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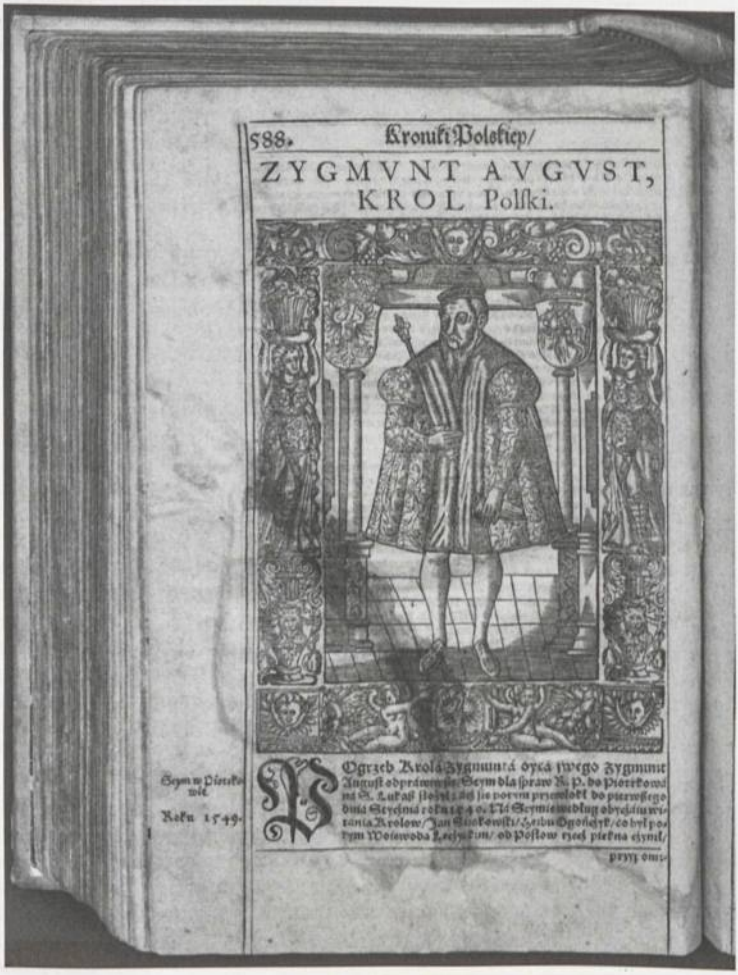

Sigismund Augustus, in an illustration from Bielski's 1597 Chronicle of Poland. *Note the tapestry-like composition of the woodcut. See* Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries *on page 37.*

"Ten Days That Shook Lithuania": The Atgaiva Drama Festival of 1988

PATRICK CHURA

To mark the fifty-fifth birthday of director Gytis Padegimas in February 2007, Antanas Venckus, head of the Šiauliai City Theater, wrote a letter to the city's mayor. The letter's purpose was to announce a celebration being planned by theater personnel and to request that the Šiauliai municipal government issue an official commemorative proclamation about Padegimas's career. The first accomplishment Venckus cited in his missive was a politically charged theater festival Padegimas had conceived and organized in Šiauliai in 1988, "the Lithuanian Drama Festival – Atgaiva." This event, Venckus noted, was "colored with ideas of national rebirth" and "had powerful repercussions in the theatrical community."[1]

Venckus's praise for his longtime colleague and the Atgaiva festival was well-deserved, sincere, and long overdue. In 1988, Atgaiva had been celebrated as a turning point in Lithuanian theater history and a catalyst to cultural renewal in the Glasnost era. During the tumultuous period between the festival and Venckus's letter, however, the event and its significance had been largely forgotten, a victim of the severe disillusionments that followed swiftly upon the realization of independence in 1990. Though Atgaiva had bolstered the country's self-assurance at a key moment, that confidence had waned during

[1] Venckus, "Dėl B.G. Padegimo Apdovanojimo." All translations from Lithuanian language texts are by Patrick Chura.

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the crises of national identity that preoccupied Lithuania in the 1990s and beyond.

The fall of 2013 therefore seems a fitting moment for another remembrance, even longer overdue. Marking the approach of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Atgaiva – the first Lithuanian drama festival to take place outside the austere ideological restrictions of Soviet censorship – offers the chance to take stock of the event as a cultural moment that foreshadowed, and to some extent contributed to, both the restoration of Lithuanian autonomy and the imminent break-up of the USSR. Considering the fact that several of the festival's plays displayed or debated the influence of the United States on Lithuanian society, the project also illuminates meaningful relationships between American culture, Lithuanian culture, and anti-Soviet dissent.

Loosely translated, the word *atgaiva* means "renewal" or "revitalization."[2] The stated goals of the Atgaiva festival were "to produce the best Lithuanian classic and contemporary dramatic works, and to stimulate the participation of theater professionals in the rebirth of Lithuanian national culture."[3] The euphoric response to Atgaiva in its immediate context clearly indicated that it had lived up to the hopes articulated by Padegimas, its primary organizer and driving force. Promoting the festival in 1988, Padegimas envisioned it as "a means of analyzing the nation's consciousness," rediscovering the "essential values" of its people, and "returning status" to a national theater that had been "forced to adjust itself to the priorities of the Ministry of Culture" for far too long.[4]

Remembering Atgaiva in a recent interview, Padegimas spoke nostalgically about the "great citizen activism" that surrounded the festival. "Every night there were crowds of people out in front of the theaters with flags, with candles, and with

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2 Asked about the festival name "Atgaiva" in interviews, Padegimas explained, "'Atgaiva' ir mums, ir miestui, reikalinga kaip dvasinis sukrėtimas... (For us and for the city, 'Atgaiva' is needed as a spiritual shock...)" See Peleckis, "'Atgaiva' –Tai dvasinis sukrėtimas," 1, 4.

3 Lietuvos dramaturgijos festivalio, 1.

4 Andrašiūnaitė, "Kultūros Šventė – Atgaiva," 4.

songs," he recalled, "Immediately, the events became political rallies of a new kind." "Atgaiva," Padegimas asserted, "gave people inspiration, reassuring them that they could dare, that they did not need to be afraid."[5] Such recollections help explain why one Atgaiva participant, actor Povilas Stankus, began his acceptance speech at the post-event awards ceremony with the words, "Gytis Padegmas, I kneel down before you for giving us such a festival."[6]

Teatras

RYTO SUOLIS Į NAKTIES ERDVĘ

KUO GRĮSTAS KELIAS Į NAMUS?

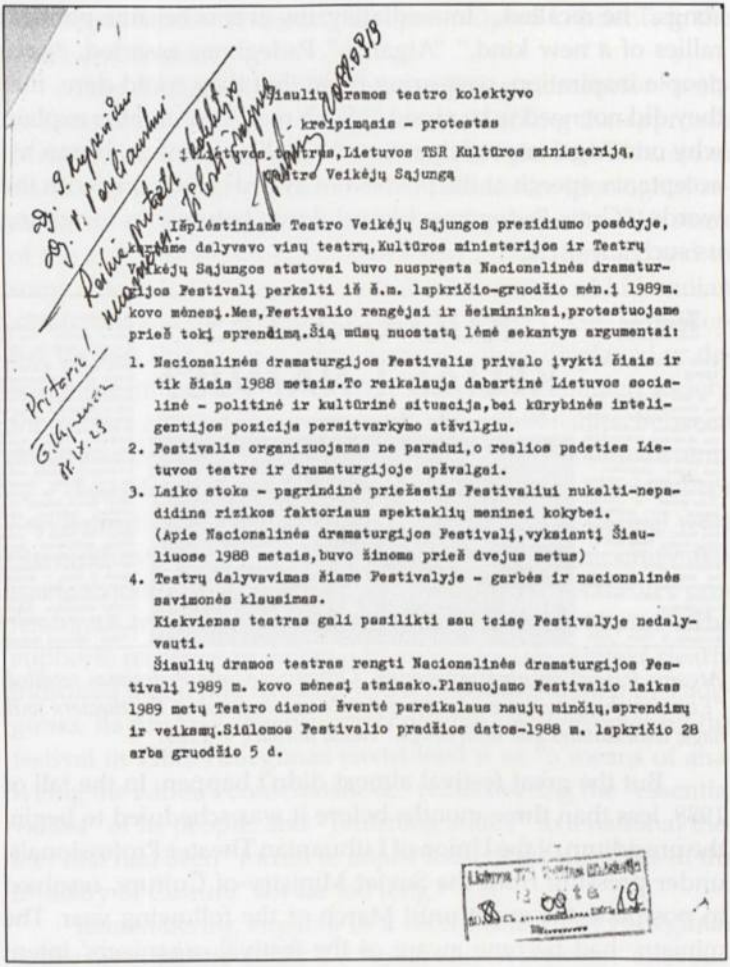
Šiauliuose vyko lietuvių dramaturgijos festivalis

*Atgaiva festival opening ceremonies. Organizer Gytis Padegimas recalled, "Every night there were crowds of people out in front of the theaters with flags, with candles and with songs."*Tiesa, *January 4, 1989.*

But the great festival almost didn't happen. In the fall of 1988, less than three months before it was scheduled to begin, the presidium of the Union of Lithuanian Theater Professionals, under pressure from the Soviet Ministry of Culture, resolved to postpone the event until March of the following year. The ministry had become aware of the festival organizers' intent to take advantage of a moment of Glasnost-era "openness" by using the theater to celebrate Lithuanian culture and to interrogate the dubious effects of nearly five decades of Soviet occupation. Understandably nervous about the event, the ministry requested the postponement so the event could be truncated and politically neutralized by merging it with the following year's traditional Soviet "Theater Day" celebration.

5 Gytis Padegimas, Personal interview, March 29, 2009.

6 Quoted in Tirvaitė, "10 Dienų," 10.



Šiaulių dramos teatro kolektyvo
kreipimasis - protestas
Lietuvos teatras, Lietuvos TSR Kultūros ministeriją,
Teatro Veikėjų Sąjungą

Išplėstiniame Teatro Veikėjų Sąjungos prezidiumo posėdyje, kuriame dalyvavo visų teatrų, Kultūros ministerijos ir Teatrų Veikėjų Sąjungos atstovai buvo nuspręsta Nacionalinės dramaturgijos Festivalį perkelti iš š.m. lapkričio-gruodžio mėn. į 1989m. kovo mėnesį. Mes, Festivalio rengėjai ir šeimininkai, protestuojame prieš tokį sprendimą. Šią mūsų nuostatą lėmė sekantys argumentai:

1. Nacionalinės dramaturgijos Festivalis privalo įvykti šiais ir tik šiais 1988 metais. To reikalauja dabartinė Lietuvos socialinė - politinė ir kultūrinė situacija, bei kūrybinės inteligentijos pozicija persitvarkymo atžvilgiu.
2. Festivalis organizuojamas ne paradui, o realios padėties Lietuvos teatre ir dramaturgijoje apžvalgai.
3. Laiko stoka - pagrindinė priežastis Festivaliui nukelti - nepadidina rizikos faktoriaus spektaklių meninei kokybei. (Apie Nacionalinės dramaturgijos Festivalį, vyksiantį Šiauliuose 1988 metais, buvo žinoma prieš dvejus metus)
4. Teatrų dalyvavimas šiame Festivalyje - garbės ir nacionalinės savimonės klausimas.
   Kiekvienas teatras gali pasilikti sau teisę Festivalyje nedalyvauti.

Šiaulių dramos teatras rengti Nacionalinės dramaturgijos Festivalį 1989 m. kovo mėnesį atmeta. Planuojamo Festivalio laikas 1989 metų Teatro dienos šventė pareikalaus naujų minčių, sprendimų ir veiksmų. Siūlomos Festivalio pradžios datos - 1988 m. lapkričio 28 arba gruodžio 5 d.

Šiauliai Drama Theater "Protest-Appeal". Gytis Padegimas explained the circumstances behind the handwriting on the document: "'Pritariu! (I approve!)' was written by then Deputy Minister of Culture Giedrius Kuprevičius. ...The names written at the top [above Kuprevičius's name] are those of Ministry of Culture Theater Department employees who had apparently been instructed to address the protest, and they, fearing to take responsibility, appealed to the deputy minister. Kuprevičius, being himself a man of culture, wrote, 'I approve!' and the festival was held in the fall." (Lithuanian National Literature and Art Archive, Vilnius. File 342, Folder 3876, p. 4).

Šiauliai Drama Theater Company Protest Appeal to Lithuanian theaters, the Ministry of Culture of the Lithuanian TSR, and the Union of Theater Professionals

In the announced meeting of the presidium of the Union of Theater Professionals, in which representatives of all theaters, the Ministry of Culture, and the Union of Theater Professionals participated, it was resolved to postpone the National Drama Festival from November-December of this year to March of 1989. We, the organizers and hosts of the Festival, protest this decision. Our protest is based on the following arguments:

1. The National Drama Festival must take place this year and this year only. The current social, political, and cultural conditions in Lithuania, along with the position of the creative intelligentsia with respect to issues of reform, make it necessary.

2. The Festival is being organized not as an empty ceremony, but as an appraisal of actual conditions in Lithuanian theater and dramaturgy.

3. A lack of preparation time – the primary reason given for postponing the Festival – does not have a bearing on the artistic quality of the productions. (It has been known for two years that a National Drama Festival would take place in Šiauliai in 1988.)

4. The participation of theaters in this Festival is a question of honor and national self-consciousness. Each theater may reserve the right not to participate in the Festival.

The Šiauliai Drama Theater hereby refuses to hold a National Drama Festival in March of 1989. To plan a Festival for the 1989 Theater Day holiday would require new ideas, proposals and activities. We suggest an opening date for the Festival of November 28 or December 5.

Šiauliai Drama Theater Protest-Appeal, translation.

Immediately Padegimas, along with thirty-two members of his Šiauliai drama troupe, drafted a tersely worded "Protest-Appeal" stating that their drama festival "must take place this year and only this year." Dated September 19, 1988, the protest argued that the planned festival would advance needed change at a key moment: "The current social, political and cultural conditions in Lithuania, along with the position of the creative intelligentsia with respect to issues of reform, make it necessary."

Some of the protest's language was insolent: "The festival is being organized not as an empty ceremony, but as an appraisal of actual conditions in Lithuanian theater and dramaturgy." And some was defiant: "The Šiauliai Drama Theater hereby refuses to hold a National Drama Festival in March of 1989." Holding the event immediately, the dramatists said, was "a question of honor and national consciousness."[7]

Thanks in part to an irresolute Kremlin then undergoing one of its most stunning periods of upheaval under Gorbachev, and in part to LTSR Deputy Minister of Culture Giedrius Kuprevičius, who had the courage to write "Pritariu!" (I approve!) above his signature on the submitted protest document,[8] the Šiauliai festival went forward, acquiring in the process its politically evocative name. The success of the Protest-Appeal no doubt awakened Lithuanian cultural workers to new possibilities for civil disobedience and exposed weaknesses in the previously impermeable policy boundaries of the Soviet regime. On nine successive nights beginning December 12, 1988, nine Lithuanian plays were presented, followed on the tenth evening by a festival-closing public symposium entitled *The Role and Tasks of the Lithuanian Theater in the Process of Cultural Rebirth.* Each of the plays staged expressed some form of anti-Soviet protest or carried liminal messages about the captive position of colonized cultures under Soviet hegemony. Along with the evening performances, a daily program, Morning Reflections – lectures and discussions led by writers, artists and professors, essentially reopened the previously closed field of Lithuanian culture studies. And every night at midnight, actors from the plays returned to the stage to participate in Night Poetry, a series of exhilarating dramatic readings from works by classic Lithuanian poets. All of these well-attended and enthusiastically received events expressed

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7 "Šiaulių dramos kolektyvo kreipimasis – protestas."

8 Gytis Padegimas e-mail, June 14, 2013. Kuprevičius confirmed this version of events in a separate letter: "It is my signature – Giedrius Kuprevičius, I was then First Deputy Minister and Cultural Affairs Board Chief at the LTSR Ministry of Culture." (Giedrius Kuprevičius e-mail, June 14, 2013).

the nation's acute hunger for self-actualization in the period just prior to the demise of the Soviet Union.

A sense of the highly charged atmosphere of Atgaiva can be gleaned from a look at three plays that became noteworthy for different reasons during and after the festival: *Čia nebus mirties* (There'll Be No Death Here) by Rimas Tuminas and Valdas Kukulas, *Žvakidė* (The Candlestick) by Antanas Škėma, and *Katedra* (The Cathedral) by Justinas Marcinkevičius.


ATGAIVA
LIETUVIŲ DRAMATURGIJOS FESTIVALIO BIULETENIS
ŠIAULIŲ DRAMOS TEATRAS 1988m. gruodžio 12-22 d.

Atgaiva Festival Bulletin, *front page. Four issues of the festival newspaper were published and a total of 6,000 copies printed during the event. The Bulletin featured political articles, reviews, and reactions to both the Morning Reflections and Night Poetry sessions.*

Of special interest to Lithuanian-Americans and scholars of American literature is the work that was voted Best Drama of the festival, *There'll Be No Death Here*, a play about sociopolitical conditions in rural Lithuania during the late 1940s as reflected in the life of folk-poet Paulius Širvys (1920-1979). Širvys, who produced simple verses rich in folkloric influences, is a revered figure in Lithuanian cultural history, but the approach to retelling his life taken in *There'll Be No Death Here* is far from conventional. As a review of the December 19 performance explained,

> The conception of the creators of this drama is to tell about the life journey of the poet Paulius Širvys, though we won't find much here in the way of biographical facts or the presentation of data. ... Rather, in a poetically subtle way, the inner resistance of the young artist is revealed. For that purpose, excerpts from Jack London's *Martin Eden* – which by the way was one of Paulius Širvys's favorite books – are put to good use.[9]

[9] Jankus, "Čia nebus mirties."

The typed minutes of the festival committee's awards meeting reveal that *There'll Be No Death Here* was the only play nominated for the event's Best Drama Prize and was confirmed for the award in a unanimous vote of the eight-member prize committee, securing an honorarium of 2,000 rubles for coauthors Valdas Kukulas and Rimas Tuminas.

While it's fascinating that there was so little doubt about which play was best among a number of well-received productions, it's also worth noting that parts of the winning play were not written by its Lithuanian coauthors, but by an American writer who happened to be strongly socialist in his political outlook. Long passages from Jack London's 1909 novel *Martin Eden* are quoted at key moments in the drama, and London's highly autobiographical title character is a frequent presence on stage, becoming one of the play's central tropes and most expressive elements.

Making much of the fact that *Martin Eden* was one of Širvys's favorite books, Kukulas and Tuminas first drew parallels in temperament between the Lithuanian poet and the American fiction writer and then, in effect, merged the two artist figures in meaningful ways. Considering the extent of the Lithuanian play's debt to *Martin Eden*, one could argue that the Best Drama award presented to Kukulas and Tuminas for *There'll Be No Death Here* also comprised a transnational tribute to Jack London.

London's text and characters enter the play early. An evocative opening monologue from an elderly woman who had been Širvys's first love fades to a flashback of the village school at Vilkoliai, where in 1945, at the age of seventeen, she had met Širvys, "a young blond man with a scar on his face . ... in a military uniform with a row of medals on his breast."[10] This reminiscence is interrupted by the entrance of "a very elegant lady," Ruth Morse, the title character's love interest in *Martin Eden*, who silently crosses the stage and exits. Ruth is followed on stage by "Martin Eden and his friend, an old sailor." The

[10] Tuminas and Kukulas, *Čia nebus mirties*.

sailor, an invention of the primary Lithuanian scriptwriter Tuminas, assumes the voice of London's narrator and relates an account, translated almost verbatim from the final pages of London's novel, of Martin Eden's decision to drown himself at sea. The opening sequence clearly establishes, along with the play's biographical intent, a literal analogy between the lives, loves and deaths of its central figures, Širvys and Eden.

