same level as the concepts of industrial heritage, military heritage or other types of heritage related with the adequate industrial, social, economic or political actions of the society, with different epochs or artistic styles. While still illegitimate, the mentioned concept does not allow to fully understand its complex value and hence the necessity for

its integral protection. Up to now, the Valakas Land Reform heritage has been protected by preserving the cultural value of the isolated elemental objects despite their initial integral character. It should be stressed that, similarly to other historical types of the Lithuanian landscape, the proper conception of the valakas-type landscape and its elements does not yet exist either in the major work on the Lithuanian landscape Study of the Varieties of the Landscape's Spatial Structure in the Republic of Lithuania and Identification of Its Types or in the inventory Landscape Preservation Policy Directions for 2004-2020 in the Republic of Lithuania, on the basis of which the policy of the state landscape formation has been developed.

Research problem. In the context of landscape development, the evaluation and recognition of the heritage objects formed under the impact of the Valakas Land Reform turn to be more and more complicated due to a rather fragmentary investigation of this type of heritage. The more so that the present landscape of Lithuania is stratified under the impact of the grange reform, the Soviet kolkhoz reform and the New Land Reform of 1990 that took place in the 20th century. In other words, the contemporary landscape has acquired a complex structure. In order to understand the development of such a landscape the knowledge of the processes that influenced it is crucial. No doubt, proper qualitative knowledge may be gained by complex research. Only an exhaustive analysis of the Valakas Land Reform and the formation of the reform heritage model, the clarification of what objects appeared under the impact of this reform and the exploration of the remained objects may help to recognize the place that the reform heritage occupies in the general context of the Lithuanian landscape development, provide the outline for its protection and store scientific information.

The opinion prevails that the fragments of the valakas-type landscape survived exclusively in the territories, which due to particular reasons were less affected by the later landscape reforms. Such regions are South-Eastern and Eastern Lithuania and the regions of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e., Podlachia and Western Belarus. Meanwhile, it is unreasonably considered that in other regions of Lithuania no elements of the valakas-type landscape have remained. Such elements have survived in other regions as well, yet they cannot be compared with the landscape of the South-Eastern or Eastern Lithuania by the degree of their preservation. Moreover, it is rather complicated to “read” them due to the more intensively operating landscape alterations. In order to

contradict the formed opinion, the carried out case analysis was based on the heritage of Middle Lithuania, the region that by some scholars is regarded as the vacuum of the Valakas Land Reform heritage. The choice was also determined by an obvious lack of scientific attention regarding the mentioned region, when compared to the regions that demonstrate the highest concentration of the surviving valakas-type landscape elements (e.g., South-Eastern or Eastern Lithuania). The exploration of the mentioned region was also inspired by the determination that, unfortunately, due to the rapid process of the valakas-type landscape decline many objects cannot be preserved, but they may still be recognized and fixed. Concerning such territories, it is even more important to name and enumerate the survived elements, analyse and fix them, since the preservation of the scientific information is most often the only way to protect them.

The object of research. The object of the detailed analysis of the work is the Valakas Land Reform heritage, which is treated as the valakas-type landscape formed during the Valakas Land Reform and inherited from the past, and the separate objects of this complex structure.

All the remaining objects formed under the impact of the Valakas Land Reform and their relics are regarded as representing the Valakas Land Reform heritage. The segments of the object of research may be as follow: the landscape formed during the Valakas Land Reform and its separate elements, such as reconstructed small towns, street-strip villages, their cemeteries and the network of roads and estates. The object of the work is approached from the two perspectives: heritage research and heritage protection.

The aim and the tasks of the research. The work aims at the analysis of the variation of the Valakas Land Reform heritage and the formation of the very conception of the Valakas Land Reform heritage through investigation of the intensively vanishing valakas-type heritage. The main aim of the complex analysis is to explore the circumstances of the valakas-type landscape formation, identify and localize the Valakas Land Reform heritage, describe its situation from the perspective of heritage protection and present the draft outline of its protection.

Seeking to realize the set goal the following tasks were set out in the given research: 1) on the basis of the already existing studies to discuss the sources and development of the Valakas Land Reform in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by focusing

on the technical aspect of the reform. For fulfilling this task, the economic and social factors have been touched upon only as much as required for the general understanding of the reform and the processes initiated by it at that time; 2) after having analysed the impact of the Valakas Land Reform on the landscape of the 16th century Grand Duchy of Lithuania to distinguish the specific features of the formation and the interior structure of the valakas-type landscape; 3) to discuss the research problems of the Valakas Land Reform heritage related with its identification, localization and interpretation and identify the reform heritage, i.e., the valakas-type landscape and its separate elements, and analyse its development; 4) to analyse the development of the Valakas Land Reform in the state lands of the Upytė rural district; by distinguishing and localizing the heritage formed under the impact of the reform and by evaluating it in the contemporary context to describe the present state of this heritage, the degree of its survival and work out the model of the Valakas Land Reform heritage; 5) to evaluate the alterations of the valakas-type landscape that took place at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century and analyse the factors that determined them; 6) to clear up the problems of the Valakas Land Reform heritage registration and protection and provide the outline of the Valakas Land Reform heritage protection.

Research methods. The main methods used for the solution of the mentioned tasks are the following ones: analytical, genetic, synthetic, comparative, interpretative, historic geographic, historic cartographic and field survey.

In this work, the author has set the task to carry out the heritage study research and analysis of the obtained results from the perspective of heritage protection. During the investigation the source enquiry, their analysis and systematization were performed. The historiographical nature of the analysed problem has also been discussed.

In order to determine the new landscape elements that were formed during the Valakas Land Reform the analysis of the 16th century reform regulations was carried out and the identification of the objects not mentioned in them yet formed under the impact of the reform was made. Later on, when trying to clear out what objects of the Valakas Land Reform heritage reached the 21st century, the localization of the identified objects was made. In this respect, several phases of the exploration were distinguished: 1) the analysis of the inventories, in which the descriptions of the village boundaries and small towns' lands are registered; 2) the exploration of the descriptions of the village

boundaries and analysis of the place names; 3) cartographic-geographic localization of the identified place names in the topographic maps of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century and later on in the maps and aerophotographs of the 21st century.

It is possible to find out what elements of the valakas-type heritage localized in villages and small towns have survived by employing the field research method, i.e., by inventorying the localized villages and small towns. In this research, the method of landscape observation and its fixation was used. Beside field research, the aerophotographs found in the system of land tenure were used for the inventorization of the objects and well served as an additional visual source illustrating the remaining elements.

Novelty and relevance of the work. The novelty of the work lies in both the complex nature of research and its separate aspects. The given doctoral thesis generalizes and actualizes the problems of the insufficiently analysed Valakas Land Reform heritage as a significant complex of landscape. The paper offers the first attempt at the complex analysis of the heritage formed during the Valakas Land Reform – from the identification of the valakas-type heritage, its localization to its registration and protection. All the objects formed under the impact of the reform and their relics were explored and the specific features of the valakas-type landscape formation and its interior structure were determined. The problems of the research and conception of the Valakas Land Reform heritage were made relevant, the development of this type of heritage was analyzed, the heritage formed in the lands of the Upytė rural district under the impact of the reform was localized and identified, the model of the Valakas Land Reform heritage was constructed and the problems related with the heritage registration and protection described.

The impact of the processes that took place in the analysed period stressed in the carried out research reveals the contextual perspective on cultural heritage and forms assumptions for a deeper understanding of the landscape development in Lithuania and the Valakas Land Reform heritage in particular. The work will be beneficial in: offering a better understanding of the true value of the valakas-type landscape; defining the particular place of the Valakas Land Reform heritage in the context of the Lithuanian cultural heritage; provoking further attempts at the expansion of the horizons of the Valakas Land Reform heritage research; developing its registration and selection.

1. THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM IN THE HISTORY OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Valakas Land Reform started to be established in the fourth – fifth decades of the 16th century. In the context of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it was the period of the significant social and economic changes, which in the given research is especially significant for its technical processes that left the material traces in the landscape of Lithuania.

1.1 The sources of the Valakas Land Reform

In Lithuanian historiography, the prevailing general opinion is that the accomplishment of the Valakas Land Reform was determined by the political and economic processes, which took place in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the first half of the 16th century. The new system of land tenure management was accepted due to the economic and administrative reasons directed toward the modernization and optimization of tax collection and intensification of the development of agriculture.

During the discussed period in the part of the territory of Podlachia that belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania more rational forms of land tenure had been already applied, which were accompanied by the new principles of peasant exploitation – the feudal rent was calculated in relation to an exactly measured land area, by the units called the valakas (21 ha approximately). Those times land measurement by the valakas units spread in the territories of Podlachia from the 14th – 15th centuries, when these lands were colonized by peasants and minor feudals from the Duchy of Masovia and Poland. As the unit of feudal labour conscription, the valakas was accepted by some Lithuanian noblemen who in the territories of Podlachia established their latifundium. The ideas of the Valakas Land Reform were nurtured in the domain of Grand Duchess Bona Sforza. Having estimated the principles of land tenure prevailing in the territories of the Duchy of Masovia and Podlachia that were under her reign, the advantages and benefits of the widely spread method of land measurement by precisely defined area units, Bona Sforza started the reorganization of the Lithuanian peasant land tenure according to the Polish model of land tenure, i.e., by introducing the regular three-field mode into the accurately measured land areas, on the size of which depended the volume of labour conscription. The lands were joined into integral massives: while eliminating

the strips and inserted private lands, the latter were taken from the owners and replaced by the land areas of equal value in other territories.

1.2 Significance of the Valakas Land Reform

In the middle of the 16th century in order to increase the income of treasury the Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismundus Augustus adopted the essential principles of the reform carried out in the domain of Duchess Bona Sforza. He started accomplishing the Valakas Land Reform in all the state lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The principles of the reform accomplishment and its tasks were defined by the Regulations of the Valakas Land Reform published on April 1, 1557. The essence of the reform was to relate the peasants' labour conscription with the size of the owned land in order to increase the income of treasury. The land areas were accurately separated as the regular massives and cultivated within the three-field structure. From the author's point of view, the reform may be estimated in three aspects: technical, social and economic.

The major tasks regarding the *technical aspect* of the reform were to separate the state land areas from the private ones, unite them into massives, measure them by the precisely defined land measurement units – the valakas, determine their exact boundaries and establish the three-field system of land tenure. Thus, it aimed at the replacement of the existing scattered small-plot land tenure structure, which contained the separate small areas of irregular shape scattered in the forests or other places suitable for agriculture and were mixed with the lands cultivated by the private owners. The isolated peasant granges were integrated into the newly established and planned villages possessing an exactly marked territory.

From the *social point of view*, the Valakas Land Reform fully abolished the rights of private land property for unprivileged population and hence consolidated serfdom. The land of the state peasants was taken away and measured by the valakas units on the basis of the statement fixed in the Valakas Law, which reads as follows: “a peasant together with his whole property” is in the possession of the Duke. The land measured by the valakas units was given to the peasants without considering the amount of their former lands. It is important to note that each family regained the formerly possessed land as the land which they could exploit, yet it was owned by the Grand Duke or some baron. In other words, they became mere land users, and their descendants could only inherit the right to work on it, but could not possess it as their property.

The Valakas Land Reform was especially beneficial to the Grand Duke from the *economic perspective*. The chief aim of the reform was to increase the treasury income by covering the land measured by the valakas units with the monetary and in kind taxes and corvée to the estate. The centralization of the domain of the Grand Duke and establishment of the three-field strip system had intensified the agricultural economy in several decades: by joining the isolated land areas into one massive better conditions were formed for land cultivation, which increased the efficiency of agricultural production. It is important to stress that the revenue of the Grand Duke from his land property had grown for three-four times.

2. THE IMPACT OF THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM ON THE LANDSCAPE OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

In this chapter, the landscape alterations of the villages, small towns and forestry in the 16th century Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the specific features of the valakas-type landscape formation and its interior structure were identified.

2.1. Village landscape

The Valakas Land Reform transformed the elements of the pre-valakas village landscape, i.e., the structures of landowning, land tenure and land building, and determined the emergence of new landscape elements. Villages acquired the new planned and spatial building structures. After having replaced the old forms of farming by the new ones, the regular elements of land tenure started dominating in the landscape.

The alterations of the village landscape were presented in the Valakas Land Reform regulations. By these regulations the *reorganization of the state owned villages* was legitimated: the old villages with irregular landowning were destroyed and their dwellers were ordered to leave their granges and move to the newly established villages that were planned in advance and possessed a regulated building structure. The regulations imposed the three-field structure for the whole village. The regular three-field scheme of land tenure sought to consolidate the cycle of the three-field crop rotation – when one field was used for winter crop growing, the second one for summer-corn and the third field used for fallow. Such alteration of the landscape based on the specific land organization was accomplished by joining the lands allotted to a particular village into one massive and measuring it by dividing into the regular shape fields,

which, in their turn, were cut up into the *strips* of regular shape. The peasants who took the valakas-type lands received one third of the strips measured by morgens and given to them from each of the three fields of the village. The strips from the three fields made one valakas unit. Nevertheless, when the lands were measured by the valakas units, some land areas remained not included into any of the three fields of the village. Such land areas were called the beyond-borders. They were used as the plots for land cultivation, meadows, or pastures. Sometimes the grange was built on them. When the lands were joined into the integral areas measured by the valakas units, the *borders* of the villages, separate fields, the strips of the peasants and the areas beyond the borders acquired the precise and regular boundaries that were marked by the so called kapčius ('Kapčius' is the dug out earth knoll made for marking the field bounds) and bounds. The mentioned forms of the owned estate separation had become a significant component of the planned landscape structure emphasizing the regularity of the land tenure elements. During the reform a new *village building structure* was formed: the granges had to be built in the places indicated by the land surveyors – by no means in one of the three village fields. Across this field a *straight village street* was built, to which the peasants' strips of land chosen for the grange building were vertically connected. The reform regulations also determined the *planned structure of the grange building*: the easily burnt buildings, e.g., barns, had to be situated further away from other buildings, hence, in the case of fire, the peasants could suffer less damage. During the reform period a new type of the construction, i.e., the rectangular cattle-sheds with an inner yard in the centre emerged.

The regulations of the Valakas Land Reform introduced the establishment of a new type of the estate and initiated the development of their network.

2.2. Town landscape

The Valakas Land Reform was an important factor in the development of land tenure and planned structure both in villages and in a part of urban settlements. During the reform land tenure of the towns with the Magdeburg Rights and small towns was reorganized on the basis of the same principles as the ones used in reorganizing the peasants' lands. When eliminating the strips of private land, the land that was located outside a town or a small town was joined into integral massives, measured by the valakas units and divided into three regular fields of the cultivated land. In towns and small towns, the land measured by the valakas units was separated from the grange area:

a town-dweller could have only a grange area in the territory of the town, but no valakas. During the reform period the *layout* of towns and small towns was transformed; meanwhile, earlier it was formed and changed spontaneously. The rectangular plan scheme started to be applied for the planned reorganization of towns and small towns, which was based on the measuring principles spread in Western and Middle Europe from the 13th century. Such a scheme contained a rectangular or quadratic market square and two straight streets, proceeding from it on each corner, which together with other streets going the same directions formed a certain number of the quarters of regular shape around the square. Towns and small towns were reorganized in several ways: 1) when reconstructing an old part of the settlement, by straightening the streets of an existing settlement and forming a tetragon market square; 2) near an old settlement of an irregular plan, by measuring some part of a town or small town according to a new scheme of the rectangular plan; 3) by setting a regular rectangular shape scheme in a small town, which was built in a new place, or by destroying an old settlement and measuring a small town in an entirely new place. The reform regulations predicted the obligatory three-mile distance between the newly built small towns in order “one market could not harm another one” and the ruler’s towns and small towns would not experience losses.

