

# LITUANUS

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# LITHUANIANUS

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Editor of this issue  
Mikas Vaicekauskas

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Žibuntas Mikšys, etching, 1968.

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*Svetimas bizonas vis tiek geriausias kai kurių rašytojų  
įkvėpimo šaltinis...*

A kneeling Petras Cvirka, Salomėja Nėris, and Liudas Gira, published in the Kaunas newspaper XX amžiaus on May 4, 1940, shortly before the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania. The caption reads, "A foreign whip is surely the best source of inspiration for some writers..." Not surprisingly, the paper ceased publication in August of that year. See "Petras Cvirka" on p. 51.

## The Lithuanian *Acta Sanctorum*: Unknown Hagiography by Motiejus Valančius

MIKAS VAICEKAUSKAS

### *Valančius, his literary work and hagiography*

The Samogitian Bishop, historian, writer, prosaist, publicist, and translator, Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875), was an especially sociable and dominating figure in the Lithuanian Catholic Church (bishop 1850–1875) and the cultural life of Lithuania in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> By that time, Lithuania, after the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in 1795, had lost its independence and was in the domain of the Russian Empire. Subjected to a different political system, Lithuania was reorganized as a province of the empire, where Russian laws were in effect, enforced by the Russian bureaucracy. Attempts to completely Russify everyday life, the expansion of Orthodoxy, and an intense persecution of the Catholic Church were carried out; the education system was reorganized, the Vilnius Censorship Committee established, and strict censorship imposed.

<sup>1</sup> Alekna, *Žemaičių Vyskupas*; Biržiška, *Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus*; Aleksandravičius and Kulakauskas, *Carų valdžioje*, 176–84; Merkys, *Motiejus Valančius*; Zaborskaitė, “Motiejus Valančius,” 726.

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In the nineteenth century, there were two national liberation uprisings against Russian authority, in 1830–1831 and 1863–1864, which had as their main objective the restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Both uprisings failed. After the first, repressions ensued: Russification expanded, censorship intensified, monasteries closed, the rights of local citizenry were curtailed, nationalism subdued, and the Uniates (Eastern-rite Catholics) annexed to the Russian Orthodox Church. The most consequential repressive action was the closing of Vilnius University. Lithuania lost its sole academic institution, which had negative implications for Lithuanian culture and society.

After the 1863–1864 uprising, repressions increased: martial law, in effect till 1872, was enacted, Russification intensified, the lands of those involved in the insurgency were confiscated and redistributed to Russians, and roughly eighty Catholic churches were closed; those that remained open were, along with the seminaries, subjected to intense scrutiny. The center of the Samogitian Diocese – the bishop and his administration – was relocated to Kaunas for stronger surveillance. The Russification of Lithuanian education started with shutting down Lithuanian-language parochial schools and replacing them with Russian ones with Orthodox Russians appointed as teachers. Temperance societies were outlawed, printing in traditional Lithuanian (Latin) script was banned, and student textbooks were printed in Lithuanian, but in the Cyrillic alphabet, the so-called *grazhdanka*. Total Russification and the expansion of the Orthodox Church were underway.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Valančius's activities can be treated as an attack on the repressive measures taken by Russia. Before the uprising of 1863–1864, these included the temperance movement, organizing the education of the general population, and book publication. After the uprising, he encouraged priests to turn their attention to the people, sought to strengthen the public's trust in the Roman Catholic Church, supported the process of organizing secret schools, and supported the contrafactual

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<sup>2</sup> See Kiaupa, *History*, 223–33, 237, 249–52.



publication of Lithuanian books<sup>3</sup> and Lithuanian book smuggling. Valančius's multifaceted activism generally defined the direction of the late nineteenth-century Lithuanian national awareness movement.

Valančius's oeuvre comprised scholarly and educational works: scholarly and educational literature, practical religious literature, fiction, religious-political publications, homilies, and epistles. He wrote in a variety of genres: historiography, hagiography, didactic narratives, religious-political essays, personal notes and reminiscences, sermons, pastoral and personal letters, etc. Valančius devoted his literary labors to a wide audience, including peasants who had only recently learned to read and those still learning to read. A didactic element prevailed, including examples of positive lives (perfect, ideal, honest, pure, and God-fearing) and negative (sinful), as well as moral and practical teachings. These works were designed to act on their readers and change them.

The didactic and practical goals of Valančius's creative work and his audience shaped the nature of his prose. He used a model of didactic literature closely connected with medieval and Catholic prose in the baroque style. Signs of baroque poetry and the influence of religious writings are especially obvious. Another obvious element is the educational nature of the texts, underscored by utilitarian directives. Another source of Valančius's creativity was the oral tradition of Lithuanian folklore. In the history of Lithuanian literature, Valančius's didactic prose, such as *Vaikų knygelė* (The Children's Book, 1868), *Paaugusių žmonių knygelė* (The Adolescents' Book, 1868), *Palangos Juzė* (Juzė of Palanga, 1869), and *Pasakojimas Antano tretininko* (The Tale of Antanas the Tertiary, written in 1872, first published in 1891), is rightly considered the predecessor or forerunner of Lithuanian fiction.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Books printed in Prussia and America with false publication dates, i.e., dated before 1864.

<sup>4</sup> Štuopis, "Valančiaus 'Antano tretininko pasakojimas,'" 333–34, 342; Miškinis, "Motiejus Valančius," 268–72; Zalatorius, *Lietuvių apsakymo raida*, 42, 75, 240–48; Vanagas, "Motiejus Valančius," 7–36; Vanagas, *Realizmas lietuvių literatūroje*, 83–94; Zaborskaitė, "Motiejus Valančius," 726–39.

When literary historians note that Valančius is considered one of the first authors of other genres in Lithuanian literature as well, they have in mind historiography, such as *Žemaičių vyskupystė* (The Samogitian Diocese, 1848); *Pradžia ir išsiplėtimas katalikų tikėjimo* (The Birth and Expansion of the Catholic Faith, 1862); translations of psalms, *Pasalmės arba Giesmės Dovydo karaliaus ir pranašo* (Psalms or Chants of David, King and Prophet, 1873); and political and social essays, for example, *Apie sielvartus Bažnyčios šventos* (The Sorrows of the Holy Church, 1868); *Šnekesys kataliko su nekataliku* (Conversation between a Catholic and a Non-Catholic, 1868); *Vargai bažnyčios Katalikų Lietuvoje ir Žemaičiuose* (The Troubles of the Catholic Church in Lithuania and Samogitia, 1869).

Valančius's hagiographic works deserve a special place in his heritage. Along with his pioneering status in other genres, he is rightly considered the founder of hagiographic literature in the Lithuanian language, which began to be written and translated in the middle of the nineteenth century.

So far, it is known that Motiejus Valančius wrote and published two hagiographic works, *Žyvatai šventųjų* (The Lives of the Saints, 1858) and *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo* (The Lives of the God's Saints, 1868), the first books of this kind in the Lithuanian language. *Žyvatai šventųjų* has been the archetype of Lithuanian hagiography for a long time. A total of 128 descriptions of the lives of the saints were presented in these books.<sup>5</sup> The works titled *Žyvas Jėzaus Kristaus Viešpaties mūsų* (The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1853) and *Gyvenimas Švenčiausios Marijos Panos* (The Life of the Holy Virgin Mary, 1874) are also deemed hagiographies. These constitute the corpus of Valančius's *acta sanctorum*, which is noted for its originality and unique style.<sup>6</sup> Discussions of the birth of Lithuanian prose fiction, which occurred in the nineteenth century, single out Valančius's hagiographical works as a link between early didactic writings and Lithuanian literary fiction.

<sup>5</sup> Sixty in *Žyvatai šventųjų*, sixty-eight in *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*.

<sup>6</sup> Štuopis, "Valančiaus 'Žiwataj Szwętuju'," 112–41; Kossu-Aleksandravičius, "Mūsų dailiosios," 405–10; Maciūnas, "Motiejaus Valančiaus," 273–86; Zaborskaitė, "Motiejus Valančius," 731–36; Vanašgas, "Trumpai apie hagiografiją," 771–75.



Title pages of Valančius's *Žyvatai šventųjų* (1861; first edition 1858) and *Giwenimai šventųjų Dievo* (1868) (LLTIB, 2241; LLTIB, 1367)

Valančius's statement in the preface of *Žyvatai šventųjų* that he had presented the life of those saints "whose names the Samogitians [Lithuanian Lowlanders] like to call themselves" has drawn attention from practically all the researchers of Valančius's works.

The author wrote the following in the preface to the book:

Only God, the Lord himself, knows how many Catholics became saints. The Church counts the martyrs themselves and many other devoted servants of the Lord in thousands of thousands. Therefore, if anyone wanted to list just the names of all the saints, he would write big books. Knowing this, I left a description of all the servants of the Lord to those who are mightier than me, and I recorded the lives of only those saints whose names the people of our land use to name themselves. Actually, it will be nice for everyone to know who his guardian or patron was, what good he has done, and for what actions he became a saint. Therefore, I wish my beloved Catholics to read this book and, having become acquainted with the good deeds that the saints have



done, to start following their example and become saints themselves. May God, the Lord, grant this to everyone.<sup>7</sup>

This selection of the saints in Valančius's first book is related to the purposes of his entire cultural, enlightenment, and social activity. In the interest of forwarding reading and literacy, he provided his Lithuanian audience with a wide repertoire of reading material, ranging from practical religious books to historical works and fiction. Books on the lives of the saints, related to the local environment as much as possible, were a part of this repertoire. Intended for his familiar community, these books, containing information about concrete heavenly guardians, also appealed to the intellectual interests of the community.

### *The newly discovered hagiography by Valančius*

Valančius's *acta sanctorum* corpus has recently been supplemented with some previously unknown manuscripts. They are *Žyvatai šventųjų II* (The Lives of the Saints II), written in 1864, and *Darbai šventųjų* (The Works of the Saints), written approximately between 1874 and 1875, and a clean copy of the latter. The title of this work – *Darbai šventųjų* – was given by me, based on the first eleven lives of the saints.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript of *Žyvatai šventųjų II*, containing the lives of 28 saints, is a copy that was not made by Valančius himself, but prepared for publication by someone else. The manuscript of *Darbai šventųjų* is written in Valančius's hand; the copy of *Darbai šventųjų* is a clean copy made by an unidentified scribe, containing 53 descriptions. These works have been neither recorded nor studied thus far.

The manuscript of *Darbai šventųjų* is defective: it is unbound, has no title page, its beginning and some of its pages are missing,<sup>9</sup> and it contains no indications of its history. The work is incomplete; the description of Gregory Nazianzen's life abruptly ends on page 567. Judging by the paper, handwriting, the history of book printing,<sup>10</sup> and a comparison to his later

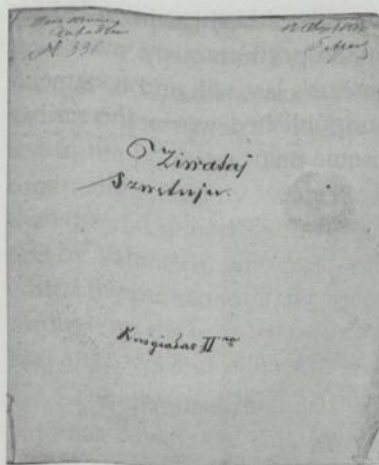
<sup>7</sup> Valančius, *Živatai szwėtųju*, 5–6.

<sup>8</sup> Vaitiekuskas, *Motiejus Valančiaus užrašų*, 26, 87–8.

<sup>9</sup> 567 numbered pages, 453 total number of existing pages.

<sup>10</sup> Vaitiekuskas, "Valančius ir Olševskis," 10–11.

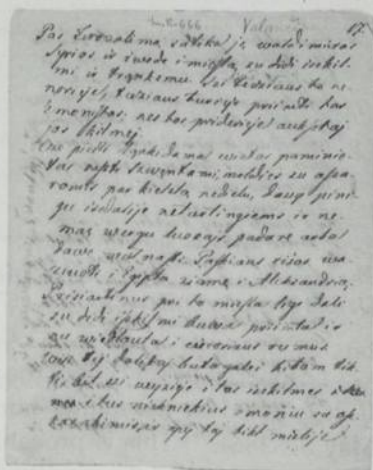




The title page of the copy of Valančius's *Žyvatai šventųjų II* (1864) (LLTIB RS, f. 1, b. 674, p. [I])

The copy attests that the book was being prepared for printing, as is the opinion in the case of *Broma atidaryta į viečnastį*.<sup>12</sup> However, the scribe's identity is only speculative (the handwriting points to Laurynas Ivinskis), and the date of the copy might suggest a different interpretation altogether. Upon deeper analysis of the manuscript's history, one might come to a different reason for the copy: the copies of *Darbai šventųjų* as well as *Broma atidaryta į viečnastį*

manuscripts *Broma atidaryta į viečnastį* (The Gate Open to Eternity), *Pasakojimas Antano tretininko*, and his other written works, it can be dated to 1874 or 1875. The copy of *Darbai šventųjų* is also defective: some of its pages and the title page are missing,<sup>11</sup> and it likewise contains nothing that a researcher could use to definitively establish its history. The missing pages of the autograph most often do not coincide with those of the copy, so we practically have the whole text of the work.

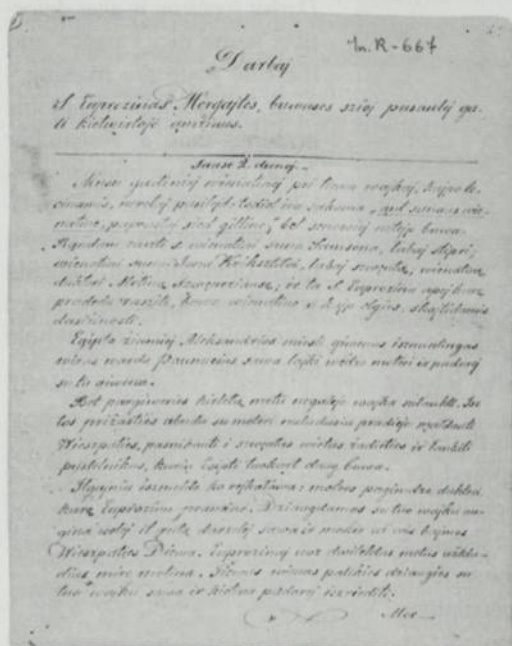


The beginning of Valančius's manuscript *Darbai šventųjų* (1874–1875) (LLTIB RS, f. 1, b. 666, p. 17)

<sup>11</sup> 303 numbered pages, 239 total number of existing pages.

<sup>12</sup> Vaicekauskas, "Valančius ir Olševskis," 10; Vaicekauskas, "Paskutinė Valančiaus knyga," 273.

were written by the same hand and neither was intended for publication. The copies were made posthumously, most likely after an examination of Valančius's last will and testament. Possibly, they were copies of unpublished works the scribes thought might be published at some point.



The beginning of the copy of Valančius's  
Darbai šventųjų LLTIB RS, f. 1, b. 667, p. 1)

More can be said about the manuscript of *Žyvatai šventųjų II*. It is dated by the author himself, "I wrote this in Varniai, May 31, 1864."<sup>13</sup> This is probably the date of his imprimatur and not the date of the completion of the copy or of the original. However, in light of Valančius's extraordinary ability and pace of work, one can postulate that the book was both finished

<sup>13</sup> Valančius, *Ziwtaj Szwentuju II*, [IV]. Events in this article predating the Russian adoption of the Gregorian calendar in February 1918 are given in Julian.

and then copied by a still-unidentified scribe in 1864. As evidenced by the text of *Žyvatų šventųjų II* and other remarks in the manuscript, Valančius had someone prepare it for printing, i.e., an unknown scribe had made a clean copy to be submitted to the publisher. The manuscript was also proofread and minimally edited by Valančius himself, which is evident from the editorial remarks and corrections made in the manuscript text by Valančius, who used a lighter ink than the scribe's. He edited the punctuation, diacritical marks, and quotation marks throughout the text. Valančius himself gave this work his spiritual approval and put a seal on it.

The manuscript ended up in the hands of the publisher Adomas Zavadzki. This is evinced by the inscription made by the censor on the title page: "От типограф[а] Завадского ([Received] from the publisher Zavadzki)." <sup>14</sup> The manuscript was at that point in the hands of a member of the Vilnius Censorship Committee, Viktoras Julijonas Aramavičius (1816–1892), who was the unofficial censor from November 23, 1857 to February 23, 1865. <sup>15</sup> The title page bears the date "12 August 1864 Viktoras Aramavičius," <sup>16</sup> written by him when he received the manuscript from Zavadzki. The date on the fore-title page, "21 November 1864," <sup>17</sup> is most likely the date when the manuscript was reviewed or returned to Valančius. Apparently, the manuscript did not receive publication permission, because it contains neither the censor's approval nor any other marks characteristic of censored manuscripts, such as the censor's signature, the special method of sewing the pages together, a seal, marks on the pages, or an indication of the publisher and the place of printing. <sup>18</sup> It is doubtful that this was connected to

<sup>14</sup> Valančius, *Ziuvataj Szventųjų II*, [III].

<sup>15</sup> Biržiška, *Aleksandrynas III*, 254–55; *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija* 2:1, 136; Navickienė, "Aramavičius."

<sup>16</sup> Valančius, *Ziuvataj Szventųjų II*, [III]; identified by Гринченко, et al., "История," 69.

<sup>17</sup> Valančius, *Ziuvataj Szventųjų II*, [I].

