Irma KAPLŪNAITĖ
PhD. In History, Research Fellow,
Lithuanian Institute of History (Lithuania, Vilnius)
irma.kaplunaite@gmail.com
https:// orcid.org/0000-0002-4406-8248

DEVIANT BURIALS IN MEDIEVAL VILNIUS:
SAINTS OR CRIMINALS?

Christian cemeteries are distinguished by certain typical burial rites. Some of the rites are characteristic of this religion, while others are common and have been known since the Stone Age. However, in all the Christian burial sites across Europe, there are always some unusual graves, sometimes called deviant (or atypical) burials; they differ from other graves and their exceptionality can occur in various burial elements. Although the first distinctive features that come to mind when conducting archaeological investigations in Christian burials are decapitation or burial in a prone position, there are many more possible distinctive features to consider. These could be burials in unusual places (isolated areas of a cemetery), burials in unusual positions, decapitations, cut-off limbs, presence of sharp objects within the body, stones or coins inside the mouth, mass graves, stoned burials covered with stones, cremation in an inhumation site (partial cremation), crime, torture, evidence of special rituals on skeletons, and so on. The following elements are to be considered when discussing deviant burials: 1) location of a grave, 2) construction of a grave, 3) spatial orientation, and 4) body treatment.

When it comes to the deviant burials in medieval or modern European cemeteries, atypical cases are usually associated with vampires and witches. In Lithuania, unusual graves are sometimes associated with Pagan relics and ethnography. Deviant burials could also be accorded to outcasts of the community: criminals, people who have committed suicide, or those who have not been baptised. In other cases, a possible deep faith of the deceased is emphasised. Recently, a new field of research – 'judicial archaeology' – has emerged, in which it is sought to explain unusual burials as a possible punishment for criminals rather than a magical act.

It can be concluded that the number of deviant burials discovered in the analysed medieval cemeteries was not that high. Some cases may indicate a different perception of the assessment of a deceased person, but there are few

of them (except for beheading). The other cases can often be simply explained practically. For example, the stones could be related to wooden constructions of the grave, various pathologies determined the distinctive positioning of the body, the outcasts of the community (criminals or suicides) could be buried in a more secluded place, and so on. Of course, one can identify the relics of Paganism in unusual burials, especially in cases when the deceased was interred on the side or in a prone position.

Keywords: *Medieval Vilnius, cemetery, deviant burials, Christianity, archaeology.*

Ірма КАПЛУНАЙТЕ
доктор історії, науковий співробітник,
Інститут історії Литви (Литва, Вільнюс)
irma.kaplunaite@gmail.com
https:// orcid.org/0000-0002-4406-8248

ДЕВІАНТНІ ПОХОВАННЯ У СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНОМУ ВІЛЬНЮСІ: СВЯТІ ЧИ ЗЛОЧИНЦІ?

Християнські цвинтарі відрізняються певними типовими похоронними обрядами. Деякі з них характерні для цієї релігії, інші поширені і відомі ще з кам'яного віку. Однак у всіх християнських похованнях Європи завжди трапляються незвичайні, іноді звані девіантними (або атиповими); вони відрізняються від інших поховань і їх винятковість може проявлятися у різних похоронних елементах. Перші відмінні риси, які спадають на думку під час проведення археологічних досліджень християнських поховань, – це обезголовлення чи поховання в положенні лежачи на животі. Також існує ще безліч можливих відмінних рис, які слід враховувати. Це можуть бути поховання в незвичайних місцях (відокремлені ділянки цвинтаря), поховання у нетрадиційному положенні, обезголовлення, відсутність кінцівок, наявність гострих предметів усередині тіла, каміння або монети в роті, братські могили, поховання з камінням, кремація на місці поховання (часткова кремація), сліди злочинів чи тортур, присутність свідчень особливих ритуалів на скелетах тощо.

Під час досліджень девіантних поховань потрібно враховувати такі елементи: 1) розташування поховання, 2) влаштування могили, 3) просторова орієнтація та 4) дії з тілом покійного. Стосовно девіантних поховань на середньовічних європейських цвинтарях, то нетипові випадки, зазвичай, пов'язані з вампірами та відьмами. У Литві незвичайні поховання іноді асоціюються з язичницькими реліквіями та етнографією. Девіантні поховання могли належати ізгоям суспільства: злочинцям, самогубцям чи нехрещеним. Інколи наголошувалося на можливій глибокій вірі померлого. Останнім часом виникла нова сфера досліджень – «судова археологія», в якій незвичайні поховання намагаються пояснити можливим покаранням для злочинців, а не магічною дією.

Можемо дійти висновку, що кількість девіантних поховань, виявлених на аналізованих середньовічних кладовищах, не була дуже великою. Деякі випадки можуть свідчити про інше сприйняття оцінки померлої людини, але їх небагато (крім обезголовлення). Інші інциденти часто можемо пояснити суто практично. Наприклад, каміння могли бути пов'язані з дерев'яними конструкціями могили, різні патології визначали своєрідне розташування тіла, ізгої суспільства (злочинці чи самогубці) могли бути поховані у більш віддаленому місці і т. д. Звичайно, можна виявити релікти язичництва і в незвичайних похованнях, особливо у тих випадках, коли покійного ховали на боці або у положенні лежачи на животі.

Ключові слова*: Середньовічний Вільнюс, цвинтар, девіантні поховання, християнство, археологія.*

Introduction

Christian cemeteries are distinguished by certain typical burial rites. Some of the rites are characteristic of this religion, while others are common and have been known since the Stone Age. However, in all the Christian burial sites across Europe, there are always some unusual graves, sometimes called deviant (or atypical) burials; they differ from other graves and their exceptionality can occur in various burial elements. Several main criteria of unusual burials, which can be traced archaeologically, are distinguished: decapitation, prone burials, and reopened burials. Unusual burials are sometimes attributed to contingency, but this is unlikely in such a conservative process as a funeral. That is why exclusivity is no longer considered a coincidence. Although a question remains, what it may be associated with, especially, if there is no historical record in regard to burial features of the period.

Alongside decapitation, graves of vampires and witches are often mentioned first when it comes to the deviant burials in medieval or modern European cemeteries. For example, in Central Europe (especially Poland), atypical cases tend to be associated with vampires and witches, especially when the deceased is buried without a head. In Lithuania, unusual graves are sometimes associated with Pagan relics and ethnography. Deviant burials could also be accorded to outcasts of the community: criminals, people who have committed suicide, or those who have not been baptised. In other cases, a possible deep faith of the deceased is emphasised. The explanation may, in some cases, be more straightforward. Attitudes towards the subject are changing as new hypotheses in regard to deviant burials arise.

The body treatment is often the focus of studies analysing deviant burials. In this paper, however, other burial elements will be discussed as well, including 1) location of the grave; 2) construction of the grave; 3) spatial orientation; 4) body treatment. Various deviations detected in medieval funerary monuments in Vilnius, the circumstances of their emergence and their possible meaning to the past community will be discussed here. Furthermore, attention will be drawn to

an issue, which is symbolically raised in the title, what kind of people 'deserved' an exceptional burial: saints or criminals?

State of the research

During recent decades, a great deal of attention started being paid to deviant burials in Europe, generating separate volumes with articles dedicated to the subject (for example, Murphy, 2008). In earlier foreign literature, distinctive burials were often associated with the fear of the dead or simply clumsy mortuary practices; however, in recent decades, this phenomenon started to be analysed through a much broader context (Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013: 781). Two main 'camps' can be distinguished in the historiography. One argues that distinctive burials should be primarily associated with vampires and witches; the other emphasises that each case should be treated individually, and consider that unusual burials may be of individuals convicted of a crime (for a detailed discussion of the historiography and approaches see (Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013: 780–796)). Recently, a new field of research – 'judicial archaeology' – has emerged, in which it is sought to explain unusual burials as a possible punishment for criminals rather than a magical act (for example, see PhD thesis (Mattison, 2016)). Even in the Polish literature, which for a long time associated deviant burials primarily with vampires and witches (i.e. the fear of the dead), a tendency has been growing to talk about the possibility of a particular treatment in the burial of judicial offenders (Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013: 781). It is stressed that, in some cases, individuals convicted of a crime were even buried in a separate cemetery[1]. Eventually, however, they began to be buried alongside the rest of the community, but in a more exclusive way: decapitation and removal of limbs being a common feature of these burials (Mattison, 2016).