2.3. The landscape of forestry

The regulations of the Valakas Land Reform fixed the first planned alterations of the forestry landscape in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. During the period of the reform it was determined to carry out the reorganization of the state forestry and regulate forest exploitation and control. The chief aims of the reform regarding the governing of forestry were as follow: to establish the exact borders and dividing lines of the state forests and at the expense of forests to expand the areas of the cultivated land. In the first case, the land surveyors were ordered to establish the borders of the forest massives that are not fit for agriculture. When measuring such forests, it was not allowed to divide them into the valakas-type strips: their area was calculated by the valakas and morgen units. In order to acquire information about the exact borders of the state forests Grigalius Valavičius, the castellan of Gardin (now in the territory of Belarus) conducted the revision of the state woods. The revision established the strict borders between the state and private forests, registered the servitudes possessed by the private owners in the

state forests and the cases of forest capture and reinforced the protection of forest borders. In the second case, they were required to measure by the valakas units a part of forest territories, which were fit for cultivation, and settle people there. If the area of the measured forest or meadow was smaller than three valakas, it was required not to settle peasants in it. The regulations declared that otherwise the peasants would use the forest that would bring more harm than benefit.

3. THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM HERITAGE

In this chapter, the aspects of the development of the elements formed during the Valakas Land Reform and their alterations and the most problematic issues related with the valakas-type landscape research are revealed.

3.1. Villages

Up to the very end of the 18th century the Valakas Land Reform regulations remained the most significant act of standards for the administration of the state village affairs. The principles of land tenure and village planning consolidated by these regulations remained unchanged until the 19th – 20th centuries, when the new agrarian reforms started being accomplished. Village fields, their boundaries and village areas throughout the entire period of 300–400 years remained in the same locations as it was planned and established in the middle of the 16th century. The elements formed during the reform without more considerable alterations grew into traditional ones and survived until the first half of the 20th century. The modifications in the grange and village building structure took place with the formation of new architectural traditions: in the land owning structure they occurred under the impact of land property distribution among the members of the family. Eventually, the new elements formed in the village landscape, such as tree lines, fences and bounds both marking and dividing the granges and field strips. These elements are treated as the result of the standards formed during the reform and preserved throughout four ages.

3.2. Cemeteries

It is a typical situation when in the contemporary landscape near the villages established during the period of the Valakas Land Reform old village cemeteries are found. In the heritage protection system and in archaeological science, an exact

conception of the old village cemetery has not been formulated. Their dating is totally obscure as well. The burial places, which, relying on the archaeological finds, are dated up to the second quarter of the 18th century, are called burial-grounds (with an exception of burial mounds) and are protected as the objects of archaeological heritage. Meanwhile, the emergence of the cemeteries near villages is only preliminary related with the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. In our case, the remaining village cemeteries are getting lost in the common context of history and archaeology, when unrelated with a particular settlement and its history. The very term “old cemetery” in relation to the accepted dating seems to imply that the phenomenon of village cemetery appeared solely at the end of the 18th century. However, it is vital to understand that the burial places named burial grounds formed earlier were nothing else but the cemeteries of the village communities. In this research, the assumption is put forward that with the formation of a new network of settlements during the period of the Valakas Land Reform new burial places emerged. In various historical sources, burials in the cemeteries erected near villages were mentioned in the period between the second half of the 16th century – the beginning of the 20th century. This fact allows for the search of the continuity in the burial phenomenon by escaping the determination of a strict line of time, i.e., the 18th century. On the basis of the archaeological research material and after having compared the obtained data with the known historical sources it was determined that after the Valakas Land Reform carried out in the second half of the 16th century, when villages were established in the new uninhabited locations, new burial places appeared. It is important to stress that, in case an old burial place was included into the territory a newly established or reorganized village, the burial took place in the same cemetery. Until the period embracing the end of the 18th century and the entire 19th century a part of the village dwellers still buried their deceased in the churchyards. In the 19th century burials took place in the newly established parish cemeteries. Nevertheless, the tradition to bury the deceased in the cemeteries located near villages remained until the middle of the 20th century.

3.3. The network of roads

The alterations that took place during the period of the Valakas Land Reform affected the development of communication in Lithuania. With the transformation of the settlement structure a new network of the local roads was formed by preserving the

former most important road routes. In fact, the newly formed roads and paths remained in the same routes until the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. The network of such roads and paths started vanishing when the villages were divided into individual granges. Especially fast were the alterations of the network of the roads formed during the Valakas Land Reform in the Soviet years: when the fragments of a street-strip village were eliminated, the network of the village paths and even the village street disappeared. Nevertheless, some communication routes between the villages that emerged during the Valakas Land Reform may still be identified in the present landscape.

3.4. Vorwerk estates

The regulations of the Valakas Land Reform encouraged the expansion of the areas of ploughed land and establishment of state vorwerk estates in all the places wherever the land was of good quality. Such estates differed from the earlier ones in their purpose and organization of production. It has been accepted that in the territory of Lithuania the vorwerk estates were mostly established in the second half of the 16th century in the left best areas of valakas-measured land that were not used to build the state villages. Eventually, the number of the newly established estates increased as they were established not only in the vacant valakas areas but also in the valakas land areas that were used by peasants.

4. CASE STUDY: THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM IN THE UPYTĖ RURAL DISTRICT AND ITS HERITAGE

Some elements of the landscape formed during the period of the Valakas Land Reform – the rectangular plan of the towns, street villages and their fragments, a fragmentary network of the estates have survived until today. These elements may be estimated and protected as representing immovable heritage, i.e., the objects of archaeology, architecture, urban studies and landscape architecture. In order to find out which elements of the valakas-type landscape remained in the 21st century, the example of the Upytė rural district was taken for analysis.

4.1. Reorganization of the state lands in the Upytė rural district

The Valakas Land Reform in the state lands of the Upytė rural district included into the Trakai vaivode province was accomplished in 1554–1556. On the basis of the

Upytė rural district inventory the following newly formed landscape elements formed in the state lands during the reform were distinguished: 2 reconstructed towns, 357 newly established villages. It was determined that the reform formed an entirely new building structure in the Upytė rural district (the network of 357 villages and 2 towns), a particular agrarian structure closely related with it (the village and town lands measured in the valakas units) and engineering structure (straight and clearly defined village borders and a new network of roads).

4.2. Localization of the Valakas Land Reform heritage in the Upytė rural district

While exploring what elements of the Valakas Land Reform heritage that survived in the 21st century, firstly the villages and the reconstructed towns established during the period of the reform were localized. It was done on the basis of the Upytė rural district inventory, which contained exhaustive descriptions of the borders of the neighbouring village and town lands. During localization least complications were met concerning the two towns reconstructed during the reform, i.e., Šeduva and Panevėžys, since their names and localization have not changed. The state villages of the district were localized on the basis of the description of the village borders given in the inventory. It should be noted that the localization of the villages mentioned in the inventory was complicated. It was so mainly due to the changed names of a number of villages. In addition, a big shortcoming met in the process of localization was the discovery that the described territories were not presented cartographically. Yet, after having determined that the established structure of the valakas-type land control preserved its main forms nearly unchanged until the beginning of the 20th century, it was possible to find the reflections of the valakas-type landscape in the topographic maps of the end of the 19th century – the beginning of the 20th century and in the village plans made in the 19th century – the reflections of the village territorial structure, cemeteries and networks of old roads.