<sup>18</sup> Medišauskienė, *Rusijos cenzūra*, 37, 39; Navickienė, *Besikeičianti knyga*, 51, 88.



the Lithuanian press ban, which had not yet taken hold everywhere by that date.<sup>19</sup>

Censorship, however, was especially strict in 1864 and 1865. When Mikhail Muravyov became Governor-General of Vilnius, Pavel Kukolnik, head of the Vilnius Censorship Committee, had to deliver all of the Lithuanian books obtained by his committee to him. A verbal decision by the Governor-General was final and "would act as a basis for a censor's decision."<sup>20</sup> According to Darius Staliūnas, in 1864 the Censorship Committee received thirty-seven applications for the publication of Lithuanian books, but from January 1865 until the fall of that year, no such books reached the Committee. Therefore, it is "credible that M. Muravyov simply would not allow such books to go through."<sup>21</sup> It is difficult to say whether Valančius was aware of this situation. Perhaps that was the reason he never edited *Žyvatai šventųjų II* and never delivered it again to the Vilnius Censorship Committee.

However, following the regulations of the censorship of the Russian Empire and its policy of promoting Orthodoxy, the censor Viktoras Julijonas Aramavičius made other notable changes to the manuscript of *Žyvatai šventųjų II*.

One of the most important considerations in censoring publications was respect for religion and the Church, the necessity for holiness, and the inviolability of essential truths and dogmas of the Christian faith, particularly those of the Orthodox Church. The Russian government had announced equality and tolerance toward all Christian religions, but the Orthodox

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<sup>19</sup> Mikhail Muravyov, the Governor General of Vilnius, signed a ban on printing Lithuanian basic readers in the Lithuanian script on June 5, 1865. Between January 20 and March 25, 1865, the Governor-General gave a verbal order to ban printing all Lithuanian books. The ban on printing, importing, and distributing Lithuanian literature was ordered by a secret circular from Vilnius Governor-General Konstantin Kaufman on September 6, 1865, and approved by Circular No. 141 from the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs, Piotr Valuyev, on September 23 (cf. Staliūnas, *Rusinimas*, 382; also see Staliūnas, *Making Russians*).

<sup>20</sup> Medišauskienė, *Rusijos cenzūra*, 220.

<sup>21</sup> Staliūnas, *Rusinimas*, 381.



Church was untouchable, and polemics against it or indeed any criticism was forbidden.<sup>22</sup> Russian authority had little tolerance for critiques of the Church:

The censors were very stringent and would strike any anti-orthodox expressions from text that pertained to the Orthodox faith, the Church, the Orthodox community in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or individual members of the clergy. All this was equated with anti-Russian sentiment toward the Russian nation and the state.<sup>23</sup>

All Lithuanian or Polish books published in Lithuania were also censored for items related to the Uniates (Eastern Rite Catholics). When, on June 23, 1839, the Uniate Church was annexed to the Orthodox Church by imperial order, censorship policies regarding Uniates were formulated. The order first forbade the announcement of the order itself. A negative view was cast upon historical and literary texts that focused on the Union of Brest, the Grand Duchy's compulsory conversion of those of Orthodox faith into Uniates, the conflicts between Orthodox Christians and Roman Catholics, and religious unrest in Ukraine. Mention of the Uniate Bishop St. Josaphat of Polotsk (Juozapas Kuncevičius, 1580–1623, beatified in 1643, canonized in 1867), who fought against the Orthodox believers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and converted them into Uniates, was undesirable and prohibited.<sup>24</sup>

Therefore, following the censorship instructions regarding anti-Orthodox positions or language offensive to the Orthodox faith, and in keeping with Russia's negative attitudes towards the Uniates, the censor Aramavičius, in pencil, crossed out the life of St. Josaphat written on pages 95–106; he also crossed out the record "S. Iuzapata Erciwickupa" in the index section of the manuscript, on page 159. It is possible that crossing out this part of the text was the reason the manuscript was returned to the author. Valančius did not correct the text, and did not describe the life of St. Josaphat in his later collections on the lives of the saints.

<sup>22</sup> Medišauskienė, *Rusijos cenzūra*, 123, 125.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 203, 247.

metu nobile atvede pas J. Gietrude: ta klause mergie: 95  
 las ar norielumi cristatų giventi ir buti klostorių?  
 Motina atsakė: ko tumida klause, nebili ira. Mot  
 J. Gietrude tare: Warden Merspatius kraus klause  
 laugs ar norielumi buti minierku? Ši atsakė: no  
 rielio. Tu lig tuo kartū gyvena klostorių ir buwa  
 bitesni us kitas.

Daria mergaitė akta atėjusi pas Swęntaję maldę  
 kad akis atidaru. Ši ir atidaro. De kielas dienuta  
 pati atėjusi tare: ponitaję uiderik wiet man akis:  
 nes juo žmogus marionus te mota xies pasaulės turti:  
 kas, tuo gieriaus reg Merspati Dievas. J. Brigida  
 apgūt jės akis uideri.

Teip J. Brigida: diwobojimngų begiwendama ir debū.  
 tus bedasidama, pasena ir dagų numire. Swęntum  
 Sonų krikstlitių, daugiet kitiems swęntoms pagalam  
 Swęneriausų Motinų sawa nidalajda Merspati dori  
 ti debūti: o par rankas nusiziuminawios mergielės  
 J. Brigidos, daugibę, padare. Kas gat je klause diwke  
 teip ir nekitep elgies! Oj koip nepaintas ira Mien:  
 paks Diewas dastusi sawa.

### Živatas

ir kancze palajmintu Jazupata Erciwriskupa,  
 giwenuse prisieliktami amrių.

Dalis Lethuwas žiames wadinas Wityniū te krausta  
 Włodzimiera miesti giwenu pomas wardu Gabrieles  
 o je melers Morine. Tiedum kad 1550 melusi Mien-  
 paks

The life of St. Josaphat crossed out by censor Viktoras  
 Julijonas Aramavičius in the manuscript of *Žyvatai šventųjų II*  
 (LLTIB RS, f. 1, b. 674, p. 95)

Soon the ban on using the Lithuanian script began, and official publication of Lithuanian books in this script stopped. The question of why Valančius did not publish *Žyvatai šventųjų II* in the contrafactual way he did with his other books, or why he wrote other hagiographic works – such as *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*, published contrafactually in 1868, and *Darbai šventųjų*, – remains open.

Around 1873, Valančius, in his notebooks and memoirs in Polish, *Wiadomość o czynnościach pasterskich biskupa Macieja Wołoncezowskiego* (News Concerning the Pastoral Works of Bishop

Motiejus Valančius),<sup>25</sup> made a list of his written and published works under the title "Wiadomośc literacka" (Literary News).<sup>26</sup> Here, he made a note about his written saints' lives: "8. *Žyvatai šventųjų*. Wrote this in 1858. Printed at Mr. Zawadzki. Not sure about the number of copies" and "15. In 1866 wrote second part of the lives of the saints titled *Gyvenimai šventųjų*. Printed in 1868."<sup>27</sup> Valančius did not mention *Žyvatai šventųjų II*. From the second note, we could assume this to be *Žyvatai šventųjų II*, but Valančius noted the Lithuanian title of the book, *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*, and 1868 as the year of publication, which is also recorded in bibliographies of Lithuanian books.<sup>28</sup> So the question of why Valančius did not mention *Žyvatai šventųjų II* and *Darbai šventųjų* in this list, even though other manuscripts are mentioned – *Pasakojimas Antano tretininko, Garbini-mas švenčiausios širdies Dievo mūsų Jėzaus Kristaus* (The Worship of The Sacred Heart of Our God Jesus Christ), *Gyvenimas Švenčiausios Marijos Panos*, and the contrafactual copies of *Vaikų knygelė, Paaugusių žmonių knygelė, Palangos Juzė*, etc. – remains open, at least until new evidence or archival records related to this issue are discovered.

After Valančius's death in 1875, Alfonsa Beresnevičiūtė, the daughter of Valančius's sister Petronėlė Beresnevičienė (1805–1867), and Stanislovas Gruzdis (1869–1939), the grandson of Beresnevičienė and son of Petronėlė Beresnevičiūtė-Gruzdienė, took on the safekeeping of his remaining manuscripts.

The Lithuanian Scholarly Society, founded in 1907,<sup>29</sup> had numerous social and cultural activists who worked tirelessly to compile its library and archives. Private letters and classified advertisements in the periodical press urged people to come forth with manuscripts.

<sup>25</sup> Valančius, *Wiadomośc o Czynnościach*.

<sup>26</sup> Valančius, "Wiadomośc literacka," 23–8. First publication in 1900 (Valančius, "Literatizska žinia," 20–4), recent republication in 2003 (Valančius, "Wiadomośc literacka = Literatūrinės žinios," 864–67).

<sup>27</sup> Valančius, "Wiadomośc literacka," 24, 25–6; Valančius, "Wiadomośc literacka = Literatūrinės žinios," 864, 866.

<sup>28</sup> Biržiška, *Aleksandrynas III*, 104; *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija* 2:2, 242.

<sup>29</sup> *Lietuvių mokslo draugija*.



Priest Juozas Tumas (1869–1933) was one of the most ardent activists involved in preserving Lithuania's cultural heritage. While publishing *Tėvynės sargas* (The Guardian of the Homeland, 1897–1902) and *Žinyčia* (The Repository of Knowledge, 1900–1902), he collected manuscripts and had access to others, as well as ample information about manuscripts pertaining to famous past social and cultural personalities, especially those connected to Lithuanian literature. This may have been how Valančius's remaining manuscripts came to light.

When the Lithuanian Scholarly Society began compiling archives, Tumas joined in wholeheartedly, providing information about various manuscripts or ensuring their transfer or donation to the Society. Apparently, this was how Tumas came to be involved in the transfer of Valančius's manuscripts to the Society's safekeeping. On October 5, 1908, Tumas donated to the Lithuanian Scholarly Society Valančius's manuscripts *Mokslas Rymo katalikų* (Roman Catholic Teaching), *Pasakojimas Antano tretininko*, *Garbinimas švenčiausios širdies Dievo mūsų Jėzaus Kristaus*, *Patarlės žemaičių* (Samogitian Proverbs), *Žyvatai šventųjų II*, *Darbai šventųjų* and its copy, Mykolas Olševskis' *Broma atidaryta į viečnastį* and its copy, several smaller texts, and correspondence with Vladislovas Beresnevičius, the son of Valančius's sister Petronėlė Beresnevičienė.<sup>30</sup> While transferring the manuscripts, he compiled a list of them.<sup>31</sup> Later, the manuscripts were described and incorporated into the Lithuanian Scholarly Society manuscript catalog.<sup>32</sup>

At the Lithuanian Scholarly Society, *Žyvatai šventųjų II* and *Darbai šventųjų*, as historiography and archival documents attest, attracted little attention. On September 29, 1940, the inventory of the Lithuanian Scholarly Society was transferred to the Litanistic Institute,<sup>33</sup> which ceased operations on January 16,

<sup>30</sup> See Vaicekauskas, *Motiejaus Valančiaus užrašų*, 25–8, 34–6, 83–9.

<sup>31</sup> Tumas-Vaižgantas, "Sąrašas knygų ir rankraščių," [14r].

<sup>32</sup> *Žyvatai šventųjų II* was assigned number 11 G; *Darbai šventųjų*, number 10 B; and the copy of *Darbai šventųjų*, number 10 C (see Lietuvių mokslo draugija, *Catalogus*, [20–4]).

<sup>33</sup> Litanistikos institutas.



1941, upon the establishment of the LSSR Academy of Sciences, and the holdings of the institute were subsequently placed in the academy's custody. The library and the archive were relocated to the library of the Lithuanian Literary Institute,<sup>34</sup> now the Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Institute.<sup>35</sup> The manuscripts were catalogued in 1946 by Ona Miciūtė, incorporated into *Pirmoji rankraščių įrašymo knyga* (The First Manuscript Records Book), and assigned inventory numbers.<sup>36</sup> The manuscripts are stored there to this day.

The manuscripts of *Žyvatai šventųjų II* and *Darbai šventųjų* have not been codified or explored anywhere in Lithuanian literary historiography related to Valančius's descriptions of saints' lives,<sup>37</sup> with the exception of the recent first mention.<sup>38</sup> Tumas donated the manuscripts to the Lithuanian Scholarly Society, but since he made a roster of the donated works without examining them, he mislabeled *Žyvatai šventųjų II* as the manuscript of the already printed *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*.<sup>39</sup> *Žyvatai šventųjų* and its copy were also mislabeled, as *Šventųjų gyvenimai*, i.e., the manuscript and copy of the printed *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*. The donation was mentioned in the press at the time, but the manuscripts were not scrutinized and their titles not made public.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Lietuvių literatūros institutas.

<sup>35</sup> Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

<sup>36</sup> *Žyvatai šventųjų II* was assigned In. R-674; *Darbai šventųjų*, In. R-666; and the copy of *Darbai šventųjų*, In. R-667 (see Miciūtė, *I-moji rankraščių įrašymo knyga*, 79–80).

<sup>37</sup> Besides other references, see Miškinis, *Lietuvių literatūra*, 222; Vanagas, "Redakcinės pastabos," 538; Vanagas, "Teksto komentarai," 564–65; Vaičiulaitis, "Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus," 208–13; Puzaras, *Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus*, 96–104; Merkys, *Motiejus Valančius*, 304–07; Vanagas, "Trumpai apie hagiografiją," 771–75; Vanagas, "Bibliografiniai duomenys," 777–822.

<sup>38</sup> Vaicekauskas, *Motiejaus Valančiaus užrašų*, 26, 87–8.

<sup>39</sup> Tumas-Vaižgantas, "Sąrašas knygų ir rankraščių," [14r]; published in: Vaicekauskas, *Motiejaus Valančiaus užrašų*, 83–9.

<sup>40</sup> "Iš Lietuvių Mokslo Draugijos" (a), 3; the same information: "Iš Lietuvių Mokslo Draugijos" (b), 1.

*Some literary and writing characteristics of Valančius's hagiographies*

Literary historians have established, based on collections of hagiographic narratives of the time written in other languages, that Valančius wrote rather than translated his published hagiographic collections.<sup>41</sup> Valančius did not indicate the exact sources, with one exception – in *Žyvatai šventųjų*, near the story of St. George's life, he noted "(Joanes Bolandus. Vttae Sanctor. Tom. XV)."<sup>42</sup> Possible sources that can be mentioned include Petras Skarga's *Żywoty świętych* (first published in 1579, with numerous reprints in the nineteenth century), the Latin publication of *Société des Bollandistes*, and some separate Polish publications of the time. But the sources that Valančius drew on in writing his *acta sanctorum* corpus have yet to be definitively identified.

Valančius's narratives have a noticeable connection with Skarga's lives of the saints: the course of events and the timeline, the structure of the text, identical situations, and the factography (names, places, and dates). There are even similar statements in his work. However, there are also obvious differences: Valančius's narratives are much more concise, eliminating some details of the events. Skarga's lengthy disquisitions on the meaning of sanctity and martyrdom are also omitted, replaced by brief moral exhortations. Valančius's narratives particularly distinguish themselves in their literary expression, tonality, and the language and style of the narration.<sup>43</sup>

In light of the character of Valančius's entire body of work, its scope, the number of books written and published, and also having the available autographs in mind, some comments can be made on his manner and method of writing. It should be noted that the manuscript of *Darbai šventųjų* is practically a clean copy, with very few corrections or amendments. It is likely that Valančius wrote the lives of the saints with a source or two in front of him – after reading the life story of some saint, for example one by Skarga or another non-Lithuanian text, he immediately wrote down his own narrative. The

<sup>41</sup> Vanagas, "Trumpai apie hagiografiją," 773–74.

<sup>42</sup> Valančius, *Živatai szwėtųju*, 139.

<sup>43</sup> Vanagas, "Trumpai apie hagiografiją," 774.

story about the life of St. Mark from Arethusa contained in the autograph of *Darbai šventųjų* could confirm this supposition. Having written this story once, on pages 255–259, Valančius described the life of this saint a second time, one hundred and fifty pages later (on pp. 410–413). However, the second version is a completely different story. Only the structure of the texts and the main events from the life of the saint are the same; the vocabulary, expression, and dynamics of the narration differ.

40. *Mirudimas*  
*J. Markaus Areturioz vyskupo*  
*buvusio 1210j pasaulio krikščionims*  
*amžių.*  


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*Ko wa 27. Siena*  
*Pagal ištatymu bažnyčios katalikų*  
*gal ištiti i bažnyčios nekatalikų, tikslų.*  
*Dieš apsiuvalgimas, trumpitely. ket*  
*nė uienas negal laukų būvoti, nę*  
*su kitų tikrųjų meščių.*  
*Krikščionims amžių Konstancoj Rima*  
*cienciu esant, kataliku uieną jau*  
*klepėjė, 1210j Areturis mišli kata*  
*likų šviesę grąis, bažnyčios, uienos*  
*kežė uienų ir pagonų namų maldos.*  
*J. kuris nauj katalikų Tarpisda*  
*mis piktinos o nekanta ir klida*  
*tikėjima dalikusi. Ką regiedamas*  
*to mišle kataliku vyskupas*

The beginning of the life of St. Mark from Arethusa in *Darbai šventųjų* (LLTIB RS, f. 1, b. 667, p. 410)



The following two narratives are taken from his separate treatments of the life of St. Mark from Arethusa.

The first reads:

Afterwards, taking off all his clothes, they tied him up and rolled him into a ball. They smeared him with lard and honey, and placed him in a winnowing basket up high in the sun, so that wasps and flies and other bugs would suck out all his blood. From high up, the Bishop mocked them, saying, "Why did you do this? I'm sitting higher than you are." He was glad to suffer the torture in the name of Christ's faith. [...]