Of course, at least in some cases, explanations can be more straightforward and 'down to earth'. Therefore, objective reasons that have nothing to do with magic or crime should also be taken into account. All of these possible explanations will be discussed further in the article.

Although in European studies deviant burials are being studied from various perspectives, in Lithuania this topic is still relatively poorly researched. This may be due to the fact that in Lithuania Paganism prevailed up until 1387 when the country was officially baptised as a Catholic state. Cremation was the predominant practice in Pagan burial customs, which makes it extremely difficult to archaeologically discern possible evidence of deviant burials among the cremated remains. Although the tradition of inhumation may have been used in Lithuania

---

[1] In England, from at least the 8th century, criminals, unbaptised people and suicides were not buried in community cemeteries. sometimes, they would be buried separately in places known as execution cemeteries (Riisøy, 2015: 52).

before the official baptism[2], this particular burial method definitely set in only after 1387. Since the country underwent a long process of Christianisation, as late as the 16th and 17th centuries, various deviations from Christian burial traditions (for instance, the placing of coins in the grave) are often associated with relics of Paganism (for example, Urbanavičius, 1994).

As far as the research on atypical burial in Lithuania is concerned, two authors, G. Vėlius and E. Svetikas, who have paid a little more attention to it, should be mentioned. In 2010, an article by G. Vėlius was published on the topic of atypical burial and Lithuanian medieval cemeteries (Vėlius, 2010: 62–73). The author focused on the distinctive burials discovered in the Kriveikiškis burial ground in Kernavė, where he discussed such deviations as decapitation, prone burial, and burial on the side, and sought to explain what such burials might be associated with. G. Vėlius concluded that the totality of the exceptional cases reflects the continuity of Pagan burial traditions, certain customs and rituals; he found explanations for some of the unusual instances in ethnography, also highlighting the possible fear of the dead and the associated desecration of the remains (Vėlius, 2010: 72–73).

The work by E. Svetikas emphasises the impact of Christianity on various aspects of burial. When discussing distinctive burials found in Alytus, the researcher relates them to deep faith and the graves of clergy (Svetikas, 2003). For example, E. Svetikas interprets the dead buried on their side or in a sleeping posture, as very pious, repentant sinners (Svetikas, 2003: 151). He also associates the cases of the dead laid in a prone position or on their stomachs, with their legs bent or crossed, with their arms stretched forward, with the graves of extremely pious people, perhaps even monks or saints (Svetikas, 2003: 151).

No other detailed studies of deviant burials have been published in Lithuania. Usually, such cases are only mentioned in the description of any given burial site[3] but are not examined more thoroughly. Surprisingly, there is a particular lack of such knowledge regarding Vilnius. This may be due to the fact that most of the studied funerary monuments are dated to later periods, while early burial grounds (dating back to the 14th century) are very rare. In addition, generally more attention is paid to other research issues, especially chronology and denominational affiliation.

Sources of the research

This paper examines the earliest Christian inhumation burial sites[4] in Vilnius (those that house the remains of newcomers as well as local neophytes), dating

---

[2] See the discussion (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 16–53).

[3] For instance, distinctive cases that have been identified in the Karmėlava burial ground of the second half of the 14th-16th century (Rickevičiūtė, 2003: 161–228).

[4] The cremation of the dead is characteristic of Paganism; however, no Pagan burial place has been found in Vilnius.

back to the 13th–15th centuries. The paper covers material that was collected from several burial grounds, of which the choice was determined by the situation with research in Vilnius.

When talking about medieval Lithuania, it should be noted that the study of burial rites here is very problematic. This period encompasses the country's transition from Paganism to Christianity. Vilnius was first mentioned as the capital in a letter written by Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas in 1323 (Gedimino laiškai, 2003). However, archaeological evidence shows that the city began to emerge earlier, in the second half of the 13th century (Vaitkevičius, 2010: 63–65). Paganism remained predominant here up until the official Catholic baptism in 1387. Nevertheless, communities of several different religions (local Pagans, as well as newcomer Catholics and Orthodox) coexisted in the city from the very beginning[5]. The grand dukes of Lithuania understood the benefits brought by Christians from the East and the West. It must be emphasised that the Orthodox believers (just like Catholics) did not come to Vilnius seeking the Christianisation of the country. The settling of Christians in Pagan Vilnius should be connected with the need to develop the economy and trading maybe even the military capability of the state rather than spreading Christianity. The arrivals also brought the tradition of inhumation burial.

Although the earliest burial places for Catholic and Pagan communities in Vilnius have not been identified as of yet, a burial ground was discovered in the centre of the so-called Civitas Rutenica[6] that housed the remains of Orthodox believers (Fig. 1: 1). Nowadays, this location falls within Bokšto Street. For now, this is the earliest burial monument known in Vilnius. It dates back to the last decades of the 13th century and the beginning of the 15th century. This burial ground is one of the rare monuments that have been fully investigated. The results obtained during excavations provide a great deal of information about medieval funerary traditions[7]. The burial ground was found to contain a large number of burials (533 in total). Although confessional affiliation has been a subject of discussion, the burial ground displays features that can be recognised as belonging exclusively to the Christian tradition. These include inhumation, burial in a supine position, east-west orientation (head to the west), the use of wooden coffins or coffin-like structures, grave goods consisting of jewellery but no weapons or tools, the burial of children in an identical manner as adults, burial on several horizons, one on top of another.

Another burial ground, the material of which will be referred to in this study, is located on Latako Street, nearby Bokšto Street (Fig. 1: 2). This is the graveyard

─────────────

[5] For more on the Orthodox and Catholic communities in Vilnius (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2016: 75–98).

[6] For a study of this burial site in English (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2022).

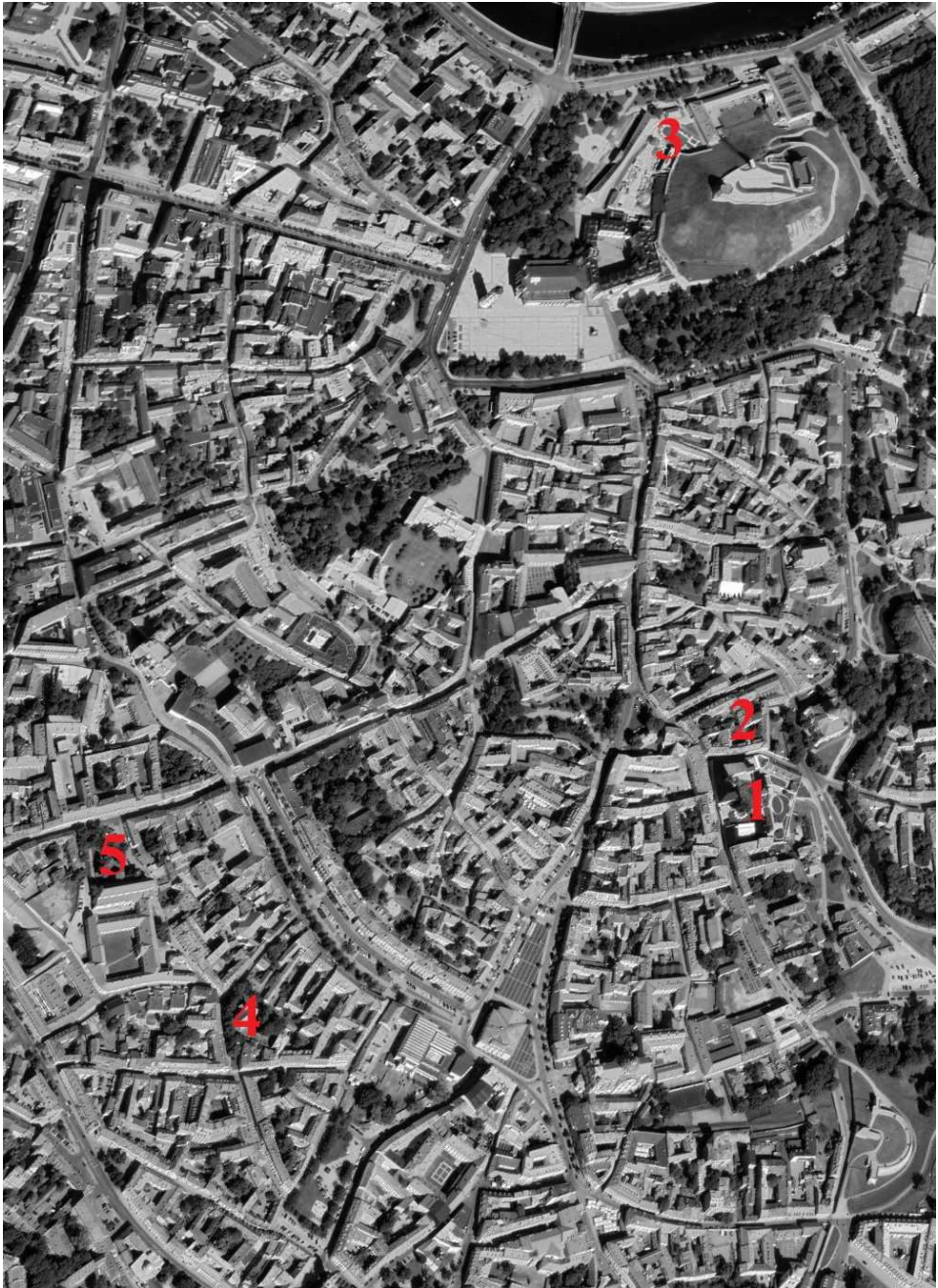[7] All the material is systematised (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020).