4.3. The survived heritage of the Valakas Land Reform

When analysing which heritage of the Valakas Land Reform survived until present, the field research method was employed. Some villages were inventoried with the use of the mentioned method. Due to the degree of their survival the villages were divided into several groups: 1. The villages, in which no elements of the valakas-type

landscape survived. Such villages are of several types: a) totally vanished villages; b) village areas, on which new settlements were erected. 2. Villages, in which only a village street remained and the fragments of the former grange strips or village street planting. 3. Some fragments of the street village building structure have remained: several granges with the planned building structure, a village street and the fragments of the former grange strips and planting of the village street. Some parts of such villages were put up with the buildings of the second half of the 20th century – such granges were built in the free areas of the villages that remained after the grange reform. 4. A nearly complete planned building structure of the village has survived with the planned grange building structure, the village street and the fragments of the former grange strips and village street planting. In addition to the mentioned elements, in all the places of the street-strip villages the cultural layer of the village location was formed as the result of four centuries of inhabitation in a single place; in some villages, the cemeteries have survived as well. In order to find out what elements of the Valakas Land Reform survived in the towns and small towns, the case of the town of Šeduva was studied as an example. It was determined that the structure of the town's central rectangular square plan and the network of the main streets survived.

5. PROTECTION OF THE VALAKAS LAND REFORM HERITAGE

In this chapter, the changes of the valakas-type landscape that took place in the 19th century – the first half of the 20th century and the factors that determined them have been analysed. The problems related with the Valakas Land Reform heritage protection have been discussed.

5.1. The alterations of the valakas-type landscape in the 19th – 20th centuries

The most important reasons that determined the transformation of the valakas-type village landscape and a larger or smaller survival of its elements were the new agrarian reforms that changed the method of landowning, the forms of land tenure and the structures of building and engineering. The valakas-type structure of the village landscape changed after the accomplishment of the grange reforms. The first agrarian reforms started in the first half of the 19th century in the Užnemunė region (South-Western territory on the left bank of the river Nemunas) and from 1861 in other territories of Lithuania. The second one known under the name of Stolypin Agrarian

Reform was carried out in 1906–1915. However, most rapidly the villages were divided into granges in 1922–1939. The reform of this period concerned nearly all the valakas-type villages except the ones in Eastern Lithuania. During this process firstly the old valakas-type land strips were eliminated. On the basis of the same principle the urban landowning was transformed. One of the most important aims of the reform was to join all the land strips of a separate farm into a single site of land and build a grange in its centre.

Yet, the greatest and fastest reorganization of land tenure and former building structures was accomplished in the Soviet period – by liquidating the private property in 1940–1941 and in 1944–1948. Under such circumstances, the elements of the survived valakas-type landscape underwent an additional transformation – they were either reconstructed or destroyed. During the reconstruction of the grange-type village landscape structure by following the scheme of kolkhoz-type villages the still surviving fragments of the valakas-type landscape rapidly vanished: the grange villages with the remaining valakas elements were built in the newly established kolkhoz settlements, hence the planted areas of the valakas-type villages and the grange building structure were eliminated.

5.2. The outline for the protection of the Valakas Land Reform heritage

After having analyzed the degree of the survival of the Valakas Land Reform heritage, the following complex methods of its protection have been offered: protection of the objects in their original location; their protection in the museum territories or protection by storing the information about an object.

When the *objects are protected in their original location*, it is important to preserve not only the separate elements of cultural heritage, but also their surroundings – their building structure, type of material and the relationship with the landscape. Since the Valakas Land Reform created a new type of settlement and transformed the structures of landowning, planting, engineering and building, i.e., formed a new landscape, the particular territories should be protected, i.e., the ones which contain the greatest amount of the elements typical of the remaining valakas-type landscape. For instance, the street-strip village should be protected not only as an example of ethnic architecture, but also as the result of the Valakas Land Reform with the specific grange distribution arrangement, certain plants that mark the strip places, the network of village

roads and paths and the aspects of its cultural layer. Such protection should be supported by the financial aid offered by the government to the owners of these objects.

If there is no possibility to protect the Valakas Land Reform heritage in its original location, another possible way to do it is to *relocate the surviving elements in the museum territories*. The expositions of the relocated wooden buildings are found in the Open-air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės, the Samogitian Museum “Alka“ and the Daugyvenė Museum-Reservation on History of Culture. It is important to inform that in the latter the Kleboniškiai village established during the Valakas Land Reform is under reconstruction. This museum differs from other museums of this type in that the original buildings brought here are located in the place of the old buildings in order to restore the former picture of the village, its building structure and planting. The shifted farm buildings are located in the environment, in which they were formed, i.e., in a street-strip village. Other museums established in unauthentic locations are more oriented toward the exposition of village architecture and country life in general rather than the former structure of street village planning.

The aspect of the *preservation of the information about a heritage object* should be grounded by research and compilation of the scientific information. This method might be applied for such elements of the survived valakas-type landscape that are rapidly vanishing and therefore may not be included into the Register of Cultural Values and for the objects found in a poor physical condition, which have no chance to be preserved, or the objects of a lower landscape-related significance. The compilation of the information about a heritage object requires object analysis, photo fixation and special measurements. Such compilation of information is beneficial for the general knowledge about the process and may satisfy the scientific demands.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In the course of the discussion of the sources of the Valakas Land Reform and its significance in the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania it has been determined that in the 16th century a new system of agricultural land regulation and tenure was accepted due to the economic and administrative reasons in order to modernize and optimize tax collection and intensify the development of agricultural economy. The Valakas Land Reform may be evaluated in several aspects: social, economic and

technical. The major economic goal of the reform was the necessity to increase the income of state treasury, which determined the social changes and technical reconstructions. The latter entirely transformed all the former territorial and building structures of the spontaneously arranged pre-valakas landscape and formed a new type of landscape.

2. During the analysis of the impact of the Valakas Land Reform on the development of the 16th century landscape in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the specific features of the valakas-type landscape formation it has been found out that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the planned and spatial structure of the 16th century landscape was formed according to the concrete and planned model based on the Valakas Land Reform regulations. In the context of landscape development in Lithuania, the reform marked the period of radical transformations manifest in the following movements in landscape reconstruction: land measurement by the valakas units; determination of the precise borderlines of the cultivated lands and forest territories; introduction of the regular three-field strip system; establishment of street-strip villages; modification of the small town design; expansion of the network of estates; cultivation of the new areas of ploughed land at the expense of forestry.

3. During the period of the Valakas Land Reform the village landscape was transformed: under its impact the regular three-field strip system, the street-strip villages with a new planned grange building structure were formed, a new type of construction, i.e., a rectangular cattle-shed with an inner yard in the centre was spread and the network of estates was established. In the structure of the village landscape, the elements of regular shape started dominating: the cultivated fields were joined into the regular compact massives, which were divided by the regular parallel strips; the dividing borders were marked; the straight village streets and regular grange strips were formed. When the reform was accomplished, the earlier pre-valakas villages reconstructed and the new ones built, the network of settlements became denser and acquired a new structure.

The reform determined the alterations of land tenure in the state towns and small towns, the changes in their building structures and affected the development of the network of towns. It was the first planned phase of town development in Lithuania. In the urban landscape, the spontaneously formed linear and radial plan of the town was

replaced by a rectangular structure and three-field landowning. During the reform period new towns were built.

The alterations of the forestry landscape were carried out in several aspects. For the cultivation of a greater amount of land areas, a part of forest territories fit to be turned into ploughing fields and suitable for the development of agriculture were measured by the valakas units and the peasants were settled there. Thus, at the expense of the forest valakas areas, the sparsely populated territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were colonized. The forest territories unfit for ploughing were not measured by the valakas units and not distributed; yet, the accurate borderlines of such forest massives were distinguished and marked and their common area was measured by the valakas units.