Martin Eden's second appearance on stage, occurring in Act Two, asserts a relation between Eden and the aspiring young writers of a late-1940s Lithuanian village. The act opens with a monologue in the Vilkoliai library by Kostas Mildinis, a local official who had sided with fascists and worked for Hitler's gestapo during the war. He later joined a band of Lithuanian nationalist partisans, only to eventually surrender his weapons and accept "the correct way of life" among the "heroic people" of the Soviet Union. Mildinis's monologue, which glorifies Soviet rule, ends with his forced removal from the play. As the stage directions indicate, he is "pushed behind the wall with gaping cracks in it. These cracks are his last window to the world." In essence, he represents the complex political dilemmas of mid-century Lithuania, a small country alternately subjugated by the large aggressor nations to its east and west.

With little transition, Mildinis is supplanted on stage by a scene adapted from London's novel: "Like some vision, Martin Eden and his friend Brissenden descend into the library through the door on the right." What follows is a soliloquy, originally given by Eden himself in chapter thirteen, but now spoken by Brissenden to Martin. "You wanted to write and you tried to write, and you had nothing in you to write about," says Brissenden. The gist of the passage is that Eden had embarked as an artist before understanding "the essential characteristics of life" and that he needs more knowledge and experience before continuing. What the audience therefore witnesses is a process whereby painful historical realities (personified in the former nationalist partisan turned Soviet ally) are banished and replaced with a nascent artist figure.

After Martin and Brissenden depart, "The local writers burst into the village library with great excitement" to have a long discussion about the role of young poets in Soviet Lithuania. Their idealistic declarations – that the region's "apprentice writers" must develop their talents for "the good of our dear socialist fatherland," that "literature and art must flourish on every collective farm," and that "all Young Literary People of Soviet Lithuania pledge themselves to write one short story about collectivization or five-year construction projects" – are standard platitudes of the Stalinist era and would have been recognized as such by the play's 1988 audience.

The audience would also have noticed that the two character groupings in this part of the play – Martin Eden as described by Brissenden, and the young Lithuanian writers – share the trait of artistic immaturity. The juxtaposition exemplifies how the figure of Eden, along with London's prose descriptions, is used by the playwrights not only to develop the Širvys character through association, but to distill and comment on the political environment that formed him, a setting and discourse in which Lithuanians would recognize analogs to their national and personal histories.

Later in Act Two, the violent destruction of "bourgeois" books by Soviet officials sets up Martin Eden's third appearance in *There'll Be No Death Here*. This dynamic scene has several powerful elements. First, as the military officials destroy the Western books in the Vilkoliai library by violently chopping them up with axes, the play's chorus thunderously intones the State Anthem of the Lithuanian SSR, including a line that was later deleted as part of the late 1950s de-Stalinization campaign, "Stalin leads us to happiness and prosperity." In response, a "frightened teenage girl," the lover of Širvys, "begins to recite contemporary poetry, trying to drown the musical background." In what is in effect an open cultural battle, the Soviet anthem dominates, but the "motif of the folk song" lingers, with the eradication of literature providing the physical action throughout.

The folk song then changes to the "Mexican" tune used in the play to signal each of Martin Eden's entrances, and while

tension is still high, "through a door in the plaster wall enter Martin Eden, his friend Brissenden, and an old sailor." This time the dialogue is from chapter thirty-two of London's novel, beginning with a presentation from Brissenden to Martin: "Here is a book, by a poet. Read it and keep it." Essentially, Brissenden's act signifies the appreciation rather than obliteration of art, the process of restoring reverence for what had just been desecrated by the Soviets in Vilkoliai. But the conversation comprises several ideas, including Brissenden's claim that "one can't make a living out of poetry," his advice to Martin to leave Ruth behind to return to the sea, and the assertion that Martin is wasting himself by prostituting beauty "to the needs of magazine-dom." All the while, Ruth's voice is heard backstage, repeating, "I cannot love you, I cannot love you."

So, while the first half of this diptych bluntly renders the aesthetically destructive effects of axe-wielding Sovietism, the second implies distinct forms of ignorance and philistinism associated with capitalism. Brissenden counsels his protégé on the way to live genuinely – letting beauty be your end, renouncing money, fame, and love, if necessary. For Martin, however, artistic integrity matters less than winning Ruth. At this point in his development as depicted by Tuminas, a false romantic ideal also associated with capitalism desensitizes Martin to the significance of art and culture, a significance actually felt more strongly by the teenage Lithuanian girl from Vilkoliai, who opposes barbarity with poetry.

The play concludes with another appearance by Martin Eden, this time preceded by a pair of juxtaposed speeches, the first of which is a discourse on Soviet patriotism from the director of the Vilkoliai library. The director's monologue, read from a sheaf of official newspapers, is a forced recitation made in the presence of "aggressive and threatening" district officials. The vapid, cliché-ridden sermon about "the sunny life of Soviet nations in the land of Stalin" is described in the stage directions as "a meaningless dance filled with fear." As the lecture devolves into absurdity, a Woman in Black enters and seizes the platform, speaking "in an entirely different tone." A representative

of realism and truth, she gives graphic accounts of horrific wartime atrocities in rural Lithuania, narrated "in an entirely different key from what the newspapers write." When she exits, the mood among the audience of stunned Young People is one of "impending disaster, of some menacing premonition."

This paralysis is broken by the appearance of the play's chorus, among which are a Lady Teacher and Gentleman Teacher, who encourage the teenagers to "dance and laugh." As the teachers carefully demonstrate dance technique and etiquette in a brave attempt to cheer the village youth, the Mexican melody begins, Ruth Morse's voice is again heard from behind the stage, and Martin Eden enters with the elderly woman from the first act, who "listens to Ruth's voice as if these were the words she uttered in her youth." The exchange between Ruth and Martin, transcribed from London's chapter thirty, conveys a commitment to art that had been lacking in Eden's previous appearances.

But the words of Ruth and Martin are interrupted by the offstage shouts of an approaching group of men, overpowering the musical motif of the Mexican song. Next is the revelation that brings into focus the play's calculated synergy of Lithuanian and American elements. As the play's text explains,

> The men [presumably Soviet thugs] approach Martin Eden, arrest him and strip him. His former sailor's uniform is brought in. After changing into it, Martin Eden starts to speak in the words of Širvys.

At this point, the audience fully realizes that Martin Eden has been Širvys's surrogate, played by the same actor, that the play has been simultaneously about both men, and that Širvys, speaking through Eden, has been a significant presence on stage. The play's text underscores the hard-to-miss point that the author of *Martin Eden* and the author of Širvys's letters coalesce. The voice of Širvys explicitly instructs the audience: "Read Jack London's *Martin Eden* – That's me, Paulius."

Scena iš spektaklio „Čia nebus mirties". Aktoriai E. Gabrėnaitė ir A. Žebrauskas. Dovydo MACKONIO nuotr.

MŪSŲ TEATRAS LAIKO TĖKMĖJE

Mintys apie nacionalinę dramaturgiją Lietuvos scenoje

Scene from Čia nebus mirties *(There'll Be No Death Here).* Tiesa, *March 4, 1989. Dovydas Mackonis photo.*

A sense of how *There'll Be No Death Here* contributed to Gytis Padegimas's stated goal of "analyzing the national consciousness" in a new era is contained in reviews of the production, many of which mention the play's inventive uses of *Martin Eden*. Gediminas Jankus declared,

> We rejoice that the authors of the play *There'll Be No Death Here* have embraced the process of national renewal. The production tells openly and sincerely about postwar Lithuanian rural life, about the atmosphere of demagoguery that then prevailed there, which crushed more than one true artist.[11]

Another critic, Irena Aleksaitė, was more specific about the means by which "renewal" was advanced:

> The personality of the poet Paulius Širvys was reflected through the recent war-torn period and through excerpts from the novel *Martin Eden*, which were vividly associated with the life and destiny of the Poet.[12]

[11] Jankus, "Čia nebus mirties."

[12] Aleksaitė, "Mūsų teatras laiko tėkmėje."

It's worth noting, however, that in the text of *Martin Eden*, the artist's novel-ending suicide is caused mainly by the spiritually destructive influences of market-oriented society, and Tuminas's script does not ignore this fact. The play's Lithuanian characters and elements expose the soul-crushing effects of Stalinism, while its American elements explicitly disparage the spiritual effects of capitalism. Only the first half of this equation, however, seems to have registered with Lithuanian drama critics in December 1988. At the Atgaiva festival, the process of looking to the West and to Jack London's life for cultural and political inspiration, and the process of making this play the festival's leading and iconic work, required both a glossing over of the fact that Jack London was an outspoken socialist and a somewhat selective interpretation of *Martin Eden*.

Moreover, the acceptance of an American artist as an avatar for a local cultural icon reflects the idealism of the revolutionary period that led to Lithuanian independence. Within the audience's twin embrace of Širvys and London, for example, we glimpse the mindset behind the appeal of the Sąjūdis political movement, which combined a Western outlook and reverence for artistic expression with anti-Soviet resistance, as famously embodied in the figure of its leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, a music professor.

But while the coupling of political and artistic expression will always have efficacy, it can produce oversimplifications. The visceral appeal of *Čia nebus mirties* at the moment of Atgaiva, along with the responses of reviewers who emphasized its anti-Soviet elements but did not acknowledge its anti-capitalist elements, reflects the eagerness with which Western cultural models were being embraced, suggesting an uncritical acceptance of especially American influences at the beginning of the post-Soviet period. Had this fine play been performed a decade or two later, it would certainly have been interpreted in more balanced and complex ways, with more acknowledgment of the oppressive effects on the artist of capitalist class relations and consumer culture.

More than the play itself, the play's reception reflects a

national mood that passed quickly after independence, but that does not make *There'll Be No Death Here* any less valuable as a document from which several insights can be drawn. First, the fact that Širvys was a great fan of *Martin Eden* – and that Kukulas and Tuminas saw spiritual likenesses between the two, and therefore between Širvys and Jack London – adds up to a significant compliment for the American writer. The unanimous Best Drama Award for *There'll Be No Death Here*, given by a prize committee that certainly knew London to have espoused socialism, also constitutes a tribute to the American writer's legacy. Of greatest significance, however, is the fact that the spirit of *Martin Eden* did not simply travel well cross-culturally; it resonated strongly enough to be accepted as an emblem of Glasnost-era national feeling in the first Soviet Republic to declare its independence.

Another Atgaiva play, Antanas Škėma's two-act *Žvakidė* (The Candlestick) warrants attention for its faithful representation of a second distinct point of view within the late 1980s movement for cultural-political independence. *The Candlestick* is a transparent allegory in which a family drama in a mid-twentieth century Lithuanian village stands for the historical drama of the nation during the Soviet occupation. In keeping with its Glasnost-era presentation, the message is essentially a hopeful one, suggesting both reconciliation of previously opposed political factions and the imminent liberation and resurgence of local traditions and values, accomplished through the expulsion of outside, non-Lithuanian cultural influences.

The action takes place in "a corner of the sacristy" of a ransacked church in a rural Lithuanian village. Holy objects – candles, small icons, sacred images, books, and wooden boxes – are in evident disarray on the sacristy floor before "a dust-covered altar."[13] From the play's opening moments, two religious items in particular – a heavy silver *žvakidė* (candlestick) and a small *rūpintojėlis* (statue of lamenting Christ) – are invested with significance as relics that reflect the Christian

[13] Škėma, *Žvakidė*.

character of local culture and the currently oppressed state of that culture.

Agota, an elderly woman, and Liucija, a soft-spoken sixteen-year-old girl, enter the desolate sacristy, where they have come secretly to pray on a summer Sunday morning. In the background, the church organ is heard; Liucija's twenty-four-year-old brother Kostas, a man whom "pain has made rebellious," furiously plays dissonant airs, alternately an improvised Bach toccata and sacred melodies, "sometimes like a saint, at others like Satan."

The dialogue between the two women conveys grim circumstances: The church pastor, Liucija's uncle, had been arrested several months earlier for hiding a written document in the church sacristy – we assume a political declaration of some type – that the arresting authorities "did not like." Until a new priest arrives, praying in the church has been forbidden by the same authorities.

Liucija's father Adomas, the family patriarch, described as "a tall, muscular man" whose countenance is "wrinkled with lines of grief," enters the church looking for Liucija and is informed by Agota that the girl has just had a vision of the arrested pastor, Adomas's brother, wearing a torn cassock. As Agota further reveals, there is a general belief in the community that Kostas, Adomas's son, is the one who informed on the pastor and betrayed him to the authorities. Adomas's other son, Antanas, is politically involved in a very different way: he is the real author of the writing for which the pastor was arrested. Responding to Agota's persistent questioning, Adomas discloses that, in the previous two weeks, terror has reigned in the parish: eighteen people have disappeared, "apprehended during the night."

Adomas sends Liucija home with Agota, leaving him alone in the sacristy for a monologue in which he sorrowfully addresses his absent brother. He then calls out to Kostas, who stops his organ playing and appears before his father. Speaking in general innuendos about spirituality and moral responsibility, Adomas conveys the suspicion that his son is the informer:

"Don't you think we should be humble before eternal things?" For his part, Kostas counters his father's "theological lecture" defensively and defiantly, implying that Adomas is an overbearing father. When Kostas takes up a heavy silver candleholder from the sacristy floor and threatens to use it to smash the stained glass window, Adomas reacts with "quiet severity," ordering him to relinquish the candlestick.

Twenty-two-year-old Antanas enters the scene panic-stricken with the news that the pastor has been taken from prison and killed, gunned down in the forest amid a grove of pine trees. Antanas also reveals that he is the author of the document for which the pastor was murdered. Kostas quickly accuses Antanas of cowardice for not coming forward earlier, but Antanas explains that the delay was part of a plan. His uncle believed strongly that "the hour would come" to claim authorship of the document and counseled him to await instructions. "I thought that if I told the truth now I would be a traitor," he says, adding that the pastor had approved of his writings and intended to use them as the basis of "future sermons."

When Adomas and Antanas exit the scene, Kostas is given a monologue that reveals a view of his inner conflict as one between loyalty to "blood" and loyalty to "logical thinking." After he exits, the ghost of the pastor enters the sacristy. Dressed in a tattered cassock, the "white-haired sixty-year-old" immediately picks out the *rūpintojėlis* that had been left there by Adomas, "smiles contentedly" as he examines it, and returns it to its place. Act One closes with the pastor seated alone before the altar, reading aloud a litany of prayer and scripture with clear political implications: "I will rise, mend the rent clothing, and with candle in hand, walk the long road. And the people will follow me. ..."

In the play's second act, the spirit of the murdered pastor is a strong stage presence, conversing in a special way with the young Liucija, the only character who is able to see and speak directly with him. It is the evening of the same Sunday when Liucija, carrying a bouquet of wildflowers, returns to the church, where the organ playing of Kostas is still heard in

the background and her uncle awaits her, holding forth in the same tone with which Act One had ended: "And the people will follow me, and this procession will be called The Hymn to the Almighty." Liucija and her uncle speak informally and affectionately, the pastor describing the sensations of his death in the forest, of the pain he felt and "the smell of the moss" beneath the tall pines. For her part, Liucija declares that speaking with the pastor's ghost has brought her into a new world, a better world where intuitive, spiritual knowledge is more concrete and valid: "I am happy that I've begun to live, for I was only half alive and half dead. Now I am truly alive."

Agota suddenly enters, relieved to find Liucija but unable to see the pastor and confused by Liucija's apparently distracted conversation. She brings the good news, however, that "it seems the end is near." At the same moment, the pastor informs Liucija that her brother Kostas will soon experience "a beginning." After the pastor exits, walking through a wall, Agota explains that a battle has begun at the borders and the current occupiers are fleeing the country. For the rest of the play, the thunder of artillery and sounds of destruction are heard in the distance.

At this moment, Liucija is less concerned with the historic power struggle going on around her than with the sudden need to speak with her brother, the traitorous Kostas. Agota fails to understand: "What can you expect from a person who has betrayed his relatives to play the organ – sometimes like a saint and at others like Satan?" In answer, Liucija repeats her uncle's prophecy: for Kostas, "the beginning is near."

Liucija calls to Kostas and the brother-sister confrontation in the sacristy ensues. Immediately, the girl relays several messages: their murdered uncle has been listening to Kostas's playing; he spoke of a new beginning; these words were "meant for" Kostas. The skeptical brother answers that she is delirious and their uncle is dead. The girl begs Kostas to somehow feel the pastor's pain and experience the smell of the forest moss.

A decisive exchange follows when Kostas dismissively replies that "Imagination runs in our family: The father is a sculptor, one son a musician, the other a poet, and the daughter, a madwoman." To which Liucija answers, "and the musician plays because he is a murderer." Kostas's agitated reaction prompts Liucija to reach for the candlestick and brandish it in self-defense. Her blunt words – that the church is Kostas's only refuge because he is a collaborator – bring about a momentary softening in her brother. "Put down the candlestick. I won't hurt you," he replies before launching into a monologue that expresses the desolation of his inner landscape, a place where "the sky is totally black and there are no stars." Liucija is sympathetic toward her brother, but sees only two choices for him – either take up arms to help expel the country's enemies or join those enemies and escape into exile. Kostas asserts that there is a third way that remains a secret.

Scene from Žvakidė *(The Candlestick). Rimanta Krilavičiūtė as Liucija, Edmundas Leonavičius as Kostas.* Šiaulių naujienos, *February 22, 1989. Juozas Bindokas photo.*

His meaning is manifested in the next scene, where the symbolic candlestick becomes a fratricidal murder weapon. The remainder of the play is dominated by a long exchange between Kostas and his brother Antanas, who returns to the church bearing a rifle to be used against the country's occupiers, not all of whom are leaving peacefully. "Come with us," pleads Antanas, "there's a rifle for you too." After an emotional "family meeting," in which the patriarchal Adomas and Antanas remind Kostas of the "simple truth" of their mutual bond, Kostas seems ready to rejoin the family and convert politically. As he admits to Antanas, he hates himself, but both hates and loves his brother. At the suggestion of Antanas, the reconciled siblings proceed from the sacristy to the church, where they will "kneel together at the great altar." Antanas leads the way and Kostas follows with the candlestick, which he says he intends to place before the altar with lighted candle as a symbol that "some object must unite the two of us." Moments later he returns to the sacristy alone, having, in the words of the Pastor's ghost that awaits him there, "deceived both Antanas and himself" with a murder that only increases his stark alienation.

In Škėma's romanticized universe, Antanas and the Pastor, both of whom are killed by traitors to the national cause, live on. But the play does not clarify just what, other than the religious devotion and mystical faith of the principal characters, the national cause consists of. The content of Antanas's political manuscript is never revealed, and the final words of the murdered Pastor, though shot through with optimistic conviction, remain vague about the play's larger historical themes:

> They are still shooting, but we do not hear it. We are going somewhere else. ... The outsiders are fleeing from our land. Our people are winning. I believe that the outsiders will not return. Ever. And our life will not be just a life for ourselves. We will live also in the memories of our loved ones. In their hearts. We live. Happy and real. And that is the truth. Let it be. Let it be.

Only once in the play is it mentioned that the "outsiders" the Pastor refers to are being overcome by a military force "from the West," and that the role of Lithuanians who take up

arms in this conflict is to "help those from the West expel the enemies of our land." While this is enough to suggest a historical basis for the process in the experience of Lithuania during World War II (when the country was alternately occupied by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany), a specific context is never developed, and the warring forces are never actually identified. For these reasons, it becomes difficult to argue that this drama is a recapitulation of World War II history, especially since the Pastor's valedictory prediction that the "outsiders" will never return to Lithuania had already been contradicted by the time Škėma wrote the play in New York in 1955.

The intentional ambiguity and imprecision of the play's setting permit, if not compel, the recognition that, despite its resemblance to events of the 1940s, this play is not really about the World War II era, but about the end of the Cold War. This end was still quite far off when Škėma wrote the play, but when the play was staged at Atgaiva in 1988, it was actually happening. Like *There'll Be No Death Here*, Škėma's play uses the 1940s only allegorically, as a superficial template on which to graft messages about the here and now. Once this is acknowledged, it becomes apparent that, whatever forces act upon Lithuania from outside, the important thing is how the microcosm of the Lithuanian family reacts from within, living as they do in a time and place of great historical change.