Fig. 1. Plan of Vilnius. Google Earth Pro. (Additions by I. Kaplūnaitė). 1. The burial ground in Bokšto Street 6. 2. The burial ground in Latako Street. 3. The church of St. Anna-Barbara. 4. The church of St. Nicholas. 5. Monastery and church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, where 141 burials have been investigated. The burial ground dates back to the period after 1387. Unfortunately, research material has not been published yet, and archaeological reports are incomplete (Gendrėnas, 1982; Gendrėnas,1983).

There were also several other Catholic graveyards in medieval Vilnius: near St. Anna–Barbara Church[8], St. Nicholas Church[9] and (a Franciscan) the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church[10] (Fig. 1: 3-5). Unfortunately, these have been poorly researched. Furthermore, burials located close to St. Anna–Barbara church, which also fall within the territory of the Vilnius castles, have been disturbed during construction (Tautavičius, 1959). Graveyards of St. Nicholas and Franciscan churches were in use for a considerable amount of time, as such, their chronology covers the period up to the 17th century (Daminaitis, 1998; Vaicekauskas, 1994). Unfortunately, the results of archaeological research on these burial sites are problematic as the information provided in the reports does not contain any evidence of distinct burials.

Due to the lack of material from medieval Vilnius, information from other burial grounds will be used for comparison in this study. These are burial sites that are located further away from Vilnius, or funerary monuments dating from a slightly later period, where distinct burials have been found just like in burial grounds in Vilnius. The first case study is from Kriveikiškis burial ground in Kernavė. The chronology of this burial site matches the burials found in Bokšto Street, dating from the mid-13th century to the year 1390 (the year Kernavė was burnt down). A total of 292 burials have been investigated in Kriveikiškis (Vėlius, 2005). This particular burial ground is included in this study not only because of the similar chronology but also because the material and burial features are very similar, almost identical, to those of the burial ground on Bokšto Street. It is thought that the burial ground in Kernavė may have also contained burials of the Orthodox believers who lived in Pagan Lithuania. Whilst the denominational affiliation is still raised for debate (e.g. Vėlius, 2009: 265–272), it can be argued that burial features which dominate at the Kriveikiškis burial site are those of the Christian tradition (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 44–45).

The discussion also refers to archaeological material collected at the burial ground of Alytus, which was used after the baptism of Lithuania, up until the 17th century. A total of 1152 burials have been discovered here (Svetikas, 2003). This particular burial ground is mentioned in the study not only because it is well-researched, but also because the point of conversion of local Pagan Lithuanians to

---

[8] Dated after 1387 - 17th century, with 60 investigated burials (Tautavičius, 1959).

[9] Dated to the 15th-17th century; about 80 graves have been investigated, most of them disturbed (Dzikas, 1988; Daminaitis, 1998).

[10] Dated from the 15th to the mid-17th century; 1496 burials have been investigated, most of them disturbed (Vaicekauskas, 1994; Vaicekauskas, 1998; Sarcevičius, 1996; Žukovskis, 2011, 2012).

Catholicism can be observed in the burial record. In other cases, archaeological material points to newcomer Christian communities.

Deviant burials

Although the first distinctive features that come to mind when conducting archaeological investigations in Christian burials are decapitation or burial in a prone position, there are many more possible distinctive features to consider. These could be burials in unusual places (isolated areas of a cemetery), burials in unusual positions, decapitations, cut-off limbs, presence of sharp objects within the body, stones or coins inside the mouth, mass graves, stoned burials covered with stones, cremation in an inhumation site (partial cremation), crime, torture, evidence of special rituals on skeletons, and so on. This extensive list can be broken down into main groups where evidence of special treatment may be apparent: location of a grave, construction of a grave, spatial orientation, and body treatment. All these groups will be discussed below, not only presenting the identified distinctive features, but also trying to determine what may have led to their occurrence in different cases, and the possible meanings of these features for the community.

Fig. 2. The north-south direction of the dead buried in the burial ground in Bokšto Street. Graves nos. 463 and 464. (Photo by I. Kaplūnaitė)

The location of graves

Firstly, various deviations are examined through consideration of the location of burials. Two variants become apparent in the study of burial locations: either the grave is central, surrounded by other graves, or vice versa, the grave is located further away from others. In the first case, the central grave could belong to a person of exceptional status, a representative of the elite or a clergyman. However, if a cemetery has been in use for a long time, it is difficult to trace the presence of central graves, which makes the cases of isolated graves more straightforward.

Several groups of graves were found within the burial ground on Bokšto Street, which were situated further away from the centre (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 130–132). Furthermore, these graves were orientated in other than the east-west direction (Fig. 2). All other burial elements correspond to the features of the remaining graves within the burial ground. Most individuals buried here were over 40 years old, which is considered quite mature for the period in question. Most of the dead had various fractures, bruises, hernias, arthritis, inflammations, and especially poor state of teeth. Perhaps, these people were part of the same community, but for some reason were rejected. Possibly, they were criminals, non-baptists or have committed suicide. It is known that outcasts were excluded from being buried on the holy ground. Criminals may have simply been buried at the site of their execution (Riisøy, 2015: 71–72). For example, small clusters of graves have been found within the 11th and 13th city limits of Kyiv (Ivakin, 2012: 631). Such graves are associated with idolaters, suicide victims or witches who could not be buried in Christian cemeteries (Ivakin, 2012: 631).

In the case of Bokšto Street, the distinct burials may also be associated with idolaters or witches, who could not be buried in a Christian cemetery. Or perhaps, they are criminals, who were buried a little further from others, down the slope. Graves of outcasts often exhibit certain distinctive features, such as being interred in a prone position, with their hands tied, or their heads decapitated, and so on. However, the main feature of the distinctive graves in Bokšto Street is their location, as well as the orientation of some of the remains in other than the east-west direction. The remains, on the other hand, do not exhibit any evidence of execution, or any other elements of burial that would immediately stand out. The question of the choice of the location, therefore, remains unsettled. As the eastern boundary of the burial site coincides with the edge of the steep slope towards the Vilnia River, another possibility remains: maybe these graves were originally placed next to other graves at the top of the slope during the period of use of the site, but eventually collapsed along with a mass of soil.

Isolation of certain burials has not been recorded in other of the examined cemeteries. As G. Vėlius points out, the surroundings of churchyards have been poorly studied archaeologically. As such, little data is available regarding the people who were buried outside the church limits (Vėlius, 2010: 68). This could

be caused by specifics of research, whereby in most cases, only a part of a given burial sites would have been investigated, with their boundaries remaining undetermined. These reasons do not allow us to talk about burials situated outside the limits. However, the burial ground on Bokšto Street is an exception.

In terms of the placement of graves, it has been observed that graveyards of Western European churches tend to have a higher concentration of graves in more 'prestigious' locations. The north side of churches tends to be used for the burial of suicide victims and unbaptised children (Dawes, Magilton, 1980: 10). Unfortunately, in the case of the burial ground of Bokšto Street, no Orthodox church has been found (just as in the case of Kriveikiškės in Kernavė). Thus, the study of the specifics in choosing the location for graves is not possible. In the case of medieval England, it has been observed that the western part of a church or churchyard was often allocated to children's graves (Gilchrist, 2012: 206). Interestingly, such areas with a high concentration of children's graves have been also discovered in both Bokšto and Latako streets. For instance, several graves of children aged 1–10 years old were uncovered on the south-eastern side of the Bokšto Street burial ground (nos. 236, 243-245, 248, 249, 253, 255). However, adult individuals were also buried among them. In the burial ground of Latako Street, the remains of poorly preserved infant skeletons were discovered in a concentrated group on top of a steep slope (a possible margin of the burial ground) (Gendrėnas, 1983: 15). Such clusters may be regarded as deliberate placement of children's burials in isolated locations. However, at least in the case of Bokšto Street, remains of adults were found buried among the children; also, more graves containing children were found scattered throughout the cemetery alongside other burials containing individuals of varying ages and sexes. Could these groups of children's burials be related to epidemics and their deaths occurred concurrently?