4. Without more considerable alterations and therefore having grown into tradition, the essential principles regarding the landowning structure and building structure, which were formed during the Valakas Land Reform, remained until the middle of the 20th century. Throughout the period between the 19th – the middle of the 20th century the alterations in landowning mostly occurred due to the processes of the owned land distribution among the family members. When dividing the area measured by the valakas units, the number of strips increased and their width grew narrower. The processes of the valakas land distribution determined the alterations in the plan of the street-strip villages: due to land distribution among the family members the number of the granges increased, the grange strips grew narrower and they were divided lengthwise. Later on, in some villages, they were divided across. When under the impact of the reform the street-strip model of the village was formed and the grange building structure regulated. Here, due to the newly formed traditions and economic and social factors the rural architectural traditions were developed: the planned and constructional structures of the dwelling houses and service farm buildings were improved, which caused the alterations in their architectural forms. Eventually, the new elements of the valakas-type landscape were formed – such as the specific planting structure with the rows of trees, fences and bounds that divided the grange and field strips from each other.

5. The Valakas Land Reform may be considered as one of the most significant chronological aspects in the history of the Lithuanian village cemeteries. The establishment of some part of the cemeteries near villages that survived until today might

be related with the date of the village building. In the historical sources, burials in the cemeteries located near villages were mentioned throughout the whole period between the second half of the 16th – the beginning of the 20th century. After having compared the data given in the historical sources with the material of the archaeological research it has been determined that after building a village in a new and earlier uninhabited location under the impact of the Valakas Land Reform the new burial places were formed. In case an old burial place was included into the territory of the reconstructed village, burials continued there. Until the end of the 18th century and throughout the 19th century some part of villagers buried their deceased in the churchyards. In the 19th century, burials started taking place in the newly formed parish cemeteries. However, until the very middle of the 19th century some villages preserved the tradition to bury their deceased in the cemeteries located near villages.

6. The reform determined the first planned reorganization of the network of roads in Lithuania. After having changed the forms of land owning and land tenure and with the formation of the new network of settlements, the network of the local roads joining villages with other villages, estates, mansions and small towns was reconstructed. The major trade roads between towns and small towns remained the same as before the Valakas Land Reform. The local network of roads and paths in the village territory consisted of the following segments: a village street; the roads leading to the neighbouring villages, to the town, small town and estate; the paths leading to the fields, forests and the cemetery; the path used for bringing live-stock to pastures; the barn path and the so called border path that divided the fields of the village.

7. In the landscape of Lithuania, the alterations were performed by establishing new agricultural administrative units, the vorwerk estates. During the research it was determined that some part of such estates that in later ages became the property of the private persons were turned into manors. Other estates either vanished or were destroyed. Due to the mentioned reasons only the places, which witness the existence of the former estates established in the 16th century, may be regarded as the Valakas Land Reform heritage.

8. During the period of the Valakas Land Reform in the state lands of the Uplytė rural district 357 villages were established and 2 small towns reconstructed. On the basis

of the maps of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century and the village plans some villages mentioned in the inventory of the Upytė rural district were localized.

9. The most important reasons that determined the modifications of the valakas-type landscape and a greater or smaller survival of its elements were the agrarian reforms accomplished in the 19th – 20th centuries. These reforms changed the forms of landowning and land tenure that existed during the Valakas Land Reform, and reorganized the engineering, village and grange building structure. Due to these alterations, in a part of the territory of Lithuania, the Valakas Land Reform heritage became hardly recognizable and perceived.

10. Despite the fact that the typological conception of heritage has been continuously expanded, in the heritage protection system the term “the Valakas Land Reform heritage” does not exist. Until today the Valakas Land Reform heritage was protected by preserving the cultural value of the isolated elemental objects, without considering their initial integral entity. The laws of the Republic of Lithuania show attempts at the consolidation of the integral or complex protection of the elements representing this type of heritage – street-strip villages, historical parts of towns and small towns, etc. However, the very Valakas Land Reform heritage has not yet been properly understood and evaluated as an integral component in the variety of the Lithuanian landscape. It is possible to protect the Valakas Land Reform heritage solely by properly inventorying and estimating it. Three methods of its complex protection are possible: by preserving the objects in their original location; -by exposing them in the museum territories and preferably in the closest to the original historical environment; by compiling and storing information about heritage objects.

Translated from Lithuanian by Jadvyga Krūminienė

Reziūmė

XVI a. viduryje Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valstybinėse žemėse pradėta vykdyti *valakų reforma* pirmiausia siejama su pokyčiais ekonominėje bei socialinėje srityse. Tačiau ši, Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Žygimanto Augusto sumanymu įgyvendinta reforma ne tik pakeitė agrarinius dvaro ir kaimo santykius, žemdirbystės sistemą, bet ir nulėmė pirmą planingą iki tol susiformavusio Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kraštovaizdžio pertvarką. Reformos metu buvo pertvarkyta žemėvaldos ir žemėtvarkos sistema, kaimų struktūra, jų išplanavimas, vietinių kelių tinklas, perplanuota dalis miestelių, plėstas valstybinių palivarkų tinklas. Šių veiksnių įtakoje XVI a. ėmė formotis valakinis kraštovaizdis - Lietuvos kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio raidos etapas, kurio atskiri elementai beveik nepakitę išsilaikė net keturis šimtmečius – iki XX a. pirmųjų dešimtmečių. Valakinio kraštovaizdžio struktūra Lietuvoje ėmė nykti XIX a. – XX a. pradžioje pradėjus įgyvendinti vienkiemių bei XX a. viduryje - kolūkių reformas. Kai kurie šio kraštovaizdžio elementai – gatviniai rėžiniai kaimai, senosios tų kaimų kapinės, perplanuotų miestelių stačiakampio plano fragmentai, fragmentinis kelių tinklas išliko iki mūsų dienų ir šių laikų kraštovaizdyje gali būti atpažįstami kaip paveldo objektai.

Temos aktualumas. Valakų reformos paveldas, kaip kraštovaizdžio kompleksinė sandauga – viena iš mažiausiai tirtų Lietuvos paveldo grupių. Mokslo darbuose, kalbant apie valakų reformos įtaką kraštovaizdžiui, dažniausiai aptariami atskiri šio kraštovaizdžio elementai, kalbama apie: reformos įtaką miestams ir miesteliams, tiriamas pavienių gatvinių rėžinių kaimų susiformavimas ir jų raida. Tačiau už tyrimo ribų iki šiol lieka kaimų kapinių ar kelių tinklo klausimai ir beveik netiriama viso valakinio kraštovaizdžio kaip reiškinių problematika: reformos metu susiformavusių elementų paieška, lokalizavimas, jų apsauga. Todėl šis *darbas aktualus* bandymu pateikti pirmą kompleksinį valakų reformos paveldo tyrimą – nuo valakinio paveldo identifikavimo, lokalizavimo iki jo apskaitos ir apsaugos. Imtis valakų reformos paveldo tyrimo paskatino kelios priežastys. Visų pirma tai, jog įvairių istorinių procesų įtakoje vykę kraštovaizdžio pokyčiai visuomenėje dažniausiai nėra atpažįstami. Taip yra dėl informacijos stokos, neleidžiančios suvokti senojo materialaus paveldo vertės – „skaityti“ kraštovaizdį, suprasti ir įvertinti reforminių procesų paliktus pėdsakus. Tai kas

mums palikta iš praeities, dažnai suvokiama siaurąją – pavienių išlikusių elementų prasme. Tie elementai dažniausiai vertinami tik estetiškai. Neįvertintas, nesuvoktas ir nepripažintas paveldas labai sparčiai nyksta, o kartu su juo nyksta ne tik materija, bet ir prarandamos žinios - mokslinė informacija.

Mokslinė problematika.