The pagans marveled, seeing such fortitude in the old man, but did not cease the torture until his soul was cast out and went straight to the Lord, where it reigns forever.

Amen.<sup>44</sup>

The second reads:

Moreover, they tore all his clothes off, smeared him with honey, sat him in a winnowing basket, and raised him up high with a rope in the sun, so that flies and gadflies would suck out his blood. He survived in the winnowing basket for three days, when finally, without food or drink, he stopped bleeding and gave up his soul to God; praise is to him forever and ever. Amen.<sup>45</sup>

When Valančius noticed that he had related the life of St. Mark from Arethusa twice, he crossed out the second version. From this evidence, one can conclude that it was not a mistake made in copying a text, but rather an example of a completely spontaneous manner of writing. The spontaneity of Valančius's writing, executed with minimal reliance on his own earlier texts or other authors' works, is also shown by the fact that the lives of the saints in his hagiographical works had already been described in earlier books and manuscripts. *Žyvatai šventųjų II* includes a description of the life of St. Apollonia; *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo* includes St. Agnes; *Darbai šventųjų* – St. James the Lesser and Leo the Great; all of these saints were described in *Žyvatai šventųjų*. In addition, *Darbai šventųjų* includes the lives

<sup>44</sup> Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, 258, 259.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 413.

of St. Bridget, St. Euphrosyne, St. James the Lesser, St. Mary of Egypt, and St. Peter Balsam, who had already appeared in *Žyvatų šventųjų II*. However, all these stories, just as in the example of the story of St. Mark of Arethusa, are markedly different from their earlier versions.

In continuing the medieval and baroque tradition of hagiographic narrative, Valančius made it relevant<sup>46</sup> and gave it distinct local (even everyday) features that related it to the life and environment of his period, depicting the people of antiquity and the Middle Ages as if they were Samogitian peasants of his time. In this manner, he sought to achieve authenticity and believability, so that the reader could understand the story better and feel that it was closer to him. Vanda Zaborskaitė attests that Valančius's world and environment of saints has no separation from the reader's environment. The feeling of closeness comes not only from the belief that all Christians, the living ones and the ones from the past, are members of the same Church: with his unique skill, as mentioned, Valančius is able to connect the Saint's time and place with the reader's home, his way of thinking, and his experience of life.<sup>47</sup>

Valančius's hagiographic stories characteristically feature vivid imagery, chronologically delineated events, and two-dimensional characters. The author's positions are presented openly; the heroes are idealized and the villains denounced. Usually, the story begins in one of two ways: with the place, the time of the action, and the name of the character, or else with a didactic thesis intended to establish contact with the audience,<sup>48</sup> followed by its illustration – the life of a saint and the most significant episodes of martyrdom and sanctity. The story ends with a moral conclusion, repeating the thesis given at the beginning of the story or reformulating it. For example, the beginning of the life of St. Bridget is as follows:

<sup>46</sup> Skurdenienė, "Krikščioniškasis XIX a. lietuvių literatūros diskursas," 237.

<sup>47</sup> Zaborskaitė, "Motiejus Valančius," 735.

<sup>48</sup> Skurdenienė, "Krikščioniškasis XIX a. lietuvių literatūros diskursas," 236.

Ofentimes, folk take interest in others' lineage. The ones born of the great are highly regarded, and the ones born of the common are regarded very little. But God, the Lord, doth this not. Often he extols the smallest through his grace, as he has done with St. Brigitte, whose life I have hereby described.<sup>49</sup>

Valančius's writing employed a single style. He wrote everything in an informal register; he used the same words when describing both spiritual and mundane events. The rather scanty use of stylistic devices was in line with the didactic purpose of his works – his epithets, similes, figurative verbs, comparisons, antitheses, direct speech, dialogues, exclamations, questions, and even onomatopoeic interjections are most often of an evaluative nature. Valančius is especially famous for his use of onomatopoeic interjections. For example, the story *Palangos Juzė*, which is consistently stylized with onomatopoeic interjections, is the only one of its kind in Lithuanian literature. He also used this stylistic device in his hagiographic stories, the late ones in particular.

Language is another feature that defines Valančius's style. He wrote in the language of his audience. In his narratives, he used a living and expressive vernacular with a dialectal vocabulary, borrowings, idioms, synonymy, enumerations, comparisons, and proverbs and adages. All of this is executed with the help of literary devices, often adopted from religious works of the baroque period. It is worth noting that Valančius's *Patarlės žemaičių* (1867) attests to his interest in folklore. Synonymy, enumerations, and comparisons are seen in the episode where devils frighten St. Anthony:

The devils, upon seeing that the saint had returned, turned into all kinds of different animals, surrounded the hut of the hermit, [and] started tearing it down and intimidating him in every way. Foxes barked, wolves howled, bears murmured, hogs grunted, pigs squealed, leopards mewed, lions roared, dogs howled. All of them with their eyes wide open, their ears cocked up, moved their mouths, wagged their tails, shook their crests, showed their nails, lifted their muzzles, opened their jaws

<sup>49</sup> Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, 101; Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, [Copy], 43.



like a flax-brake and clattered their teeth and tusks like tongs in a smithy.<sup>50</sup>

A detailed, thorough, baroque-like description of tortures (much more so than Skarga's) is also characteristic of Valančius's writing. The lives of the saints had to evoke a reader's sense of holiness, miracle, pity, and fear. At the same time, he sought to surprise or frighten the reader. Here is a longer quote from the life of St. Mark illustrating both the detailed nature of the narrative and its expressiveness, as well as the use of similes, onomatopoeic interjections, etc:

[When the Bishop destroyed the pagan sanctuary] the enraged pagans threw themselves upon the Bishop's people and other Catholics. They started to kill and beat them brutally. When the Bishop heard about it, he took pity on the innocent, returned to the town and surrendered himself to the pagans.

The poor old Bishop fell into the trap like a mouse. They did whatever they could think of to him. Some punched him with their fists, others thumped and thwacked him on the ears, others plucked and pulled his beard, others flogged him with clubs, others gave him the fig, and yet others cut his ears off with a thin thread. Children spat in his face, spattered him with mud, and others threw stones at him. Everybody shouted while beating him: "You, good-for-nothing, you, worthless rascal, destroying our church! Rebuild the house of our lords, and if you don't, we'll kill you like a useless ox!" When the Bishop was no longer able to walk, they threw him down like a sack of chaff, tied a rope to his leg and dragged him about the streets, pulled him into mud, rolled him like a log; it was a disgusting sight to see.<sup>51</sup>

However, some of Valančius's contemporaries did not give the lives of the saints written in this original style a particularly good assessment. Following the traditions of the Enlightenment, seeking purely religious didactic enlightenment, the Lithuanian religious writer Laurynas Serafinas Kušeliauskas (1820–1889) some time later himself wrote and issued the multivolume *Visų*

<sup>50</sup> Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, 53–4; Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, [Copy], 27.

<sup>51</sup> Valančius, *Darbai šventųjų*, 257–58.

*metu gyvenimai šventųjų* (The Lives of the Saints for the Whole Year).<sup>52</sup> He criticized Valančius for his style and language in the introduction to his book, writing:

Nowadays there are lots of different books; however, up until now there has never been in Lithuania a complete, well-prepared book on the lives of the saints. However, several dozen saint's lives are described in the Lithuanian language in two books: in one smaller book under the title *Žyvatai šventųjų* and in the other, larger one, titled *Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo*. The former book is quite short; the other one seems to be of a sufficient length, but the lives of the saints are described so improperly in it that they have neither weight nor sanctity. They are like worthless clownish stories. When reading those so-called lives of the saints, instead of being moved or reflecting on the tortures and miracles, one feels like laughing at some of the rude words that were unwisely included. After all, *Žyvatai šventųjų* is a Catholic book of the highest sanctity, which must, without fail, be written in proper words.<sup>53</sup>

This assessment may have been adequate at the end of the nineteenth century, during the period of the Russian occupation, Russification, the Lithuanian press ban, religious oppression, and the persecution of the Catholic Church. However, it was due to Valančius's original style and his peculiar language that his hagiographic work was reassessed from a creative perspective in the twentieth century.

As a pragmatic man who was active in public life, Valančius had a profound effect on the development of Lithuanian culture and its society that has been inadequately appreciated. His literary creations laid the groundwork for Lithuanian prose. Valančius's newly discovered hagiographic works – *Žyvatai šventųjų II* and *Darbai šventųjų* – substantially supplement the early Lithuanian *acta sanctorum* corpus and enrich the history of Lithuanian literature, particularly the period of nascent Lithuanian fiction.



<sup>52</sup> Volume 1 in 1889; volume 2 1889; volume 3, 1890; volume 5, 1892; and volume 6 in 1899.

<sup>53</sup> Kušeliauskas, *Visu metu gyvenimai Szventuju*, 5.



*Lithograph portrait of Motiejus Valančius by Leonas Noelis, 1854. (LDM, G 2668)*

List of the saints in Motiejus Valančius's  
*Žyvatų šventųjų* (The Lives of the Saints, 1858)

St. Agatha, St. Agnes, St. Anastasia, St. Anastasia Widow, St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Apollonia, St. Augustine, St. Barbara, St. Bartholomew, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Casimir of Poland, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Christina, St. Cyprian of Carthage, St. Clement, St. Dominic, St. Dorothy, St. Elisabeth of Hungary, St. Felix of Nola, St. Florian, St. Francis of Assisi, St. George, St. Gertrude of Nivelles, St. Gregory the Great, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. James the Lesser the Apostle, St. Jerome, St. John Nepomucene, St. John the Apostle, St. Joseph, St. Juliana of Nicomedia, St. Lawrence martyr, St. Leo the Great, St. Louis King of France, St. Luke the Apostle, St. Marina, St. Mary Magdalene and Martha, St. Mark



the Apostle, St. Martin of Tours, St. Matthew the Apostle, St. Matthias the Apostle, St. Paul the Apostle, St. Peter, St. Petronilla, St. Philip the Apostle, St. Salomea, St. Scholastica, St. Simon the Apostle and Jude Thaddaeus the Apostle, St. Sophia and three daughters (Faith, Hope and Charity), St. Stanislaus, St. Stephen, St. Teresa of Avila, St. Thecla, St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Ursula and friends, St. Victoria, St. Vincent de Paul.

List of the saints in Motiejus Valančius's  
*Gyvenimai šventųjų Dievo* (The Lives of God's Saints, 1868)

St. Abraham Kidunaja, St. Adalbert of Prague, St. Agnes, St. Anastasius, St. Andrew Bobola, St. Anselm of Canterbury, St. Antonina and Alexander of Constantinople, St. Aquilina, St. Basil the Great, St. Blaise and his friends, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Cyriacus, Smaragdus, Largus etc., St. Clement of Ancyra, St. Cuthbert, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Elphege, St. Ephrem, St. Erasmus (St. Elmo), St. Fausta, Evilasius and Maximinus, St. Faustinus and Jovita, St. Felix, St. Fursey, St. Gordius, St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Isaac, St. Isaac of Spoleto, St. James the Hermit, St. John Calabytes, St. John Chrysostom, St. John of Matha, St. Julian and Companions, St. Justin Martyr, St. Juventius and Maximus, St. Lucian of Antioch, St. Ludger, St. Lupicinus and Romanus, St. Lutgardis, St. Macarius, St. Margaret of Cortona, St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Maris, Martha, Audifax and Abachum, St. Mark and Marcellian, Martyrs of England, St. Medard and Gildard, St. Melania, Bl. Michael Giedroyc, St. Monica, St. Onesimus, St. Onuphrius, St. Paul the Hermit, St. Paula, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, St. Polyeuctus, St. Primus and Felician, St. Rupert, St. Sabbas the Goth, St. Sebastian, Marcus and Marcellian, St. Simeon Barsabae and Companions, St. Simeon the Stylite, Blessed Stanislaus, St. Theodora and Didymus, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Tiburtius, St. Timothy, St. Valentine, St. Vincent Saragossa, Sts. Vitalis and Valeria, St. Wulfram.

List of the saints in Motiejus Valančius's *Žyvatai šventųjų II*  
(The Lives of the Saints II, 1864)

Adam the Patriarch and Eve, St. Alexander I, St. Aloysius Gonzaga, St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori, St. Andronicus, St. Anne, St. Apollonia, St. Bridget, St. Constantia, St. Euphrosyne, St. Hedwig, St. Hyacinth, St. John the Merciful, St. Josaphat of Polotsk, St. Kinga, St. Leonard, St. Lucy of Syracuse, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Martina, St. Paul the Simple, St. Pelagia, St. Peter Balsam, St. Pius I, St. Roch, St. Romuald, Seven Holy Brothers, St. Veronica Giuliani, St. Vincent Kadlubek.

List of the saints in Motiejus Valančius's *Darbai šventųjų*  
(The Works of the Saints, 1874–1875)

Abraham the Patriarch, St. Alexander, Sts. Andronicus and Athanasia, St. Anthony, St. Antoninus of Florence, St. Apollinaris, St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Austrebertha, St. Basil and Glaphyra, St. Bridget, St. Catherine of Sweden, St. Cedd, St. Cyril, St. Cletus, St. Cunigunde, St. Equitius, St. Hermengild, St. Euphrasia, St. Euphrosyne, St. Francis of Paola, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Guthlac, St. Hugh, Invention of the Holy Cross, Isaac the Patriarch and Rebecca, Jacob the Patriarch, St. James the Lesser, St. John the Merciful, St. Jonah and Barachisius, St. Ladislav of Gielniów, St. Leo, St. Macarius of Alexandria, St. Macarius of Egypt, St. Malchus, St. Margaret of Hungary, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Mark from Arethusa, St. Martinian, St. Nicetus, Noah the Patriarch, St. Peter Balsam, St. Peter of Verona, St. Peter, Sts. Philoromus, Phileas and others, St. Procopius, St. Richard, St. Sigismund of Burgundy, St. Tarbula and Pherbutha, St. Theodore, St. Theophilus, St. Vincent of Valencia, St. Vitalis, St. William of Maleval (St. William the Great).

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## Documents or Literary Texts? Changing Attitudes Toward Publishing Writers' Letters in Lithuania

AISTĖ KUČINSKIENĖ

Autobiographical narratives – memoirs, diaries, letters – have a long tradition of publication. However, in the latter half of the twentieth century, they began to be investigated in greater detail and published more frequently. The current pace of reading and research of egodocuments could be labeled a boom in Lithuania as well. This article covers the publication and textual features of the letters of writers and other cultural figures in Lithuania from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. It is taken as a given that behind any practical publication and editing procedure lies a theoretical approach to the text,<sup>1</sup> since it is not self-evident or natural,<sup>2</sup> and that these non-content elements influence the comprehension of a text.

However, epistolary texts are exceptional in the context of publishing. The very term “epistolary scholarship”<sup>3</sup> implies that certain problems associated with publishing letters are not relevant for other texts. In its initial stages, private correspondence

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, “Introduction,” xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Greetham, *The Theories*, 4–5, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Bell, “The Letters,” 65.

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is not intended for publication, and moving it from a private to a public audience increases the textual role in selecting and arranging the edition. According to John A. Walker, there is no "edition of any correspondence in which the editor was not driven to make *some* arbitrary decisions,"<sup>4</sup> and these choices have a significant influence on subsequent strategies for the later reading and studying of the letters. It should be noted that there has not been a great deal of discussion about the principles of publishing letters in Lithuania, although differences and variations in publications support the assumption that different publishing principles are also associated with changes in approaches to literature. Therefore, this article addresses the question of whether letters are conceived of as documents or as literary texts, what determines the adoption of one or another conception, and how this conception expresses itself.

Thomas G. Tanselle states that the essential difference between published documentary and nondocumentary writing is the differing degree of privacy;<sup>5</sup> therefore, defining the letter as a text is the decision that could be considered the most important. Once one has accepted this classification and the concept of a letter as a document, it is published in as documentary a form as possible, "closer" to the author, because its grammatical errors, erasures, and the placement of textual elements provide personal information, and versions closest to the original, or sometimes facsimiles, are presented. Nevertheless, epistolary texts, by their presentation, their function, and particularly in the reliability of their content, move away from the true concept of a document. They may be subject to various exceptions, such as the modernization of the language and general editing of the text.<sup>6</sup> That letters and publications have an unusual relationship with editing practices is revealed in the publisher's interpretation of the translation of Barbora Radvilaitė's letters into the Lithuanian language: "Because these are letters, and not an opus or official documents, we were able to do this."

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<sup>4</sup> Walker, "Editing," 108.

<sup>5</sup> Tanselle, "The Editing," 2-57.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 9-13.



[to select a freer translation – A. K.]<sup>7</sup> In other words, publishing egodocuments does not necessitate the precision required for documents or the imperative of preserving the author's intention as applied to literary texts. On the other hand, we can consider the letter "literature" and choose to correct, edit, or cut. Donald H. Reiman does not describe fixing mistakes as "mangling" the text, arguing that when writing literary works, authors leave this task to others.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Janet Altman writes that, when a letter forms part of a publication, it "is *readdressed* to a new readership and often *redressed* (corrected, revised, truncated, contextualized)."<sup>9</sup> The correction of the grammar and style of private letters, however, is complicated: unlike literature, where the final text belongs to the collaboration of the author and the editor (as well as other social institutions), the editor has to decide the type of letter being published.

In Lithuania, the most widespread practice for many years was to publish a critical or semicritical edition: the epistolary texts of the writer were included in the writer's collected works, almost always in one of the last volumes, but sometimes the letters were and still are published in separate volumes as well.<sup>10</sup> Older principles of publishing letters (mainly those used in Soviet times<sup>11</sup>), when an author's letters to various addressees are printed in chronological order, with standardized language and with the errors corrected, continue to be used sometimes. Epistolary texts are frequently aimed at as broad an audience as possible. For instance, only some of the more significant letters are selected, and the language is modernized. At the same time, an assumption is made, based on the cult of the author, that it is the author's work that is of interest, so responses are

<sup>7</sup> Ragauskienė and Ragauskas, *Barboros Radvilaitės*, 167.