The construction of graves

Another element is the arrangement (construction) of the grave. A distinguishing feature of Christianity is a unified burial when modesty and simplicity of the grave symbolise the strength of faith[11]. Wooden coffins or wooden constructions were used in the medieval period as well as crypts (these were found in the burial ground in Latako Street). No major deviations regarding the arrangement of graves in the archaeological material of Vilnius have been identified except (again) in the case of the burial ground in Bokšto Street. A distinguishing feature notable throughout the burial ground is the abundance of stones (found in a quarter of all of the excavated burials). They were found to have been placed above the graves, directly on the remains, or around them. Such significant amounts of stones have not been encountered in any other Lithuanian cemetery, although

---

[11] In Christianity, modest grave goods and coffins were considered the best gift from the living to the dead (Gilchrist, 2015: 394).

plenty of similar instances are known from countries. The presence of stones has been interpreted in different ways; for example, as a means of distinguishing and marking the grave (Gilchrist, 2015: 383). Stones are frequently encountered in the 9th–12th century graves in England, both as single pieces and in groups placed under the head, on either side of the head, on the body, and on top of the feet (Gilchrist, 2015: 383). Stones may also have been placed for protection (Schofield, Vince, 2003: 187). In some cases, stones were placed under the head, acting as a pillow. Such instances are known from medieval Kyiv, where 'stone pillows' are associated with the burials of monks (Ivakin, 2012: 633). The use of stones is often linked with the construction of graves, that is, stones were placed to support a coffin, to hold it in place (especially when planks were used without nails). It is also believed that stones were placed to support the jaw of the deceased or the whole head so that it would lie in a straight easterly direction (Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013: 789). The stones may have served as protection against animals or grave robbing. Of course, the presence of stones in graves is also sometimes associated with vampires or witches; however, such graves are commonly not only laid with stones but would also exhibit other unusual features, such as decapitation or prone positioning of human remains (Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013: 788–789). In such cases, stones would be laid in the place of the head, while the removed head would rest by the feet, and so on.

In the burial ground of Bokšto Street, the presence of stones is mostly linked with the construction of the grave pit and coffin; in most cases, stones were found together with wooden constructions (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 152–166). These graves do not stand out in any other way. Therefore, we would not tend to associate graves containing stones with the fear of the dead and the desire to bury anyone particular in an exceptional way. If this was the case, at least a quarter of those buried in Bokšto Street should be considered exceptional.

There is only one grave (No. 226) on Bokšto Street that was found fully encircled by stones (Fig. 3). A man aged 40–49 was buried here in an east-west direction. His legs were slightly bent. Perhaps this is the burial of a prominent member of the community, in which case the stone framing could have had some symbolic meaning to them. Encircling or framing with stones is a frequently encountered phenomenon in Western European burial sites, as well as Yotvingian lands, in the vicinity of Novgorod, and in the southern areas that were inhabited by the Slavs. Stones were also used in graves in Masovia[12], territories of the Yotvingians (Kviatkovskaya, 1998: 40), and elsewhere.

Thus, while earlier literature often attempted to associate the presence of stones in graves with rituals or magic, today, explanations suggest more practical

---

[12] Here, graves built with stone contained rich deposits of grave goods such as weapons, jewellery and tools (Buko, 2007: 414–421).

use of stones: as support of the coffin, the body, acting as a marker on the ground level, or as protection against grave robbers (Gardeła, Duma, 2013: 322).

Fig. 3. Grave No. 226 in Bokšto Street. (Photo by R. Jonaitis)

Spatial orientation

One of the most reliable criteria for Christian burial rites is the east-west orientation of the remains; this is perhaps the most important requirement of the biblical canon (Vojtehovich, 2019: 98). Slight deviations can occur, usually caused by the changing position of the sun at different times of the year or the topography of a burial site. Cases in which the deceased were buried in other directions, however, occur in probably all the medieval burial grounds that have been studied. Evidence of irregularities in burial rites has been found in graves containing individuals of different ages and sex, as well as in churchyards and chapels. Thus, the question remains as to why the deceased would have been buried in a distinct manner and what this may have symbolised for their community. It is noticeable that the requirement of the east-west orientation of burial was not yet fully consolidated, especially in the early stages of Christianity; the following of this specific orientation is more typical of later burial grounds. For

instance, as M. Ščavinskas points out, in the cultural space of Kievan Rus', adherence to the canonical rule of burial was not firmly established until the late Middle Ages (Ščavinskas, 2018: 62).

The burial ground on Bokšto Street demonstrates a precise orientation of the deceased in accordance with the canon: in 97% of all graves where the orientation of the deceased has been established, the east-west direction (between 216° and 323°) dominates. The only graves that fall out of context are those described above, which were located away from the centre of the burial site. As mentioned earlier, they may be associated with the outcasts of the community, in this way explaining other than east-west orientation. Apart from these graves, one more burial, which was located in the main part of the burial ground, was oriented in a different direction than the rest. Here (grave No. 110), a child aged 3–5 years was buried, oriented in a south-north direction, with the head facing south. Furthermore, the legs of the deceased were bent slightly at the knees (at an angle of about 130°). About 40 cm deeper below the child's burial, another grave was found, containing a man over 50 years old. His remains faced the (traditional) east-west direction. The child's burial was situated in the area of the man's thighs. It remains unclear whether the two individuals were related and why the child was buried in a south-north direction.

In comparison, another differently oriented burial (No. 153) was found in the Kriveikiškis burial site in Kernavė. Here, the deceased, a male (?) aged 15–17, was found facing east. He lay on his right side, with arms folded at a right angle and legs slightly apart (Vėlius, 2005: 32). Priests were sometimes buried in the opposite direction so that they remained facing the people even after death; for instance, a grave in the Kernavė burial ground (end of the 14th–17th century) was discovered to contain a person who was a priest (evidenced by the remnants of a chasuble). He was buried with his head facing east (Vėlius, 2005: 32). However, individuals buried in Kriveikiškis and Bokšto Street, who were facing a different direction than the rest, appear to be too young to be priests. Moreover, their graves are notable for other distinctive features. It should be mentioned that in one grave (No. 14), found in the burial site on Latako Street, a man aged 40–45 was buried with his head facing north-west (Gendrėnas, 1982: 76) (Fig. 4). This particular burial was located in the centre of the burial monument. No further deviations were observed in this burial. As such, the possibility remains that a distinguished person, perhaps a clergyman, was buried here.