Paveldo sampratos ir apsaugos problema. Nors pastaruosius du dešimtmečius tipologinė paveldo samprata plečiasi, mokslo darbuose ar paveldosaugos sistemoje valakų reformos kaip ir kitų agrarinių, socialinių ir administracinių reformų paveldo terminas neegzistuoja taip, kaip egzistuoja pramonės paveldo, gynybinio paveldo ar kitų paveldo grupių, kurias nulėmė tam tikri visuomenės gamybiniai, socialiniai, ekonominiai, politiniai veiksmai, skirtingos epochos ar meno stiliai, sąvokos. Neįteisinta šios paveldo grupės samprata neleidžia suvokti šio paveldo kompleksinės vertės, o kartu ir integraliosios jo apsaugos būtinybės. Iki šiol valakų reformos paveldas saugomas išlaikant pavienių - elementinių objektų kultūrinę vertę, nepaisant jų pirminės kompleksinės visumos. Valakinio kraštovaizdžio bei jo elementų, beje, kaip ir kitų Lietuvos kraštovaizdžio istorinių tipų, tikslios sampratos nėra ir Lietuvos kraštovaizdžio studijoje bei Lietuvos Respublikos kraštovaizdžio politikos kryptių apraše, parengtame 2004–2020 metams, kurių pagrindu siekiama formuoti valstybės kraštovaizdžio politiką.

Tyrimų problema. Kraštovaizdžio raidos kontekste atskirus valakų reformos įtakoje susiformavusio paveldo objektus įvertinti ir atpažinti tampa sudėtinga dėl itin fragmentiškų šio paveldo tyrimų. Be to, dabarties kraštovaizdis dėl XX a. vykdytos vienkiemių, kolūkių bei nuo 1990 m. įgyvendinamos naujos žemės reformos, yra „susišluoksniavęs“ – įgavęs sudėtingą sandarą. Tokio kraštovaizdžio raidai pažinti visų pirma reikalingas jį veikusių procesų bei to kraštovaizdžio raidos žinojimas. Pastarąjį suteikia kompleksiniai tyrimai. Tik atlikus išsamią valakų reformos analizę bei suformavus šios reformos paveldo modelį, išsiaiškinus, kas šios reformos metu atsirado ir ieškant, kas išliko, galima išmokti atpažinti valakų reformos paveldą bendrame kraštovaizdžio raidos kontekste, nustatyti šio paveldo apsaugos metmenis, ar išsaugoti mokslinę informaciją.

Vyrauja nuomonė, kad valakinio kraštovaizdžio fragmentų išliko tik tose teritorijose, kurias, dėl tam tikrų priežasčių, mažiau palietė vėlesnės kraštovaizdžio pertvarkos. Tokiais regionais laikoma Pietryčių ir Rytų Lietuva, bei buvę Lietuvos

Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės regionai - Palenkė ar Vakarų Baltarusija. Tuo tarpu nepagrįstai manoma, jog likusiuose Lietuvos regionuose neišliko jokių valakinio kraštovaizdžio elementų. Tačiau jų čia yra, nors, savo išlikimo laipsniu jie negali lygintis su Pietryčių ir Rytų Lietuvos kraštovaizdžiu. Be to, čia juos dėl intensyviau vykusių kraštovaizdžio pokyčių daug sunkiau „perskaityti“. Siekiant paneigti susiformavusią nuomonę, atvejo studijai pasirinktas savitu valakų reformos paveldo vakuumu laikomas Vidurio Lietuvos regionas. Pasirinkimą paskatino ir tai, jog šis regionas, nesusilaukė tokio tyrinėtojų dėmesio, kaip tie regionai, kuriuose yra didžiausia išlikusių valakinio kraštovaizdžio elementų koncentracija (Pietryčių ir Rytų Lietuva). Vidurio Lietuvos geografinė sritis, sutampa su Lietuvos vidurio žemuma, kuri apima Šiaurės Lietuvos lygumą, Vidurio Lietuvos lygumą ir Pietvakarių Lietuvos lygumą. Siekiant susiaurinti tyrimo teritoriją, pasirinkta ne visa Vidurio Lietuvos geografinė sritis, o tik ta teritorija, kurią užėmė Vidurio Lietuvoje valakų reformos metu egzistavęs teritorinis administracinis vienetas – Upytės valsčius. Šios teritorijos pasirinkimą taip pat sąlygojo du išlikę XVI a. dokumentai: valakų reformos metu surašytas Upytės valsčiaus valstybinių žemių inventorių, bei nesurinktų mokesčių registras, kurie vieninteliai leidžia identifikuoti valstybinėse Upytės valsčiaus žemėse susidariusius gatvinius kaimus ir perplanuotus miestelius. Buvusio Upytės valsčiaus teritorija apima dabartinį Pasvalio administracinį rajoną, Pakruojo rajoną, didžiąją dalį Panevėžio rajono, šiaurės rytinę Radviliškio, taip pat vakarines Biržų ir Kupiškio bei šiaurinę Kėdainių rajono teritorijos dalį. Šį regioną paskatino tirti ir tai, jog vykstant sparčiam valakinio kraštovaizdžio nykimo procesui, daug ko čia jau nebegalime išsaugoti, tačiau dar galime užfiksuoti. Tokiose teritorijose dar svarbiau įvardinti išlikusius elementus, juos tirti ir fiksuoti, nes mokslinės informacijos išsaugojimas čia dažnai yra vienintelis tokių elementų apsaugos būdas.

Tyrimo objektas. Šio darbo detalaus tyrimo objektas – *valakų reformos paveldas*, kurį suvokiame kaip reformos metu susiformavusį ir iš praeities paveldėtą valakinį kraštovaizdį bei atskirus šios kompleksinės struktūros objektus.

Valakų reformos paveldui šiame darbe priskiriami visi išlikę valakų reformos įtakoje susiformavę objektai ir jų relikvai. Tyrimo objekto sudėtinės dalis galime įvardinti taip: valakų reformos metu susiformavęs kraštovaizdis ir atskiri jo elementai - perplanuoti miesteliai, suformuoti gatviniai rėžiniai kaimai, jų kapinės, kelių, palivarkų

tinklas. Darbo objektas analizuojamas dviem aspektais - paveldotyrimiu bei paveldosauginiu.

Tyrimo chronologinės ribos. Darbo chronologinės ribos sutampa su tyrimo objekto raidos periodais. Paveldotyrimio aspekto chronologines ribas apibrėžiame dviem laikotarpiais: 1) XVI a. vidurys – XX a. pirmieji dešimtmečiai – valakinio kraštovaizdžio susiformavimas ir raida; 2) Nuo XIX a. - XX a. pirmos pusės iki šių dienų - valakinio kraštovaizdžio nykimo laikotarpis. Paveldosauginis aspektas apima laikotarpį nuo XX a. II pusės iki šių dienų.

Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai. Šiuo darbu siekiama kryptingai pažinti valakų reformos paveldo įvairovę ir prisidėti prie intensyviai nykstančio valakų reformos paveldo tyrimų, formuojant valakų reformos paveldo sampratą. Darbui keliamas kompleksinės analizės *tikslas* – išanalizuoti valakinio kraštovaizdžio susiformavimo aplinkybes, identifikuoti bei lokalizuoti valakų reformos paveldą ir išnagrinėti paveldo situaciją paveldosaugos aspektu bei pateikti šio paveldo saugojimo metmenis.