The Candlestick was directed by the host of Atgaiva, so we would expect it to accord well with the festival's objectives and to somehow be "about" the Glasnost-era present rather than a remote past. We also have an unusual type of evidence that suggests how it did so. For a theater director to publicly expound on the significance of a production before it takes place is a rare thing, but that is what Gytis Padegimas did by authoring an article that appeared in the newspaper *Šiaulių naujienos* on December 4, six days before the play's December 10 premier and seventeen days before its presentation on December 21 as the final play of the Atgaiva festival.

A striking aspect of the article, titled simply "Antanas Škėma's *Žvakidė*", is the clear danger Padegimas discerns in the

uncritical acceptance of Western or American values at the moment of national rebirth. In the life, death, and art of Škėma, Padegimas derives an implicit warning about the effects of Americanization on the Lithuanian spirit. He begins with an unattributed quote from Škėma, probably from his published letters:

> We have lost life in Capital Letters. We rest comfortably in the embrace of lower case life. We have souls of silver, hearts of silver. Can it really be that the heart pumps only turbid water?[14]

But the passage would mean little without Padegimas's interpretation of its relevance to the historical moment:

> This painful sigh, coming from the lips of Lithuanian writer, director, and actor Antanas Škėma in his Golgotha of exile in Germany and the United States, is now urgent for us who today rise and defend our land, our language, and our souls. "Don't you think that when it comes to the everlasting things, we should be ashamed of ourselves?" This by no means simple rhetorical question plagues the characters in *The Candlestick*, permeates the author's entire body of work and becomes one of its primary catalysts.

Having placed Škėma's artistic subject matter firmly within the ongoing struggle to "defend" Lithuanian cultural heritage, Padegimas then discusses Škėma's life and death as an exile, noting that the author "left Lithuania in 1944 for Germany and the United States and died in an auto accident in Pennsylvania in 1961." The circumstances of Škėma's death give Padegimas the opportunity to comment on American culture:

> The painful opposition between "the promised land" of "those Americans" – who "increase and multiply, who have skyscrapers, baseball, Republicans and Democrats, the Atlantic Charter and the atomic bomb, the borough of Brooklyn, and who play the ponies, put their feet on the table, and ready themselves to triumph over oppression," and between, on the other hand, the "great misunderstood loneliness" – acquires drastic form, defines the self, and often ends in violence.

It is apparent that Padegimas, with unusual foresight, rec-

[14] Padegimas, "Antano Škėmos *Žvakidė*."

ognizes dangers in the coming tidal wave of cultural influence from the West, even as he leads the liberation of his country's theater from control by the East.

Another key assertion, however, is the connection Padegimas makes between Škėma's sudden rehabilitation as an artist and the current political atmosphere:

> Škėma has returned to longed-for Lithuania during this summer of rebirth. ... Škėma, who for so long has been a bogeyman for us, comes back as a major artist – honest and merciless toward himself so that he can bear witness to much national history . ... Perhaps not all of his witnessing is objective, perhaps it is overly emotional and extreme to us, but it is honest.

Padegimas here delights in the opportunity to resurrect a previously banned artist, but he seems acutely aware that his play may not receive a universally positive reception. He reveals that he anticipates critical censure for three specific shortcomings in Škėma's art: lack of objectivity, sentimentality, and a form of extremism that can be assumed to derive from the play's mysticism and religious fervor. The article therefore closes with a plea on behalf of Škėma for tolerance and open-mindedness toward a perhaps unpopular viewpoint:

> So let's listen to the bloodstained words of the poet. And for ourselves – who live in the days of renewal for the nation and for humanity – decide what is important and what is, perhaps, less meaningful. Let's be tolerant and receptive to the talented poet, all the more so because he asks so little.[15]

In the end, if Škėma's work asked little, it also received little from the reviewers and theater colleagues whose criticisms Padegimas had anticipated. At the meeting of the prize committee on the day after the festival, Škėma's play was nominated for only one award, the last of ten prizes offered, for Vidmantas Bartulis's musical score. When a secret vote was taken to decide whether to actually confer this minor award, only a simple majority was required, but Škėma's play was still effectively shut out. Six of eight committee members vot-

[15] Ibid.

ed against the prize – a result suggesting possible resistance either to the play's inherently religious ideology, or to Padegimas's public attempt to shape its political meaning as a caution against Western influence, or to both. In its final official act, however, the Atgaiva Prize Committee requested that the Lithuanian Cultural Fund grant an award and citation to "Šiauliai Drama Theater Director Gytis Padegimas" for "the nurturing (*puoselėjimas*) of Lithuanian drama."

While the works by Škėma and Tuminas-Kukulas were new to the Lithuanian stage, Atgaiva also resurrected and transformed previously produced plays in order to put them to new uses. The December 15 performance of Justinas Marcinkevičius's *Katedra* (Cathedral), shows how a canonical drama with an already standardized critical interpretation could be adjusted to new political priorities.

Cathedral, the third work in the author's acclaimed trilogy of plays about Lithuanian history, is set in Vilnius at the end of the eighteenth century. During this period, Lithuania and Poland, brought to near ruin by the greed of feudal lords, were in economic and political crisis. The land and wealth of the country had been seized by more powerful neighboring empires. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania had lost the last vestiges of its statehood and sovereignty, and the country stood at the dawn of a new historical epoch. The philosophy of the French Enlightenment was spreading across Europe, sending out shock waves of revolutionary activity.

To analyze and derive meaning from this situation, Marcinkevičius chose representative historical material connected with the life and work of the celebrated Lithuanian architect Laurynas Gucevičius (1753-1798), a talented and culturally concerned artist whom Marcinkevičius saw as an apt expression of the strength of Lithuanian national creativity during the period. Gucevičius, the designer of the Vilnius Cathedral, is often described as the father of Lithuanian architecture. The play depicts his struggle to create a Lithuanian national identity by rebuilding the Vilnius Cathedral as a shrine to progressive humanitarian cultural ideals.

By implicitly comparing the architectural achievement of the cathedral with its creator, Marcinkevičius found a workable means of recasting the original meaning of the structure in a new historical context. "With the building of the Vilnius Cathedral," the author explained in 1971,

> the efforts of the nation to preserve its highest ideals were realized. The drama of the architect Laurynas is the story of an artist who does not find inspiration in the society of his time – from which he might have found support for his social and artistic activity.[16]

The history of the cathedral's construction, imagined alongside the events of the 1794 Polish-Lithuanian uprising against Tsarist Russia, is Marcinkevičius's historical framework. The play's dramatic intensity derives largely from the effects of aptly employed factual detail from the period's ideological struggles, closely intertwined with the main character's imagined inner life.

Marcinkevičius's attempt to locate the precise moment when the national ideal took shape is especially significant because it is set against the background of a corrupt and degenerate state at a decisive moment of social change. The playwright sifts a time of existential crisis for the Lithuanian nation, searching in the actions of his characters for evidence of essential human traits, elemental strength, and creative depth. The dramatic contradictions of the moment, along with the progress of the culture at large, are poetically crystallized in the inner life of Laurynas.

But throughout the play, Marcinkevičius is actually less concerned with historical minutia than with universal questions about the causes and consequences of political resistance to oppressive regimes – questions of particular moment during both the play's period of production in the late 1960s and its Glasnost-era re-presentation twenty years later at Atgaiva. When the play was first published in 1970, certain anti-Soviet elements would have been recognizable even though

[16] Quoted in Lankutis, *Justino Marcinkevičiaus draminė trilogija.*

nearly two centuries separated the historical action from the contemporary scene. Marcinkevičius's inclusion of a derisively presented character identified simply as a "spy" – a figure who appears at public gatherings and clumsily interrogates political demonstrators with questions like, "Who said there is no justice here? What is your name? Where do you live?" – should be understood as an intrusion of the author's present on the historical past, forging a link between the eighteenth-century context of feudalism in Lithuania and a counterpart Soviet reality that famously relied on citizen surveillance to preserve its authority. Another obvious reference to Soviet life comes when Marcinkevičius humorously describes his townspeople displaying a behavior that became both automatic and proverbial within the socialist economy of scarcity: "When I see a crowd of people, I get in line behind them without thinking," observes one Vilnius resident.

Despite the play's elements of political dissent, Soviet-era literary criticism was able to circumscribe its meaning within parameters of socialist ideology, under which the primary forces in the conflict were figured as opposed social classes. Essentially, Soviet critics pigeonholed the drama as a representation of the inevitable destruction of the feudal system, followed by the advent of the more progressive historical force of the proletariat. Jonas Lankutis, writing in 1977, saw the play as a "heroic folk drama," portraying resistance by peasants to "the slavery of serfdom."[17] Conforming to the norms and expectations of Marxist analysis, Lankutis and other Soviet critics reduced the play to a "philosophical dramatization," a depiction of the class war in which the central historical question was "whether Lithuania would be able to rise from the ruins of its feudal past."[18]

At Atgaiva in 1988, however, the play was suddenly permitted to address the question of whether the country would be able to rise and recover, not from its feudal past, but from

[17] Ibid., 156.
[18] Ibid.

its Soviet present. Dalia Gudavičiūtė's review of Panevėžys director Saulius Varnas's production in the December 17 *Šiauliai News* leaves no doubt that the play was widely understood as a parable about the current cultural context of anti-Soviet self-assertion. Gudavičiūtė's opening sentence: "It seems to me, and has for some time, that educated theatergoers, those responding to the 'wave of Rebirth,' will soon be sending the editors a list of statements that they no longer want to read in reviews,"[19] places the play squarely in the political realm. About *Cathedral*, the statements Gudavičiūtė deems suddenly undesirable include any vestiges of previously standard criticism: "that the play is being staged for a third time in the Lithuanian theater, that the Panevėžys theater is now undergoing a crisis, and that this is the first production of Saulius Varnas since he left the Šiauliai Theater." The critic is elated that matters of greater historical consequence have freed her from mundane reportage: "So I've just written all of this at the very beginning, and for the rest of this late-night review, let's try to forget such phrases." The review is obviously the work of someone who feels caught up in social change and feels compelled to acknowledge this fact.

Aware of and responsive to an altered atmosphere, the critic is therefore more interested in the fact that the play was staged in "contemporary dress and a contemporary setting," and that this was "necessary," she explains, "for the purpose of showing the presence of an eternally recurring situation" in the play's action. Although the implication is that some current form of the 1794 rebellion is now happening, the critic probably has in mind a more general set of imperatives involving all moments of socio-political revolution, a reading equally justified by the play's text but further heightened by the modern-dress production element.

Not surprisingly, Gudavičiūtė identifies specific parallels between the final decade of the eighteenth century and the period of Glasnost. At times it is actually unclear whether the critic is commenting on Varnas's production or on the world

[19] Gudavičiūtė, "Situacijos."

outside the theater walls. For example, Marcinkevičius's play opens with the return of Laurynas from four years of study in Paris, a moment that is afforded interesting significance:

> Is it not an absurd environment to which Laurynas (A. Babkauskas) returns from Paris carrying a plastic bag, when everyone is inclined to view his neighbor as a snitch, an informer, a gossip, or whatever else such are now called? And humbly to agree, when he himself is called on to play such a role, because it is futile to battle with that unseen and nowhere described governing institution?[20]

The "absurd environment" here referred to, an atmosphere that prompts the critic to seek the terms for current types of political betrayal, shows Gudavičiūtė doing just what the updated production asks its audience to do: equating the sociopolitics of the past with those of the present. Once this happens, the critic can publicly use the play to carry out a task only recently made possible: the asking of fundamental questions about the daily lives of Soviet citizens. Her comment on Laurynas's relative freedom of movement becomes a comment on the still-formidable restrictions on travel under the Soviet regime:

> And about Paris. How can it be, at the close of the twentieth century, that a Lithuanian audience seated in a theater can be so responsive to the possibility of studying in Paris and traveling to Italy to view masterpieces? In this case, they cannot identify with the characters and experience their emotions. The action on stage begins to be understood as absurd. But when the thought occurs that for the artist this situation has been held to be normal for ages – then the absurdity of our own existence becomes clear.

Two decades after the Atgaiva festival, Padegimas recalled that the event moved audiences to overcome or redirect their fear of political self-expression. In a fascinating way, Gudavičiūtė's review confirms that this actually happened:

> Perhaps the timid guffaw of the audience during the sentencing of the dissident insurgents is actually that familiar laughter that accompanies freedom from fear? Perhaps the audience expressed

[20] Ibid.

> the desire to mock itself for its fear that soon someone among them would be officially called 'a disturber of the peace' or an 'irresponsible element,' and that all would end with 'a solemn public penalty,' and afterward we would all have to 'face the music' and 'dine on the sausage and beer of the magistrate'?

Padegimas also claimed that the events of his drama festival had become "political rallies" and that they inspired the nation. The drama critic corroborates these assertions as well by articulating the effects of a cultural event – the viewing of a performance of *Cathedral* – in terms that predict the political liberation that followed:

> It's said that we sometimes need to free children from crushing fears through permission to speak of and internalize them in realistic terms. Perhaps it's likewise necessary to free grown men and women from their own contrived fears... Just in time, because these emotions are very useful later, when viewing a television broadcast.

What makes the foregoing passage striking and interesting is its turn to sarcasm, a turn that displays hostility toward current conditions and current media discourse that are no longer tolerable. This is explicable as a function of the play's apparent power to inspire social change. As Laurynas declares, "We are in contact with the roots of Lithuania, proclaiming the rebirth of the homeland," a revolution the purpose of which is to "awaken the people and revive the state."[21]

At the same time, Varnas's *Cathedral* contains a strong cautionary message about anti-Soviet revolution and all revolutions. Its assertions that "only through pain do we give birth to children, the homeland, and freedom" and that "homeland" and "liberty" may become "accursed words that bear no fruit"[22] seem to predict the chaotic loss of ideals that followed swiftly upon national independence in 1990. The end of the play seems to foresee and warn that revolutions devour their children. Speaking to the cathedral itself, Laurynas acknowledges that the physical and ideological structure could become

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[21] Marcinkevičius. *Katedra*, 326.
[22] Ibid., 391.

"a pantheon or a mausoleum,"[23] structures that both function as shrines to heroes or ideals that are dead.

The full story of the Atgaiva festival has not been told in any article or book, in either the United States or Lithuania. In fact, the festival background I have related in this article is probably the most detailed historical account to date. But these observations are only a beginning, a sampling of what may be gleaned from further study of the festival through the lens of culture studies. Having begun to look deeply into the event, I sense that Venckus, in the letter quoted at the start of this article, could have gone further in celebrating Atgaiva, an event he himself had participated in (playing the title role in Viktorija Jasukaitytė's *Žilvinas* under Padegimas's direction in one of the festival's important plays) and no doubt remembered well. Perhaps the fact that Venckus had to remind the Šiauliai mayor of what happened at Atgaiva is the best evidence of the extent to which it has been neglected.

Viewed in hindsight, the Atgaiva festival not only registered cultural protest; it also contained important forewarnings of the painful disillusionment that immediately followed the restoration of Lithuanian autonomy. The dearth of previous research on Atgaiva is likely a direct result of this disillusionment. Within the intense debates among theater critics about the meaning of the festival, the outline of later and current debates about the over-idealization of both local and Western-derived cultural standards is clearly discernible. In some ways, the rebirth of Lithuanian culture on the dramatic stage that took place at Atgaiva continues to be reenacted on the nation's political stage – with similar implications.

If for nothing else, Atgaiva deserves to be remembered for the electric charge it sent through the Lithuanian theater community. Two weeks after the festival, the headline of Lolita Tirvaitė's article in the respected journal *Literatūra ir menas* (Literature and Art) conferred historic significance by referring to the event as "Ten Days that Shook Šiauliai."[24] Tirvaitė's obvious echoing of *Ten Days that Shook the World*, the famous book

[23] Ibid., 374.
[24] Tirvaitė, "10 Dienų," 10.

by American communist John Reed about the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution, was clever and ironic. Atgaiva not only "shook" Lithuania, but successfully subverted an obsolete Soviet regime in its dying days – the same regime Reed's book had welcomed into existence in its first days. Tirvaitė captures the excitement and elation of the moment:

> In Šiauliai there was created something which we have only dreamed about at the end of previous festivals that have left only the bitterness of unfulfilled hopes... For ten days we felt ourselves spiritual aristocrats, free and independent men and women brought together for the purpose of creativity... And the plays have given us the much longed-for strength of hope.[25]

Studied in its entirety as a unified narrative, the Atgaiva festival may be understood as a declaration of Lithuanian cultural independence from the Soviet Union that preceded the country's political declaration of independence by some fifteen months.

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Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle

IEVA KUIZINIENĖ

The residences of European monarchs played an important role in their respective countries' political, social and cultural life, contributing to the state's international image. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, this role was played by the residence of the Lithuanian grand dukes in the Vilnius Lower Castle, which had existed, it appears, by the reign of Gediminas, who ruled the Grand Duchy between 1316 and 1341. Vestiges of each ruler remain, but those of the Gediminid-Jagiellonian dynasty must be given credit for the castle's most significant enhancements. The palace, which was rebuilt and expanded during their reign, became an important state administrative center, strengthening the image of Vilnius as the capital city and representing the country in the European monarchical community. This was where the traditions of public etiquette and customs were formed, along with the international image of the ruler's court. The residence's representational function – which would include the palace architecture, the rulers' collections, public ceremonials and celebrations – was particularly important.

In the scope of this article, only one aspect of this representational function will be analyzed, namely, the tapestry collection of Sigismund Augustus. The value of the collection and the veil of secrecy that surrounds the history of its acquisition have interested researchers from various countries since the first half of the nineteenth century. This research, however,

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has been greatly complicated by the fact that a majority of the tapestries from the collection are missing. No comprehensive, detailed inventories have survived, nor many documents relating to the commission, presentation, or storage of the tapestries. Its history remains somewhat mysterious.

Research on the collection's origins and its role in the ruler's court concentrated exclusively on the Wawel royal residence. This article synthesizes previous research and supplements it with archival material compiled by Lithuanian and international researchers from various fields and periods, and on historical research on the Vilnius Lower Castle and the collections of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, along with court traditions, the rulers' travels, and events in their personal lives. In order to reconstruct the tapestry collections, literary sources were also analyzed, especially panegyrics dedicated to important events in the lives of the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as weddings and coronation ceremonies, where much attention went into the decoration of the ceremonial rooms. Of note are Stanisław Orzechowski's *Panagyricus nuptiarum Sigimundi Augusti Poloniae Regis* (Panagryric on the Nuptials of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, 1553) and Maciej Stryjkowski's *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego* (On the Genesis, Accounts, Valor, Knightly and Domestic Affairs of the Famed Peoples of Lithuania, Samogitia, and Ruthenia, circa 1578). A translated excerpt of this text follows this article.

In light of the new information, established historical and art research treatises are now becoming an object of discussion and revision.

Early Tapestries

The kings, dukes and other nobles of Northern and Central Europe started taking an interest in tapestries during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Even though it is commonly said that the most important purpose of these textiles was to serve as insulation for the cold medieval castle walls or as room dividers, it is more likely that the representational and decorative purpose of tapestries had always been

important. Much like the narrative Italian Renaissance painting cycles, tapestry sets depicted topical political events and glorified monarchs and generals, who were likened to historical or mythological heroes or gods.

The popularity of these art works also grew due to their ease of transportation and multitude of uses. Tapestries covered interior walls and window and doorway niches, and insulated and decorated rulers' battlefield tents. They were also used to decorate facades, balconies, and streets during religious festivals or other celebrations.