Regarding the burial ground in Latako Street, it is noteworthy that most of the graves were oriented towards the east-west. Researcher O. Valionienė found that the variance totalled 15° and could be related to the church that once stood here, i.e. the graves would have been oriented in relation to the church, of which the nave followed the direction of the street at that time (Valionienė, 2015: 11). The lack of landmarks, especially in the case of funerary monuments located in a non-urbanised environment, could often be the reason for the less-than-precise orien-
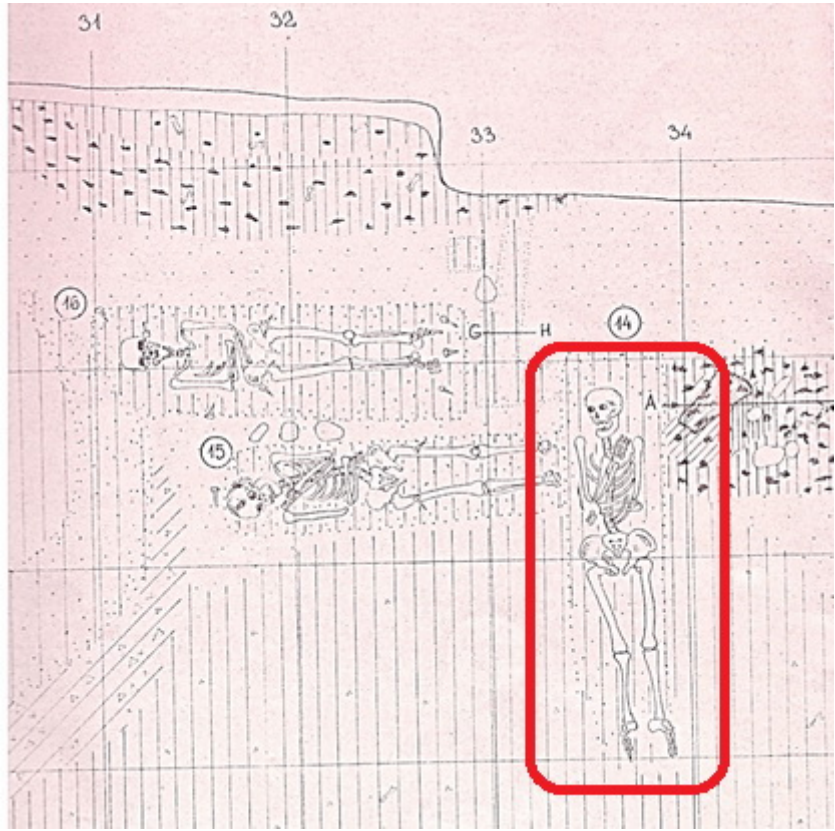
Fig. 4. Grave No. 14 in Latako Street. (Photo by G. Gandrėnas; source: Gendrėnas, 1982, drawing no. 5)

tation of graves. Urban burial sites had clearer landmarks, such as cult buildings and the street network. However, this could nevertheless lead to error, just as in the case of the burial site on Latako Street.

Body treatment

Studies of deviant burials usually focus on the treatment of the buried body. In this study, the following aspects will be discussed: cremation/partial cremation in inhumation burials, decapitation, removal of particular limbs, and the position of the body within a burial. First of all, it must be noted that grave goods will not be a subject of discussion in this particular study. It was assumed that in the Christian tradition, grave goods were no longer deposited into burials (with the exception of jewellery and items of clothing); however, a consensus has been reached in modern historiography regarding the presence/absence of grave goods as not being directly linked to Paganism/Christianity and admitting that the grave of a Christian can be as rich as that of a Pagan (Garcia, 2017: 11–14).

Regarding burials containing cremated or partially cremated deceased that have been placed within an inhumation burial, it should be noted that no such case has been observed in any of the cemeteries in Vilnius city. All the instances examined were exclusively inhumation burials. This is hardly surprising, as cities usually have more precise burial procedures and maintenance. Furthermore, more members of the clergy may have been around to ensure a uniform funeral liturgy[13].

One of the most archaeologically obvious deviations is the removal of a head or limb. As was already mentioned, this is primarily associated with the fear of the dead, witch and vampire burials. More recently, however, the possibility of punishment has been raised. There are very few cases containing evidence of beheading or decapitation in the record of medieval burial grounds of Vilnius. Two burials can be distinguished: these were excavated inside the church of St. Anna-Barbara. Grave No. 21 housed an individual, who was buried with his hands twisted, head cut off and tucked under his shoulders (Tautavičius, 1959: 120). In another grave (No. 20), the legs of the deceased were cut off to the knees, and his shinbones and foot bones were placed on top of his femurs (Tautavičius, 1959: 120). Perhaps, these two cases can be associated with the fear of the dead. Unfortunately, no further evidence has survived. Also, it has not been established whether such desecration of the remains was committed at the time of burial or only later (perhaps the graves were unearthed?). Thus, any broader conclusions remain unattainable.

On Bokšto Street, grave No. 174 was found to contain a 25–30 year old man; both his hands were cut off prior to his death and were placed in an anatomical position during the burial. Taking into account the relatively young age of the deceased and the lack of other pathological lesions, a possible case of execution has been suggested (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 515). This grave was located among other graves and no further signs of exclusivity has been identified. As was already mentioned above, the practice is known in Europe whereby the offender would have been buried with the rest of the community after the execution, without other evidence of any distinctive features.

An exceptional grave was discovered in the burial ground in Kriveikiškis. Grave No. 133, was found to contain the remains of a 45–50 year old female with her head removed and her hands cut off at the elbows (Vėlius, 2005: 39) (Fig. 5). It seems that the head and hands were cut off after the death, before the burying of the body. According to the author of the research G. Vėlius, possibly, the head was cut off during a magical act after death (Vėlius, 2005: 39–40). In the litera-ture, such burials are usually referred to as vampire graves (Kajkowski, 2013: 177). It was believed that the decapitation could somehow contain someone with

_____

[13] In Poland, for example, the clergy were obliged to participate in the burial process from as early as the 13th century and to oversee the adherence to the ritual (Buko, 2007: 399).

magical powers, who might pose a threat to the living after death (Kajkowski, 2013: 177–178). Another possible explanation suggests that perhaps, this burial should be considered in the context of judicial practices. Especially because this burial does not contain objects such as stakes or other sharp implements, which are often found in the graves of alleged witches. The severing of hands and the head can then be considered as a punishment: partial quartering. It should be noted, however, that the deceased in Grave No. 133 was buried with fancy earrings, next to the others rather than in an isolated location.
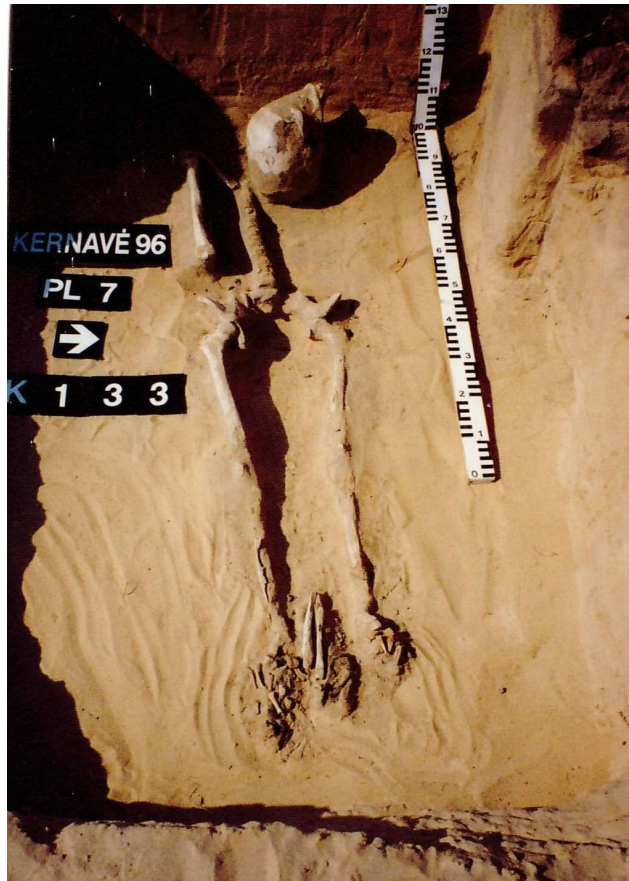

Fig. 5. Grave No. 133 in Kriveikiškis burial ground. (Photo by G. Vėlius; source: Vėlius, 1997: 147)

Cases have been discovered in medieval cemeteries whereby skulls were turned over, moved from their original position, and some bones were missing. However, such alterations to skeletal remains could have happened due to later disturbance (or during the descent of the remains into a pit) rather than suggesting an act of symbolism.