Siekiant realizuoti užsibrėžtą tikslą, tyrimui buvo išskelti konkretūs *uždaviniai*: 1) remiantis jau esančiais tyrimais aptarti valakų reformos ištakas ir jos eigą Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje, didžiausią dėmesį skiriant reformos techniniam aspektui. Įgyvendinant šį uždavinį į ekonominius ir socialinius reformos veiksnius tyrimo metu gilinamasi tik tiek, kiek tai reikalinga bendram reformos bei tuo metu vykusių procesų suvokimui; 2) išanalizavus valakų reformos įtaką XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kraštovaizdžiui, išsiaiškinti valakinio kraštovaizdžio formavimosi ir vidinės struktūros ypatumus; 3) nustatyti valakų reformos paveldo tyrimo (identifikavimo, lokalizavimo, interpretavimo) problematiką, identifikuoti reformos paveldą: valakinį kraštovaizdį ir atskirus jo elementus, bei išanalizuoti jo raidą; 4) atskleisti valakų reformos eigą valstybinėse Upytės valsčiaus žemėse, nustačius bei lokalizavus reformos įtakoje susiformavusį paveldą, įvertinus jį dabarties kontekste, išsiaiškinti dabartinę šio paveldo būklę bei išlikimo laipsnį, suformuoti valakų reformos paveldo modelį; 5) įvertinti XIX a. pab. – XX a. I pusėje vykusius valakinio kraštovaizdžio pokyčius ir juos nulėmusius veiksnius; 6) nustatyti valakų reformos paveldo apskaitos ir apsaugos problematiką bei pateikti valakų reformos paveldo apsaugos metmenis.

Tyrimo metodai. Šiame darbe užsibrėžta atlikti paveldotyrimą bei paveldosauginę tyrimo metu gautų rezultatų analizę. Darbo uždaviniai nulėmė kelių metodų taikymą skirtinguose tyrimo etapuose. Pagrindiniai metodai, kuriais sprendžiami išskelti uždaviniai – analizės, sintezės, lyginamasis, interpretacinis, istorinės geografijos, istorinės kartografijos, lauko tyrimų.

Tyrimo metu vykdyta šaltinių *paieška*, jų *analizė* bei *sisteminimas*. Gilintasi į nagrinėjamos problemos istoriografiją. Siekiant nustatyti valakų reformos metu susiformavusius naujus kraštovaizdžio elementus, atlikta XVI a. reformos nuostatų *analizė*, nuostatuose nemintų, tačiau reformos įtakoje susiformavusių objektų identifikavimas. Vėliau, aiškinantis, koks valakų reformos paveldas pasiekė XXI a. atliktas identifikuotų objektų lokalizavimas. Lokalizuojant išskirta keletas tyrimo etapų: 1) inventorių, kuriuose pateikti kaimų ribų bei miestelių žemių aprašymai *analizė*; 2) gilinimasis į kaimų ribų aprašymus, vietovardžių nagrinėjimas; 3) *kartografinis-geografinis* identifikuotų vietovardžių *lokalizavimas* XIX – XX a. pradžios topografiniuose, o vėliau ir XXI a. žemėlapiuose, aerofotonuotrukose.

Išsiaiškinti kokie lokalizuotuose kaimuose ar miesteliuose išliko valakinio paveldo elementai, galima pritaikius *lauko tyrimo metodą* - inventorizuojant lokalizuotus kaimus ir miestelius. Šių tyrimų metu pasitelktas kraštovaizdžio stebėjimo ir jo fiksavimo būdas. Be lauko tyrimų, objektų inventorizavimui panaudotos ir aerofotonuotrukos, naudojamas žemėtvarkos sistemoje, jos pasitarnavo ir kaip papildomas vizualinis šaltinis, iliustruojantis išlikusius elementus. Lauko tyrimai taikomi ir siekiant pagrįsti vieną iš siūlomų valakinio paveldo apsaugos būdų – apsaugą išsaugant informaciją.

Darbo naujumas ir jo reikšmė. Disertacijoje apibendrinta ir aktualizuota iki šiol nepakankamai tyrinėta valakų reformos paveldo, kaip kraštovaizdžio kompleksinės sandraupos, problematika. Darbe pirmą kartą atliktas kompleksinis valakų reformos metu susiformavusio paveldo tyrimas – nuo valakinio paveldo identifikavimo, lokalizavimo iki jo apsaugos. Tirti visi valakų reformos įtakoje susiformavę objektai ir jų relikvai, nustatyti valakinio kraštovaizdžio formavimosi ir vidinės struktūros ypatumai, aktualizuota valakų reformos paveldo tyrimų ir sampratos problematika, išanalizuota šio paveldo raida, lokalizuotas bei identifikuotas Upytės valsčiaus žemėse reformos įtakoje

susiformavęs paveldas, nustatyta valakų reformos paveldo apskaitos ir apsaugos problematika.

Tyrimas sudaro prielaidas gilesniam kraštovaizdžio raidos ir valakų reformos paveldo pažinimui. Šis darbas padės geriau suvokti valakinio kraštovaizdžio vertę, valakų reformos paveldo vietą Lietuvos kultūros paveldo kontekste, toliau plėsti valakų reformos paveldo tyrimus, šio paveldo apskaitą ir atranką.

Tyrimo rezultatai ir išvados

1. Prie naujos žemės naudmenų tvarkymo ir naudojimo sistemos XVI amžiuje buvo pereita dėl ekonominių ir administracinių priežasčių, siekiant modernizuoti ir optimizuoti mokesčių surinkimą bei suintensyvinti žemės ūko plėtrą. Valakų reformą galima vertinti keliais aspektais: socialiniu, ekonominiu ir techniniu. Ekonominiai valakų reformos tikslai - būtinybė padidinti valstybės išdo pajamas, sąlygojo socialinius pokyčius bei techninio pobūdžio pertvarkymus. Pastarieji visiškai pakeitė visas ankstesnes savaimingai susiklosčiusio ikivalakinio kraštovaizdžio teritorines ir užstatymo struktūras bei suformavo naują kraštovaizdį.

2. XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kraštovaizdžio planinė ir erdvinė struktūra buvo formuojama pagal konkretų, iš anksto suplanuotą ir valakų reformos nuostatais reglamentuotą modelį. Valakų reforma pasireiškė šiais kraštovaizdį pertvarkiusiais veiksmais: žemių išmatavimu valakais, taisyklingos trilaukės režinės sistemos įvedimu, žemės ir miško naudmenų tikslų ribų nustatymu, kaimų struktūros pertvarkymu, palivarkų tinklo plėtimu, miestų ir miestelių plano pertvarkymu, naujų dirbamos žemės plotų įsisavinimu miškų ūkio sąskaita.

3. Valakų reformos metu kaimo kraštovaizdyje susiformavo taisyklinga trilaukė režinė sistema, gatviniai režiniai kaimai su nauja sodybos planine užstatymo struktūra, paplito naujas pastato tipas – diendaržinis tvartas, plėstas palivarkų tinklas. Kaimo kraštovaizdžio struktūroje ėmė dominuoti taisyklingų formų elementai: dirbami laukai buvo sujungti į taisyklingus vientisus masyvus, kuriuos dalino taisyklingi lygiagretūs režiai bei juos skiriančios ežios, susiformavo tiesios kaimo gatvės, taisyklingi sodybiniai režiai. Įgyvendinus reformą ir pertvarkius senuosius, ikivalakinius kaimus bei įkūrus naujus, gyvenviečių tinklas sutankėjo bei įgavo naują struktūrą.

Valakų reforma nulėmė valstybinių miestų ir miestelių žemėnaudos bei užstatymo struktūrų pokyčius. Reforma tapo pirmu planingu miestų ir miestelių plano raidos etapu.

Savaime susiformavusį linijinį ir radialinį miestų ir miestelių planą pakeitė stačiakampio plano struktūra. Miestų ir miestelių žemėvalda buvo pertvarkyta taisyklingo trilaukio principu.

Miškų ūkio kraštovaizdžio pokyčiai buvo vykdomi keliais aspektais. Siekiant įsisavinti kuo daugiau dirbamos žemės plotų, dalis miškų teritorijų, tinkamų arimams įrengti, buvo išmatuota valakais, šiuose valakuose įkurdinti valstiečiai. Tokiu būdu, miško valakų sąskaita, buvo kolonizuotos mažai apgyvendintos Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorijos. Arimams įrengti netinkami miškai valakiniais rėžiais nematuoti ir neskirstyti, tačiau buvo nustatytos ir pažymėtos tikslios tokių miškų masų sienos ir ribos bei apskaičiuotas jų bendras plotas valakais.