<sup>8</sup> Reiman, *The Study*, 113.

<sup>9</sup> Altman, "The Letter Book," 19.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Šatrijos Ragana, *Laiškai* (1957); Lindė-Dobilas, *Laiškai* (1999), etc.

<sup>11</sup> Several examples can be mentioned that more or less follow all of the specifics of the publication of collected works of that time period, i.e., Višinskis, *Raštai* (1964); Žemaitė, *Raštai* (1957); Petkevičaitė-Bitė, *Raštai* (1968); Šatrijos Ragana, *Laiškai* (1986).

not selected for printing, or sometimes even those letters without significant addressees. According to the requirements of the publication of collected works in Soviet times, published letters are viewed more as literary texts; seeking to make easier reading, the language is edited and uninteresting fragments are removed. On the other hand, in part they are documents: awkward passages that might reveal unwanted information are trimmed, and the context of the letter writing is given.

Recent academic editions of collected works show attempts to coordinate the concept of the letter as document and the concept of the letter as literary text. This was the choice made, for example, in the new edition of the letters of Antanas Baranauskas (*Raštai*, 2010), where the language was not standardized, all the written text's details, such as interjections or slurs, are included, and the letters are presented in accordance with their addressees, rather than chronologically. Judging from the nonmodernized language, the text is treated like a document, but the method of presenting the letters implies "easier" reading. We see in more recent publications that the interest in the text is focused not improving the language or editing for length, but by the way the letters are arranged. However, it would be incorrect to say that the newer editions of epistolary texts have fewer subjective changes and maintain the original language of the texts. Sofia Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė's letters, published in 2011, abandoned the requirement of complete authenticity and compromised the original punctuation, since, according to the editor, "only a facsimile edition could disclose the authenticity of the dashes of various functions."<sup>12</sup> However, there are popular publications that endeavor to maintain the authenticity of the text. For example, in the 2008 volume of the correspondence between Algirdas Julius Greimas and Aleksandra Kašubienė, the language is not standardized and details of the text are not edited for consistency (even the dates remain in their different, authentic formats). Documentary quality is established differently in the letters of Antanas Maceina to Msgr.

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<sup>12</sup> Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė, *Raštai*, 520.

Pranciškus Juras, published in 1997: although the grammar is corrected, an image of the writer's signature is provided after each letter.

Once the concept of a documentary or literary epistolary text is selected, the problems of text selection change as well. The selection of texts usually depends on the nature of the intended publication, since in documentary and critical (rather than in popular) publications, the recommendation is "to publish all the letters, or at least all the mutual correspondence with some important correspondent."<sup>13</sup> First of all, in publishing it is appropriate to clearly distinguish the text from what is written (the source), since the concept of a letter is sometimes used when calling it text, while at other times the source itself is called a letter.<sup>14</sup> So what is chosen for publication is just a portion of the letter (in the material sense), but not the whole of the text of the letter (in one letter-source there may be more than one letter-text). The above-mentioned case of Baranauskas is notable: the publisher chose to print the greetings and the poems Baranauskas sent along with his letters (the sources) together with the literary work instead, in this manner declaring a letter's – a material object's – difference from the letter as text. In the volume of the letters of Žemaitė and Šatrijos Ragana (1957), literary attempts sent to Povilas Višinskis, enclosed within the envelopes containing the letters, are not mentioned. However, in the epistolary texts published in the interwar period, such as the letters of Motiejus Gustaitis to Aleksandras Dambrauskas (prepared by Kazimieras Berulis in 1938), as well as the letters of Dambrauskas to Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas (prepared by Juozas Ambrazevičius the same year), the entire text found in the letter envelopes was printed: the text of the letter, poems, and hymns. Even when not publishing other texts sent at the same time or adhering to a strictly documentary publication of letters, it is best to indicate their presence for the sake of the text's fluency and clarity, because often the text contains comments about the other contents.

<sup>13</sup> Subačius, *Tekstologija*, 57.

<sup>14</sup> See Kučinskienė, "Ne-laiškas," 552.



Nevertheless, the most important step in the selection of texts is deciding how many epistolary texts are to be published. The separate publication of one or more letters can determine the strict documentary treatment of the letter when it is unexpectedly discovered or if it has historical value. The publication of excerpts of letters also occurs occasionally, when the correspondence is printed as evidence of historical or literary processes. These letters or their excerpts are most often printed in periodicals. Individual letters may also be published on the assumption that a letter is a separate prose narrative. In Lithuania, there are several such examples, such as Tumas-Vaižgantas's *Laiškas Eglutei* (Letter to Eglutė, 2007) and Jerzy Illg's *Laiškas Czesławui Miłoszui* (Letter to Czesław Miłosz, 2007). It is noteworthy that both of these publications make use of numerous illustrations: *Laiškas Eglutei* is an illustrated book for children, while the text of *Laiškas Czesławui Miłoszui* alternates with panoramic photographs. Thus attempts are made to treat the letter as literature. If epistolary texts as private documents in places need to be "accompanied by a great deal of circumstantial information"<sup>15</sup> to contextualize the letter's situation, they are made more literary when presented without comment or explanation and form the concept of the letter as a closed text.

Although we call letters a dialogue or a polylogue (a real or implied relationship is the condition for a letter), a more widespread practice is to publish one side of the correspondence. Most often, as much as possible of the surviving corpus of texts from one of the correspondents is published, assuming that the text of this correspondent is of more interest and literary value. This was frequently the case in the Soviet era.

However, letters were published in Lithuania long before the Soviet period. That the importance of the letter as a significant document was appreciated at the beginning of the twentieth century can be seen from the letters favored in the press: many were published in the interwar literary journal

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<sup>15</sup> Reiman, *The Study*, 57.

*Athenaeum*, and *Mūsų senovė* published documents, memoirs, and often letters (this journal was specifically intended to collect Lithuanian historical materials). Both of these journals, edited by Juozas Eretas and Tumas-Vaižgantas, highlight the significance of the letter-as-document by narrating the history of the letters and the personal relationship of the correspondents, as well as by providing commentaries. Because of the scope of the periodicals and the perception of the letter writer as a witness to history, the letters of one person to a particular contact are included. But separate publications exist as well: in 1909, the letters of Baranauskas to Jan Boudoin de Courtenay appeared.<sup>16</sup> In addition, at the beginning of the twentieth century, "public correspondence," or letters documenting recent events, was frequently found in the press.

In recent years, if we exclude academic publications of collected works, letters are perhaps most commonly published alongside other autobiographical texts, based on the attitude that letters are egodocuments.<sup>17</sup> Letters, memoirs, photos, and fiction are presented in one volume in the most popular publications.<sup>18</sup> This is not simply a publication of letters, but rather the biographical material of an individual.<sup>19</sup> For example, in the 2009 collection of memoirs and essays *Neužmiršamas Vaižgantas* (The Unforgettable Vaižgantas), Tumas's letters are published together with other people's memoirs and articles; the author's letters are printed alongside those addressed to him. The eclectic book compiled by Jonas Mekas, *Trys draugai: John Lennon, Yoko Ono, Jurgis Mačiūnas: pokalbiai, laiškai, užrašai* (Three Friends: John Lennon, Yoko Ono, George Mačiūnas: Interviews, Letters, Notes, 2007) could be called Fluxist: all three author's letters,

<sup>16</sup> Necisław, A. a. kunigo.

<sup>17</sup> See Baziūnas, *Eduardas Mieželaitis: post scriptum* (2008); Zelčiūtė, *Jurga atsiminimai, pokalbiai, laiškai* (2008); Gavelienė, *Bliuzas Ričardui Gaveliui* (2007); Žvirgždas and Žmuida, *Alfonsas Nyka-Niliūnas: poetas ir jo pasaulis* (2010); Babickaitė, *Laiškai. Amžininkų atsiminimai*, (2005); Babickaitė, *Atsiminimai. Dienoraštis. Laiškai*. (2001); Pakėnas, *Neužmiršamas Vaižgantas* (2009), etc.

<sup>18</sup> See Čiurlionis, *Laiškai* (2001); Mekas, *Trys draugai* (2007), etc.

<sup>19</sup> See Halsband, "Editing," 30.

conversations, creative work, text facsimiles, photographs, etc., are presented together. In this case, the implied audience of the epistolary publication determines its documentary or literary nature, and in the contemporary publishing tradition, letters are more often regarded as literary texts intended for nonspecialists; epistolary texts are edited as literature and sometimes not commented on at all. In addition, for popular publications, it is sometimes suggested that only the fragments of letters that would interest the readership be selected.<sup>20</sup>

Drawing the line between significant and insignificant, however, is an extremely complex task.<sup>21</sup> Aleksandras Žirgulyš explained it well: it's often not worth the destruction of the text's integrity, and "it's better sometimes to cut the whole letter than to trim it."<sup>22</sup> In Wilmarth S. Lewis's opinion, in the decision to print only "interesting" letters or their fragments, even in popular publications, there is a need to "weigh and balance each case, now admitting, now rejecting." He concludes that this kind of selection is not suitable for academic editions.<sup>23</sup> It is assumed that, in any case, the letter is a historical artifact, so in publishing a volume of letters, it is necessary to indicate that letters or parts of them have been omitted, so that the interested reader is aware of the situation.<sup>24</sup>

When publishing the letters of one individual as an authorial text, the unpublished side of the correspondence is often commented upon, so that the absolute autonomy of the letter as one author's text is denied; at the same time, the editor is free to choose what is worth presenting to the reader. It is often suggested that an attempt be made to avoid losing the illusion of dialogue: "when publishing only one side of the conversation in letters, the comments should be written in such a way that, at least in part, one experiences a dialogue"; although if the addressee's response has "a direct essential significance in the

<sup>20</sup> Žirgulyš, *Tekstologijos bruožai*, 169.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 199–200.

<sup>23</sup> Lewis, "Editing," 30.

<sup>24</sup> Wood, "Historians," 875–76.



dialogue," it should be published at the same time.<sup>25</sup> The theoretical position that a letter is a part of a dialogue (a conversation) may determine the attempt not only to imitate correspondence with comments and explanations from the other side of the communication, but also a complete dialogical publication that includes all the letters from both correspondents. For the reader, inclusion of the dialogue provides an opportunity not only to get information, but also to enjoy an aesthetic experience.<sup>26</sup> These types of texts also move closer to the primary function of the letter, that is, to inform and to communicate.

Epistolary dialogue publications are increasing in Lithuania. In 1998, the letters between Vladas Drėma and Stanisław Lorentz, as well as the correspondence between Julius Sasnauskas and Antanas Terleckas in 2001, appeared in bilingual editions.<sup>27</sup> An outstanding example of an epistolary dialogue is the letters of Simonas Daukantas to Teodoras Narbutas, published in 1996.<sup>28</sup> Probably the publication receiving the most popular attention (not only read, but also studied) was *Algirdo Juliaus Greimo ir Aleksandros Kašubienės laiškai 1988–1992* (The Letters of Algirdas Julius Greimas and Aleksandra Kašubienė 1988–1992, published in 2008). Dialogic publications are considered commendable, because, as Giedrė Šmitienė has written about Janina Degutytė's letters, "together they open up a rich and meaningful space for relationships."<sup>29</sup> It would be inaccurate, however, to assert that there is a clearer concept of the letter as a literary text in dialogic publications. Sometimes, the aim is to better document the situation, to clarify cause and effect and the context of questions and answers. However, the unifying plot, even in documentary publications of letter dialogues, allows us to consider them as coherent narratives, i.e., possessing literary qualities.

<sup>25</sup> Žirgulyš, *Tekstologijos bruožai*, 204, 205.

<sup>26</sup> Lewis, "Editing," 30.

<sup>27</sup> Janonienė, *Vladas Drėma*; Sasnauskas and Terleckas, *Jei esame*.

<sup>28</sup> Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*.

<sup>29</sup> Šmitienė, "Susirašinėjančiųjų bendrija," 38.

Another way to combine the conversational aspect of epistolary texts with individual authorship is to select texts not by author, but by the addressee or group addressed. An example of a publication of this type is Tumas-Vaižgantas's *Laiškai Klimams* (Letters to the Klimas Family, 1998), which was called "a literary and historical innovation";<sup>30</sup> it is not incidental that this is not the only epistolary edition of a conversation where the texts are selected by their addressee.<sup>31</sup> An interesting case is the collection of letters written to Ignatius Kraszewski: most of his own letters have not survived, but his epistolary relationships are of interest, so letters from different individuals addressed to him, along with several fragments of dialogues, were published. One person's correspondence to another person can also turn into a publication if the writing has been extensive: for example, *Henriko Radausko laiškai Ivarui Ivaskui* (Henrikas Radauskas's Letters to Ivar Ivask, 2009), or the above-mentioned epistolary texts of Maceina. The recent book *Sugrįžęs iš gyvenimo* (Returned from Life, 2013), coauthored by Viktorija Daujotytė and Marcelijus Martinaitis, can be considered a nontraditional publication of letters. It includes not only their epistolary dialogue, but also e-mails, which do not often see the light of day. Since the chronology was sometimes lost, the majority of the letters are presented without dates and instead arranged according to the question-answer principle, which creates the impression that this is an ongoing epistolary conversation. It is no coincidence that the subtitle reads "conversations and literary letters."

We can debate whether the dialogic publication of letters is gaining in popularity in the wake of independence because Lithuanian literary and textual horizons have inevitably expanded in response to fresh ideas in literary theory and other perspectives on authorship (such as Barthes' and others' postulates on "the death of the author"). In addition, the possibility of questioning the nature of reality and fiction must have made a contribution, as well as a boom in the research

<sup>30</sup> Subačius, *Tekstologija*, 57.

<sup>31</sup> See Mykolaitis-Putinas, *Vinco Mykolaičio-Putino*.

of autobiographical texts. Changes have also occurred in the publication of texts in other genres; adherence to their canonical renditions is no longer seen as imperative. In Ignas Šeinius's *Raštai* (Works, 2001), several versions of his classic story *Kuprelis* are offered side by side, and Baranauskas's *Raštai* successfully highlighted textual variations. Questioning the distinction between fictional and nonfictional narratives changes the attitude towards documents versus literature: everything is literature, but everything is also a document. Therefore, in their principle of presentation, letters approach the reading of literary texts, but the fundamental editorial principle is to provide texts in as documentary a form as possible. It should be noted that in the current publishing situation, claims of approaching a "golden mean," a universal semicritical publication, are no longer made. The division between the types of publication and the attitude towards letters has become apparent: the most popular ones choose to provide an interesting text, such as snippets of letters to illustrate an important piece of reality, or, conversely, to demonstrate some literary aspect of the text. When the publisher considers the letter a document, less attention is paid to its limits and it is published without excisions: every detail is important, and there is less worry about whether the content of the letter has any appeal to the reader. However, there are also editors of epistolary texts who seek to highlight the literary nature of the letters and edit them in such a way as to fulfill an aesthetic function.

At the beginning of this article, it was mentioned that textual practices influence the perception and interpretation of the text. It seems that the variety of epistolary publications (not so characteristic of other texts) and the usual uncertainty in the face of publishing a letter comes from the fact that the latter must strike a balance between the documentary and the literary. In Lithuania, there is no single letter-publishing tradition, and striking differences are being established between the treatment of letters in popular and critical (literary) publications. The choice of publication venue – documentary, critical, popular or other – is directly linked to the concept of the letter and to a



fundamental editorial question: are letters historic documents that should be presented in their original entirety? The older tradition of publishing letters stressed their literary value; editors treated them as literary texts and felt free or even obligated to revise them. The situation has changed, and letters are now considered documents; they are still an important portion of an author's oeuvre, but are edited more lightly. The current emphasis leans towards a less assertive editorial role; published correspondence stays closer to the author's version. The overarching modern editorial goal is to present the letters as part of a conversation, to demonstrate an entire epistolary relationship, or to show a network of such relationships. These publications receive greater attention from researchers, who analyze not just the various facts found in the letter or their expression in the text, but precisely the epistolary dialogue.

The complex features of a letter's authorship, ownership, documentation, literary value, and other borderline aspects cause problems for bibliographers as well: in catalogues, letters are classified by the author as well as by the recipient, and sometimes by an edition's editors. It is likely that the more precise the definition of the concept of the letter becomes and is applied both to the editing and the reading and research level, the determination of its publication type, the choice of texts, and the editing of their language would be easier and more clearly motivated.

*Translated by Irena Blekys*

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## Petras Cvirka and the Editing of *Frank Kruk*

ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

*To the interpreter, texts often appear as images of time;  
to the maker of texts, however, they are the very events of  
time and history itself.*

Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*

Petras Cvirka's role as a member of the delegation that traveled to Moscow to deliver a resolution asking for Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940 has forever marred his reputation as a writer, even though a great deal of his writing, including the satire *Frank Kruk*, was done before he was actually admitted into the Communist Party in 1940. The novel was, in fact, his earliest: it was first published in 1934, when the author was only twenty-five years old.