Interesting cases can be detected during the examination of the position of the body. Usually, in the Christian tradition, the deceased is laid in a supine position, with the legs extended. However, the burial ground in Alytus contained cases wherein the deceased individuals seem to have been thrown into the grave
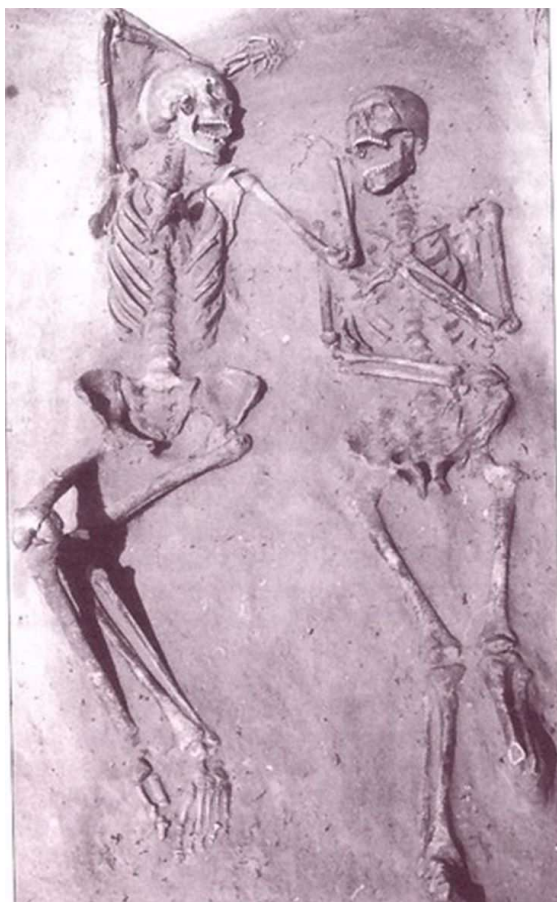

Fig. 6. Double burial containing a woman and a man, No. 84, in Alytus burial ground. (Photo by E. Svetikas. Source: Svetikas E. 2003. Alytaus kapinynas: christianizacijos šaltiniai, p. 152).

pit: their hands lay in different positions (for example, above the head) (Fig. 6), the legs of some individuals were bent; furthermore, it was often found that were thrown on top of each other (Svetikas, 2003: 151–153). Maybe, these cases could be associated with the burial of victims of crimes or linked with epidemics. One such instance of a group burial was investigated in Alytus. Here, three children, two teenagers and an adult woman (maybe a family) were buried together at the same time (Svetikas, 2003: 151).

One case was investigated in Bokšto Street, where a 40–49 years old woman (grave No. 347) was buried upside down (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 180). There were stones and the remains of a wooden coffin-like structure on both sides of the

Fig. 7. Female grave No. 347 in Bokšto Street. (Photo by R. Jonaitis)

deceased (Fig. 7). So, the woman may not have been pushed into the grave pit, but was buried properly, in a coffin. Such cases are traditionally associated with necrophobia or outcasts. Maybe it has something to do with superstition about vampires or witches. Another suggested explanation is completely opposite: perhaps, the woman was very pious and chose to be buried in such a position as a penance? It should be emphasised that this grave is much later than the others) graves in the burial ground, and dates back to the 2nd half of the 16th century[14]. This means that the deceased was buried in a cemetery that was no longer in use. Maybe, the community still held the memory of the cemetery that once existed here and chose this consecrated place purposefully.

Peripheral cemeteries are often found to be the places that contain burials with remains placed in a prone position. For example, eight such cases were investigated in Alytus: here, three women, four men and a child were buried in a prone position (Svetikas, 2003: 151). However, almost no such cases are known from

_____

[14] The burial was dated using the 14C method at the Poznan laboratory (Poz-52067), producing the date cal AD (2σ) 1484 (95.4%) 1648 (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 264).

graveyards. For example, from a total of 300 graves investigated within the Kernavė graveyard, not a single prone burial was uncovered (Vėlius, 2010: 67). Perhaps, this particular position could be considered as a relic of Paganism. As G. Vėlius noted, men are most often buried in this position; moreover, artefacts related to warfare dominate among the grave goods that are found in such burials (Vėlius, 2010: 68–69). Peripheral burial grounds containing individuals who were interred in a prone position revealed that the remains were buried in a respectful manner, among other members of the community. Therefore, it is likely that it was the warriors who were buried in a prone position (Vėlius, 2010: 68–69). Of course, the unusual position of the body could also be determined by the fact that the person may have been buried alive.

Three cases were found in Kriveikiškis cemetery where the deceased individuals were buried in a prone position, two of them laying partially on their side (Vėlius, 2010: 68). Burials nos. 86 and 142 housed the remains of a woman and a man, their graves were not distinguished by any other features, and no pathologies were found (Vėlius, 2005: 38). On the other hand, grave No. 155 contained a male, aged between 30 and 35 who, presumably, was murdered. Several fatal fractures of the occipital bone from blows to the head have been detected, the hands of the deceased rested on the bottom of the pit, his right leg was bent and he lay on the left one (Vėlius, 2005: 38). Thus, in this case, the man could have simply been pushed into the pit. The author of the research G. Vėlius, suggests that a criminal version of the murder cannot be ruled out (Vėlius, 2005: 38).

Normally, the legs of the deceased would have been extended for burial in medieval cemeteries; sometimes, they were folded or bent at the knees/knee. Several such cases are known from the burial ground of Alytus (Svetikas, 2003: 152). Burials containing individuals with fully or slightly bent leg or legs (some-times, the bent leg was placed on top of the extended one) have also been found in another comprehensively researched Lithuanian burial ground in Karmėlava (Rickevičiūtė, 2003: 166). Children and adults of both sexes were found to have been buried in this way. The question is, what could have determined such positioning of the legs? One possible explanation is offered by the results obtained during the research on Bokšto Street. Here, eight cases were identified whereby the legs of the deceased (in most cases, one of the legs), were slightly bent at the knee. Notably, four of the individuals were diagnosed with various pathologies, inflammations, fractures, fractured fibula and ankles, and so on (Jonaitis, Kaplū-naitė, 2020: 177–180). Perhaps this was a reason for the particular positioning of the legs. Another interesting case was presented by the discovery of an adult male burial (No. 33*). His right leg was slightly bent, while his left was fully bent and lying under the right leg. It was identified by anthropologists that this is a grave of a disabled person (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 178). Maybe, this was the only possible position for his legs. These examples show that the pathologies of the deceased should be evaluated more carefully.

In total, two cases (graves nos. 226 and 390) where adult men were buried with their legs crossed were investigated in the burial ground on Bokšto Street. In the aforementioned grave No. 226, the remains were encircled with stones. In the other grave (No. 390), a male aged between 30 and 39 years was buried. Both men have been diagnosed with various pathologies (Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020: 178). Perhaps, the articulation of the remains, again, has something to do with the physical condition of those men. Another possible explanation suggests that burials containing cross-legged remains may be associated with warfare. This is often how knights are depicted on tombstones in Western Europe. In addition, the sign of the cross can be recognised in the crossed legs. Perhaps, at least in one case (grave No. 226), an exceptional man - a warrior - was buried in the stone-framed grave with his legs crossed.

The last type of deviation to be discussed is burial on one side. Such cases are discovered quite often in medieval cemeteries. Burial on the side has been known since the Stone Age, only Christianity may have given it a different meaning. Two burials with the remains laid on the side are known from Bokšto Street, nine in Alytus (Svetikas, 2003: 150), and five in Karmėlava (Rickevičiūtė, 1995: 74). It should be noted that burial in a sleeping position is more typical of children's graves. Perhaps, it indicated a more special emotional connection with the little member of the family. Adults were also buried on the side. However, other explanations are possible here. For example, a female was found buried on her left side in the grave of Arglaičiai burial ground (Raseiniai district); it was determined that her right femur was grown into the pelvic bone (Svetikas, 2003: 150). So, the position could be determined by the health condition of the woman. In this case, too, it is necessary to consider the possibility of pathologies.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the number of deviant burials discovered in the analysed medieval cemeteries was not that high. In the title, a provocative question was asked, which ones - saints or criminals - deserved an unusual burial? In reality, it seems, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Some cases may indicate a different perception of the assessment of a deceased person, but there are few of them (except for beheading). The other cases can often be simply explained practically. For example, the stones could be related to wooden constructions of the grave, various pathologies determined the distinctive positioning of the body, the outcasts of the community (criminals or suicides) could be buried in a more secluded place, and so on. Of course, one can identify the relics of Paganism in unusual burials, especially in cases when the deceased were interred on the side or in a prone position.

A relatively small number of deviant burials is logical since they are associated with Christianity which maintains distinct burial customs. This is especially typical for Christian cemeteries in Vilnius that were used by the

newcomer communities of Catholic and Orthodox faith and, as such, do not exhibit any relics of Paganism. In addition, the funeral would have probably been supervised by clergy who could ensure a uniform burial tradition, at least in towns. For example, in the cemetery in Alytus there may be more deviations because local people (former Pagans) were buried here. So we can talk about the transition from Paganism to a new religion of Christianity. Commonly, deviant burials are seen to decrease in Christian cemeteries over time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Войтехович А. *Погребальный обряд населения Полоцкой земли в X–XII вв.* Минск: Беларуская навука, 2019, 270.

Buko A. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Poland. Discoveries–Hypotheses–Interpretations*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007, 508.