4. Esminiai valakų reformos metu suformuoti žemėvaldos bei užstatymo struktūrų principai be žymesnių pakeitimų, virtę tradicija, išsiliko iki XIX a. - XX a. vidurio. Per visą šį laikotarpį, pokyčiai žemėvaldos struktūroje daugiausia vyko veikiant žemės valdų pasidalijimo šeimos narių tarpe procesams. Valaką dalinant išilgai, rėžių skaičius didėjo, o rėžių plotis – siaurėjo. Su valako dalinimosi procesais susiję ir gatvinių rėžinių kaimų plano pokyčiai: šeimos nariams dalinantis valaką, kaime didėjo sodybų skaičius, o sodybiniai rėžiai siaurėjo – jie buvo dalinami išilgai, vėliau, dalyje kaimų imti dalinti ir skersai. Reformai suformavus gatvinį rėžinį kaimą bei reglamentavus sodybos užstatymą, veikiant naujoms tradicijoms, ekonominiams ir socialiniams veiksniams ėmė vystytis ir kaimų architektūrinės tradicijos – tobulėjo planinės ir konstrukcinės gyvenamųjų ir ūkinių pastatų struktūros, keitėsi architektūrinės formos. Ilgainiui susiformavo nauji valakinio kraštovaizdžio elementai – kaimo apželdinimo struktūra, medžių eilės, tvoros, ežios, žymėję ir skyrę sodybinius bei laukų rėžius vienas nuo kito.

5. Valakų reformą galime laikyti vienu svarbiausių chronologinių aspektų kaimų kapinių istorijoje. Dalies šiuo metu šalia kaimų išlikusių kapinių įkūrimą galėtumėme sieti su kaimo įkūrimo data. Palaidojimai prie kaimų buvusiose kapinėse istoriniuose šaltiniuose minėti per visą XVI a. II pusės – XX a. pradžios laikotarpį. Istorinių šaltinių duomenis palyginus su archeologinių tyrimų medžiaga, nustatyta, kad po atliktos valakų reformos įkūrus kaimą naujoje, iki tol neapgyvendintoje vietoje buvo kuriamos ir naujos laidojimo vietos. Jei į įkurto ar pertvarkyto kaimo teritoriją pateko senoji laidojimo vieta, ten buvo laidojama ir toliau. Iki XVIII a. pabaigos - XIX a. dalis kaimų gyventojų mirusiuosius laidojo ir bažnyčių šventoriuose. XIX a. imta laidoti naujai įkurtose

parapinėse kapinėse. Tačiau iki pat XX a. vidurio dalyje kaimų išliko tradicija laidoti mirusiųuosius šalia kaimų buvusiose kapinėse.

6. Reforma nulėmė pirmą planingą Lietuvos kelių tinklo pertvarkymą. Pakeitus žemėnaudos ir žemėvaldos formas, suformavus naują gyvenviečių tinklą, buvo pertvarkytas ir vietinių kelių tinklas, jungęs kaimus tarp savęs, su palivarkais, dvarais ir miesteliais. Pagrindiniai prekybiniai keliai liko tokie, kokie buvo susiformavę iki valakų reformos.

7. Pokyčiai Lietuvos kraštovaizdyje vyko ir steigiant palivarkus. Tyrimo metu nustatyta, kad dalis šių palivarkų, vėlesniais amžiais tapo dvarais. Kita dalis išnyko, arba buvo panaikinti. Valakų reformos paveldu galime laikyti vietas, liudijančias apie XVI a. įkurtą ir tam tikrą laikotarpį čia egzistavusį palivarką.

8. Valakų reformos metu Upytės valsčiaus valstybinėse žemėse buvo įkurti 357 kaimai bei pertvarkyti 2 miesteliai. Analizei panaudojus XIX a. - XX a. pradžios žemėlapius bei kaimų planus, buvo lokalizuota didžioji dalis Upytės valsčiaus inventoriuje minėtų kaimų. Atlikus dalies lokalizuotų kaimų lauko tyrimus nustatyta, kad Upytės valsčiuje XVI a. įvykdyti kraštovaizdžio pokyčiai gali būti atpažįstami šių dienų kraštovaizdyje. Čia esantis valakų reformos paveldas liudija ne tik apie XVI a., bet ir apie visą laikotarpį iki XXI a. Lauko tyrimų metu nustatyta, jog šioje teritorijoje išliko gatvinių rėžinių kaimų fragmentų, senosios tų kaimų kapinės, fragmentinis kelių, jungusių kaimus, tinklas. Miesteliuose išliko stačiakampio plano aikštės struktūra ir pagrindinių gatvių tinklas. Be šių, elementų, visų gatvinių rėžinių kaimų bei miestelių vietose susiformavo kultūrinis sluoksnis.

9. Svarbiausios priežastys nulėmusios valakinio kraštovaizdžio kaitą bei jo elementų gausesnį ar mažesnį išlikimą buvo XIX – XX a. įgyvendintos agrarinės reformos. Šios reformos pakeitė valakų reformos metu suformuotas žemėvaldos bei žemėnaudos formas, pertvarkė kelių tinklą, kaimų bei sodybų užstatymo struktūrą. Dėl šių pokyčių dalyje Lietuvos regionų valakų reformos paveldas tapo sunkiai atpažįstamas.

10. Nors tipologinė paveldo samprata nuolat plečiasi, paveldosaugos sistemoje valakų reformos paveldo terminas neegzistuoja. Iki šiol valakų reformos paveldas saugotas išlaikant pavienių objektų kultūrinę vertę, nepaisant jų pirminės kompleksinės visumos. Lietuvos Respublikos įstatymais jau bandoma įtvirtinti kompleksinę arba integraliąją atskirų šio paveldo elementų – gatvinių-rėžinių kaimų, miestų ir miestelių

istorinių dalių - apsaugą. Tačiau pats valakų reformos paveldas vis dar nėra suprastas ir įvertintas kaip kompleksinis Lietuvos kraštovaizdžio įvairovės komponentas. Išsaugoti valakų reformos paveldą galime tik pilnai jį inventorizavę ir įvertinę. Galimi trys kompleksinio lygmens valakų reformos paveldo apsaugos būdai: objektus paliekant saugoti vietoje; perkelti į muziejines ekspozicijas, tačiau kuo artimesnę objektui istorinę aplinką; išsaugant tik informaciją apie paveldo objektą.

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Trumpos žinios apie doktorantę

Laura Prascevičiūtė gimė 1981 m. rugsėjo 8 d. Radviliškyje.

2007 m. Vilniaus universitete įgijo istorijos magistro (paveldosaugininko profesinę kvalifikaciją) laipsnį. 2008–2013 m. Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos fakulteto doktorantė. Nuo 2005 m. dirba Kultūros paveldo departamento prie kultūros ministerijos Šiaulių teritoriniame padalinyje specialiste, atsakinga už kilnojamųjų ir nekilnojamųjų kultūros vertybių apskaitą.

Mokslinių interesų sferos: Valakų reformos paveldas, Lietuvos žemės reformos, Lietuvos kraštovaizdžio raida, lietuvių liaudies architektūra, kultūros paveldo apskaita.

Brief information about the doctoral student

Laura Prascevičiūtė was born on September 8, 1981 in Radviliškis, Lithuania.

In 2007, she received the MA degree in history with the professional qualification in heritage protection at Vilnius University. In 2008-2013, Laura Prascevičiūtė was a doctoral student at the Faculty of History of Vilnius University. From 2005 on she has been working at the Šiauliai Territorial Unit of the Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture. Laura Prascevičiūtė holds the position of the specialist responsible for the registration of movable and immovable cultural heritage.

The spheres of her scientific interests are as follow: the Valakas Land Reform heritage, land reforms in Lithuania, development of the Lithuanian landscape, Lithuanian traditional architecture, registration of cultural heritage.