Because of his collaboration with and his work for the Soviet government, Cvirka's reputation remains under a cloud to this day. After his early death (under mysterious circumstances in 1947), he was widely lionized in Soviet Lithuania. His works were translated into numerous languages; he even had a postage stamp issued in his honor. But unlike most Soviet figures, his statue in Vilnius remains standing, a museum of his childhood home in the village of Klangiai, Tauragė County, still operates, and his works are still taught in schools. My interest in translating the first volume of his two-volume novel *Frank Kruk*, which deals with the transformation of the Lithuanian

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village boy Pranas Krukelis into the American businessman Frank Kruk, can be traced in part to the book's relevance to me as an American of Lithuanian descent, in part to my fascination with the Soviet era in Lithuania, and in part to Cvirka's undeniable talent at satire.

Before undertaking the task of translating a work, the translator is obliged to examine any variations of a text that may exist. A notorious case is that of the essayist Montaigne, who revised his famous essays over a period of over twenty years, published five different versions, and left behind annotations for a sixth. When I compared the first 1934 edition of Cvirka's *Frank Kruk* with the 1972 edition, it was immediately obvious that the two versions differed. This led me to investigate how and when these changes took place and to make some conjectures about what Cvirka was aiming at in revising his work.

I began by carefully comparing these two editions and then checking all of the other Lithuanian versions. Besides the 1934 edition and its second printing later that year, *Frank Kruk* was published four times as a separate book (1948, 1953, 1966, and 1972) and three times as part of Cvirka's collected works (1949, 1959, and 1983). My checking was fairly superficial: I merely looked for several distinctive differences. The first, 1934, edition appears to be unique: all of the following editions contain the revisions introduced in the second, 1948, edition. Although there may be small differences (and surely typographical errors) among the various post-1948 versions, I leave that explication to other scholars.

Although Cvirka had never been to America, he had worked for several years as a correspondent and distributor for Lithuanian-American newspapers. He based his novel partly upon the knowledge he had gained of America from these newspapers, partly on his experiences with Lithuanians returning from America, and partly upon his reading of authors like Sinclair Lewis and Upton Sinclair. We find, for example, a reference in *Frank Kruk* to Lewis's fictitious state of Winamac; I have no evidence that would show whether Cvirka realized it

was fictitious or not. We also find amusing neologisms, such as the small gray sea bird he calls a *vyplis*, probably based on the word *vyplinti*, "to walk around gaping." It took me a while to realize Cvirka had come up with a calque for the booby, which is indeed a sea bird, but is neither small, gray, nor likely to be found in the latitudes a ship bound for the United States would find itself in.

Cvirka's wildly exuberant satire, touching upon everything from Lithuanian village life to the American pursuit of money, to the crooked dealings of Lithuanians who cheat the successful businessman Kruk out of his hard-earned dollars, unleashed a torrent of criticism on the American side of the pond, where many Lithuanian immigrants took offense at his portrait of a Lithuanian-American businessman and frequently expressed this by pointing out inaccuracies in Cvirka's descriptions of America.<sup>1</sup> Cvirka's book was also, ironically, considering Cvirka's later status in the Communist Party, criticized by the radical Communist Zigmas Angarietis, who actually accused Cvirka of writing the book "to order for the nationalist-fascists"<sup>2</sup> and claimed that the book did nothing to shame Lithuania's bourgeoisie; they just found it funny! But a number of Lithuanian critics admired young Cvirka's efforts, including Antanas Venclova, who wrote a glowing review answering many of the points raised by Cvirka's detractors. Several objected to the structure of the novel(s) and the uneven tone of the work,<sup>3</sup> and some took offense at the satire of life in Lithuania as painted in the second volume, which covered Kruk's return to Lithuania and his downfall at the hands of various swindlers.

<sup>1</sup> See Tulys, "Cvirka supliuško," 175, and Vairas, "Amerikiečio," 3.

<sup>2</sup> Angarietis, "Nesugeba pastebėti tikro priešo," 149. Angarietis was an avid Communist and helped organize the Communist Party of Lithuania in 1918. In 1936 he was arrested in the Great Purge and shot two years later.

<sup>3</sup> See Korsakas's reviews, along with those of Pr. N. and P. Š. The latter writes: "... moving Krukelis across the Atlantic ... everything changes."

Cvirka appeared to agree – to a certain degree – with these criticisms. In a 1934 article responding to criticism of his book, particularly to that by Karolis Vairas-Račkauskas, Cvirka deftly put his satire to work in its defense: “Many undertakers completely misunderstand my good intentions. It seems I composed a kind of advertisement for them, the best I could. I praised the coffins, their business abilities, and described them as patriots, too.” But he also wrote that “I myself have a worse opinion of my book than my dear reviewers. I know its flaws and weaknesses as I would my child’s, and although he’s crooked and hunchbacked, I must take the responsibility on my shoulders.”<sup>4</sup> He also published a lively response to a particularly venomous review by the Lithuanian-American author Antanas Tulys (writing under the pseudonym Marcas Baukas). Both of these critics’ comments will be discussed in more detail below.

It is apparent that Cvirka truly was dissatisfied with his efforts, since it is known he made two separate attempts to edit the first volume of the novel after its publication: once for a Latvian translation (I will refer to this as Edit I), and a second time in the 1940s, apparently in preparation for a Russian translation of the book (Edit II).<sup>5</sup> In an August 1935 letter to Vladimiras Sakavičius, the editor of a Polish newspaper who expressed an interest in publishing *Frank Kruk* in installments, Cvirka wrote about his edits for the Latvian translation.<sup>6</sup> The timing of this letter allows setting a date for Edit I to before August of 1935, even though the Latvian translation was not published until 1941.<sup>7</sup> In the following analysis, I will first remark on the revisions he made in preparation for the Latvian-language version and then on Edit II.

<sup>4</sup> Cvirka, “Pasimatymas,” 2–3.

<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence to date that Cvirka did any post-publication edits on the second volume.

<sup>6</sup> Cvirka, *Raštai/septyni tomai*, 241.

<sup>7</sup> According to a contemporary newspaper article about the discovery of the copy of the book with Cvirka’s edits (“Reikšmingas radinys”), the publication was delayed during “the years of bourgeois rule” in Latvia.



### *Edit I*

The copy of the first volume of the 1934 edition with Cvirka's edit marks is kept at the Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Institute in Vilnius.<sup>8</sup> It contains some markings in pencil (underlining of individual words accompanied by sequential numbers in the margins) and ink markings in red and black. The pencil marks appear to be those of the translator: the numbered, underlined words appear to consist of words whose meanings the Latvian translator could not understand – they are mostly English words assimilated into Lithuanian-American speech, either those Cvirka had actually heard, or those he had made up himself. These include *mainas* (mine), *orait* (all right), *džēlas* (jail) or *monkei* (monkey). The red ink markings appear only at the beginning of the book; black ink marks appear throughout. Both appear to be Cvirka's. However, in his 1958 monograph on Cvirka, Dovydas Judelevičius points out significant differences between the markings in this copy and the actual published translation:

...judging from the Latvian text, it is possible to come to the conclusion that Cvirka not only shortened the novel but also edited its style. When a copy of the first volume with the author's edits was found in Riga in August 1955, these speculations were not confirmed. It appeared that the Lithuanian text did not conform to the translation into Latvian, and that the majority of the corrections were cuts.<sup>9</sup>

According to Cvirka's letter to Sakavičius, he believed that the novel was "full of specific spots of more interest only to a Lithuanian reader, and the novel's second volume is rather drawn-out and architecturally poorly 'glued' together." But because there is no physical evidence of Cvirka's editing other than the extant copy of the Lithuanian book with his markings and the mention of his edits in the August 1935 letter, we do not know whether the Latvian translation as published was edited by Cvirka in some other form than the marked copy we have,

<sup>8</sup> Many thanks to Virginijus Gasiliūnas for his assistance in locating this book and making it available for inspection.

<sup>9</sup> Judelevičius, *Petras Cvirka*, 222.

or if it was edited by some other party, such as the translator or the publisher. For this reason, I will confine myself to the edits known to be by his hand.

The first edit Cvirka made in the text was to delete more than six pages of the introductory section, starting at page 10, containing a long digression about an imaginary king.<sup>10</sup> He left a single paragraph addressing the reader, and then removed most of a digression about his grandmother Anastazija, leaving only the last sentence of this section (see the excerpt following this article). This certainly seems like a bold start in cutting out the digressions criticized by many reviewers.<sup>11</sup> The section regarding Frank's early life as Pranas Krukėlis contains only three minor deletions (one is a single word; another, an independent clause within a sentence; and a third, almost all of a paragraph about the Krukėlis family's possible aristocratic roots). It is the beginning of the section on Frank's life in America where the majority of edits are made. The first cut is the entire section describing Frank's journey across the Atlantic and his first visit to New York City, a total of seventeen pages starting from page 117. This particular section was heavily criticized for factual errors by Vairas-Račkauskas – who had lived in America from 1907 to 1923 – including such details as the boat arriving at a dock with people waving handkerchiefs, instead of at Castle Garden (or Ellis Island, which opened in 1892), and Krukėlis being asked for documents, which were not required at that time.<sup>12</sup> It appears that Cvirka thought it easier to simply cut that section rather than rewrite or edit it.

When comparing Vairas-Račkauskas's review from September 1934 to other edits Cvirka made, it becomes apparent that Cvirka edited the book with this review in mind, if not in hand. They are an amusing collection of misassumptions anyone writing about a foreign land would make. Some of the

<sup>10</sup> All page numbers refer to the 1934 edition.

<sup>11</sup> See Šimkus, Venclova, Žukauskas, Korsakas, and Pr. N; Venclova, however, defends them as a deliberate compositional technique.

<sup>12</sup> Vairas, "Amerikiečio skaitytojo," 3. All of Vairas's criticisms of the book are found in this article.

specific errors pointed out in this review, which were addressed by Cvirka in Edit I, include the incorrect statement that Krukelis could not drink *munšainas* (moonshine) on arrival. Prohibition had not yet begun, so *munšainas* is replaced with "*alaus*" (some beer).<sup>13</sup> Krukelis could not dream of being President, because presidential candidates must be born in the United States. This was corrected in six places on four different pages, but curiously, on another page, a reference that Frank would make a good senator was also deleted. Apparently, Cvirka overcorrected and presumed that senators must be restricted in the same way as presidents. Vairas-Račkauskas pointed out, correctly, that blacks in America are descended from slaves; they are not emigrants from Africa. So in a sentence describing how blacks were accustomed to hunting wild animals, Cvirka cleverly replaces the word *jaunystėj* (in their youth) with *praityje* (in the past). Vairas-Račkauskas also pointed out that blacks in America do not sell fruits and vegetables from Africa, since they are all grown in America. This was not addressed, although the sentence does not necessarily imply that the fruits were imported from Africa either, so perhaps Cvirka just shrugged this one off.

In another passage, Cvirka mentions the rattling of abacuses in half-empty offices. Nowadays, a Lithuanian author would not make this mistake, although certainly up until the 1990s they might have. Cvirka changed *skaitliukai* (abacuses) to *rašomos mašinėlės* (typewriters). Ah, those small details! There was no two-cent piece in circulation in America at that time. In one place, Cvirka deleted *dviejų centų monetą* (two-cent piece) and replaced it with *mažą* (small); in another he simply deleted *du* (two). On the next page, he replaced *porą centų* (several cents) with *pinigą* (money); in yet another spot, *du centus* (two cents) was replaced with *monetą* (a coin).

Bananas and oranges do not grow in Brooklyn, only in Florida and California; *bananai*, *apelsinai* (bananas, oranges) was changed to *ropės*, *tabakas* (turnips, tobacco). Cvirka made

<sup>13</sup> The word "moonshine" is much older than the Prohibition, so Vairas-Račkauskas's point was not necessarily correct.



an additional change regarding this on a later page, replacing *gali augti bulves, bananai, ir apelsinai* (potatoes, bananas, and oranges can grow) with *gali augti Franko žodžiais net apelsinų medžiai* (in Frank's words, even orange trees can grow). We see a curious juxtaposition of familiar Lithuanian crops, such as potatoes and turnips, with what Cvirka would have considered exotic – bananas and oranges – but little real knowledge of what crops actually grow in New York.

In a passage where Frank is plying his trade as an Army recruiter, the prospective soldier complains that, because he is homeless, the police keep bothering him. Certainly that would have been true back then, just as it is today, but Cvirka deleted the recruit's grievance, *vis popierių jiems reikia* (they keep demanding documents), in response to Vairas-Račkauskas pointing out that American citizens are not required to carry papers. The critic had also made a larger point, that the Army did not freelance its recruitment work, but changing this would have taken considerably more rewriting and editing, or maybe the deletion of the entire section on Frank's recruitment career. Cvirka's only response was to delete a sentence where Frank, failing in his effort to recruit a young man, is sorry for the wasted dinner and the twenty dollars he would not get.

Cvirka continued to make small concessions to Vairas's larger objections. The critic's complaint about Frank Kruk's overall portrayal was addressed only by occasional cuts to some comments that may have seemed excessive. Vairas objected to the idea that a well-known figure like Krukelis would use terms such as *gadem* (goddam) and *sanavabiž* (son of a bitch) in public, so these were deleted on pages 191, 320, and 356. His objection that the crooked real estate deals Kruk was involved in don't actually happen in America wasn't addressed at all, but then again, they actually do, don't they?

It appears that Cvirka responded to the specific small factual errors pointed out by Vairas, but failed to make the effort to do the in-depth editing required to correct larger objections. Kostas Korsakas's review, for example, aimed at criticizing the larger picture, but none of these broader criticisms

were addressed. Like Vairas, Antanas Tulys also remarked on a number of inaccuracies concerning the voyage and the geography of New York. In addition, he mentioned several other minor factual errors, such as details in Cvirka's description of horse races, but Cvirka deleted only one of these, a remark about what is left of Zorka when he is burned alive; Korsakas had also mentioned this in his January review.<sup>14</sup>

Tulys's review was first published in March of 1935 in the newspaper *Naujienos* and republished in the journal *Akademi-kas* in April of that year.<sup>15</sup> Cvirka's stinging response was published in October, so all of this presumably occurred when the edits were being made. Is it possible Cvirka was so insulted by Tulys's review that he intentionally did not incorporate his criticisms in this edit? The alternative explanation is that Cvirka had not seen Tulys's review at the time he did his editing, which would allow dating Edit I to sometime before March 1935.

Almost all of the other edits consist of cuts. It is clear that Cvirka's attempt at editing was a fairly superficial one, most of it consisting of responses to specific factual errors pointed out by some of his critics, along with some reductions of wordiness. He avoided any significant rewriting of sections that had larger problems and, in the case mentioned above, cut an entire seventeen-page section to avoid having to fix it.

There does not seem to have been any tradition of editor as collaborator in Lithuania at that time (and still does not appear to be), as there was in America. For example, Harper Lee reported spending over two years rewriting her 1960 novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* at the instruction of her editor. Another famous example was Thomas Wolfe's editor, who cut 60,000 words out of *Look Homeward, Angel*. In Lithuania's history, unfortunately, editing was more often associated with censorship than with willing partnership.

We must also remember that Cvirka came from a poor farming family and was desperately trying to make a living

<sup>14</sup> Korsakas, "Laiškas," 44.

<sup>15</sup> Tulys, "Cvirka supliuško."

from his writing. Hence, he wrote a great deal – his bibliography shows some 1,300 items (including three major novels) written between 1924 and his death in 1947, either published under his name or one of his known pseudonyms, or attributed to him.<sup>16</sup> Reading the published letters written after he was named head of the Lithuanian Writers Union, it appears his time was often spent attending to numerous everyday concerns in that capacity, from making sure gasoline was available to obtaining transportation, to attending meetings, to making arrangements for translations and publications. Given the pressure he was under, first as a writer to produce texts to earn a living, and later as a bureaucrat, it is obvious that finding the time to rewrite or revise a work would have been difficult.

The other factor we must keep in mind is that Cvirka, even as young as he was, already had quite a bit of experience working as a journalist – some six years. A habit of working speedily, without too much regard for errors, may have already become ingrained (keep in mind this book was written when the Hearst newspaper empire was at its peak), and at a time when text was set in metal type, the simpler the edit, the less the expense. All these pressures may have contributed to his negligence on this score.

### *Edit II*

Cvirka did, however, find the time to begin another revision, despite the bureaucratic demands of his job. This revision, Edit II, although interrupted by Cvirka's untimely death in early 1947, was originally done in preparation for a Russian translation. Edited by Venclova, it was considered the official version, and its edits were included in all subsequent editions, even though the Latvian edits (Edit I) were discovered in Riga in 1955.<sup>17</sup> Edit II is also incomplete; Cvirka got only as far as page 115. The editing here is more thorough and careful than the edits in Edit I, but again, the vast majority of the editing is merely deletion. However, even the cutting is more careful,

<sup>16</sup> Vilnonytė, Lukošius, *Petras Cvirka, bibliografija*.

<sup>17</sup> "Reikšmingas radinys," *Tiesa*.



frequently consisting of individual words or clauses rather than entire sentences or paragraphs (with two notable exceptions discussed below). In a number of places, he revised word choices and made small changes in wording to accommodate cuts.

Venclova's afterword to the 1948 edition mentions that minor changes were made in order to bring the work up to copyediting standards.<sup>18</sup> For example, the breaking of speech into separate paragraphs is done throughout the book, and the name of God (*Dievas*) is lowercased throughout. I will have more to say on the further copyediting of the book. This edition also addressed a very common criticism about Cvirka's Lithuanian-American jargon – inscrutable to Lithuanian readers – by including a glossary of these words compiled by his critic Vairas-Račkauskas, who ended up serving the next twenty years as director of the Cvirka Memorial Museum. The glossary was included in all subsequent editions.