Chartularium Lithuaniae res gestas magni ducis Gedeminne illustran: Gedimino laiškai. Sud. S. C. Rowell. Vilnius: Vaga, 2003, 420.

Daminaitis V. 1997 m. Vilniuje, Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčios šventoriuje vykdytų archeologijos tyrimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2978*. Vilnius, 1998.

Dawes J., Magilton J. The Cemetery of St Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark. *The Archaeology of York.* / General Editor P. V. Addyman, Vol. 12: The Medieval Cemeteries. York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research, 1980, 136.

Dzikas L. Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčios šventoriuje tiestų inžinerinių trasų archeologinės priežiūros ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1386.* Vilnius, 1988.

Garcia M. *Burial practices in early Medieval Britain and their interpretation*, 2017. https://www.academia.edu/3050844/Burial_Practices_in_Early_Medieval_Britain_and_their_Interpretation (2020-05-06)

Gardeła L., Duma P., 2013. Untimely death: atypical burials of children in early and late medieval Poland. *World Archaeology*, 2013, vol. 45 (2), 314–332.

Gardeła L., Kajkowski K. Vampires, criminals or slaves? Reinterpreting 'deviant burials' in early medieval Poland. *World Archaeology*, 45:5, 2013, 780–796. DOI: 10.1080/00438243.2013.849853

Gendrėnas G. Vilnius, 1980–1981 m. 160 vietų Dailės instituto bendrabutis Latako g-vėje. Archeologiniai tyrimai. Ataskaita. Plotas Nr. 1. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1606b.* Vilnius, 1983.

Gendrėnas. G. Vilnius, 1980–1981 m. 160 vietų Dailės instituto bendrabutis Latako g-vėje. Archeologinė mechanizuotų žemės darbų priežiūra: Ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1606a.* Vilnius, 1982.

Gilchrist R. *Medieval Life. Archaeology and the Life Course*. Woolbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012, 336.

Gilchrist R. Transforming medieval beliefs. The significance of bodily resurrection to medieval burial rituals. *Death and changing rituals. Function and meaning in ancient funerary practices.* Eds. J. Rasmus Brandt, M. Prusac, H. Roland. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015, 379–397.

Ivakin V. Burial grounds and graves in medieval Kiev (10th to 13th centuries). *Rome, Constantinople and Newly converted Europe. Archeological and Historical Evidence.* Kraków; Leipzig; Rzeszów; Warszawa, Vol. 1, 2012, 625–639.

Jonaitis R., Kaplūnaitė I. *Senkapis Vilniuje, Bokšto gatvėje. XIII-XV a. laidosenos Lietuvoje bruožai*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2020, 586.

Jonaitis R., Kaplūnaitė I. The Mediaeval Cemetery at 6 Bokšto St. The Orthodox Community's Social Arena in Vilnius. *Światowit,* 2021, LX, 97–111. DOI: 10.31338/0082-044x.swiatowit.60.6

Jonaitis, R., Kaplūnaitė, I. Panašūs ar skirtingi? Dvi krikščioniškos bendruomenės pagoniškame Vilniuje. *Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis*, 2016, XXXIII, 75–98. DOI: 10.15181/ahuk.v33i0.1497

Kajkowski K., 2013. The Symbolism and Ritual Significance of the Human Head among the Pomeranians in the Early Middle Ages. *Motyw głowy w dawnych kulturach w perspektywie porównawczej*: International Interdisciplinary Meetings 'Motifs Through The Ages'. Vol. I. Bytów: Muzeum Zachodniokaszubskie w Bytowie, 2013, 156–193.

Kviatkovskaja A. *Jotvingių kapinynai Baltarusijoje (XI a. pab.–XVII a.)*. Vilnius: Diemedis, 1998, 327.

Mattison A. *The Execution and Burial of Criminals in Early Medieval England, c. 850-1150: an examination of changes in judicial punishment across the Norman Conquest.* PhD thesis, University of Sheffield., 2016.

Murphy E. Introduction. *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008, XII–XVIII.

Rickevičiūtė K. Karmėlavos kapinynas. *Lietuvos Archeologija*, 1995, t. 11, 73 – 103.

Rickevičiūtė K. Karmėlavos senkapis (1998 – 2000 m. tyrinėjimai). *Lietuvos Archeologija*, 2003, t. 24, 161 – 266.

Riisøy A. Deviant Burials: Societal Exclusion of Dead Outlaws in Medieval Norway. *Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Mia Korpiola and Anu Lahtinen. Collegium: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Vol. 18. Helsinki: Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015, 49–81.

Sarcevičius S. 1996 m. Vilniuje, Pranciškonų bažnyčios viduje ir šventoriuje, Trakų gt. Nr. 9, vykdytų archeologinių tyrimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2595*. Vilnius: 1996.

Ščavinskas M. Baltų kariauninkų kontaktai su Kijevo Rusios ir Lenkijos valstybėmis prasidedančios christianizacijos kontekste (XI–XIII a. pirma pusė). *Vakarykščio pasaulio atgarsiai*. Vilnius: Lietuvos dailės muziejus, 2018, 50–71.

Schofield J., Vince A. *Medieval towns. The archaeology of British towns in their European setting*. London: A&C Black, 2003, 335.

Svetikas E. *Alytaus kapinynas: christianizacijos šaltiniai*. Vilnius: Diemedis, 2003, 443.

Tautavičius A. Archeologiniai kasinėjimai Vilniaus žemutinės pilies teritorijoje 1957 – 1958 mm. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai, serija A*, 1959, 1(6), 115 – 134.

Urbanavičius V. Lietuvių pagonybė ir jos reliktai XIII–XVII amžiais. *Liaudies kultūra*, 1994, 3, 1–7.

Vaicekauskas A. 1997 m. Vilniuje, Trakų g. 9, vykdytų archeologijos tyrimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2938.* Vilnius: 1998.

Vaicekauskas A. Archeologiniai tyrimai Vilniuje, Trakų g. 9, Pranciškonų bažnyčios viduje. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2352.* Vilnius,1994.

Vaitkevičius G. *Vilniaus įkūrimas* (Vilniaus sąsiuviniai, t. I). Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2010, 128.

Valionienė O. Lietuvos miestų sakralinės erdvės struktūra viduramžiais ir naujaisiais laikais. *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2015, 2014/2, 5–34.

Vėlius G. Kernavė – "inovacinio kiemo galimybės"? *Lietuvos archeologija*, 2009, t. 35, 265–272.

Vėlius G. *Kernavės miesto bendruomenė XIII–XIV a.* Vilnius: Vilnius universiteto leidykla, 2005, 112.

Vėlius G. Sugrįžtantys numirėliai: "netradicinė" laidosena Lietuvos Viduramžių senkapiuose. *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 2010, t. 25, 62–73.

Žukovskis R. Šv. Mergelės Marijos ėmimo į dangų (pranciškonų) bažnyčios teritorijoje (Trakų g. 9/1, Vilniuje) 2010 metais atliktų archeologinių tyrinėjimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 5497.* Vilnius, 2011.

Žukovskis R. Vilniaus senojo miesto su priemiesčiais (25504) Švč. Mergelės Marijos ėmimo į dangų bažnyčios (25024) aplinkos, Trakų g. 9/1, Vilniaus m., archeologinių tyrinėjimų 2011 metais ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 5871.* Vilnius, 2012.

REFERENCES

Buko, 2007 – Buko, A., 2007. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Poland. Discoveries–Hypotheses—Interpretations*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. [in English].

Daminaitis, 1998 – Daminaitis, V. 1997 m. Vilniuje, Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčios šventoriuje vykdytų archeologijos tyrimų ataskaita. Archaeological report, Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2978. Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Dawes, Magilton, 1980 – Dawes, J., Magilton, J. (1980). The Cemetery of St Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark. *The Archaeology of York*. / General Editor P.V. Addyman. Vol. 12: The Medieval Cemeteries. York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research. [in English].

Dzikas, 1988 – Dzikas, L. (1988). Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčios šventoriuje tiestų inžinerinių trasų archeologinės priežiūros ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1386.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Garcia, 2017 – Garcia, M. (2017). *Burial practices in early Medieval Britain and their interpretation*. https://www.academia.edu/3050844/Burial_Practices_in_Early_Medieval_Britain_and_their_Interpretation (2020-05-06). [in English].

Gardeła, Duma, 2013 – Gardeła, L., Duma, P. (2013). Untimely death: atypical burials of children in early and late medieval Poland. *World Archaeology*, (45 (2)), 314–332. [in English].