The first information about Western European tapestries in the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is found in documents chronicling the lives of the Jagiellon family, its court, and its art patronage traditions. In written sources, Andreas Cricius (Andrzej Krzycki, 1482–1537) mentions a display of tapestries at the wedding of Sigismund the Old and the Italian noblewoman Bona Sforza in 1518. He described the ceremony in his panegyric *Epithalamium divi Sigismundi Primi regis et inclytae Bonae reginae Poloniae* (Epithalamium to the Divine King Sigismund I and the Illustrious Queen Bona of Poland, 1518). The author wrote of tapestries and textiles shining with gold thread, hung upon the walls of Wawel Castle in Kraków.

On the day of his death in 1548, Sigismund the Old owned 108 tapestries (not including those from Bona Sforza's dowry).[1] However, there are no comprehensive inventories that could be used to determine the structure of the tapestry collection from the times of Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza. It is believed that many tapestries could have been later removed from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Some ended up in the dowries of Sigismund the Old's daughters and Sigismund Augustus's sisters.[2] Several of Sigismund the Old's armorial tapestries were sold at a 1673 auction in Paris following the death of John II Casimir Vasa.

Only one historical text has been found to support the speculation that tapestries decorated the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes during the reign of Sigismund the Old. This

1 Šatavičiūtė, "Profesionalios lietuvių tekstilės ištakos," 4.

2 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, "Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta," 7.

is a document cited by Daiva Steponavičienė in her research on life in the Lithuanian ruler's court, which indicates that in 1517 Lithuanian Grand Duke Sigismund the Old sent eminent representatives on sleds covered with cushions and carpets woven with gold and silk thread to meet the envoy of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1508–1519), Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566).[3]

Early Documentation of Sigismund Augustus's Collection

There is no doubt that the most valuable items in the royal tapestry collection in Lithuanian and Polish history were acquired by Sigismund Augustus. This is why it is so surprising that almost no archival documents remain about the orders for this collection (contracts, accounts, correspondence, etc.). This may be attributed to the strained financial situation of Lithuania and Poland and their rulers and the enormous costs involved in forming such a collection, costs that Sigismund Augustus preferred remain unknown. This supposition can be supported by an order in his will, directed to his sister Anna Jagiellon (1523–1596), to thoroughly destroy all the listed documents after his death. Evidence of the ruler's efforts to hide these expenses is also found in the report of the papal nuncio Bernardo Bongiovanni in 1560, prepared after visiting the Palace of the Grand Dukes in Vilnius, where it is written that "treasures give him an immense amount of pleasure, and one day he showed them to me in secret, as he does not wish for the Poles to discover that he has spent so much on them [...]"[4] It is believed that part of the collection was commissioned in Vilnius, not Kraków, which may be why the documents have disappeared, along with other documents from the Vilnius residence.

The first known source in which the tapestries of Sigismund Augustus are described is a panegyric by Orzechowski, a student of the universities of Padua, Bologna and Rome, *Panagyricus nuptiarum Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae Regis*, dedicated to the

[3] Steponavičienė, *Lietuvos valdovo dvaro prabanga*, 99.

[4] Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 229.

wedding of Sigismund Augustus and his third wife, Catherine of Austria, the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564), published by Andrzej Łazarz in 1553.[5] The author, who described the ceremony, mentions large figurative textiles that amazed the guests at the wedding feast. In the large reception hall (today known as the Senators Hall), six tapestries from *The Story of Noah* were on display; in the hallway there were five textiles from *The Story of Moses;* while in the newlyweds' bedroom there were eight tapestries from *The Story of Paradise.*[6] One of them hung above the rulers' bed.

Orzechowski's text, full of inspiration and epithets, not only allows us to identify the textiles that decorated the castle during the wedding, but also conveys the impressions this collection left on the political and cultural elite who witnessed it. The commentary clearly reveals both interest in the visual narratives and rapture at the masterful work of the weavers and artists. The textiles are described as opulent, unusual, and not like those seen in the palaces of other rulers. An interesting and intriguing comment made by the author conveys the observers' reactions to the textile narratives, particularly that of the set *The Story of the First Parents,* which decorated the newlyweds' bedroom. Orzechowski called it *Paradise Bliss,* and in his praise of its naturalistic portrayal of the figures, the author highlights their nudity:

> In the first textile, hanging above the head of the matrimonial bed, we can all witness the image of our ancestors' bliss, where they are depicted nude, with their male and female parts completely uncovered. At the time, their nudity made such an impression on those who set their eyes upon it, that the men smiled while gazing at Eve, and the women – at Adam.[7]

An interesting detail is that the nudity of both Adam and Eve was later hidden by vine-leaves woven and embroidered onto the original textile. These modifications were most likely made during the time of Sigismund Vasa (1566-1632), a result

5 Piwocka, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 5.
6 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 22.
7 Szablowski, "The Origins," 46.

of the influence of the Counter-Reformation.[8] The reactions of the feast's guests in assessing the tapestries' depictions are also noted by Zbigniew Kuchowicz, who analyzed the legal circumstances and customary freedoms of women in Lithuania and Poland. As an illustration of the conservative attitudes of Poles, he mentions this event:

> ... when Sigismund Augustus hung tapestries acquired in the West in the Wawel, it was scenes depicting naked people from the Bible's Book of Genesis which aroused the greatest interest of the observers, as they had never before seen such images.[9]

Kuchowicz most likely had in mind the naturalism and size of the figures.

There are some inaccuracies in Orzechowski's descriptions of the tapestries. For example, he describes the singular *The Story of the First Parents* textile as three separate textiles, and the tapestry *Noah Speaks to the Lord* is mentioned twice as separate textiles.

Orzechowski's accounts lead us to believe that in 1553 the following tapestries hung at Wawel Castle: *The Story of Paradise (The Story of the First Parents)*; *The Story of Noah; The Story of Moses* (lost); and *The Story of the Tower of Babel.*[10] Orzechowski does not mention the tapestry depicting Cain and Abel with the caption *Egrediamur foras* (Let's go out to the field). In the opinion of the art historians Mieczyslaw Gębarowicz and Tadeusz Mańkowski, it must have been acquired later, because it is of a different stylistic appearance.[11]

The five-piece set, *The Story of Moses*, Orzechowski described has been lost. Until recently, it was believed that three tapestries from this set were taken to Rome in 1633 by the Polish envoy Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650) and presented as a gift to Pope Urban VIII (pope from 1623 to 1644).[12] They have not been found in Rome, and research by Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa has revealed that Ossoliński could not have taken

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8 Ibid., 53.

9 Kuchovičius, *Barbora Radvilaitė*, 30.

10 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 29–40.

11 Ibid., 24.

12 Ibid., 170.

these tapestries there. She notes that *The Story of Moses*, woven with gold thread, that is mentioned by Orzechowski does not appear in either the inventories of Stanisław Fogelweder, drawn up on September 29, 1572, nor in the lists drawn up in Tykocin on September 9, 1573. The latter list mentions a nine-piece set of *The Story of Moses* without gold thread. In the author's opinion, the set mentioned by Orzechowski with gold must have disappeared from the collection while Sigismund Augustus was still alive, sometime between 1553 and 1572.[13]

Thus, while it is known which tapestries from which particular sets decorated Wawel Castle for the wedding of Sigismund Augustus and Catherine of Austria, it is not clear where these tapestries were beforehand or whether all the tapestries they owned were displayed for the occasion.

The opinions of authors who have studied when the first commissions were made by Sigismund Augustus and what sets they included vary. Many agree that the tapestries described by Orzechowski in 1553 were woven earlier, between 1548 and 1553. In the opinion of Marian Morelowski, during the wedding at Wawel not only must the tapestries described by Orzechowski have already been in place, but also the verdures with animals on a landscape background (see illustration on page 48). The author bases this claim on the stylistic similarities between the animals depicted in the verdures and those in the biblical textiles.[14] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski differ on this point, asserting that the verdures and textiles featuring coats of arms were created later than the biblical tapestries.[15]

The Financing of the Collection

Since there is a lack of archival information on the acquisition of Sigismund Augustus's textiles, any further assumptions regarding their commission must rely on indirect information and be based on an analysis of historical facts concerning the lives of the rulers and their financial circumstances.

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[13] Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Dzieje Arrasów Zygmunta Augusta*, 50.
[14] Morelowski, *Arasy Wawelskie*, 8.
[15] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 24–29, 140.

The Introduction of Adam and Eve *(from the tapestry set* The Story of the First Parents*). From the workshop of Jean (Jan) Leyniers, Brussels. After cartoons by Michiel I Coxcie (Coxie), mid-seventeenth century, 350 x 230 cm. From the collection of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.*

Tapestry with the combined coat of arms of Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus from the set Armorial Tapestries of Sigismund Augustus. *Wool and silk; 240 x 158 cm. Acquired by the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania at an auction organized by Etienne de Baecque at the Drouot-Richelieu auction house in Paris on April 8, 2009. More details on page 80.*

It is unlikely that Sigismund the Old would have dared to commission an expensive series of artworks towards the end of his life. And since his son, Sigismund Augustus, was merely the Grand Duke of Lithuania and had only the relatively meager income of a Lithuanian ruler's treasury at his disposal, such expenses would have been beyond his means. But there is little doubt that a commission of such grand scale would have coincided with important events in the life of Sigismund Augustus. In consequence, one can suppose that the tapestries were acquired between 1548 and 1550, once Sigismund Augustus had ascended the throne of the King of Poland and was preparing for the official presentation of Barbara Radziwiłł (1520–1551) or on the occasion of her coronation. This chronology of events is given by Gębarowicz and Mańkowski as well. In their search for sources to confirm the date of commission of the textiles under discussion, the authors base their conclusions on such facts as tapestries from the set *The Story of Adam and Eve* were being sold in Augsburg in 1549. This was discovered from correspondence that year between Catherine of Austria, who later became the third wife of Sigismund Augustus, and the Habsburg palace's tapestry-master Jhan (Ihan) de Roy.[16] Catherine of Austria charged him with the task of purchasing tapestries from Flanders for three rooms, at a cost of a thousand guldens. In the court of Ferdinand I in Prague, Jhan de Roy was granted a passport allowing him to freely travel to Antwerp. The purchased tapestries and canvases were to be delivered over "ice and water" to Innsbruck and transferred to Józef von Lamberg. Catherine of Austria also authorized Jhan de Roy to find out if it was possible to purchase tapestries for another four rooms and their cost, to bring with him a painted sketch of these tapestries, and to determine whether tapestries depicting Adam and Eve offered to her earlier were still for sale. She also asked whether it was possible to purchase them at a lower cost than was discussed. No knowledge exists on how these negotiations proceeded or what was bought or delivered. If Catherine of Austria had acquired the tapestry set *The Story of the First Parents*, and they were the same six tapestries identified

[16] Ibid., 10, 11.

as *cum figuris ex veteri testamento* in her dowry inventory, then these tapestries would have made the journey along with her to Kraków in 1553. However, at the time she was traveling to Kraków, *The Story of the First Parents* tapestry set was already hanging in Wawel Castle. The art historian Jerzy Szablowski doubts whether the tapestry set for sale in Augsburg can be connected to the early commissions of Sigismund Augustus. The author points out that there are no archival documents that mention Catherine's purchase of the set. In addition, in his view, at least two sets would have to have been purchased at the same place and the same time: *The Story of the First Parents* and *The Story of Noah*. However, *The Story of Noah* was not for sale in Augsburg in 1549.[17]

After determining the collection's value (in 1668, the collection of Sigismund Augustus was valued at two million *auksinai* or *timpos*),[18] further efforts to specify the period of tapestry commissions investigated Sigismund Augustus's income and his ability to raise credit. Many historians have concluded that he could not have possessed such a sum in either cash or liquid assets. In the view of a majority of researchers who have studied the tapestry collection, he could have looked for credit abroad or in Gdańsk. One of the largest and most successful trade and banking houses in Gdańsk at the time was that of Dom Loitzów, which carried out its financial operations in Antwerp via a local intermediary, the Wrocław merchant Melchior Adler.[19] Sigismund Augustus had gone to Dom Loitzów on more than one occasion. An interesting piece of information was recorded by the German chronicler Reinhold Heidenstein (1553–1620), who wrote that Sigismund Augustus took out a loan of 100,000 talers for a set of textiles featuring a unicorn. However, the collection's researchers believe that Heidenstein

[17] Szablowski, "The Origins," 54.

[18] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 14. *Timpa* was a term given to the *auksinas* (a 15th–18th century form of currency used in Lithuania and Poland) which, according to the suggestion of Andrzej Tymf, started being minted in 1663 and was meant especially for paying down debts. See: Žilėnas, "Pinigai Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje."

[19] Szmydki, "O jagiellońskich," 49.

must have confused the textiles, since the palace inventories show no mention of any such set. A unicorn is featured in several of the ruler's tapestry compositions, but not as the main figure; it appears only in the background. Just which tapestries Heidenstein had in mind when mentioning the unicorn remains unclear.

Dragon fighting with a Panther, *one of the verdures from Sigismund Augustus's collection. Brussels, circa 1555. Photograph by Stanisław Michta. Copyright Wawel Castle, Kraków..*

In order to place the sum of 100,000 talers in perspective, Sigismund Augustus sought, via his delegates, a loan of the same size before going to war over Livonia in 1559. In that instance, he was apparently not successful in getting a loan in Gdańsk.[20]

New archival material published by Hennel-Bernasikowa forces a reassessment of these long-held hypotheses with respect to the ruler's assets. The most important is a letter from Sigismund Augustus dated January 1, 1561. In this missive, he writes that he owes Jakub Herbrot, an Augsburg citizen serving as the ruler's advisor, and Herbot's sons, "for certain treasures and gold and silk woven tapestries," the total sum of 79,404 florins and six pennies, which must be paid in three equal parts during the next three years. The payment is to be made in timber products dispatched to Gdańsk.[21] This and other letters also reveal that the commodities were various intermediate timber products sourced from the massive Augustavas Forest and the clearing of forests in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and other lands. Economic transactions of this kind, as the documents reveal, had been conducted for a long time. After 1549, it was under the control of Jan Kopf (d. 1565), a citizen of Gdańsk and Kaunas.[22]

It is, nevertheless, uncertain whether the sale of timber was the sole financing for the purchase of tapestries. At the time the debt note was signed, the biblical tapestries, and perhaps some of the others, were already part of the ruler's collection.

Ryszard Szmydki offers an interesting hypothesis in his analysis of alternate options for financing the collection and repaying whatever loans may have been incurred. He discusses the ruler's income from trade in Lithuanian and Polish agricultural products in markets in the Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam. It was precisely when Sigismund Augustus was commissioning the Brussels tapestries that European demand for grain increased. In 1557, merchants from Amsterdam,

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20 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 12.
21 Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Dzieje Arrasów Zygmunta Augusta*, 22.
22 Ibid.

Antwerp, and Brussels even appealed to the King of Spain, Philip II, to intercede with the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland so that a large amount of grain could be transported from Eastern Europe as soon as possible to the famine-ravaged Netherlands, Portugal, and Andalusia.[23]

In addition to the already mentioned financial sources, we should also pay attention to the increased income coming from the Grand Duke's lands after implementing the Wallach reform in 1547. Archival sources note this increase:

> The King is Lithuania's heir and its absolute ruler. [...] From this province, the King usually received somewhat more than 100,000 talers income [copy No. 2 states this as 200,000], but now, having removed much forest and measured the land after an increase in population, and because tributes are no longer paid in goods, the King receives somewhat more than 500,000 talers a year.[24]

Regardless of the various hypotheses, two facts are certain: a part of the tapestry collection already decorated Wawel Castle in 1553, and on January 1, 1561, Sigismund Augustus borrowed 79,404 florins and six pennies from Herbrot for purchasing tapestries and other treasures.

Other Archival Sources and Connections with the Vilnius Lower Castle

In the context of this information, a document from the treasury account books of the court of the Lithuanian Grand Duke concerning Sigismund Augustus's acquisition of artworks – dated January 14, 1546 and published by Rūta Birutė Vitkauskienė in 2006 – is very interesting. A passage from this document reads:

> ...on January 14 some German man was paid for the paintings listed below, images of the eight virtues, which were passed into the hands of Mykolas [von Kežmarok] for an agreed sum: *Faith, Hope, Love, Knowledge, Justice, Wisdom, Restraint, Fortitude.*[25]

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23 Szmydki, "O jagiellońskich," 49.

24 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 229.

25 It is unclear why eight virtues are mentioned rather than the traditional seven.

These eight paintings at two *kapos*[26] each come to 16 *kapos*. In addition, the sum for another five paintings was agreed on: *The Emperor's March Against Aurelius Barbarossa, The Sinking of the Ship in the March, Duke of* [illegible] *March near the City of Hahndorf* [?], *Duke Julius Cloven's* [?] *March near the City of Hansburg* and *The Emperor Drives the King of Italy from Naples*. These five paintings at one *kapa* each come to five *kapas*. Two paintings – *The Creation of the World* and *Noah's Ark*, or *The Great Flood*, at one and a half *kapos* each come to three *kapos*. In total, all the paintings come to twenty-four *kapas* of Lithuanian *grašis*,[27] or sixty *auksinai*.[28]

The themes of the mentioned paintings are characteristic of the tapestries of that time. However, it is of note that, among the listed paintings, we have *The Creation of the World* and *Noah's Ark*, or *The Great Flood*. The subject matter is directly related to the tapestries from *The Story of the First Parents* and *The Story of Noah*. Note also the fact that *Germania* is the historic name of the Netherlands,[29] so a more correct translation would be "to some Netherlander" rather than "to some German." The value of these artworks is also telling. It would have been impossible to purchase a high-quality painting for the sums mentioned. But cartoons of future tapestries, called *petits patrons* or *patrons au petit pied*, went for similar sums. These are small sketches showing the primary compositional elements, so that the client could get an idea of the overall design. In these works, the most important aspects were the image, the compositional scheme, and the proportions and silhouettes of separate elements. The coloring would be limited to a watercolor wash of certain elements or a list of the dominant colors (red, green, yellow, etc.).[30] By way of comparison, we can mention the sum the chancellor of the Council of Brabant paid Jan de Kempeneer on January

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26 *Kapa* – a form of currency worth 60 *grašiai*.

27 *Grašis* – or penny; a 15th–18th century Lithuanian metal coin.

28 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 224; *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (henceforth, AGAD), ASK, RK 137, 1. 20.

29 Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny Zygmunta Augusta," 35.

30 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 82, 83.

15, 1541 for two tapestry cartoons: eighteen florins.[31] We can also estimate the size of this "painting" on the basis of an analogical drawing, which, it is believed, was prepared at the same workshop that created the cartoons of Sigismund Augustus's verdures. The drawing, currently held by the British Museum in London, measures 284 x 525 mm.[32]

When we consider this archival information in conjunction with other known historical facts about the personal life of Sigismund Augustus and his tapestry collection, we can safely conclude that his first tapestry commissions were made in the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes in Vilnius. This interpretation of the information presented would also comply with Szablowski's claim that *The Story of the First Parents* and *The Story of Noah* sets were commissioned at the same time.

In developing this hypothesis, it is interesting to speculate about the future of the other listed sketches. Perhaps Sigismund Augustus did not authorize them? On the other hand, it is believed that the tapestries mentioned in the ruler's will, described there as portraying Muses, are those called *Allegories of the Virtues* in the cited treasury document, especially since the author of the cartoons for *The Story of the First Parents* and *The Story of Noah* is considered to be Michiel I. Coxcie (Coxie, 1499–1592), who created the *Allegories of the Virtues* cartoons in the same period.

Tadas Adomonis noted the fact that the 1548 inventories of the Vilnius rulers' palace mention the tapestry set *The Story of Adam and Eve*.[33] While the author unfortunately did not cite his sources, archival sources confirm that in 1548 tapestries hung in the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes in Vilnius. For example, an entry on February 23, 1548, concerning the upholstery of the Lower Castle's audience-hall walls and benches, mentions that:

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[31] Szmydki, "O jagiellońskich," 55, 56.

[32] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 240.