Once again, there are some edits that reflect published criticisms. For example, Cvirka deletes a sentence on page 44 referring to Šešiapūdis not being particularly fat to avoid inconsistency with later descriptions, an inconsistency mentioned by Korsakas, but curiously not addressed in Edit I.<sup>19</sup> He also deletes a section describing how Pranas had swallowed the teacher's watch, something that even Venclova, whose review was very positive overall, admitted did not "sound entirely true."<sup>20</sup> However, a number of the cuts cannot be characterized as anything other than what would now be known as self-censorship. But Judelevičius, in his 1958 monograph on Cvirka, described these edits otherwise:

The excision of drawn out stories and humorous digressions, the battle against vulgar jokes and naturalistic remarks, the economy of words and the search for more accurate artistic, stylistic, and linguistic expression – all of these in the edits of the first section show the author's merciless "self-criticism."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Venclova, "Pirmasis Petro Cvirko romanas," 566.

<sup>19</sup> Korsakas, "Laiškas," 42.

<sup>20</sup> Venclova, "Privatiškos," 383.

<sup>21</sup> Judelevičius, *Petras Cvirka*, 234.

Venclova's 1948 afterword also praised Cvirka's edits.

According to Herman Ermolaev, the period from 1946 to 1953 was the peak of Soviet censorship, and Cvirka was a man of the regime, so perhaps we should not be surprised.<sup>22</sup> Among the cuts I have examined, the types of self-censorship Cvirka employed here fell into several different categories, which include: (1) vulgarisms, (2) excessive religiosity or belief in the supernatural, and (3) attitudes towards minorities. However, the largest number of these types of cuts has to do with Lithuania's history as a province of Russia.

It is interesting to note that, although some of the earlier critics, Korsakas in particular, had objected to the grosser humor, these cuts were not made in Edit I. On the other hand, Soviet standards definitely frowned upon excessively naturalistic details.<sup>23</sup> And in Edit II we find, for example, that Cvirka altered a clause referring to a bartered horse suddenly letting loose its bowels to the horse coughing, removed a clause describing Zidorius coming out from under the table rear-end first and the adjective *susmirdęs* (stinky) applied to the suitor, and cut a half-page description of Zidorius waiting to observe Šešiapūdis having a bowel movement. The section where Zidorius and Elzé wait for the pig to eliminate the money it had eaten was also cut, resulting in a somewhat sudden transition to the decision to butcher the pig.

According to Ermolaev, in the postwar period, Stalin changed his attitude towards religion, realizing that it could in fact be used to promote his policies.<sup>24</sup> This did not entirely eliminate the negative Soviet stance against religion, but it did tone it down. This shift is reflected in Cvirka's cuts: there were comments or descriptions that were removed, but certainly not all of them. The removal of superstitious peasant beliefs may fall into this category, or it may reflect the regime's desire to improve the overall portrait of peasant life. Neither superstition

<sup>22</sup> Ermolaev, *Censorship*, 99.

<sup>23</sup> See discussion of "puritanical" Soviet censorship in Ermolaev, *Censorship*.

<sup>24</sup> Ermolaev, *Censorship*, 120.

nor religious beliefs were objected to in any of the independent critical reviews of the 1934 edition, leading to the conclusion that these edits were made to bring the writing into line with the standards of the time. So, for example, Zidorius's advice to his son, "Don't take the Lord's name in vain" was deleted; half a page about haunted places in the village was cut; and in a description of the village biddies visiting the Krukėlis carriage to see the spot where Archbishop Valančius had sat, several changes were made to tone down the religiosity; for one, Cvirka deleted *dvasiško viešpatavimo* (of spiritual rule) in front of *lazda* (staff).

Although Soviet censorship on the subject of nationalities changed as time went on, before the late 1940s there was a strong movement against anti-Semitism. Conversely, the Cossacks were under a cloud, resulting in a thorough editing of Sholokhov's *The Quiet Don*.<sup>25</sup> We find this category among Cvirka's cuts, too. A positive reference to a horse coming from the Caucasus and a mention that such horses marched in the Czar's parades were deleted; the sentence, "Who knows, the Jews, will all of them go to hell?" was cut; and speculation that Jews were responsible for the strange incident with the pig was cut as part of an entire paragraph full of superstitious beliefs.

But by far the largest number of cuts has to do with political considerations. Lithuania had a long history of remembering its former glory as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and as part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, rather than as a province of Russia. Although there was nothing overtly anti-Russian in the original work, Cvirka drew an accurate portrait of peasant life in Lithuania at the turn of the century, and this included an awareness of the Russians as masters, whose language was that taught in schools, and as the bureaucrats in charge. The Czar, for example, was consistently referred to as *ciecorius* (the Emperor). Obviously, comments like these were not appropriate for a Russian translation or, for that matter, in a Lithuanian edition printed under Soviet rule. In a reference to

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 85.



Russia's war with Japan, the text is edited to read that Sweden wanted to start the war, instead of Russia. The sentence, "Apparently, they say, the Emperor got terribly angry with someone there while he was playing cards," was deleted, as was a comment about Pranas playing with a coin with the "Emperor's" head on it.

A number of cuts were made that referred to the educational system of the time, which was under the control of the Russians after the ban on teaching Lithuanian. The cut of Pranas's failure at reciting "the endless makeup of Czar Nikalojus's family," confusing a name from the royal family with the name of the town tanner, was part of several excised sections that poked fun at what Pranas had learned in school.

Cvirka's jokes at the expense of imperial bureaucracy fell prey to his later cuts as well. For example, in the sentence, "They would proudly transport the priests doing their Christmas visits and the doctors, who were as much of a rarity in the villages those days as sobriety among today's officials," everything after "Christmas visits" was taken out. A hilarious episode consisting of a longwinded letter the local sheriff wrote to the governor of the Kaunas area, reporting on the incident with the pig and demanding reinforcements for what he saw as foment against the empire, was also, alas, cut out.

Interestingly, Venclova states, in his afterword to the 1948 edition, that Cvirka had also cut an entire section, from page 102 to 115, that deals with Pranas's actions after his father's death, but that they had decided to leave it in "because without it, the reason for Pranas to run away to America would be unclear."<sup>26</sup> Cvirka must have made this cut merely to shorten the work, but given Venclova's restoration of the section, it clearly contained nothing the Soviets would have found objectionable. Venclova states further that, "the editors did not feel they had the right to make any other changes," other than punctuation and spelling,<sup>27</sup> revealing the high regard Cvirka was held in at that time. No new edition of *Frank Kruk* has been

<sup>26</sup> Venclova, "Pirmasis Petro Cvirko romanas," 564.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

printed in Lithuania since independence was regained in 1991, perhaps reflecting the ongoing discussion of whether Cvirka's talents as an artist outweigh his political actions.

### *Conclusion*

Despite Cvirka's claim in his letter to Sakavičius that his "numerous" edits for the Latvian translation, Edit I, "shortened, enlivened, and made [the book] more dynamic,"<sup>28</sup> the editing we have hard evidence for was, in fact, rather minor, and certainly did not do much to address the work's lack of focus or unevenness of tone. It appears Cvirka mostly concentrated on fixing small inaccuracies in his text pointed out by American critics where he could do so easily, along with a few large deletions. However, my examination of the details of Edit II, made by comparing the original 1934 edition with later editions, reveal that in this case, a number of changes were obviously done to conform to Soviet principles and to avoid offending Russian sensibilities. The second set of edits was more careful and thoughtful, but obviously done with his Russian friends in mind.

The translator is left with a number of choices in approaching Cvirka's text. In most cases, one would assume that the author's last version is the obvious choice, the version that most closely reflects the final authorial intention, even if this concept has been so roundly trounced by Jerome McGann. So one choice would be to translate this version, the one most Lithuanians are familiar with, even if it is somewhat bowdlerized. Another would be to use the edits we know Cvirka did for the Latvian translation, which were never reflected in any published copy. Yet another would be to translate the original 1934 version. This would have the distinct advantage of reflecting a historical snapshot of Cvirka's vision of Lithuanians in America. A fourth choice, probably the most satisfactory if one wanted to create a work that would be more commercially viable here in the United States, would be to produce yet another version, one that selectively combines the edits from both of

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<sup>28</sup> Cvirka, *Raštai, septyni tomai*, 241.

Cvirka's attempts and uses his example to finish the editing he was never able to complete. Since Cvirka may have actually approved or even initiated its edits, the published Latvian translation might prove a good guide for this, but the exact differences between that translation and the original Lithuanian edition and the source of its textual variations await further textual analysis.

As tempted as I might be to surgically correct this "hump-backed" child, I find myself seeing a selective combination of versions as an unsatisfactory choice. The 1948 edition, or any of the subsequent editions, is obviously tainted by the corrections made to conform to Soviet censorship. Using the changes made in Cvirka's hand in response to factual errors, Edit I is a viable choice, but as the saying goes, "the apple never falls far from the tree," and even if this book be crooked and hunchbacked, it still provides us with a remarkable snapshot of America's image in the world of the 1930s as seen by a young man who was to come to such an ambiguous end. And, most importantly, errors and all, it still makes us laugh.

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#### **GRANNY ANASTAZIJA (cut in Edit 1)**

I must caution you once again, before starting on a long journey with my dear reader, that this story wasn't invented by me, nor by my granny Anastazija, who had a well-honed tongue, and, as you already know, used to serve up the latest news telegraphically in the village of Kruopiai, the historical spot of the undertaker Frank Kruk's birth and youth. The dickens only knows where she got this talent from: sometimes she'd do a dandy job of predicting. The organist's wife wasn't even thinking of giving birth yet, and Granny said it'll be twins, and – wonder of wonders! – twins were born: one took after the priest, the other after the judge. She had a good nose, too – during Lent she'd go outside, sniff the air with one nostril (I



must interject that Anastazija's right nostril hadn't worked in many years), and she knew which nonbeliever or soul beset by the devil was eating bacon. In church she was the greatest singer – the organist couldn't out shout her with his melodies. When the late pastor bought some new bellows for the organ, he thought that now the pipes would out shout Anastazija, but what do you know! *Angel of God* or *Let us Fall to Our Knees* were her favorite hymns. When she sang at home, she'd wake everyone up, while if the sows and piglets heard her in the morning, they used to start in grunting in all sorts of voices, for they knew Anastazija knew how to make tasty slops. The pastor couldn't even manage to get out to the churchyard before he immediately found out from our Anastazija who ate bacon on Friday, who spoke against the pastor, and that the carpenter Bukšva called the gendarme a guardian angel and, because of that, committed a mortal sin. Unfortunately, Anastazija kicked the bucket on the third Thursday after Whitsunday, simply gave up her soul into God's hands; these days, she would have secured respect and a good spot.

But why drag that little woman, not worth these few words, out of her grave?

My hand has tired; my pen doesn't run so nimbly. The sentences lie in dark shadows on the white pages. It's time for me to begin my promised story about the undertaker. However, in the beginning you'll see neither an undertaker nor Brooklyn, nor will you be frightened by coffins and funerals. And the kings who intrigued you in the earlier pages of this book, the women, the executives and critics, the Grand Dukes and the marvelous country full of scents, blossoms, rain, love, and thunder, developing bands of nine-colored rainbows – that's not what I'm rushing to sing about. We'll start our story, or novel, in a prewar farm plot, with Lithuanian pigs.

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## Editing Difficulties in Balys Sruoga's *Dievų miškas* (Forest of the Gods)

NERINGA MARKEVIČIENĖ

The Lithuanian author Balys Sruoga (1896–1947) stands out from the other writers of the first half of the twentieth century because of the multiplicity of his interests and pursuits. He was a poet, dramatist, prose writer, commentator, literature and theater critic, scholar, and translator. On March 16, 1943, along with other members of the Lithuanian intelligentsia who had expressed opposition to the Nazis, Sruoga was arrested and taken to the Stutthof concentration camp. After his release and return to Lithuania in 1945, Sruoga wrote *Dievų miškas* (Forest of the Gods), his most notable work. Having chosen a theme then new to Lithuanian literature – life in a German concentration camp – and having decided on a unique method of portraying it, the grotesque, he presented his captivity in *Dievų miškas*.<sup>1</sup> *Dievų miškas* was one of the first literary works written

<sup>1</sup> Following the example of Sruoga, other Lithuanian writers later published their concentration camp memoirs: Rapolas Mackonis, *Mes dar gyvi žmonės* (1948); Antanas Kučinskas-Gervydas, *Už spygliuotų vielų* (1950); Stasys Yla, *Žmonės ir žvėrys* (1951); Leonas Puskunigis, *Štuthofio žardienos* (1962); and Vladislovas Telksnys, *Kamino šešėlyje* (1990).

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about life in a concentration camp,<sup>2</sup> but for ideological reasons, it was not published until 1957. As Algis Kalėda wrote, "For a long time, ten years, Soviet censorship forbade the printing of this work – not just because of its ironic characterization of Russians (*ruskelis*), but probably because of the easily recognized parallels with Lithuanians' fate in Stalin's gulags in Siberia."<sup>3</sup> Vanda Zaborskaitė made a similar claim:

The manuscript shown to the public came as a shock: to the Soviet system, it appeared completely unacceptable. Understandably: after all, the same totalitarian system ruled here as in Hitler's Germany; the only difference was that, when Germany lost the war, its system was destroyed and denounced, while the Soviet Union's giant concentration camps, with the same system of torturing and murdering people, were hidden from the world in the endless expanse of Siberia.<sup>4</sup>

By then, the world had seen a number of works on the subject, but because Sruoga had chosen an unusual way to tell his story, *Dievų miškas* remains one of the most original works amid the numerous memoirs published in Europe about concentration camps.<sup>5</sup> Had *Dievų miškas* appeared in 1945, immediately after it was written, Sruoga might have been a contender for the Nobel Prize in literature. Albertas Zalatorius has accurately analyzed this situation, describing it metaphorically as the first violin coming in late.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Much of the camp literature was written and published later than Sruoga's: Tadeusz Borowski, *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* (*We Were in Auschwitz*, 1946), *Pożegnanie z Marią* (*This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, 1948), and *Kamenny świat* (1948); Primo Levi, *Se questo è un uomo* (*Survival in Auschwitz*, 1947); Martin Nielsen, *Rapport fra Stutthof* (1947); Anne Frank, *Het Achterhuis* (*The Diary of a Young Girl*, 1947); Elie Wiesel, *Un di Velt Hot Geshvign* (1954); Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Один день Ивана Денисовича* (*One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, 1961); Varlam Shalamov, *Колымские рассказы* (*Kolyma tales*, 1954–1973).

<sup>3</sup> Kalėda, "Dievų miškas be dievų," 11.

<sup>4</sup> Zaborskaitė, *Trumpa lietuvių literatūros istorija*, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Kubilius, *XX amžiaus literatūra*, 179.

<sup>6</sup> Sakalauskas, "Artimas žmogus – visad gyvastingas," 257.

Eleven editions of *Dievų miškas* are currently available. However, we may consider three versions of the text as the most important: the 1957,<sup>7</sup> 1997,<sup>8</sup> and 2005<sup>9</sup> editions (its other editions were republications). These three editions illustrate the efforts made by their editors, given the historical circumstances, to reconstruct the authentic text of the work. A different *Dievų miškas* text is presented in each: we find new material uncovered by the editors that was not in previous editions. The variability in the texts is indicative of the problems in establishing the authenticity of the work: we still do not have a text of Sruoga's *Dievų miškas* that systematically reflects the author's creative intention. This paper seeks to answer the question of why there is so much variability among the texts and to suggest what should be done in trying to establish a text which is closer to the author's creative intentions. Comparisons are drawn between the above-mentioned historically important editions of the text and the earliest sources of *Dievų miškas*, including the manuscript,<sup>10</sup> the primary typescript (indicated as T1<sup>11</sup>), both of which are kept in the manuscript section of the Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Institute, and the typescript kept in the home/museum of Balys and Vanda Sruoga (indicated as T2<sup>12</sup>).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Sruoga, *Raštai*, 1957, 19–483.

<sup>8</sup> Sruoga, *Raštai* 4, 1997, 239–566.

<sup>9</sup> Sruoga, *Dievų miškas*, 2005, 13–442.

<sup>10</sup> Sruoga, *Dievų miškas*, [manuscript], 1–305.

<sup>11</sup> Sruoga, *Dievų miškas*, (typescript), (s.d.) 1–383. This is the primary text used by editors and the author. The corrections made by the author and the editors are reflected in the 1957, 1997, and 2005 editions.

<sup>12</sup> Sruoga, *Dievų miškas*, (typescript), [1945] 1–383. After receiving the editor's corrections, Sruoga did no further work with this typescript.

<sup>13</sup> The author would like to thank Virginijus Gasiliūnas, head of the manuscript section at the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore, and Birutė Glaznerienė and Vaida Bareišaitė at the Balys and Vanda Sruoga House Museum for their cooperation in making these texts available.

### *The multilayered typescripts*

Multilayered editing notations are characteristic of the typed copies of *Dievų miškas*. The typescripts indicated as T1 and T2 reflect layers of conflicting corrections made at different times by its readers.

In the summer of 1945, Srouga wrote a fictionalized memoir about life in the Stutthof concentration camp.<sup>14</sup> In a letter to Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas dated September 4, 1945, the author indicated that he had completed writing *Dievų miškas*.<sup>15</sup> Several copies of the text were made using carbon paper in the typewriter. There are two existing copies – T1 and T2, although there may have been more. When first typed, both copies were identical. The title page is missing from the T1 copy, so the 1945 date appears only on the T2 typescript's first page.

It is presumed that the T1 and T2 texts were given at about the same time to two different individuals to read and evaluate. Based on the handwriting, it is difficult to determine who received the T2 typescript, but it appears that the principal editor of T1 was Valys Drazdauskas. However, these two individuals were not the only ones who worked with the two texts and expressed their opinion of the work. The voices and notes of several anonymous persons appear to be enmeshed here, so one may speak of a polyphonic *Dievų miškas* editorial fabric. The chronology of the various corrections is also unclear.