Gardeła, Kajkowski, 2013 – Gardeła, L., Kajkowski, K. (2013). Vampires, criminals or slaves? Reinterpreting 'deviant burials' in early medieval Poland. *World Archaeology*, (45:5), 780–796. [in English]. DOI: 10.1080/00438243.2013.849853

Gedimino laiškai, 2003 – Gedimino laiškai. (2003). *Chartularium Lithuaniae res gestas magni ducis Gedeminne illustrans: Gedimino laiškai.* Sud. S. C. Rowell. Vilnius. [in Lithuanian, Latin].

Gendrėnas, 1982 – Gendrėnas G. (1982). Vilnius, 1980–1981 m. 160 vietų Dailės instituto bendrabutis Latako g-vėje. Archeologinė mechanizuotų žemės darbų priežiūra:

Ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1606a.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Gendrėnas, 1983 – Gendrėnas, G., 1983a. *Vilnius, 1980–1981 m. 160 vietų Dailės instituto bendrabutis Latako g-vėje. Archeologiniai tyrimai. Ataskaita. Plotas Nr. 1.* Archaeological report, Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 1606b. [in Lithuanian].

Gilchrist, 2012 – Gilchrist, R. (2012). *Medieval Life. Archaeology and the Life Course.* Woolbridge: The Boydell Press. [in English].

Gilchrist, 2015 – Gilchrist, R. (2015). Transforming medieval beliefs. The significance of bodily resurrection to medieval burial rituals. *Death and changing rituals. Function and meaning in ancient funerary practices.* Eds. J. Rasmus Brandt, M. Prusac, H. Roland. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 379–397. [in English].

Ivakin, 2012 – Ivakin, V. (2012). Burial grounds and graves in medieval Kiev (10th to 13th centuries). *Rome, Constantinople and Newly converted Europe. Archeological and Historical Evidence.* Kraków, Leipzig, Rzeszów, Warszawa, (1), 625–639. [in English].

Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2020 – Jonaitis, R., Kaplūnaitė, I. (2020). *Senkapis Vilniuje, Bokšto gatvėje. XIII-XV a. laidosenos Lietuvoje bruožai.* Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas. [in Lithuanian].

Kajkowski, 2013 – Kajkowski, K. (2013). The Symbolism and Ritual Significance of the Human Head among the Pomeranians in the Early Middle Ages. *Motyw głowy w dawnych kulturach w perspektywie porównawczej*: International Interdisciplinary Meetings 'Motifs Through The Ages'. Bytów: Muzeum Zachodniokaszubskie w Bytowie, (I), 156–193. [in English].

Kviatkovskaja, 1998 – Kviatkovskaja, A. (1998). *Jotvingių kapinynai Baltarusijoje (XI a. pab.–XVII a.)*. Vilnius: Diemedis. [in Lithuanian].

Mattison, 2016 – Mattison, A. (2016). *The Execution and Burial of Criminals in Early Medieval England, c. 850-1150: an examination of changes in judicial punishment across the Norman Conquest.* PhD thesis, University of Sheffield. [in English].

Murphy, 2008 – Murphy E. (2008). Introduction. *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. Oxford: Oxbow Books,* XII–XVIII. [in English].

Rickevičiūtė, 1995 – Rickevičiūtė, K. (1995). Karmėlavos kapinynas. *Lietuvos Archeologija.* Vilnius: Diemedis, (t. 11), 73 – 103. [in Lithuanian].

Rickevičiūtė, 2003 – Rickevičiūtė, K. (2003). Karmėlavos senkapis (1998 – 2000 m. Tyrinėjimai). *Lietuvos Archeologija.* Vilnius: Diemedis, (t. 24),161 – 266. [in Lithuanian].

Riisøy, 2015 – Riisøy, A. (2015). Deviant Burials: Societal Exclusion of Dead Outlaws in Medieval Norway. *Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* Ed. by Mia Korpiola and Anu Lahtinen. Collegium: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, (Vol. 18), 49–81. [in English].

Sarcevičius, 1996 – Sarcevičius, S. (1996). 1996 m. Vilniuje, Pranciškonų bažnyčios viduje ir šventoriuje, Trakų gt. Nr. 9, vykdytų archeologinių tyrimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2595.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Schofield, Vince, 2003 – Schofield, J., Vince, A. (2003). *Medieval towns. The archaeology of British towns in their European setting*. London: A&C Black. [in English].

Svetikas, 2003 – Svetikas, E. (2003). *Alytaus kapinynas: christianizacijos šaltiniai*. Vilnius: Diemedis. [in Lithuanian].

Ščavinskas, 2018 – Ščavinskas, M. (2018). Baltų kariauninkų kontaktai su Kijevo Rusios ir Lenkijos valstybėmis prasidedančios christianizacijos kontekste (XI–XIII a. pirma pusė). *Vakarykščio pasaulio atgarsiai*. Vilnius: Lietuvos dailės muziejus, 50–71. [in Lithuanian].

Tautavičius, 1959 – Tautavičius, A. (1959). Archeologiniai kasinėjimai Vilniaus žemutinės pilies teritorijoje 1957 – 1958 mm. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai, serija A*, 1(6), 115 – 134. [in Lithuanian].

Urbanavičius, 1994 – Urbanavičius, V. (1994). Lietuvių pagonybė ir jos reliktai XIII–XVII amžiais. *Liaudies kultūra*, (3), p. 1–7. [in Lithuanian].

Vaicekauskas, 1994 – Vaicekauskas, A. (1994). Archeologiniai tyrimai Vilniuje, Trakų g. 9, Pranciškonų bažnyčios viduje. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2352.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Vaicekauskas, 1998 – Vaicekauskas, A. (1998). 1997 m. Vilniuje, Trakų g. 9, vykdytų archeologijos tyrimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 2938.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Vaitkevičius, 2010 – Vaitkevičius, G. (2010). *Vilniaus įkūrimas* (Vilniaus sąsiuviniai, t. I). Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus. [in Lithuanian].

Valionienė, 2015 – Valionienė, O. (2015). Lietuvos miestų sakralinės erdvės struktūra viduramžiais ir naujaisiais laikais. *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, (2014/2), 5–34. [in Lithuanian].

Vėlius, 2005 – Vėlius, G. (2005). *Kernavės miesto bendruomenė XIII–XIV a.* Vilnius: Vilnius universiteto leidykla. [in Lithuanian].

Vėlius, 2009 – Vėlius, G. (2009). Kernavė – "inovacinio kiemo galimybės"? *Lietuvos archeologija*, (t. 35), 265–272. [in Lithuanian].

Vėlius, 2010 – Vėlius, G. (2010). Sugrįžtantys numirėliai: "netradicinė" laidosena Lietuvos Viduramžių senkapiuose. *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, (t 25), 62–73. [in Lithuanian].

Žukovskis, 2011 – Žukovskis, R. (2011). Šv. Mergelės Marijos ėmimo į dangų (pranciškonų) bažnyčios teritorijoje (Trakų g. 9/1, Vilniuje) 2010 metais atliktų archeologinių tyrinėjimų ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 5497.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Žukovskis, 2012 – Žukovskis, R. (2012). Vilniaus senojo miesto su priemiesčiais (25504) Švč. Mergelės Marijos ėmimo į dangų bažnyčios (25024) aplinkos, Trakų g. 9/1, Vilniaus m., archeologinių tyrinėjimų 2011 metais ataskaita. *Archaeological report. Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Section, file no. 5871.* Vilnius. [in Lithuanian].

Vojtehovich, 2019 –Vojtehovich, A. (2019). *Pogrebal'nyj obrjad naselenija Polockoj zemli v X–XII vv.* Minsk: Bielaruskaia navuka. [in Russian].

Jonaitis, Kaplūnaitė, 2022 – Jonaitis, R., Kaplūnaitė, I. (2021). The Mediaeval Cemetery at 6 Bokšto St. The Orthodox Community's Social Arena in Vilnius. *Światowit*, (LX), 97 – 111. DOI: 10.31338/0082-044x.swiatowit.60.6. [in English].

Jonaitis, kaplūnaitė, 2016 – Jonaitis, R., Kaplūnaitė, I. (2016). Panašūs ar skirtingi? Dvi krikščioniškos bendruomenės pagoniškame Vilniuje. *Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis*, 2016, XXXIII, 75–98. DOI: 10.15181/ahuk.v33i0.1497. [in Lithuanian].