[33] Adomonis, Čerbulėnas, *Lietuvos TSR dailės ir architektūros istorija*, 188.

> ...for the iron nails used for attaching the textile during Lent [?] to the walls and benches and elsewhere – six gentlemen advisors [?] were given five *auksinai* in the farrier's room of the Vilnius Lower Castle." [34]

However, these sources do not shed any light on the tapestry's themes.

Various other records also testify to the existence of textile art in the Vilnius Lower Castle residence. On June 28, 1551, the court tailor, Martynas, and six assistants prepared the castle halls, the Vilnius Cathedral, and four other Vilnius churches for the Requiem masses mourning the death of Barbara Radziwiłł.[35] On August 30, 1552, by order of the ruler, his embroiderer, Sebaldus, was sent from Kraków to Vilnius, together with the Italian gemstone engraver Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio (1500–1565).[36]

The opulence of the rulers' palace in Vilnius during the reign of Sigismund Augustus can be surmised based on the 1560 accounts, mentioned earlier, of the papal nuncio Bongiovanni, which describe the ruler's collection in Vilnius:

> The King has many wonderful items; among them in Vilnius he has 180 small and large cannon of very fine craftsmanship (His Majesty is very proud of them) and is planning to have more cast. The Poles are very unhappy about this, saying that he is robbing the kingdom and amassing treasures in other locations [...] The King has twenty personal suits of armor, four of which are exceptionally grand, and especially one suit, which has exquisitely engraved and encrusted silver figures portraying all of his ancestors' victories against the Muscovites [...][37]

In addition to furniture, including those pieces brought from Naples by his mother, the letter describes rubies, emeralds,

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34 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 224; AGAD, ASK, RK 137, 1. 49v. The nails were used to affix tapestries to the walls (Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 18). Question marks in the quote indicate uncertainties in deciphering the text.

35 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 226; AGAD, ASK, RK 162a, 1. 23.

36 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 226.

37 Ibid., 229

and diamonds, and the clothing adorned with these gemstones. The author of the letter makes this comment on the collection:

> and there are so many gemstones, that I could not have imagined such an amount had I not witnessed it myself. And in my opinion, in Venice, among the state's [treasures] of our Lord [the Pope] there is no equal.[38]

The riches Sigismund Augustus kept in the Vilnius palace depository included 15,000 pounds of unused gilded silver, as well as fountains, timepieces with figures the size of a man, organs and other musical instruments, and a globe with all the signs of the heavens proportionally depicted. Also mentioned in the letter were thirty horse saddles and bridles that were beyond comparison in their opulence. Bongiovanni also wrote that His Majesty employed rare specialists for each of the arts. For example, gemstone and engraving work was done by Giovanni Giacomo[39] from Verona, the French crafted his artillery, a Venetian was hired for carving work, and a Hungarian served as an excellent lute player;[40] and so on for all the arts. Bongiovanni added this comment:

> I was told [by Sigismund Augustus] that in Poland there was a much larger collection of such artistic works taken for that kingdom, which the King had ordered, but I have not seen them, even though [he] said he would write and that they should be shown to me.[41]

This level of opulence should not come as a surprise, knowing that the last Jagiellon often resided in Vilnius. Statistics bear this preference out: before 1555, the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland spent almost 51 percent of his time in Vilnius, in 1556–1558 he spent 68 percent of his time in Vilnius, and during another four-year period (1559–1562) he spent as much as 81 percent of his time in Lithuania. At the time, the Lithuanian capital played the most

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38 Ibid.

39 Giovanni Giacomo Caraglio.

40 Valentin Bakfark (1506/1507–1576).

41 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 230.

important role as the residence of the Jagiellons. Viewing Vilnius as the ruler's primary residence is supported by the scale of construction work carried out on the Lower Castle starting in 1544. New halls were added, serving as a separate, private residence for the young ruler. Sometime later, earlier buildings erected during the reign of Sigismund the Old were reconstructed, and the palace's Renaissance closed inner-courtyard ensemble was formed.[42]

The evidence linking the first tapestry commissions with the official presentation of Barbara Radziwiłł in Kraków in 1549, or her coronation in 1550, lies not just in the period the textiles were commissioned, but also in documents regarding the painstaking preparation for these events. The details of Barbara Radziwiłł's arrival in Kraków were discussed as early as August of 1548 by her cousin Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł (1515–1565) and Hetman Jan Tarnowski (1488–1561). As Mikołaj Radziwiłł wrote, the desire was that "people would gather to greet the Queen at the border and all would progress differently than people expected."[43] Sigismund Augustus in particular made careful arrangements for the journey: he decided on an exact departure date (September 1) and ordered way stations to be readied to care for the horses and carriages. Lists of members of the entourage were also made, aiming for as many famous people as possible to accompany Barbara Radziwiłł.[44]

Roderigo Dermoyen's Role in the Formation of the Collection

The first set to be commissioned by Sigismund Augustus was identified from Orzechowski's panegyric. However, the panegyric only mentions the textiles that were displayed during the wedding ceremony. Research on the period the other textiles were commissioned has been influenced by two of Sigismund Augustus's letters, presented on July 6, 1904 to the Art History Research Commission in the Academy of Science of Poland by Stanisław Cercha. Both bear the same date and origination

[42] Ragauskienė, "Lietuviškasis Žygimanto Augusto dvaras," 39.
[43] Ragauskienė, *Barbora Radvilaitė*, 123.
[44] Ibid.

(May 12, 1564, Knyszyn), and both are addressed to the treasurer of the Prussian lands and the castellan of Gdańsk, Jan Kostka (1529–1581). They make mention of Roderigo (Rodrigue, Rodrigo) Dermoyen (Van der Moyen) and matters related to him. In the first letter, written in Polish, the ruler appeals to Kostka, writing that he is sending Dermoyen to him:

> our servant, so that having given the orders regarding those *cortyn*[45] he should be sent back, as was discussed in Warsaw, and that he should go to every effort to manufacture them as soon as possible and dispatch them to him [Sigismund Augustus].[46]

In the second letter, written in Latin, Sigismund Augustus writes about the three-year delay in payment for his servant Dermoyen, a citizen of Lübeck, who has not received his annual salary of 100 *auksinai* that was to be paid from the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It is indicated that this lapse occurred because Dermoyen was not present. The ruler orders Kostka to cover the 300 *auksinai* debt from the Prussian treasury (to include the salary for the current year), and to pay out the 100 *auksinai* without delay in future years.[47]

Based on these letters, which had until then been the only known archival material related to the commissioning of Sigismund Augustus's tapestries, it was concluded that the second tapestry commission can be associated with Dermoyen, while the date of the letters indicates the possible time period of the commission. However, Dermoyen's participation in the commissioning of the collections is not viewed the same way by all authors. Morelowski attributed both the figurative tapestries and the verdures to the first commission, while the grotesque and armorial textiles, according to the author, are from a later date and could have been delivered by Dermoyen between 1561 and 1564.[48]

Gębarowicz and Mańkowski gave more importance to

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[45] In 16th-century Polish records, *corcyn* meant "tapestry." See Morelowski, *Arasy Jagiellońskie*, 20.

[46] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 33.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Morelowski, *Arasy Wawelskie*, 8.

the role played by Dermoyen. In their view, it was not just the armorial and monogrammed textiles that appeared after the biblical tapestries, but also the verdures featuring animals. The authors even determined the transportation route taken. The agent would have sailed from Gdańsk to Antwerp and then gone on to Brussels. It is also assumed that Dermoyen would have taken colored and uncolored examples of ornaments with him on his trip to Flanders and tried to match the coat of arms and the ruler's monogrammed compositions.[49] However, these assumptions are not based on any sources, much like the authors' claim that the verdure cartoons were commissioned by Dermoyen from Willem Tons after first discussing their design with Sigismund Augustus.[50]

The German tapestry researcher Heinrich Göbel, who received the complete texts of both letters from Morelowski and published them in his work titled *Wandteppiche*, had another assessment of Dermoyen's activities.[51] According to Göbel, Dermoyen was both a weaver and a merchant, and had his main workshop in Lübeck, where he lived, as well as branches in Gdańsk or Malbork, which, upon the ruler's order, Kostka had helped him establish. In the researcher's opinion, Sigismund Augustus's tapestries were woven there.

Szablowski[52] acknowledges Dermoyen's participation in the commissioning of Sigismund Augustus's tapestries without associating him with any specific tapestries. Meanwhile, Anna Misiąg-Bocheńska attributes even the latest figurative tapestries from *The Story of the Tower of Babel*, not mentioned by Orzechowski, to Dermoyen.[53] Belgian scientist Jozef Duverger also examined this theme.[54] Duverger's research indicates that

[49] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 16.
[50] Ibid., 140.
[51] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 124, 140, 297.
[52] Szablowski, "The Origins," 53, 54.
[53] Misiąg-Bocheńska, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 164–165.
[54] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 35; Duverger, "Notes concernant les tapisseries du seizième siècle au château du Wawel," 66, 67.

Dermoyen was the son of Willem Dermoyen, the renowned owner of the Brussels weaving workshop that was in active operation in the first half of the sixteenth century. He married Maria van den Hecke, who hailed from a well-known Brussels weaving family. Based on information in Polish literature, Duverger expresses surprise that Roderigo Dermoyen did not carry the title of ruler's servant (*servitor*), as Pieter van Aelst did, who was the honorary weaver of Pope Leo X (1513–1521). The close ties Dermoyen had with the best-known Brussels weaving families led the author to assume that perhaps all of Sigismund Augustus's tapestries were commissioned with his mediation.[55]

Hennel-Bernasikowa[56] and Szmydki conducted more comprehensive research on Dermoyen's role in the formation of Sigismund Augustus's collection. Based on material collected by these authors, Sigismund Augustus signed a contract with Dermoyen on September 7, 1559. It is unclear precisely which gold and silk woven tapestries were commissioned at the time, but the sum of this commission was 12,000 florins and was to be paid out over three installments of 4,000 florins.[57] Meanwhile, other entries from the inventory book of the court of Sigismund Augustus published by Hennel-Bernasikowa, which were made by the palace scribe Jakub Zaleski, relate specifically to black-and-white tapestries. On April 28, 1564, i.e., two weeks before Dermoyen was sent with the ruler's letters from Knyszyn to see Kostka, an entry in this book states that he was paid 165 *auksinai* compensation for his journey from Lübeck to Knyszyn. The purpose of this journey was to order tapestries (*opony*) that, in the ruler's opinion, needed to be manufactured *in Germania inferiore* (as has already been mentioned, *Germania* is the historical name of the Netherlands). Two years and three months later, on August 9, 1566, Zaleski records another payment: "By order of His Majesty the King, Dermoyen, a hired servant of His Royal Majesty – 200 *auksinai*. This money was

[55] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 35.
[56] Ibid., 33–41.
[57] Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Dzieje Arrasów Zygmunta Augusta*, 23.

intended for black-and-white tapestries (*opon*), as well as 'for food.'" More information is given in a letter from the ruler addressed to Kostka, sent from Lublin and written a day after the payment, i.e., on August 10, 1566. Sigismund Augustus announced to the castellan of Gdańsk and treasurer of the Prussian lands that in accordance with the honorable agreement made with Dermoyen, black-and-white tapestries, manufactured and complete,

> were delivered to us and presented to our depository. The first installment of the payment had already been made, and now he [Dermoyen] was to receive the remainder. He nevertheless feels cheated, since according to the contract, he was to receive a quarter short of three *auksinai* per cubit of textile. That is why he asks that he be paid three *auksinai* for each cubit.

The ruler indicated that he was immensely pleased with Dermoyen's work and instructed Kostka to pay him all that he was owed, without delay and with no further discrepancy. On the other side of this document there is an inscription: *Rodericus de 1314 florenis pro auleis*. It is unclear what portion of his salary this truly large sum was meant to cover; but the commission was important, and there must have been a great number of black-and-white tapestries delivered by Dermoyen.[58]

Szmydki[59] was more interested in analyzing the activities of Dermoyen himself. Based on the information given by the author, Dermoyen's brother, Jan Dermoyen, owned a tapestry weaving workshop. Their nephews, Christian and Peter, were also weavers.

Dermoyen had established a financial enterprise with Pierre Bonfant in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century, an enterprise that received its income from capital turnover and rent. Based on information about the payments received by the brothers between 1552 and 1559, Szmydki draws the conclusion that the Dermoyen brothers, being experts in tapestry manufacture, acted as appraisers of the material value of tapestries

[58] Ibid., 35–36.
[59] Szmydki, "O jagiellońskich," 45–63.

being transported out of the Netherlands through the Antwerp customs office. Later, Dermoyen disappeared from Antwerp. It is known that in 1561 he sold an expensive set of tapestries woven in gold, silver, and silk thread, consisting of eleven textiles depicting the story of the Emperor Octavianus, to the King of Sweden, Erik XIV. The Swedish archives mention that at the time of the transaction, Dermoyen, originally from Brussels, was living in Lübeck. By 1570, *The Story of Octavianus* was already at the disposal of the brother of Erik XIV, John III of Sweden (Vasa) (1568–1592). According to his will, and together with the efforts of his son Sigismund Vasa, this set was later deemed the property of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In summarizing the information presented here, it can be said that Dermoyen worked as a tapestry agent in the court of Sigismund Augustus from at least 1559 to 1566 and truly participated in the acquisition of the unidentified gold and silk woven tapestries and the now lost set of black-and-white tapestries. His involvement in the commissioning of the other sets remains a hypothesis. The letters that Sigismund Augustus sent to Kostka in 1564 do not indicate where Dermoyen was sent or which tapestries he acted as agent for. According to Hennel-Bernasikowa, after 1560 or perhaps even earlier, the ruler commissioned only black-and-white decorative textiles (completely uncharacteristic of his earlier taste), while the tapestry donated to Sigismund Augustus by Krzysztof Krupski, with the year 1560 interwoven, marks the date from which the ruler no longer commissioned any new tapestries.[60] The fact that at least the verdures had to have been commissioned reasonably earlier and that they cannot be associated with the name of Dermoyen is confirmed by other facts as well: the small cartoon sketch (284 x 525 mm) kept in the British Museum in London,[61] believed to be from the same period and the same workshop that created Sigismund Augustus's verdures, is dated to 1549, which is soon after the first knowledge we have of the biblical set's sketches.

[60] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 41.
[61] Ibid., "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 240, 241.

Sigismund Augustus's Last Commissions – The Black-and-white Tapestries

The black-and-white tapestries are the last known tapestry commissions made by Sigismund Augustus. Based on various documents, Hennel-Bernasikowa tried to reconstruct the content of these tapestries. According to the author, they consisted of armorial drapery and were, as usual, not especially large. The initials SA (*Sigismundus Augustus*) were incorporated into the center. The textile's border was white.[62]

The question arises as to whether these were, in fact, tapestries. Both Hennel-Bernasikova's consultations with experts and my consultations with antique dealers in the search for tapestries for the interiors of the reconstructed Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania failed to produce any information about black-and-white tapestries. Hennel-Bernasikowa presents only one archival fact found among documents on tapestry weavers in the Netherlands. It indicates that in 1509 the regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria (1507–1515, 1519–1530), ordered that a certain sum be paid to a Brugge weaver for a black tapestry bearing her coats of arms.

In this context, the tapestries illustrating the labors of Hercules, woven in 1565–1566 in the tapestry manufactory of Michiel de Bos in Antwerp, provide an interesting clue. According to Guy Delmarcel, the set, commissioned by the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V (1550–1579), consisted of thirteen large tapestries and ten oblong armorial tapestries and was woven using only two colors – dark blue and white.[63] The date of their commissioning draws our attention, since it is close to when Sigismund Augustus commissioned black-and-white tapestries (1564 and 1566). Both commissions are known to have included armorial tapestries. The latest known colored armorial tapestries of Sigismund Augustus were created according to cartoons by artists from the circle of Cornelis Floris de Vriendt (1514–1575) and Cornelis Bos (1506/1510–1556) from Antwerp,

[62] Ibid., "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 38.
[63] Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 178, 179.

while the dark blue-and-white tapestry sets for Albert V were created according to engravings by Cornelis Cort (1533–1578). The latter repeated the cycle of ten paintings that Cort's brother, Frans Floris de Vriendt (1517–1570), created in 1550 for Antwerp merchant Nicolas Jongelinck.[64] Also noteworthy is that Albert V was married to the daughter of Ferdinand I, Anna of Habsburg (1528–1590), who was the sister of Sigismund Augustus's first and third wives. Knowing the precision of historical inventories, it would come as no surprise if the "black and white" colors of Sigismund Augustus's tapestries would, in fact, have been dark blue and white.

The ruler's attachment to black and white is also reflected in the palace tailor's (believed to have been Sebaldus) report on all the jobs he had completed in the court over twenty-three years, i.e., from 1549 until the death of Sigismund Augustus. Alexander Przezdziecki published this report.[65] The jobs were divided into four groups, each with a detailed description including the costs involved. Alongside the pieces created for the rulers Barbara Radziwiłł, Catherine of Austria, and Anna Jagiellon, pieces created for Sigismund Augustus were also described:

> In 1560, I started work on items in Vilnius that I later finished in Warsaw, such as *kobiercy* [carpets] and room upholstery of black velvet and white velvet, embroidered in white and black silk. There were fifty-two such items for the walls [...].[66]

This is a significantly large number of embroidered pieces featuring only black and white.

This color preference of the ruler has been the subject of widespread speculation and the theme of romantic tales. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski wrote about them in his historic accounts, and this was how one aspect of the image of Sigismund Augustus, who dressed in mourning clothes from the death of his

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64 Van de Velde, "The Labour of Hercules," 114.

65 Ragauskienė, *Barbora Radvilaitė*, 93; Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku*, 327–330.

66 Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 228.

beloved Barbara until his own passing, was formed. Officially, the ruler no longer had to wear mourning clothes after 1552, an event that was marked in the Płock Cathedral during the one-year anniversary of the death of Barbara Radziwiłł.

The papal nuncio Giulio Ruggeri, writing about his visit to the court of Sigismund Augustus in 1568, adds an interesting note:

> He [Sigismund Augustus] liked to dress lavishly in his youth; he wore Hungarian and Italian clothes and in various colors. Now he wears everything for a long time and does not favor any color other than black. And even though he owns some especially decorative tapestries, he has ordered them to be taken down and for the rooms to be upholstered in black baize, for he is in mourning, as some say, after the death of his beloved Barbara; others say it is from the grief of losing Polotsk, when it was captured several years ago by Moscow.[67]

The fact that the rooms in the residences of Sigismund Augustus were upholstered in black textiles is confirmed by records made in the inventory book cited above. On December 23, 1569, several days after arriving in Warsaw from Lublin, Zaleski notes: "For black baize. That day I paid for sixteen panels of baize, from Wrocław, black, for upholstering the benches and walls in the King's rooms [...]"[68] Three months later, in a letter sent from Warsaw dated April 3, 1570, from Sigismund Augustus to Marcin Podgórski, one of the primary trustees of the so-called Tykocin treasures, there are instructions to urgently send black baize, because it is needed immediately.

Draping rooms with black baize was commonplace during periods of mourning. Sigismund Augustus, arriving from Vilnius after the death of his father, met with his mother and sisters in a room upholstered in black textiles on May 26, 1548. However, during the period in question (after 1560), there were no compelling reasons for Sigismund Augustus to be in mourning.

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[67] Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Czarno-białe tkaniny," 40.
[68] Ibid.