In the T2 typescript, the major notations and indications showing which parts of the text should be changed, how the changes should be performed, and which parts should be eliminated entirely, were indicated with a heavy red pencil.

In the T1 typescript, there are many more corrections. The corrections and crossings out were done using green, brown, dark blue, or black ink, as well as heavy red or blue pencil. Based on handwriting examples, it has been established that Drazdauskas used all these implements while correcting the

<sup>14</sup> Markevičienė, "Balio Sruogos kūrinio," 129–71; Markevičienė, "Balio Sruogos," 183–238.

<sup>15</sup> Srouga, "Laiškas."



typescript, returning to it several times. The various writing tools were used interchangeably. The author as well as the editor kept changing writing implements during various work periods, so it is impossible to establish definitively with which implements it was crossed out first, and with which later. One can only guess at what is the last layer of corrections.

### *The apparent authorization*

We will discuss the external pressures that provoked the initial corrections to the author's text.

It is assumed that the T1 and T2 typescripts, along with the editorial comments, were returned to Sruoga at about the same time. This conclusion is based on further edits in the text where the author paid attention to the corrections made in both typescripts. Sruoga did not work further on the edited T2 typescript – there are no further authorial comments, additions, or notations. However, the author unconditionally accepted the editorial suggestions in T2. While correcting the T1 text, he crossed out sections that were marked for elimination in the T2 typescript with a red pencil. Sruoga transferred the corrections indicated in the T2 typescript to the T1 typescript on which he was then working. In other words, in deciding which of Drazdauskas's (or perhaps other editors') corrections or cuts he should accept, the author was at the same time consulting the T2 text. As Aleksandras Žirgulyš correctly observed, "here, of course, it is unnecessary to ponder whether the author has made some corrections with his own hand. The true situation is simply that it was 'his own hand,' but not 'his own will and not his own head.'"<sup>16</sup>

Drazdauskas, unlike the T2 editor, was not categorical in his corrections – occasionally he left some question marks in the margins by the crossed-out sections. It was important to him that Sruoga decide for himself how best to deal with the crossed-out portions of the text or certain words, whether to make changes or simply omit the fragment. Sruoga was granted, even if minimally, freedom of choice – he could disagree

<sup>16</sup> Žirgulyš, *Tekstologijos bruožai*, 73.

with Drazdauskas's opinion; he had the option of replacing a crossed-out fragment with something else. The T2 editor, however, was a higher authority to the author (most likely with the government's repressive powers at his disposal) whose corrections, unlike those of Drazdauskas, he could not (or would not allow himself) to ignore.

The editors of the T1 and T2 typescripts did not like: 1) prison slang, especially the blunt and drastic swear words; 2) Russian or Polish phrases that prisoners of other nationalities who were incorporated into the SS used among themselves; 3) derogatory terms for nationalities; 4) ironic or subjective comments and evaluations regarding some situations; 5) paradoxical facts regarding life in the camps; 6) certain concepts such as *garbės katorgininkai* or *garbės kaliniai* (honorary prisoners).<sup>17</sup>

When accepting or rejecting editorial changes, the author sought compromise. While yielding to some first-draft choices and edits to what he saw as the less important parts of the text, he nonetheless tried to retain the sense of his intent and the more important scenes.

As a result, we must examine what appears to be written in the author's own hand in the main text of T1 by referring to the manuscript and the T2 typescript. Only in this way is it possible to determine whether the variations in the final<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The term *garbės katorgininkas* contains a built-in contradiction. According to Stalin's concept, borrowed from imperial Russia, a political convict was considered the most dangerous of prisoners. They were assigned to the most dangerous work, such as radioactive ore refining, nuclear power station construction, etc. (see Applebaum, *Gulag: A History*). The negative meaning of the historical word *katorgininkas* (katorga prisoner) acquired a positive light in Sruoga's story: Lithuanian intellectuals, fighting for their nation's freedom, carrying out a mission of honor, undeservedly experienced the katorga's brutality. The very choice of this ambiguous term became a clear reference to the Stalinist regime, which is why Drazdauskas and the T2 editor so stubbornly deleted it.

<sup>18</sup> The T1 typescript is called the "final" text because the editors' and the author's corrections are blended within it, and a clean typescript authorizing or rejecting the editorial changes was not made.

*Dievy miškas* text T1 are the author's, or if their authorization was forced. I will present a few examples.

Sruoga, wanting to convey the vocabulary and mental characteristics of the SS guards as realistically as possible, did not clean up their language. However, he used the vulgar directives of the guards to the prisoners or individual phrases very carefully. At first, many of the offensive words in the manuscript contained dashes or dots to indicate skipped letters. In the typescript stage, the dashes found in the manuscript were filled in, displaying the missing letters (first while typing the contents of the manuscript text, and later, during the course of T1, by handwriting them in red ink). For example, the term *kur...y syn* (whore) underwent the following changes:

"Hurry up, you *k... syn*," I got an epithet too, unfortunately not very suitable for publication, and two blows with a rod across my neck. (Manuscript, III, "Pirmoji naktelė (First night)," 16)

"Hurry up, you *kur...y syn*," I got an epithet too, in Polish, and two blows with a rod across my neck. (T2, V. "Pirmoji naktelė." 18)

"Hurry up, you, *kurvy syn*," I got an epithet too, in Polish, and two blows with a rod across my neck. (T1, V. "Pirmoji naktelė," 18).

If one arranges the texts of *Dievy miškas* in chronological order (manuscript to T2 to T1), it becomes apparent that the author's initial intention regarding the use of offensive words changed. Sruoga eventually restored the vulgarisms in their entirety, writing in all the missing letters with red ink. There are instances in the manuscript where curses did not yet appear, or a euphemism was substituted. Vulgar expressions directed at other characters were consciously chosen to be used only in the typescript. For example:

"Hey, you, this and that, sons of four-legged and two-legged [-], ragamuffins, lowlifes, and whatnots," he turned to us, "who has gold?" (Manuscript, III, "Pirmoji naktelė," 17)

"Hey, you, this and that, sons of four-legged and two-legged wh\_\_es, ragamuffins and lowlifes and whatnots," he turned to us, "who has gold?" (T2, V. "Pirmoji naktelė," 19)



"Hey you, these and that, children of four-legged and two-legged whores, you ragamuffins and low-lives and whatnots," he turned to us, "who has gold? (T1, V, "Pirmoji naktelė," 19)

There are numerous similar cases. Sruoga indicated his position that he wanted to see the vulgar forms of the words used in the text. Some curses and epithets were already written in their entirety in the manuscript without any dots (*kurwamac*, *sterva*, *vypėrdalivaj*, *Sheisse*, *blöde Sauhund*<sup>19</sup>), while some remained unexpressed up to the end (*vp...u*, *Zas...ana litewska inteligencija*<sup>20</sup>).

The editor of the T2 typescript either underlined vulgar phrases or suggested replacements alongside. He offered Lithuanian variants for foreign words, tried to find euphemistic synonyms, and in the process greatly changed the SS guards' commands, made them softer, changed their words, paraphrased them (ironically!) into richer phraseology. For example, expressions using *kurvy syn* and its variants *kurvu* and *kurvamac* were changed in T2 to:

*maitos* (carion, page 18); *suskiaus išpera*, *maitų*, *kalių vaikai* (mongrel's offspring, bitches, sons of bitches, 19); *padraika*, *šunsnukis* (whore, dog-face, 20); *driskių kuine* (bum's nag, 48), *pakaruoklio vėdare* (hanged man's intestines, 63); *šunsnuki*, *šunų išjoda* (dog-face, dogs' whore: 84), *maita* (carion, 87), *rupūžė* (toad, 92), *rupūžgalviai* (toadheads, 120), *kirmėlė* (maggot, 122).

Vulgarisms that were already spelled out in the manuscript or further clarified while being typed were eliminated from both typescripts, but particularly carefully in T2. Sruoga, in accepting the changes made by the editor of the T2 typescript (rewriting them with red or blue ink into T1), at first glance appears to authorize the changes toward a more literary, more aesthetic work.

This apparent authorization was interpreted by later editors as a final manifestation of the author's wishes. In 1956, while discussing the editorial principles that were applied to a collection of Sruoga's works (*Raštai*, 1957), Eugenijus Matuzevičius, a

<sup>19</sup> Motherfucker, bitch, fuck off, shit, bloody bastard.

<sup>20</sup> I'll kick your ass, fucking Lithuanian intelligentsia.

member of its editorial board, emphasized that "On the whole, the changes made by the author and his approval of eliminated passages, it appears, should be accepted, and considered as changes made in the editing process."<sup>21</sup> Matuzevičius was firmly opposed to uncensored expressions. He was convinced that "*kurwamac, kurwy syn* should not be kept; the new, substituted swear words that were written should be used."<sup>22</sup> The editors were biased against the inclusion of unaesthetic words in their edited *Dievų miškas* text, even though the author himself argued for their retention, stressing that they were a vital aspect of the Stutthof camp's atmosphere, and their use was a priority:

The term "*Vyperdalivoj*" – should be kept. Next to "*Scheisse*" and "*Kurvy syn*," it is the most popular word in camp. Moreover, it is neither Russian nor Polish. Somewhat vulgar, but a universal word, used in Polish to express various meanings as "*Vyperdolilem litr samagonu... Zaperdolilem do kościoła... Tam ksiądz perdoliperdoli perdoli... Niema co robić papirdolilem dalej... Ja jemu wszystkie zęby wyperdolilem*," etc. No one would eliminate such things from the works of Žemaitė. Compared to what is portrayed in Žemaitė's "Marti" scene in Vilnius Theater, this term is an innocent lamb. (T1, 234)

Soviet publishers eliminated obscene words because of "educational interests" and "generally due to public language requisites."<sup>23</sup> Sruoga tried to convince editors that the vulgarities in his text were justifiable using the universal criterion of popularity and frequency of use. Moreover, the constant flow of vulgarisms is meant to be understood as indicative of the thinking mode of the SS. The editors, even though they had the page with the cited notations written by Sruoga in front of their eyes, nevertheless decided to adhere to the traditional standards for a literary text. The subjective decisions made by the editors now confuse literary scholars who may recognize the importance of the profanity and derogatory epithets

<sup>21</sup> Matuzevičius, "Pastabos," 48.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>23</sup> Žirgulyš, *Prie redaktoriaus*, 134.

in Sruoga's work, but are unable to evaluate them as a whole. Some critical interpretations, seeing the use of colorful but less offensive cursing in the various published editions, discussed the folk origins of such curses.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, at the end of the typescript of the published drama *Pajūrio kurortas* (The Resort at the Seaside, 1947, based on a chapter in *Dievų miškas*), Sruoga, in his "Critical notes," discussed the coloration of the piece. Here he again contended that accurately depicting life in the camps was impossible if the profane and abusive language used there was excluded or "diluted":

Specifically: there is too much "cussing out" and "foul language" in this work.

In this work, the Fascist factor is represented by the direct fruit of its actions: the brutal concentration camp. Without the beatings and the destruction of people, without the abusive atmosphere, it's not a concentration camp. It is not as if these types of behavior can be accompanied by "gentlemanly words." In the camps, the windows constantly rattle from the curses... In the work, the camp curse-words are so diluted with distilled water that they barely function as symbolic reminders of the true nature (of the camps)...<sup>25</sup>

It should be pointed out that in *Pajūrio kurortas* all these words are plainly expressed – they are not hidden from the reader, not changed, and intentionally not beautified. These curses/bywords are seen more often in the typescript (some were already in the manuscript). For example: "Kurvamac, tu, smarve, vėl nebeisi (Fucker, you stinkpot, not going again?!); "Kurvamac! Šunsnukiai! Driežai! (Fuckers! Dogfaces! Lizards!); "Sakiau, kad lauk tu, kurvamac!" ...; (I said, out, you fucker!)"<sup>26</sup>

I will discuss several other occasions where the editors agreed to cross out certain sections in the typescript of *Dievų miškas*. Sruoga, using a red pen, crossed out numerous fragments of the T1 typescript, simply mechanically repeating

<sup>24</sup> Matulevičienė, "Balio Sruogos," 143.

<sup>25</sup> Sruoga, *Pajūrio kurortas*, [Typescript], 195/IV; Sruoga, *Raštai* 3, 1997, 603.

<sup>26</sup> Sruoga, *Raštai* 3, 1997, 486, 495, 501.



what the T2 editor had indicated. The T2 editor, using a thick red pencil, shortened a section relating the thinking of reeducated inmates who are about to be released from prison:

"Well, why should I bother my head with this!" the inmate would say, "It's better to sign some document, than stay here to stew about it..."

It was rare, very rare that anyone dared to stay to think things over.<sup>27</sup>

The T2 editor dismissed the thought that, in the existential sense, there were two extremes in the possible ways to leave the camp: deception (being forced to sign untruthful documents), or death. It is an established fact that a risky situation almost always encourages an instinctive choice of the easier way out. The paragraph that Sruoga's hand crossed out with red ink does not appear in any of the editions of *Dievy miškas* (1957, 58; 1997, 267; 2005, 47). But in the same section, the T2 editor used a thick red pencil to shorten another passage:

That was all the activities of the political section [registration of the new prisoners, indexing, taking care of documents, photographs, -N. M.] And all that simple secretarial work was not performed, of course, by the men of the SS, but by the prisoners, who formed a separate work unit. The SS men kept for themselves only the job of servicing the women - they didn't allow the prisoners near that. At the beginning of 1943, there were only three prisoner workers here, but by the end of 1944, there were over thirty of them.<sup>28</sup>

The intention was to delete this section because of its strong criticism of the political section: the camp operations were uncomfortably similar to those in the gulags. The narrator's skeptical take regarding the section's activities and its usefulness was expressed as a paradox: the work of three persons performed by thirty. The real duties are performed by the inmates, while the SS troopers limit themselves to "servicing the women." This paragraph is not reflected in the published texts of the work (1957, 30; 1997, 267; 2005, 47).

<sup>27</sup> T2, VII, "Political section," 32.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 31-2.

The T2 editor shortened the episode where two Lithuanian inmates converse with a live corpse that is being carried towards the hospital:

"H-hey, my dear friend," I say to him, "how am I going to let you go, when you've already died once – what do you think? Anyway, was it so boring in heaven that you came back to the camp?"

"No-ooo..." replies the corpse, "let me go... I'll get there myself... I know where... by the hospital..."

"No, dear friend, that's not allowed," I explain to him, "And what will I do, if you run away? You've already died, it's all the same to you now, but I may not die until tomorrow, or maybe the day after, or maybe even stretch it out another week. See, my friend Jonas, Bambizas from Biržai, – he's still strong, like a mule. He'll last another month at least, maybe longer – what do you think? How come you don't understand these things? If you run away, the two of us will have to lie down today next to the corpses in place of just you, – what do you think? You're already listed among the dead!"

"I understand, I understand," insisted the corpse, "I give you my word, I won't run anywhere... It's just very uncomfortable, the way you're carrying me... You're strangling me..."

"Forgive us, my dear friend... We're very sorry for you, but we can't help you run away; it's left for us to live yet... See, we'll take you, lay you down, and then you do what you like: If you don't like it, run away from here. That will be entirely up to you. Right now we answer for you with our heads. Why should your one head be better than our two?<sup>29</sup>

The T2 editor eliminated the above conversation, leaving only a hint that it was not just corpses that were taken to a place by the hospital, but also the very ill, some of whom may still have had the ability to clamber out from the "corpse list." This episode illustrates the grotesque and absurd nature of Sruoga's work – a live person, even though quite ill, is being convinced unconditionally of the fact of his death. The strongest argument presented is the need for the other prisoners to survive. This situation exemplified the very uncertain boundary between life and death at Stutthof. If the supposed corpse

<sup>29</sup> T2, Xii. "Numirėliška dalia, (Deadly fate)," 59.

were to actually arise and escape, he and the custodians of his body would have had to exchange places – the carriers of the “corpse” would be punished and become corpses themselves. This episode does not appear in any of the *Dievų miškas* editions (1957, 93; 1997, 291; 2005, 78).

In this paper I have presented only a few examples of the many passages that could (and should) be included in *Dievų miškas* when a more authentic edition of the work is published in the future.

### Conclusions

The T1 typescript became the primary basis for the most important editions of *Dievų miškas*. But at the same time, it is a very problematic version because of the multilayered editing corrections and the nuances of Sruoga's corrections. The corrections using red ink in the T1 typescript are deceptive. Looking at them, the first thought that comes to mind is that they are doubtlessly the author's. All of the *Dievų miškas* editors, up to the present time, operated under that assumption. However, in order to understand the true nature of the corrections (whether they are truly Sruoga's own or merely his acquiescence to imperatives), it is absolutely necessary to compare how the T2 editor treated a given passage and what Sruoga himself wrote in the T1 typescript. It is also important to establish whether a problematic typescript passage is present in the manuscript, how it was changed in the typescript, or whether it first appeared there.

When they were editing *Dievų miškas* texts, the editors had no access to the remaining known authentic first-version texts that they could have relied on to clarify doubtful or unclear passages, especially those associated with questions of censorship. Dealing with the multilayered deletions found in the T1 typescript, the editors had to improvise, but they did not seek arguments relating to origins or the connections among the texts. In all of the current published texts of Sruoga's work, one finds the author's intentions intertwined with the strong voices of the earlier censors, as well as with those of the later



editors and even the individual decisions of current publishers. By modern editorial standards, no edition of *Dievų miškas*, including 1997 and 2005, can be considered a reliable reflection of Sruoga's authorial intent – this would require a careful analysis of every one of the existing relevant documents, and of Sruoga's creative process. It is therefore time to consider a new publication: an authentic, critically vetted version of Sruoga's work.