Evidence for the Transportation of the Tapestries

The tapestries that hung at Wawel were covered and taken down most probably in 1559. This is based on the record entered by Zaleski in Kraków on June 6, 1559, indicating that on that day, two rolls of black baize for covering the tapestries and carpets were purchased, for which five *auksinai* and twenty-five pennies were paid (including the sewing work). The tapestries were soon taken down, but it is not clear whether they were transported to Vilnius or stored in the Vaulted Hall of Wawel Castle. A week after the record concerning their covering with black textile, on June 14, 1559, Zaleski made the following entry:

> with the personal permission of his Holiness and Royal Majesty, I received thirty *auksinai* for my journey from Kraków to Vilnius. Also, at the instruction of his Royal Majesty, I had stayed in Kraków, so that, after the departure of his Royal Majesty, I might take care of some affairs, firstly, settling the accounts with the queen's court and for the handling of the tapestries remaining in the castle's vaulted hall.[69]

This sum was spent by Zaleski and five others, while following the ruler to Radom in two carriages packed with His Majesty's sundry items and money. Afterwards, there are rather frequent mentions of various tapestry restorations, mending, and the hanging of related works in the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes.

It is believed that the transfer of tapestries and other treasures from the collection in Wawel and other residences to Vilnius – the most commonly frequented ruler's residence – began immediately after the wedding of Sigismund Augustus and his third wife, Catherine of Austria, in 1553. For example:

> The Krosno tapestry-textiles or wall upholstery (*auleas telaes*), eighty pieces, sent to Vilnius in 1553 were delivered in two carriages. They were brought by Tatar Baroszewicz. He was paid 343 *auksinai* and three pennies.[70]

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[69] Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 227.

[70] Ibid., 226.

Additional entries between 1559 and 1561 mention that tapestries were transported from Kraków to Vilnius and displayed in the palace halls. A note from February 27, 1560, mentions that on that day, one *auksinas* and fifteen pennies were paid for the mending of certain tapestries, some of which had become damaged from mold in the new vaulted hall in Krasnystaw, while others had torn while hanging for long periods. It was also written in regard to the same matter that one *auksinas* and twenty-eight pennies were paid to those who assisted Rapolas Vargravskis in hanging tapestries and handling the boxes.[71]

Another entry from the same year testifies that in 1560 unskilled hands and drivers carried textiles intended for the court of his Holiness the Royal Majesty from the carriages into a vaulted room. They were paid twenty-four pennies. On that same day, 110 *kapas* were returned to the worker Jostas for the nails which were used to affix the tapestries and upholstery, and he was paid six *auksinai* and twenty-eight pennies.[72]

An entry from August 8, 1561, mentions that, on that day, four of the ruler's bedroom walls in the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes were decorated with tapestries interwoven with gold thread.[73] Tapestries were also mentioned on October 8, 1562, as part of the dowry of Sigismund Augustus's sister, Catherine the Jagiellon (1526–1583), who was marrying the Duke of Finland, John III. The list was compiled at the Vilnius palace. The seventh item in the list enumerates the textiles in the princess's room: eight small and large decorative textiles illustrating the story of David's son, Absalom, using the "printed" method, and other wall textiles described in less detail; one floor rug, without edging, of green ornamentation on a black background; thirty yellow Turkish rugs with various types of edging; one large, yellow Turkish table rug; a large Lithuanian floor rug for the room, and other textiles, baize, velvet, etc.

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[71] Ibid., 228.

[72] Ibid.; AGAD, ASK, RK 341, 1. 158–158v, 161–161v, 163v–164v.

[73] Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 228.

These textiles must have been at the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes when the inventory of her dowry was made.[74]

Strykowski's Description of the Tapestry Collection

Julia Radziszewska's article[75] relating to a sixteenth-century description of unknown tapestries found in the versed chronicle by Maciej Stryjkowski, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego* (On the Genesis, Accounts, Valor, Knightly and Domestic Affairs of the Famed Peoples of Lithuania, Samogitia, and Ruthenia) adds notable information to the analyses of the structure and locations of exposition of Sigismund Augustus's tapestry collection. Stryjkowski wrote this work in 1575–1578 as a way of thanking the Duke of Slutsk, Yuri Olelkovich, for his protection. Later on, the author rewrote the chronicle as a work of prose, and it was released in 1582 in Königsberg. The rewritten version was the first printed history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – *The Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia*. The earlier versed chronicle was never published. Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933) found its manuscript in the Radziwiłł family's library in Nesvizh in 1903 and mentioned it in the publication *Pamiętnik Literacki*. The manuscript then disappeared and was not rediscovered until 1966.[76] The content of the versed and prose versions is not identical. The historian and poet writes of the European rulers' 1429 conference in Lutsk in both chronicles. However, in the versed version, the palace halls, decorated with textiles and *afftami* (Polish *hafty* – needlework) are also described; only political events are described in the prose text. The text about the tapestries is in the subsection "*O zacnym zjeździe i sławnym weselu w Łucku i jako Witołd przemyślał z Księstwa Litewskiego królestwo uczynić, za powodem cesarskim roku Pańskiego 1429* (On the Venerable Congress and Glorious Wedding in Lutsk, and How Vytautas decided to Transform the Grand Duchy of Lithu-

[74] Ibid., 233.
[75] Radziszewska, "Nieznany opis arrasów z wieku XVI," 27–36.
[76] Ibid., 29.

ania into a Kingdom, at the Ruler's Behest, in 1429). In the text, alongside its description of the tapestries depicting David and Goliath, are mentioned *The Story of the First Parents*, *The Story of Noah*, and *The Story of Moses*. We also find new storylines, including those portraying the legend of the Lithuanians' Roman origins and the brave deeds of the Lithuanian dukes. In the opinion of Radziszewska, Stryjkowski could have written this text after visiting Wawel Castle in Kraków and being inspired by the shimmering opulence of the tapestries there. It is hard to comment on this claim. Indeed, no information on the existence of tapestries featuring these other storylines (including the mythological plots) in the collection of Sigismund Augustus has survived. However, we are confounded by the fact that the other tapestries described in the text are well known, and their descriptions are quite accurate. Art researcher Giedrė Mickūnaitė, who analyzed the context of the text and images in the versed chronicle, noticed that Stryjkowski had good knowledge of, and often cited, ancient Roman myths and literature, which is why, according to the author, it is unlikely that he could have made such obvious slips.[77] The poet mentions David and Goliath. The Goliath Series tapestries are mentioned in Sigismund Augustus's will; however, no further information about them has been found.

When reviewing the versed chronicle's descriptions, it is of note to recall the account book entry of January 14, 1546, already cited, about the acquisition of Sigismund Augustus's "paintings," where another five paintings are mentioned: *The Emperor's March Against Aurelius Barbarossa*, *The Sinking of the Ship in the March*, *Duke of* [illegible] *March near the City of Hahndorf* [?], *Duke Julius Cloven's* [?] *March near the City of Hansburg*, and *The Emperor Drives the King of Italy from Naples*. Perhaps they were actually woven, and Stryjkowski related them to Lithuania's historical context. Sources confirm that, between 1572 and 1578, the poet visited Wawel; however, he could not have seen these tapestries there, because they were removed from

[77] Mickūnaitė, "Motiejus Stryjkowskis apie Lucko suvažiavimą," 10.

the walls in 1559; and in 1572, all the tapestries, treasures, and other riches were removed from all of the ruler's palaces and residences and transported to Tykocin. However, Stryjkowski lived in Lithuania from 1564 to 1574, and could have most definitely visited the Palace of the Grand Dukes in Vilnius.

Other Literary Descriptions of the Tapestries

Nevertheless, Stryjkowski's description did not receive much attention from researchers, and the series depicting the ancient history of Lithuania's dukes and gods remained an expression of the poet's imagination. It is strange, however, that a similar vision was seen by Joachim Bielski (1540–1599).[78] Ewa Chojecka[79] wrote about this in an article about the woodcut illustrations in Bielski's *Chronicle of Poland* (1597), which portray Lithuania's and Poland's rulers and similar themed tapestries mentioned twenty years earlier in Bielski's poetic panegyric *Istulae convivium in nuptiis Stephani I regis* (Kraków, 1576), written to commemorate the wedding and coronation of Anna Jagiellon and Stephan Báthory. After a colorful description of Stephen Báthory's entry into Kraków, the text moves on to its central topic – the series of historically themed tapestries featuring images of Lithuania's and Poland's rulers. The work names forty-two rulers, beginning with the legendary figures and ending with Báthory. Also mentioned are two tapestries of a historical and legendary theme displayed in the dining hall at Wawel. The author mentions that the tapestries were woven with gold thread and had warm tones. The description begins with this sentence:

> When such things were said about you by the gods, raising their full glasses and grappling over whom could drink more, the Queen ordered the British-made tapestries [*opony*] to be displayed, in which Sarmatian nymphs gaze with wonderment at Lech and his descendants...[80]

[78] The king's secretary, a knight, poet, and historian, Sigismund Vasa's secretary in 1588–1590.

[79] Chojecka, "Drzeworyty kroniki," 38–52.

[80] Ibid., 51.

In the course of discussing the series' provenance, the author, basing her assumption on the fact that this set does not feature in the will of Sigismund Augustus, ascribes its commission to Anna Jagiellon. A possible date for the creation of the set, as noted by Chojecka, is the period between the death of Sigismund Augustus in 1572 and his widow's wedding in 1576, or more precisely, at some point between 1575 and 1576, for an image of Stephan Báthory is also mentioned.[81] Chojecka expressed many doubts about the supposed British origin of the textiles. As is known, at that time tapestry workshops in England were not producing high quality work, which is why the author concludes that this set might have been woven by Flemish weavers in the manufactories at Wawel. They may have fled Flanders to England during a period of political unrest and gone from there to the palace of the Commonwealth's ruler.[82] In the opinion of Chojecka, it is very likely that it was precisely these tapestries that were portrayed in the illustrations of Bielski's *Chronicle of Poland*. The author bases this assumption on the fact that the figures depicted in the tapestries featured in the woodcuts and in the panegyric correspond with each other, apart from a few exceptions, and the composition of the woodcuts is reminiscent of tapestries, i.e., there is a central plane with figures and borders (see illustration on page 4). Chojecka believes that the set, lost without trace, could have been destroyed when fire broke out at Wawel in 1595.

Bernasikowa, who analyzed the information presented by Chojecka and her writings on the possibility of the set's existence,[83] draws our attention to the fact that the first knowledge we have of tapestry looms at Wawel dates only to 1602, when carpenters were said to have hewn timber to make "tailors'" looms.[84] This is twenty-six years after the period Chojecka mentions as a possible date when the set could have

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81 Ibid., 52.

82 Ibid., 53.

83 Bernasikowa, "Sprawa arrasów w rozprawie Ewy Chojeckiej," 301–304.

84 Due to the inaccurate use of certain terms in early literature, tailors and weavers were often confused with one another, as were tapestries and carpets, upholstery and tapestries, etc.

been woven. The size of the Wawel workshops and the identities of its workers are unknown. It is thought that these looms were used to restore existing textiles, rather than for the manufacture of new ones. No information indicates that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth served as a center for tapestry weaving during this period. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rulers and magnates generally commissioned their textiles in Flanders, which is why it would be logical to assume that, if Anna Jagiellon had decided to commission this series, she would have followed in the footsteps of her brother and father and directed her commission to Flanders. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Anna, a princess constantly in conflict with the Polish council over her brother's inheritance, could have allowed herself such an expensive consignment. A count of the images mentioned, even assuming one textile could have featured several figures, makes it evident that the set would have had to constitute several dozen textiles, which, according to Bielski, were woven with gold thread.[85] Bernasikowa notes that, unlike Orzechowski, Bielski does not present any specific information about the textiles themselves: neither how many there were, nor where they hung.

It is therefore unlikely that the woodcut illustrations in Bielski's *Chronicle of Poland* are accurate copies of the tapestries described in the panegyric. Even though the names of the figures portrayed do in essence correspond, Chojecka herself admits that, judging by the description (except for the name of the figure portrayed), it is completely unclear what a majority of the tapestries depict.

However, this does not mean we can discard the possibility that Bielski was a participant in the wedding and coronation celebrations, saw the historically and mythologically themed tapestries, and associated them with Lithuania's and Poland's history. Still, determining the themes of those tapestries is impossible, because Bielski's description lacks detail, and its author has been maligned by later researchers for his unscientific

[85] Bernasikowa, "Sprawa arrasów," 303–304.

understanding of material, his uncritical eye, and his indiscriminate presentation of history and legend.

Literary sources mention that analogical versed historical tapestry descriptions can be found in the panegyric of Georgius Sabinus, dedicated to the wedding of Sigismund Augustus and Elisabeth of Austria, as well as in U. Hette's *Panagyricus ad episcopum Albertum*. We should also note that it was only the concept of the description that was similar, while specific figures and events in the tapestries differed.[86]

Nevertheless, despite their differing interpretations, the historical and legendary tapestries mentioned by four chroniclers and historians were most likely part of Sigismund Augustus's collection.

Other Sources of the Collection and Sigismund Augustus's Last Will

The collection under analysis was also supplemented by the dowries of Sigismund Augustus's first wife, Elisabeth of Austria (1526-1545), and his third wife, Catherine of Austria (1533-1572). Elisabeth of Austria, who married and came to live in Kraków in 1543, brought with her two sets of figurative tapestries: *The Story of Romulus and Remus* (eleven pieces) and *The Story of Nebuchadnezzar* (twelve pieces). Following her death, both sets remained with Sigismund Augustus and were brought to Tykocin along with the other treasures.[87] After Catherine of Austria married in 1553, she brought with her twenty-one tapestries, seven of which depicted the *Allegories of the Virtues* – Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Prudence, Temperance (or Restraint) and Fortitude (*Fides, Spes, Caritas, Iustitia, Prudentia, Temperantia, Fortitudo*); six depicted stories from the Old Testament; and eight depicted scenes with animals (*viridia cum floribus et animalibus*). Departing Kraków in 1566, the ruler took some of the textiles with her, including ten tapestries with the coats of arms of Lithuania and Poland, perhaps a gift from

[86] Ibid.

[87] Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Dzieje Arrasów Zygmunta Augusta*, 37.

Sigismund Augustus.[88] After the death of Catherine of Austria in Linz in 1572, the *Allegories of the Virtues* set ended up with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1564–1576) and is now part of the Viennese state collections.

Sigismund Augustus's collection also contained the ten-tapestry set *The Story of Julius Caesar*, which depicted Goliath, and other donated textiles. The surviving inventories from September 29, 1572 and September 9, 1573 help us understand more about the collection's composition.

On May 6, 1571, Sigismund Augustus prepared his will, which was written up by his general secretary, the mayor of Vilnius, Augustyn Mieleski Rotundus (ca. 1520–1582).[89] In the will it is written:

> [...] also the textiles which are in Tykocin or elsewhere, the Flemish *oponas* with gold and figures and of simple production, and golden shimmering silk, velvet, and other silk textiles and coverings, carpets, espaliers from the utility rooms, the room, wall, table, and bench coverings, the baldachins and all the musical instruments *omnis generis et materiae et formae*, not excluding any, all our wealth which His Majesty has amassed, all moveable and immovable objects, named and not named [...] are to be left to his sisters.[90]

Thus, the textiles were bequeathed to Anna Jagiellon, Catherine Queen of Sweden, and Sophia the Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1522–1575).[91] If one sister passed away, her part had to be divided amongst the remaining sisters, and when the last had passed away, the items were to become the property of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e., the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[92] An exception applied only to the liturgical dishes, which were to go to the Church of St. Anne-Barbara in Vilnius; a golden cross, which was to be donated to the family chapel in the Kraków cathedral; and Sigismund Augustus's books, which were bequeathed to the

88 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 8.
89 Cynarski, *Žygimantas Augustas*, 241.
90 Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 155.
91 Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 26, 27.
92 Szablowski, "The Origins," 57.

Vilnius Jesuit Academy.[93] This decision was without precedent, because at that time rulers usually considered their wealth private property that would remain in the family.

Sigismund Augustus spent his last days in Tykocin. In a document dated 1572, it was written that, after summoning the old captain Belinski, "he obliged me to keep my knightly word and made me promise, in the name of the Lord Almighty," that he would not reveal the secret he was about to hear and that he would definitely carry out the order he was about to receive. The secret revealed to him was Sigismund Augustus's plan:

> ...to bring from Vilnius, as from Knyszyn, all his treasures to Tykocin Castle, I was entrusted with serving as security, and he received my word that I would not give either that treasure or the key to it to anyone after the death of the King, only to Princess Anna. Having pledged to do so, I was instructed to bring everything that was kept in Vilnius to Tykocin.[94]

Why Tykocin? The answer to this question can most likely be found in a letter dated May 16, 1550, written by Sigismund Augustus while he was in Niepołomice, to Mikołaj "The Red" Radziwiłł, regarding removal of the title of Elder of Tykocin from Jan Radziwiłł (d. ca. 1550) and his rights to the castle, blaming poor upkeep. The ruler wrote:

> However, for many reasons, I have need for that Tykocin, because I thought that, in the event of unrest or war, we could not imagine a better place to leave my wife, the queen, if such a time would come, than at Tykocin: for Tykocin is located in a borderland area that is safe from all directions, and I would also like to build there [...][95]

Clearly, Sigismund Augustus considered Tykocin his safest residence, which, in the event of unrest, could have served as a refuge for Barbara Radziwiłł. It is thus completely unsurprising that when he sensed his own death was near, he decided to have all his amassed treasures brought to this location.

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[93] Cynarski, *Žygimantas Augustas*, 241.

[94] Vitkauskienė, "XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės," 235; Koźmian, *Rękopisom historyczny*, 14–41.

[95] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 156.

Only a meager portion of the collection has survived to this day, the largest part made up of the *Great Flood* tapestries. Most of the surviving tapestries are currently exhibited at Wawel Castle in Kraków; some decorate Warsaw's royal castle; and one mid-sixteenth century armorial tapestry, with the combined Lithuanian and Polish coat of arms of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus, acquired at a Paris auction in 2009, is part of the collection of the Lithuanian rulers' palace in Vilnius.

Summary

The available material allows the conclusion that tapestries played an important role during the era of the last Jagiellons in both the personal and public life of the rulers, decorating interiors during some of the most momentous occasions: coronations, weddings, funerals, state celebrations, and the reception of honored guests. The tapestries were a significant decorative and representative feature, not just of the Polish residences, as had been previously thought, but also of the residences of the Lithuanian rulers. Both in Kraków and in Vilnius, their use was similar, that is, they were hung in representational rooms during celebrations, receptions, and ceremonies, while at other times they adorned the rulers' personal apartments and bedrooms.

The will of Sigismund Augustus, unprecedented in its historical context, even bestowed a political status upon the tapestry collection. Its protection and attempts at reclamation became a source of constant disagreement between later rulers and the Polish nobility. Some rulers, such as Stephen Báthory and John II Casimir Vasa, used the *Great Flood* collection as an instrument of blackmail to obtain certain personal privileges from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Analysis of the tapestry collection's associations with the historical context of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the due comparison of material by various researchers, the facts and arguments that substantiate this material, and historical sources which reveal personal details from the life of Sigismund Augustus, as well as the latest archival sources, lends itself to

the conclusion that the early biblical series tapestries – *The Creation of the World, Noah's Ark* and *The Great Flood* – were commissioned in 1546, while the ruler lived in the residence of the Grand Duke of Lithuania in Vilnius. The years 1548–1550 are a probable date for their presentation.

No archival information has been found regarding the commissioning of the animal-themed tapestries or the armorial textiles. Nevertheless, the analysis of scientific research and the stylistics of the textiles would suggest that the tapestries with landscapes featuring animals were commissioned soon after the figurative sets. Which residence were they intended for? At the time Gębarowicz and Mańkowski's monograph on the subject was written, it was doubted they were meant for Wawel. In the authors' opinion, unlike the representational figurative tapestries, the landscape textiles must have been used to decorate one of the rulers' hunting residences, for example, Tykocin or Knyszyn. This is evidenced, they say, by the format of the textiles – they are suited to smaller spaces than the halls of Wawel.[96] It is difficult to determine which of the residences these textiles were destined for. However, tapestries and other treasures from the ruler's collection were transported from Wawel and other residences to Vilnius soon after the wedding of Sigismund Augustus and his third wife, Catherine of Austria, in 1553, as both newlyweds moved to Vilnius.

Even less is known about the commission date and purpose of the grotesque and armorial tapestries, yet the association of both the verdures and the armorial and grotesque textiles with Dermoyen is clearly only one of several not particularly well-founded hypotheses. As was already discussed, Dermoyen participated in the formation of Sigismund Augustus's collection between 1559 and 1564 and, at the ruler's request, intermediated in the acquisition of the black-and-white tapestries in Antwerp. The possibility that Dermoyen presented other sets earlier is less likely, because in the period between 1552 and 1559, his name often appears in the financial records of various

[96] Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta*, 124, 125.

Antwerp enterprises, where he performed a variety of services. Only in 1561 do we have the first information about his activities as a tapestry agent delivering an opulent gold, silver, and silk woven tapestry set to the King of Sweden, Erik XIV.

It is interesting to speculate on what purpose the textiles commissioned between 1559 and 1564 with the intermediation of Dermoyen were meant to serve. Based on the record by Zaleski, the tapestries that were at Wawel were covered and taken down in 1559. It is also known that this was when Sigismund Augustus ceased visiting Wawel.[97] And archival sources mention the transportation of tapestries from Kraków to Vilnius and their hanging in the palace halls between 1559 and 1561. We also know that during this period the ruler spent 80 percent of his time in Vilnius, because it was his favorite residence. The possible association of these textiles with the Vilnius residence is also evidenced by the letters of Sigismund Augustus to Kostka, which indicate that the reimbursement of Dermoyen, already delayed for three years, should have been made from the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

These facts reveal a somewhat different evolution of Sigismund Augustus's collection, suggesting significantly closer ties with the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius than has been hitherto believed. Unfortunately, they do not allow for the identification of specific textiles or their location of exposition.

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[97] Ragauskienė, "Lietuvos valdovų vilnietiški itinerariumai," 312.

Excerpt from Maciej Stryjkowski's
O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego
(On the Genesis, Accounts, Valor, Knightly
and Domestic Affairs of the Famed Peoples
of Lithuania, Samogitia, and Ruthenia)

Meanwhile, on the other side, there hung a wall carpet
Depicting the Old and New Testaments.
How the Lord first created the world, the sea and the sky,
The birds, animals, and made man's body from clay.
How Eve, made from a bone taken from his side, like
A devious snake, tempts him with an apple in Paradise.
After that, he sweats and toils to earn bread
And complains too late about his transgression.
Meanwhile, Noah was in his ark during the terrible flood,
And later, God with him reached an agreement, whose sign is
the rainbow.
Here God speaks to Abraham, wanting his family
To multiply like the stars in the sky.
Here Joseph rules in Egypt with honor
And tests his brothers over the mortal sin they committed
against him.
Here father Jacob is greeted, and his family too,
With great joy, while tears confound me.
Here God and Moses guide the Jews across the sea,
While the pillar in the sky shines, glowing bright.
The Pharaoh and his army drove across the Red Sea,
Where his pride and boastful heart perish.
Here in the desert, manna takes sustenance from the sky
And speaks proudly against God.
A steer was produced to free them,
And what happened to Moses and those tablets.
How Korah, Dathan, and Abiram perished
And how the fortified city of Jericho was taken by the Jews.
Thirty-one of its pagan kings fell at their hand,
While five were hung on an oak tree.

How the brave Yael stood with her hammer in hand
And struck a spike into Sisera's temple.
After her, Gideon, Jephthah and the mighty Samson,
Who with bone in hand fought the Philistines
And also ripped apart a lion and carried
The city gates upon his shoulders.
How, betrayed by Delilah, he brought down
The temple on his enemies and bravely died with them.
How the body of the giant Goliath
David's right hand sent to Hell.
How Judith killed Holofernes in the tent
And gloriously freed the Jews from besiegement.
I also saw there a beautiful painting
Of the Lord Christ's works and miraculous transformation,
How God became Man, born of a Virgin,
Destroyed the Devil and Hell, and healed the injured world.
After that – how He judges the world, the dead rise from their graves
And account for their deeds, good and evil.
Pluto, waiting for the treasure, from the dungeon of Hell
Peers out – if you saw him, you would surely shake in fright.
And, when Judgement is made, the good are
Guided by angels to the eternal pleasures
Of the Elysian Fields, where they stay
And for their virtues and devotion receive rewards from God.
After that, I also saw how the others
Were led to Pluto by servants in a long line.
All bitter, covering their black foreheads with snakes,
Spitting burning flames from their jaws.
Here black Charon takes the evil across the River Styx,
While the damned suffer eternal torment.
Here are those who measure their beloved homeland in pounds,
And those greedy judges who took bribes.
How wonderful this wall carpet of Vytautas was
How exquisitely painted, that even its memory brings joy.
Many other things can also be seen,

So many, that it is impossible to count them all,
And those who wish to do so are better off counting the grains of sand on the coast of Libya
Or the stars in the heavens. [...]
The rooms were prepared differently for each guest
And also decorated with excellent wall carpets,
That even Solomon did not have such luxurious rooms,
When Sheba came to him in all her splendor.
Especially there, where we sat, everything was of gold.
An embroidered carpet, beyond description.
In it, famous deeds can be seen
Of the Romans, sailing to these rich lands.
How God took Palemon over the sea from Italy
How the Goths made with them a friendly treaty.
How Barkus, Speras, Kūnas build castles,
How Kernius and Živinbudas expand their domains.
How Mingaila, wearing shining armour, took Polotsk,
How Skirmantas and the Tatars bravely defeated the Duke of Lutsk.
And how Ringaudas took tribute from the defeated Russian princes,
After him, Mindaugas received the crown in Lithuania,
My, how bravely he pelted the Mozurians and Crusaders.
How Treniota was killed, and how Vaišelga
Saw Germantas the brave with Šventaragis.
Giliginas, Trabus, Romanas, Nerimantas, Daumantas, after that
Alšis, Traidenis, and Giedrius – in the golden cuirass.
Vytenis – the valiant duke, and Gediminas – conversely,
Fighting the Crusaders, he often wears his armor.
He puts forth his sons, while Kęstutis and Algirdas
Battle with the Germans, the Poles, with Moscow's skunks.
That was how this family of Lithuanian dukes was marshaled
And now can be seen by all so finely embroidered [...]

Translated by Vaiva Narušienė

The Armorial Tapestry of Sigismund Augustus at the Restored Vilnius Lower Castle

The background and borders of this impressive tapestry are decorated with plant, architectural, and geometrical motifs, masks and lions' heads, and in the center, the combined Polish and Lithuanian coat of arms of Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus (1544/1548–1572) topped with the great crown of the grand dukes of Lithuania.

The heart of the coat of arms depicts[98] the arms of Sigismund Augustus's mother, Bona Sforza, daughter of the Herzog of Milan – a serpent swallowing a child. Woven in the first field is the Eagle of the Kingdom of Poland, the coat of arms of Sigismund Augustus's father, Sigismund the Old (1506–1548), with the initials of Sigismund Augustus on the eagle's chest. The second field has the armorial symbol of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Mounted Knight (*Vytis*). The three coats of arms in the bottom fields are of the important lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (The Angel represents Kiev; the Cross, Volhynia; and a Bear on all fours, Smolensk). Based on the interpretation of Dr. Edmundas Rimša, this armorial composition could be read: The Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus is the son of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza, the ruler of Lithuania and its lands (Kiev, Smolensk and Volhynia).

This combined coat of arms of Sigismund Augustus was minted on the coins of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during his reign and was also used on the state seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The identical composition of armorial symbols on the combined coat of arms on the Rulers' Palace Museum tapestry clearly testifies to the fact that this early work of textile art was commissioned by Sigismund Augustus as the Grand Duke of Lithuania and was intended to decorate his Vilnius residence, i.e., the rulers' palace he reconstructed and enlarged in 1545–1553. The most intensive construction work ordered by

[98] Dolinskas, manuscript.

Sigismund Augustus on the "new palace" of the Vilnius Lower Castle took place in 1547 and 1548. A complete set of armorial textiles had to be commissioned for this new residence, because the cartoons of armorial textiles, which could not be sold to any other clients, were very expensive. That is why they were woven in large sets.

The armorial cartouche is composed on a sand-colored background with ornamental motifs consisting of stylized figural, floral, and fruit compositions. Above the crown of the grand dukes is a stylized lion's head in the center of the composition. On either side, there are bouquets of fruit, topped by long-necked birds with long beaks, symmetrically facing the center of the textile. Figures of soldiers hold the fruit bouquets using blue ribbons. The sides of the central part are filled with enlarged floral and fruit ornaments characteristic of sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, consisting of bunches of grapes, pears, apples, pomegranates, and stylized acanthus leaves that extend elegantly from one ornamental motif into the next. The left-hand corners of the center field contain decorative floral blooms with stylized pistils, their leaves forming supports for the armorial cartouche. Similar fruit compositions are repeated on the border surrounding the armorial textile, intertwined with architectural elements, decorative ribbons, and lions' heads. The top border field is considerably wider than the side and bottom field. Both in the central field and in the borders, a distinctive ornamental element stands out, reminiscent of an elongated pear or horn. Such elements were widespread in textiles from Antwerp.

Even though the auction catalogue stated that the tapestry was woven in the workshops of Enghien or Geraardsbergen, armorial textiles known to have been woven here are of a completely different style and coloring. Also, there is no data to suggest that Sigismund Augustus would have ever commissioned textiles from these centers. According to Delmarcel, both the textile ornamentation and the coloring are similar to tapestries originating from the Oudenaarde or, especially,

Antwerp weaving manufactories.[99] The curved horn motif of Antwerp tapestries became widespread around 1547. The first tapestries known to have been ordered by Sigismund Augustus were commissioned at a similar time.

The tapestry was restored at the Lithuanian Art Museum's Pranas Gudynas Center for Restoration in 2009. Chemical technological research was carried out by Laima Grabauskaitė and Rūta Butkevičiūtė. Dust was removed by vacuuming, the tapestry was cleaned with organic solvents, the clumsily mended areas were unstitched and, imitating the weave of the tapestry, the most degenerated areas were restored and a new linen backing stitched on. Restored by Jurga Bogdanaitė and Danutė Murauskienė.

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[99] Based on a written consultation with tapestry expert Guy Delmarcel.

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Shards of One World

RIMAS UZGIRIS

For Valteris Lendraitis (1908-2001)

It must have been the low moan of engines and creaking gears, the treads crushing brush and branch, the volume increasing, groaning, roaring – that terrified you: down in a ditch, with the endless pine trees shielding a cold grey sky, their pungent resin scent drowned in your nostrils by gunpowder, diesel, and blood – your hand gripping the *Panzerfaust*, the trembling earth.

We will destroy this world of violence
Down to the foundations, and then
We will build our new world.[1]

The garden of old age was just a mist in your mind that would slowly creep up over the shifty sand of the Cape, sand that you would turn into loamy soil with tomatoes that could wrinkle a face with flavor, and cool cucumbers sliced thick, lengthwise, and dipped into honey on a hot summer's day, your grandson watching, looking, learning – under the mixed shade of white oak, black spruce, and red maple – quickened by squirrel fur and the ubiquitous cheeping of birds.

[1] From Aron Kots's Russian version of "L'Internationale."

RIMAS UZGIRIS is a poet, translator, and critic with a doctorate in philosophy and a MFA in creative writing. He received a Fulbright Scholar Grant in 2013, and was recently awarded a 2014 National Endowment for the Arts Literary Translation Fellowship. He teaches literature and creative writing at Vilnius University.

Let us be inspired by life and love.[2]

Blinking lights
at the intersection –

You wonder what
others will do,
squinting in a tourist's sun
reflected off the mall
failing to see
the oncoming car –

No matter.

The river hasn't stopped
by which you were born.
Even if you change the names,
and all your heirs are daughters,
it hasn't stopped,
whether or not they have children,
it hasn't stopped –

It hasn't stopped
as black ink
slithers over the page
reflecting
this light
from source to sea –

A child listens before you sleep.

Iš praeities Tavo sūnūs
Te stiprybę semia.[3]

---

[2] From Billy Braggs's revision of the British version of the "Internationale."

[3] "Let your sons draw their strength / From our past experience" From the Lithuanian national anthem, "Tautiška giesmė," by Vincas Kudirka (standard translation).

Skirsnemunė, Kaunas, Greiz,
Wundsiedel, Garmisch-Partenkirchen,
Mittenwald, Munich, Boston, Centerville...

Every flicker of consciousness

into the cold air
        we breathe
into the atmosphere
        precipitating
clouds

above the sidewalk
beside Macy's Department Store
windows decorated to buy –

Producteurs, sauvons-nous nous-mêmes
Décrétons le salut commun.[4]

You made ties
in a factory by Kaunas on a river
before the war,
and into it:

The Russians came.
Communists.
The Germans came.
Fascists.

Lithuanian heads turned
every which way
and loose.

Lietuva, Tėvyne mūsų,
Tu didvyrių žeme.[5]

---

4 "Producers, let us save ourselves / Decree the common welfare." From the original "L'Internationale" by Eugène Pottier.

5 "Lithuania, our homeland, / Land of heroes!" From the Lithuanian national anthem.

You kept your eyes on the patterns
and forms of the tie weaves
stitched into the machinery,
run by unschooled workers

(the proletariat)

and a seamstress whose brothers
enrolled her
in the party

was the obvious choice
to run the factory
by and for
the people.

(But she didn't know how.)

They soon shall hear the bullets flying,
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.[6]

You helped her tame the machines.
Produce. Order the brutish things.

So comrades, come rally,
For this is the time and place!
The international ideal,
Unites the human race.[7]

Until she got the notice
one night

that you must go
go go
away.

---

[6] From the standard Canadian version of the "Internationale."
[7] From Braggs' revision of the "Internationale."

She told you
    Out of thanks?
She told you
    Out of love?
She told you
    As a brother

So you took
your family and ran.

Your dog
ran too
    beside the tracks.

Sudie. Goodbye.

Tegul meilė Lietuvos
Dega mūsų širdyse.[8]

Sprechen Sie Deutsch?

They asked. You answered.
You received
            a shovel.
You dug
        their trenches
against the tide
against the rising Red
Sea of them.

[8] "May the love of Lithuania / Brightly burn in our hearts." From the Lithuanian national anthem.

Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt,
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze
Brüderlich zusammenhält.[9]

Conscripted
to dig against
the advancing flood
of people
flowing
like history
red
dead
digging

Achtung!
They are too close.
So shoot
the tide
Shoot the workers
Shoot your brother
fighting on the other side

Shoot your wife's brother
recruited
from his flat
in Kaunas,
Litva, SSR.

And end the vanity of nations,
We've but one Earth on which to live.[10]

---

[9] "Germany, Germany above all, / Above all in the world, / When, for protection and defense, it always / takes a brotherly stand together." From the original German national anthem, "das Lied der Deutschen" (The Song of Germany) by August Heinrich Hoffman. Only the third stanza of this song is now used as the national anthem.

[10] From Braggs' revision of the "Internationale."

You and he
would not meet
again
until the war was over,
Stalin dead
and Gorbachev on the rise.

Vardan tos, Lietuvos
Vienybė težydi![11]

Jadvyga and the girls had been left in Greiz,
and your journey from the hospital in Denmark had been
/ long, so long
that they were in American hands now.
And you with the Soviets.
Again.
The border was eyes, and teeth,
and grave.

You found a comrade with a common goal:
To penetrate the line in the night.
You said the nurses would be too slow.
You said it's too risky with them to go.
You were right.

The Soviet soldier gave you the butt of his rifle as a last goodbye.
He must have smelled the German uniform
on your flesh
like sin.

But the nurses dressed your head.
They made you whole.
They made you ready.

---

11 "For the sake of this land / Let unity blossom." From the Lithuanian national anthem.

Let no one build walls to divide us,
Walls of hatred nor walls of stone.
Come greet the dawn and stand beside us,
We'll live together or we'll die alone.[12]

When you walked into the camp, the DP camp,
that camp of the living
after the war,
how
did you greet her,
your wife, Jadvyga?
How
did you find her? Bent, washing?
Or by the stove? Perhaps
unbuttoned,
feeding
the child you didn't know?

How did she greet you,
revenant returner?
A hand, a mouth,
a limping buttress
that could support her world?

Together –

Tegul saulė Lietuvoj
Tamsumas prašalina.[13]

On the way to Ellis Island,
over the flowing road,
over the steel-gray sickness
of the sea

you heard:

12 From Braggs' revision of the "Internationale."

13 "May the sun above our land / Banish darkening clouds around." From the Lithuanian national anthem.

No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.[14]

You disembarked like rats
funneled through a maze
to exit the exit door
and live among rats
in the tenements
in the factories
worked raw for a piece of cheese.

L'oisif ira loger ailleurs.[15]

You sent your children to college.

America, the beautiful...[16]

You made it.

And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
gave proof...[17]

With shards of a grenade
embedded in your shin
like Philoctetus
abandoned in the ward

alone among the many
you left –

[14] From the "Star-Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key.
[15] "The idle will go reside elsewhere." From the original "L'Internationale."
[16] From "America the Beautiful."
[17] From the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The river passing,
all individuals within it,
each unstable element
actively
searching for a home
in perpetual motion –

for your wife and daughters,
a shifty Ithaca
of bonds
unbroken
and a dream
in which
land is land, you said

when asked
seated in your
easy chair
by the window
if you missed Lithuania.

Land is land, you said
before going

to cultivate
your own garden.

C'est la lutte finale
Groupons-nous, et demain
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain.[18]

November, 2009
Brooklyn

[18] "This is the final struggle / Let us group together, and tomorrow / The Internationale / Will be the human race." From the original "L'Internationale."

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS OF INTEREST

Editor's note: some of these books will be reviewed in upcoming issues.

Archeology

Aleksander Pluskowski. *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy War and Colonisation.* Routledge, 2013. A study synthesizing archeological data and written sources.

Biography and Memoirs

Aili Aarelaid-Tart and Li Bennich-Björkman, eds. *Baltic Biographies at Historical Crossroads.* Routledge, 2011. Life stories from five generations of Balts living through the diverse transformations of the twentieth century.

Solomon Abramovich and Yakov Zilberg, eds. *Smuggled in Potato Sacks: Fifty Stories of the Hidden Children of the Kaunas Ghetto.* Vallentine Mitchell, 2011. First-hand accounts of survivors who were sheltered by Lithuanians.

Frank Buonagurio and Belle Delechky. *The Last Bright Days: A Young Woman's Life in a Lithuanian Shtetl on the Eve of the Holocaust.* Jewish Heritage, 2012. A photographic portrait of Jewish life in Lithuania in the 1930s.

Ellen Cassedy. *We Are Here: Memories of the Lithuanian Holocaust.* University of Nebraska Press, 2012. The author's investigation of her family's story leads to an exploration of how Lithuanians are dealing with their Holocaust history today.

Peter Hetherington. *Unvanquished: Joseph Pilsudski, Resurrected Poland, and the Struggle for Eastern Europe.* Pingora Press, 2012. The swashbuckling adventures of the Polish hero are presented in a readable text by a non-historian.

Edward R. Janusz. *Fading Echoes from the Baltic Shores: A Historical Perspective of a Refugee's Odyssey.* Karllex Publishing, 2012. A mixture of memoir and historical perspective.

Tony Mankus. *Where Do I Belong? An Immigrant's Quest For Identity.* CreateSpace, 2013. A quest for identity in the context of the emigrant experience.

Dominic Rubin. *The Life and Thought of Lev Karsavin: "Strength made perfect in weakness..."* Rodopi, 2013. A historian of Catholic mysticism, known as the Plato of Lithuania, he spent twenty years teaching in Lithuania before his deportation to the Gulag.

Richard Segal. *Three Days in July.* AuthorHouse UK, 2012. A partly fictionalized account of the author's trip to rediscover his roots.

Laima Vincė. *The Snake in the Vodka bottle: Life Stories from Post-Soviet Lithuania Twenty Years after the Collapse of Communism.* CreateSpace, 2012. The author's journey through post-Soviet Lithuania presents a variety of voices from those she meets.

Geography

Stephen Seegel. *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire.* University of Chicago Press, 2012. Takes the familiar problems of state and nation building in Eastern Europe and presents them through an entirely new prism, that of cartography and cartographers.

Leanne White and Elspeth Frew, eds. *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* Routledge, 2013. Includes a chapter on the Baltic States, focusing on Lithuania.

History

Charlotte Alston. *Piip, Meierovics & Voldemaras, Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania: Makers of the Modern World.* Haus Publishing, 2011. Focuses on the Baltic States' role as a buffer zone between the Western allies and Russia.

Anne Applebaum. *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944-1956.* Doubleday, 2012. Although the author bases her account of life under Communism on Hungary, Poland, and East Germany, readers will undoubtedly find relevant to the Baltic States the details of how Stalin went about imposing a political and moral system.

Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz. *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands.* Indiana University Press, 2013. An examination of two centuries of interethnic relations, including two chapters on Lithuania.

Serhiy Bilenky, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian Political Imaginations.* Stanford University Press, 2012. An intellectual history of early nineteenth-century discourses of nation in east Central Europe.

Prit Buttar. *Between Giants: The Battle for the Baltics in World War II.* Osprey Publishing, 2013. A military history of the battles that took place on Baltic soil, including first-hand accounts.

Richard Butterwick. *The Polish Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1788-1792: A Political History.* Oxford University Press, 2012. A detailed exploration of the Four Years' Parliament and its relationship with the Catholic Church.

Robert T. Cossaboom, *Joint Contact Team Program: Contacts with Former Soviet Republics and Warsaw Pact Nations 1992-1994.* Joint History Office, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2013. A history of the Joint Contact Team Program's activities after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Norman Davies. *Vanished Kingdoms: The Rise and Fall of States and Nations.* Viking, New York, 2012 (reprint edition). A distinguished historian advocates for examining the history of "dead kingdoms," including a chapter on the Grand Duchy of Lithuanian. This chapter is available separately on Kindle.

Violeta Davoliūtė, *The Making and Breaking of Soviet Lithuania: Memory and Modernity in the Wake of War.* Routledge, 2013. Traces the development of national identity despite the traumas of war and the forced modernization of the Soviet era.

Mary Fisher. *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin* (Crusade Texts in Translation). Ashgate Publishers, 2013. The first English translation of an important source document for the wars waged by the Teutonic Order.

David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno.* Cornell University Press, 2013. A detailed recreation of life in Vilnius, with a particular emphasis on the cross-cultural interactions of those of different faiths.

Azar Gat. *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism.* Cambridge University Press, 2013. The author counters prevailing theories that nationalism is a modern concept.

Olga Gershenson. *The Phantom Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and Jewish Catastrophe.* Rutgers University Press, 2013. Focuses on how the Holocaust was portrayed in Soviet film, including projects that were never completed.

Robert Gerwath and John Horne, eds. *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War.* Oxford University Press, 2012. An examination of the tensions unleashed by the Great War and the resulting violence. Includes a chapter by Tomas Balkelis.

Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz. *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.* Translated by Daniel J. Sax. Brill Academic Publishing, 2012. Traces the history of an idea that lay at the foundation of political thought in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Jorg Hackmann and Marko Lehi, eds. *Contested and Shared Places of Memory: History and Politics in North Eastern Europe.* Routledge, 2013. Published as a special issue of the *Journal of Baltic Studies,* this book offers insights into collective memory and the politics of history.

John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, eds. *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Europe.* University of Nebraska Press, 2013. Includes a chapter on Lithuania by Saulius Sužiedėlis and Šarūnas Liekis.

Martyn Housden and David J. Smith. *Forgotten Pages in Baltic History: Diversity and Inclusion.* Rodopi, 2011. Key themes in Baltic history as they are emerging today.

Diana Janušauskienė. *Post-Communist Democratisation in Lithuania: Elites, Parties, and Youth Political Organisations, 1988-2001.* Rodopi, 2011. The author argues that elites and nationalism were major forces in the post-Communist democratization of Lithuania.

Šarūnas Liekis, Antony Polonsky, and ChaeRan Freeze, eds. *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry, Volume 25: Jews in the Former Grand Duchy of Lithuania since 1772.* Littman, 2013. A wide-ranging examination of Lithuanian Jewry and its relationship with the surrounding society.

Vėjas Gabriel Liulevičius. *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present.* Oxford University Press, 2011. A historian examines how the German attitude towards the East has defined the German national identity.

Edward Lucas. *Deception: The Untold Story of East-West Espionage Today.* Walker Publishing, 2012. A journalist who frequently covers the Baltic States examines the history of Russian espionage in the West and its continuing use to support crony capitalism.

Andrejs Plakans. *A Concise History of the Baltic States.* Cambridge University Press, 2011. An integrated history of the three Baltic States.

Aldis Purs. *Baltic Facades: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania since 1945.* Reaktion Books, 2012. Aimed at the general reader, this book emphasizes the individual characteristics of the three countries and places them in a broader, post-Communist perspective.

Kristina Spohr Readman. *Germany and the Baltic Problem after the Cold War: The Development of a New Ostpolitik, 1989-2000.* Routledge, 2012. Includes an assessment of the peculiar geopolitical situation of the Baltic States, caught between a unified Germany and a turbulent Russia.

Justin K. Riškus. *Lithuanian Chicago (Images of America).* Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, 2013. A photo album of Lithuanians in Chicago, mostly from church archives.

Marci Shore. *The Taste of Ashes: The Afterlife of Totalitarianism in Eastern Europe.* Crown, 2013. Writings that explore the ghost of Communism in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union.

Vladas Sirutavičius and Darius Staliūnas, eds. *A Pragmatic Alliance: Jewish-Lithuanian Political Cooperation at the Beginning of the 20th Century.* Central European University Press, 2011. Essays connecting the political development of both Lithuanians and Jews.

Shaul Stampfer. *Lithuanian Yeshivas of the Nineteenth Century: Creating a Tradition of Learning.* Translated by Lindsey Taylor-Guthartz. Littman, 2012. A systematic study of three key Lithuanian yeshivas as they existed from 1802 to 1914.

Eliyahu Stern. *The Genius: Elijah of Vilna and the Making of Modern Judaism.* Yale University Press, 2013. Offers a new interpretation of Jewish modernity based on the Vilna Gaon's influence.

David Worthington. *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c.1560-1688.* Ashgate, 2012. A study of the connections of the later Tudor and Stuart kingdoms with the Hapsburg lands and Poland-Lithuania.

Bernard Wasserstein. *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe before the Second World War.* Simon & Schuster, 2012. An account of the eve of the collapse of European Jewish civilization, presented as a troubled era.

Berel Wein and Warren Goldstein. *The Legacy: Teachings for Life from the Great Lithuanian Rabbis.* Maggid, 2013. Two Orthodox rabbis focus on the history of Jews in Lithuania and the worldview of Lithuanian rabbis.

Law

Kay Goodall, Margaret Malloch, and Bill Munro, eds. *Building Justice in Post-Transition Europe? Processes of Criminalisation within Central and Eastern European Societies.* Routledge, 2012. Includes a chapter on Lithuania.

Linguistics and language

Georg Rehm and Hans Uszkoreit, *The Lithuanian Language in the Digital Age.* Springer, 2012. White paper on Lithuanian language technology.

Tim Pronk and Rick Derksen, eds. *Accent Matters: Papers on Balto-Slavic Accentology.* Rodopi, 2011. English, Russian and German texts. The latest developments and insights in the study of accentuation.

Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau, and Ineta Dabasinskienė. *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Language.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. A diverse set of approaches in recent linguistic research, including discourse analysis and sociolinguistics.

Dovilė Vengalienė, *Ironic Conceptual Blends: Lithuanian and American On-line News Headlines.* LAP Lambert, 2012. A study using the cognitive model of conceptual blending to compare irony in Lithuanian and American website headlines.

Literature and Fiction

Eugenijus Ališanka. *From Unwritten Histories.* Translated by H. L. Hix. Host Publications, 2011. Bilingual edition of poems.

Deanna Bennett. *Anna: Going to America.* Amazon Digital Services, 2013. The story of a young Lithuanian girl traveling to America in 1914.

Inara Cedrins, ed. *Contemporary Lithuanian Poetry: A Baltic Anthology.* UNO Press, 2013. An anthology including three generations of Lithuanian poets.

Estelle Chasen. *Ghetto Girl: A Holocaust Story.* CreateSpace, 2013. A novel portraying life in the Kovno ghetto.

Leonidas Donskis. *A Small Map of Experience: Reflections and Aphorisms.* Translated by Karla Gruodis. Guernica, 2013. A long-neglected art gets reintroduced to English-speaking audiences.

Jānis Ezeriņš. *The Tower and Other Stories.* Translated by Ilze Gulēna. Central European University Press, 2012. A collection of stories by a classic Latvian author.

Richard Giedroyc. *Iron Wolf.* Tate Publishing, 2013. A fictionalized account of the Northern Crusades, told from the point of view of the pagan gods themselves.

Laurynas Katkus. *Bootleg Copy.* Translated by Kerry Shawn Keys. Virtual Artists Collective, 2011. Poems by a poet of the younger generation of Lithuanian poets.

Marcelijus Martinaitis, *K.B. Suspect.* Translated by Laima Vincė. White Press, 2010. Included on the Best Translated Book Award Poetry shortlist.

Marcelijus Martinaitis, *The Ballads of Kukutis.* Translated by Laima Vincė. Arc Publications, 2011. Set in the Stalinist era, this book documents the life of the village idiot, Kukutis.

Giedra Radvilavičiūtė. *Those Whom I Would Like to Meet Again.* Translated by Elizabeth Novickas. Dalkey Archive Press, 2013. Selected essays by the winner of the 2012 EU Prize for Literature.

Bernice L. Rocque. *Until the Robin Walks on Snow.* 3Houses, 2012. The story of a premature baby born in Kaunas.

Almantas Samalavičius, ed. *The Dedalus Book of Lithuanian Literature.* Dedalus Books, 2013. A selection of the writing of contemporary Lithuanian writers.

Ruta Sevo. *Vilnius Diary.* Amazon Digital Services, 2011. Kindle edition. A story of travel, family, and loss.

Frank Streek. *The Arctic Connections: War, Loss, Deceit, Music, and a Mystery.* iUniverse, 2012. A novel featuring a Lithuanian-Canadian serving in the Canadian Army in World War II.

Various authors. *No Men, No Cry.* International Cultural Programme Centre, 2011. Kindle edition. Contemporary women's writing from Lithuania.

Various authors. *Sex, Lithuanian Style.* International Cultural Programme Centre, 2011. Kindle edition. A collection of examples of how sexual practices and sexualities are represented by Lithuanian authors.

Laima Vincė. *This is Not My Sky.* CreateSpace, 2013. Kindle edition. A story of three generations of Lithuanian women living in New York City during the Cold War.

Mathematics

E. Manstavičius, F. Schweiger, and E. Laurincikas. *Analytic and Probabilistic Methods in Number Theory: Proceedings of the Second International Conference in Honour of J. Kubilius, Palanga, Lithuania.* De Gruyter, 2012. Covers a broad range of topics within the contemporary theory of numbers.

Music

Darius Kučinskas. *Music and Technologies.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. Papers from a conference held in Kaunas in 2011; includes a chapter on the tuning of the Lithuanian *skudučiai.*

Philately

Paul Buchsbayew. *The Kaunas Collection: Postage Stamps of Lithuania.* Cherrystone Philatelic Auctioneers, 2013. Fully illustrated stamp auction catalog.

Philosophy

Leonidas Donskis. *Modernity in Crisis: A Dialogue on the Culture of Belonging.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Thoughts on modernity, blending political theory and the philosophy of culture.

Political Science and Economics

Margarita M. Balmaceda. *Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure, 1922-2010.* University of Toronto Press, 2013. The complications of energy dependency on Russia and its effects on European security.

Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits. *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery.* Cornell University Press, 2012. Traces the form that capitalism took in each of the post-socialist states.

Christina Boll and Silvia Stiller. *Economic Perspectives, Qualification and Labour Market Integration of Women in the Baltic Sea Region.* Baltic Sea Academy, Print on Demand, 2013. This book analyses the current economic and demographic structures in the Baltic Sea Region and assesses the development perspectives.

Maxine David, Jackie Glower, and Hiski Haukkala, eds. *National Perspectives on Russia: European Foreign Policy in the Making?* Routledge, 2013. A comparative study of bilateral relations of all twenty-seven EU member states with Russia.

Leonidas Donskis and J.D. Mininger, eds. *Politics Otherwise: Shakespeare as Social and Political Critique.* Rodopi, 2012. Essays, including several by Lithuanian authors, that utilize Shakespeare as a window into contemporary society and politics.

Sébastien Gobert. *"I am one of You": Who is "You"? The Selective Extension of Dual Citizenship Provisions in Lithuania.* LAP Lambert, 2012. Issues of post-Communist transition, minority protection, Diaspora politics, and diplomatic relations at stake in redefining a national citizenry.

Serghei Golunov. *EU-Russian Border Security: Challenges, (Mis)Perceptions and Responses.* Routledge, 2012. Examines the nature of the EU-Russia border and the issues connected with its management.

Norman Laws. *The Energy Security of Lithuania.* LAP Lambert, 2012. The study analyzes Lithuania's position within the global energy power system.

Saltanat Liebert, Stephen E. Condrey, and Dmitry Goncharov, eds. *Public Administration in Post-Communist Countries: Former Soviet Union, Central and Eastern Europe, and Mongolia.* CRC Press, 2013. Includes chapters on Lithuania and Estonia.

Richard Mole. *The Baltic States from the Soviet Union to the European Union: Identity, Discourse and Power in the Post-Communist Transition of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.* Routledge, 2012. The post-Communist experience of the Baltic States provides an opportunity to examine identity as a source of political power.

Zenonas Norkus. *On Baltic Slovenia and Adriatic Lithuania.* Central European University Press, 2012. A causal analysis of political and economic outcomes in twenty-nine countries after the first decade of post-Communist transformations.

Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. *The Strain of Representation: How Parties Represent Diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe.* Oxford University Press, 2012. A study that explains the extent to which political parties across Europe have succeeded in representing diverse voters.

Social and Cultural Studies

Sabine Andresen, Isabell Diehm, Uwe Sander, and Holger Ziegler, eds. *Children and the Good Life: New Challenges for Research on Children.* Springer, 2011. Includes a chapter on Roma children in Lithuania.

Milda Aliauskienė and Ingo W. Schröder. *Religious Diversity in Post-Soviet Society.* Ashgate, 2013. This book focuses on diversification within the Catholic Church as well as the rise of alternative religions.

Helene Carlbäck, Yulia Gradskova, and Zhanna Kravchenko, eds. *And They Lived Happily Ever After: Norms and Everyday Practices of Family and Parenthood in Russia and Eastern Europe.* Central European University Press, 2012. Includes articles on Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

Violeta Davoliūtė and Tomas Balkelis, eds. *Maps of Memory: Trauma, Identity and Exile in Deportation Memoirs from the Baltic States.* Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore, 2012. Various scholars examine the experience of exile through the prism of modern theories of trauma and identity.

Leonidas Donskis. *Identity and Freedom: Mapping Nationalism and Social Criticism in Twentieth Century Lithuania.* Routledge, 2012. A discursive map of Lithuanian liberal nationalism focusing on the work of three Lithuanian émigré scholars.

Peter Gross and Karol Jakubowicz, *Media Transformations in the Post-Communist World: Eastern Europe's Tortured Path to Change.* Lexington Books, 2012. Despite positive changes after the fall of Communism, changes in societal institutions have turned out to be slow and uncertain.

Tomas Kavaliauskas. *Transformations in Central Europe between 1989 and 2012: Geopolitical, Cultural, and Socioeconomic Shifts.* Lexington Books, 2012. A comparative analysis of geopolitical, ethical, cultural, and socioeconomic shifts in several countries since the fall of the Soviet Union.

Neringa Klumbytė and Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, eds. *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964-1985.* Lexington, 2012. A collection of scholarship examining the social and cultural life of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Ida Harboes Knudsen. *New Lithuania in Old Hands: Effects and Outcomes of Europeanization in Rural Lithuania.* Anthem, 2012. The impact of the withdrawal from the Soviet Union and Lithuania's entrance into the EU upon aging small-scale farmers.

Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer, eds. *History, Memory and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Memory Games.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Explores debates on history in the former Soviet bloc and the recent and unprecedented trends in memory issues.

Donnacha Ó Beacháin, Vera Sheridan, and Sabina Stan, eds. *Life in Post-Communist Eastern Europe after EU Membership: Happy Ever After?* Routledge, 2012. Includes chapters on Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Joanna Regulska and Bonnie G. Smith, eds. *Women and Gender in Postwar Europe: From Cold War to European Union.* Routledge, 2012. Traces women and gender roles from postwar reconstruction to a rebuilt Europe.

Barbara Tornquist-Plewa and Krzysztof Stala, eds. *Cultural Transformations after Communism: Central and Eastern Europe in Focus.* Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Includes a chapter on Lithuanian national identity.

Theater

Guna Zeltina, *Text in Contemporary Theatre: The Baltics within the World Experience.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. Dedicated to the relationship between text and performance in contemporary theater, focusing on the Baltic States.

Travel

Francis Tapon. *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us.* WanderLearn, 2012. A mixture of insightful facts with hilarious personal anecdotes.

Columbia J. Warren. *Experiencing Lithuania: An Unconventional Travel Guide.* CreateSpace, 2013. With a wry sense of humor, delves into describing the country and its people, particularly its interesting and unique aspects.

Compiled by Elizabeth Novickas and Henrietta Vepštas

ERRATA
Lituanus, Volume 59:2 (2013)
p. 57, paragraph 2, line 11
should be "March 1990" not "January of 1991"

ABSTRACTS

"Ten Days That Shook Lithuania": The Atgaiva Drama Festival of 1988

Patrick Chura

The article tells the story of the Atgaiva Drama Festival, the first Lithuanian drama festival to take place outside the austere ideological restrictions of Soviet censorship. It then analyzes the complicated social and political impact of the event, which was immediately recognized as a catalyst to cultural renewal in the Glasnost era.

A stated goal of the Atgaiva festival, held in Šiauliai in December 1988, was "to stimulate the participation of theater professionals in the revival of Lithuanian national culture." Each of the plays presented at the festival expressed some form of anti-Soviet protest and carried liminal messages about the captive position of colonized cultures under Soviet hegemony. Studied in its entirety as a unified narrative, the Atgaiva festival may be read as a declaration of Lithuanian cultural independence from the Soviet Union that preceded the country's political declaration of independence by some fifteen months. Viewed with hindsight, the festival also contained important forewarnings of the painful disillusionments that immediately followed the restoration of Lithuanian autonomy.

Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle

Ieva Kuizinienė

This article is dedicated to the analysis of the tapestry collection of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland Sigismund Augustus – a collection that played an important role in the representational life of the rulers and which both his contemporaries and today's art textile researchers agree was one of the most stylish and opulent in all of Europe. The main focus of this research is on the links between the ruler's collection and

the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Earlier authors, most of them from outside Lithuania, have not even considered the possibility of such links. Nevertheless, by synthesizing Lithuanian and international scientific research from various fields and different periods related to this particular theme, and by critically analyzing material from earlier publications that can now be supplemented with new facts, the history of the collection's development and its role in the representational life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is revealed in a completely new light.

In remembrance of

Thomas Remeikis

1934–2013

Past editor and member of the
Advisory Board of Lituanus.

He led a distinguished career as a scholar of
numerous books about
Soviet and German occupied Lithuania.
He was a prolific contributor of articles
for a number of scholarly journals.

Staff of *Lituanus*

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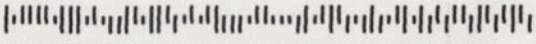

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