*Translated by Birute P. Tautvydas*

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## The Archival Typescript Versus the Published Novel, or How to Recompose Ten Women into One

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AUDINGA SATKŪNAITĖ

Even minimal changes to words, punctuation, or letters made to a primary text can excite heated debates about the coauthorship of its editors. If a published text is widely read, publication of its authorial text can sometimes cause serious controversies, especially if it reveals radical structural, thematic, or stylistic differences between the text already familiar to readers and the authorial one. An illustrative case is the 1981 edition of the American writer Theodore Dreiser's novel *Sister Carrie*, based on the primary text, which became the subject of conflicting evaluations and opinions. The text of this edition was judged by many critics to be "highly subjective," "longer, more cumbersome, and more explicit," whereas editorial efforts were described as "a superficial editorial romanticism." Jack Stillinger asserts that "the version that challenged, entertained, and influenced readers at the time and for the next eight decades and that put Dreiser, as it were, among the American novelists – [is contrasted with] with the Pennsylvania text's lack of this same kind of historical validity."<sup>1</sup> But Hershel Parker writes that the

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<sup>1</sup> Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship*, 162.

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1981 edition "has transformed my opinion of the book and greatly enhanced my opinion of the author."<sup>2</sup>

But what confusion is to be expected if a published authorial text not only changes literary critics' individual appreciations and attitudes, but calls for a fundamental revision of the work's encyclopedic description? Even Stillinger discusses the possibility that the new edition of *Sister Carrie* may replace the one already accepted as a canonical work. And beyond that, he considers the possibility that it may change the reputation of Dreiser as a writer and alter his position in the history of American fiction. This instance is only one of many cases in which the publication of a work's primary text has led to argument. Major differences may call for a reevaluation of established interpretive schemes or postulates. The story of the text of the novel *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* (Highways Before Dawn), by the well-known Lithuanian writer Bronius Radzevičius, is similar to that of *Sister Carrie*. An examination of the edits made to Radzevičius's authorial typescript in its various publications invites a discussion of how and to what extent the reception of the novel would change if the authorial version were published.

Bronius Radzevičius (1940–1980) is considered a preeminent Lithuanian prose writer. Born during World War II, he committed suicide at the age of thirty-nine. He studied Lithuanian language and literature at Vilnius University, worked as a teacher and as an editor in the cultural press, and was a member of the Lithuanian Writers Association.<sup>3</sup> A posthumous three-volume collection of his works included a collection of short stories, *Link debesijos* (Towards Cloudland), published in 1984, and a two-part novel, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai*. Part I was published in 1979 and Part II in 1985. Radzevičius posthumously received the Lithuanian National Culture and Arts Award for his works, primarily for the novel. The entire creative heritage of the writer was published by Vaga, which was the only state

<sup>2</sup> Parker, as cited by James West. "Theodore Dreiser," 123.

<sup>3</sup> More information about Bronius Radzevičius's life can be found in Radzevičienė, *Buvusiojo laiko*.

publisher of fiction during the Soviet period. Print runs of his books published during this time were sizable; the novel *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* (Parts I and II) reached 45,000 copies.

Radzevičius's only novel examines how a person's inner being is formed by means of his senses and experiences, at first under the influence of rural surroundings and later under that of the city.<sup>4</sup> The work is included in required reading lists at high schools and universities, and students are tasked with its analysis in graduation exams. The statements and appreciations of literary critics regarding the novel have been an integral part of high school and university textbooks and anthologies for the past thirty years. These evaluations generally emphasized that in the main character, Juozas, Radzevičius drew a dramatic portrait of his generation's transition from rural to educated urban life during the years of the Soviet occupation. Part I of the novel *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* was published while the author was still alive, whereas Part II remained in the form of a typescript. After the author's death, the state publishing house assembled an editorial board to prepare Part II for publication, and another Lithuanian author, the short-story writer Juozas Aputis, executed the bulk of the editing.<sup>5</sup> *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part I was first published in 1979 and republished several times: in 1985, 1995, 2005 (as extracts to be studied in high schools), and 2008. The author himself took an active part in the preparation of the first edition of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part I.

The publication of Part II was carried out under different circumstances. Radzevičius's death halted the implementation of the editorial agreement. The editorial solutions that were adopted have since raised doubts regarding the authority and reliability of the published text. Donata Linčiuvienė, who edited Aputis's work on Part II,<sup>6</sup> could herself be counted as a doubter,

<sup>4</sup> For more on Bronius Radzevičius's creative work, see Kubilius, et al., *Lithuanian Literature*, 459–61; Vaitiekūnas, *Kūrybos studijos*.

<sup>5</sup> Juozas Aputis (1936–2010) graduated in Lithuanian language and literature from Vilnius University and worked as a translator and an editor for various cultural weeklies and monthlies.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Donata Linčiuvienė held in the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore on April 7, 2008.

since she has written that "Aputis presented his own artistic solution – a novel-puzzle, a Lithuanian version of Julio Cortázar's *Rayuela*. Another person approaching Radzevičius's work would have arranged things differently. However, it was not yet the time for such an innovative novel."<sup>7</sup>

Aputis expresses his editorial stance in a foreword to the published version of Part II of the published novel.<sup>8</sup> Here he recounts the experience of editing the thick pile of typescripts. He writes that his primary goal in editing the authorial text was shortening it and making it less fragmented. Furthermore, Aputis and Radzevičius's close friends remember hearing the writer himself state that the end of the novel was not working out and "that once he gets down to finally finishing it, only half or even less of all those pages will remain."<sup>9</sup> Can we take these arguments as valid reasons for a radical revision of the text, especially in the context of modern textual scholarship?

There were three editions of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part II: the first appeared in 1985, the second in 1995, and the third in 2005 (as with the 2005 edition of Part I, this consisted of excerpts used in high school readings). Moreover, the text of the novel may be found in the Lithuanian Classic Literature Anthology online.<sup>10</sup>

The examined typescript consists of nine folders, approximately matching the chapters of the published text of the novel.<sup>11</sup> The authorial folders have no titles; the chapter titles were created during the editing process. Each folder has a Roman numeral: I, II, IIa, III, IV, etc. A variable amount of the text of the typescript was used in the book chapters – the material in some

<sup>7</sup> [Linčiuvienė], "Redaktoriaus amplua," 158.

<sup>8</sup> Aputis, "Pratarmė," 5–7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>10</sup> See <http://antologija.lt/textbronius-radzevicius-priesausrio-vieskeliai>. The anthology is managed by the Lithuanian Scientific Society and supported by UNESCO.

<sup>11</sup> Radzevičius, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* II, typescript, 1985, (indicated in the text as BRAM). The same source was used by the editor Juozas Aputis. This typescript contains the editor's comments and various corrections.



folders is shortened more radically than in others. From folder I, 36 pages are eliminated, from II and IIa, 45; III, 89; IV, 104; V, 107; VI, 118; VII, 121; and VIII, 47, for a total of 667 pages.

Two more variants of the typescript of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* were discovered later.<sup>12</sup> It was determined that the typewritten text of the variants is nearly identical, but the amount of editorial markup varies greatly, with far less markup on the variants. (There are also slight differences in the number of pages and their division, although these differences are not relevant to this paper's analysis, which focuses on the typescript variant used by Aputis.) A comparison of the typescript with the later-discovered variants revealed that the variant of the typescript used by Aputis is missing two pages.

During the comparative analysis of the primary and the published text, the primary text and each chapter of the published text were divided into episodes, which helped reveal obvious structural and thematic differences between the texts. These differences will be discussed further in detail.

The editing of the primary text of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part II included changes to individual words and their morphology, typographical errors, and stylistic imperfections, e.g., variant spellings of the same name.<sup>13</sup> The editor also changed the micro- and macrostructure of the source text.

The macrotextual content was changed by eliminating certain episodes, by shortening them or by changing the order of the episodes, either within the same chapter of the text or by moving an episode from one chapter to another. Modifications on the microtextual level included changing the inner structure of sentences and combining sentences. In many cases, the editor created a new connection between sentences by means of ellipses. The morphology of individual words was changed as well. Consider the following cases:

Verb tense – the past frequentative is replaced with the past

<sup>12</sup> The other typescripts are: Radzevičius, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai II*, typescript, 1981; Radzevičius, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai II*, typescript, 1985.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the female name Serafima is interchanged with Serafina. In the published text, only Serafima remains.

tense: "*Griždavo nualintas kaitros* (Used to come back exhausted by the heat)"<sup>14</sup>; "*Grižo* (Came back)." Noun gender – feminine gender is replaced with masculine: "*Viena kaip kriauklė...* ([She is/was] as solitary as a snail)"<sup>15</sup>; "*Vienas* ([He is/was])." Noun forms – the word *vaikinas* (fellow, young male) is replaced with *vaikas* (child): "*Tas vaikinas begaliniai dievino, idealizavo merginas* (That young man endlessly worshipped, idealized girls)"<sup>16</sup>; "*Tas vaikas* (That child)."

In instances like these, a new and different syntactical structure and meaning was created. And sentences or sentence groups in neighboring episodes are sometimes rearranged and presented within other episodes. It is frequently difficult to find and identify sentences in Radzevičius's authorial text that correspond to sentences paraphrased by Aputis.

An in-depth comparison of the authorial typescript and the first edition *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part II revealed that, as the novel was edited, approximately half of the authorial typescript text was eliminated. Every sentence of the source text was edited, which means that not a single sentence of the publication matches the authorial typescript exactly.

So if the published novel does not contain a single sentence of the authentic authorial text, what can we still consider the work of Radzevičius? The title of the novel? The time and place in which it is set? The name of its principal protagonist or those of other characters – or some of them, at any rate? And what do we call the editor of a novel that does not contain a single sentence of the authorial source text? The *über*-author?

The fragments in the source text that demonstrate the heaviest editing are those containing both active and passive erotic motifs. Some are eliminated altogether, while others are shortened – one might say they were cleaned up. While the published text retains this thematic aspect, it is noticeably toned down. The edited version considerably narrows the scope of Juozas's erotic world. In it, we usually see generalized

<sup>14</sup> BRAM, folder IIa, 262.

<sup>15</sup> BRAM, folder VIII, 14.

<sup>16</sup> BRAM, folder IIa, 303.

existential images unattached to a particular female character. In the published novel, the reader will not find the definition of Eros articulated by Juozas (Extract 1) or his description of a specific instance of lust (Extract 2):

1. *Tada jis rašė, kad erotas pereina keletą fazių: kai jis kiek pailsės, pasitenkinęs, jis nori būti plastiškas, grakštus, tada jis tarsi nukrypsta į save, jam reikia kažko nepasiekiamo, tobulumo, jis tenkinasi pats savimi – taip gimsta šokis, daina; erdvumas, jaukumas, atvanga.*<sup>17</sup>

1. Then he wrote that Eros undergoes several phases: when he [is] a bit weary, satisfied, he wants to be plastic, graceful; then he seemingly turns inward; he needs something inaccessible, perfection, he contents himself by himself – thus a dance, a song is born: roominess, coziness, leisure.

2. *Ji eina priekyje, o jis tom pačiom akim, kaip ir prieš trejus metus, o gal anksčiau, žiūri į jos liemenį, klubus, ypač į per visą nugarą einantį užtrauktuką – kaip lengvai ši suknutė nuslystų nuo jos pečių, nuo viso kūno.*<sup>18</sup>

2. She walks in front, and he, with the same eyes as three years ago, or maybe earlier, looks at her waist, hips, especially at the zipper that goes down the whole back – how easily this dress would slip off her shoulders, off the whole body.

Other eliminated images are those that create an erotic tension between the principal male and female characters, as well as those that emerge among the several female characters. The result is the elimination of most of the episodes in which various women talk about their erotic experiences or disappointments:

*Ne, Juozai, ne tai, šnekėjo ji kiek vėliau, čia ne meilė, geismas. Tau jau labai... Šitie klubai, negi niekuomet nepasisotinsi, o aš sau kartais atrodau tokia niekinga... Kaip kalė, Juozai...*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> BRAM, folder I, 99. This and forthcoming extracts of both authorial typescript and published text are translated by Audronė Gedžiūtė. Cited episodes from BRAM are given as they appear in the authorial typescript.

<sup>18</sup> BRAM, folder I, 96.

<sup>19</sup> BRAM, folder VII, 188. Folder VII lacks page numbers; they are introduced here by the author.



No, Juozas, not like that, she spoke a little later, this is not love, not desire. This is too... These hips, won't you ever have enough, and I sometimes find myself so disgusting... Like a bitch, Juozas...

Some details of the erotic world of the women are simply integrated into the life of the main female character or woven into the general narrative of the novel. The main editor chose to delete the individual, inner monologues of most of the female characters and the mental space that opens in the course of their polyphonous relationship with Juozas, as well as the collective voice of the women – “we.”

The dynamics of the female characters of the typescript text and their kaleidoscopic impressions are eliminated in the published version. Also, the number of episodic characters is greatly diminished. The authorial typescript of the novel contains few episodes that do not introduce new characters or at least mention their names. Most of the secondary characters in the published text of the novel remain equally important throughout the narrative. The text of the typescript presents the secondary male characters in a mosaic fashion; they appear only in separate fragments of the text. The storylines of the secondary female characters in the primary text are, on the other hand, developed rather evenly.

There are ten such female characters in the authorial typescript. Eight of the characters – Marija, Serafima (Serafina),<sup>20</sup> Laima, Klementina, Elvyra, Virga (Virginija), Vilija, Aurelija – are completely eliminated; not a trace of them remains in the published text. One character, Elza,<sup>21</sup> remains nameless in the

<sup>20</sup> A female character introduced by the name Serafina is found in the text of the author's first typescript; farther on, in that same folder's text, a female character by the name Serafima appears. Serafina is introduced as the office secretary. Although the duties of the female character named Serafima are not clearly defined, it is obvious that this woman works in the same office as Juozas. For this reason, there are grounds to assume that these are variants of the same name. In the remaining BRAM text only Serafima's name appears.

<sup>21</sup> This female character's name varies within the author's typescript: in some places it is given as Elzė, in others, Elza; however, the latter variant dominates.

edited text and is seemingly hidden underneath the storyline and the name of the main female character. The name of another female character, Daiva, with a rather erotic storyline, is often mentioned in the typescript text, but only a few times in the published edition; episodes in which Daiva appears are either depersonalized or deleted.

The city in the published text of the novel *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* always seems apart from the characters and does not turn into a space that provides an exceptional experience. The passages that reveal the cityscapes and connect the city imagery with the erotic one are eliminated in the published text:

*Mane visuomet artinantis prie šio miesto apima senas virpulys, ar vidurnakčiais jis pasitinka pašvaiste. Jis buvo mums kaip pažadas, gražus ir labai geras pažadas. Visas gyvenimas, kas gi kaltas, kad ne visi pažadai ištesimi, sukliudo ligos, nelemtos nenumatytos, nè nuo vieno konkretaus žmogaus nepriklausančios aplinkybės, šį jausmą galima sulyginti su meile, kuri taip graži iš tolo, tačiau pamažu išblunka, kai tampa kasdienybe, taip ir šios gatvės – virto jos painiais labirintais, tuštuma, apšiuo, papilkėjo. Tai alaus bačkos, tai kavinės, tai neturėjimas ką veikti, tvorų ramstymas, dūlinėjimas su nuoboduliu ir apmaudu: įgrista o vis tiek grįžti išsiilgęs, su senosiomis viltimis, einant bulvių, kefyro, stoviniuojant troleibusų sustojime aikštelėse.<sup>22</sup>*

Whenever I approach this city, the old thrill always comes over me, or midnights it welcomes me as a glow. It was like a promise to us, a beautiful and very good promise. Throughout life, whose fault is it that not all promises are kept; illnesses, unfortunate unexpected circumstances, independent of any concrete person, interfere; this feeling might be equaled to love, which is so beautiful from afar, but fades gradually as it becomes commonplace, just like these streets – they have become confusing labyrinths, desolate, frayed, grayed. It's beer barrels, it's cafés, it's not having anything to do, propping up fences, hanging around in boredom and vexation: it annoys you, yet you come back to it longing anyway, with your old hopes, going to get potatoes, sour milk, waiting at the trolleybus stops.

By controlling the expression of Eros, the editor perturbs the poetic quality of the text. The demotion of the erotic

<sup>22</sup> BRAM, folder VII, 177.

developments in Part II of the novel could stem from ideological reasons, as the novel was published while Lithuania was occupied by the Soviets. During that period, eroticism in fiction was subject to the pressures of what was understood to be the official norm, which required eroticism to be expressed obliquely, if at all. Works that included open eroticism were usually censored, along with those containing other discouraged topics, such as open worldviews, religious inclinations, anti-Semitic manifestations, and criticisms of Communism. On the other hand, Aputis's individual artistic understanding of the erotic motifs, along with a possible wish to avoid giving the impression that Radzevičius was a Casanova (the novel was perceived as strongly autobiographical), may also have been significant factors. Some rough and primitive erotic episodes are found in the published novel, but they are part of its secondary plotlines:

*Feliksas ragina: "Ko tu lauki, visos jos, griebk, tverk, dulkink, tempk į patvorį, kur nori. Ji ir pinigų prilaiko, jie prie aerodromo gyvena, tėvas berods lakūnas, namelį turi, būsi ir sotus, o jei ne, nepatiks, va taip!"*<sup>23</sup>

Feliksas urges: "What are you waiting for, they are all the same, grab, catch, fuck, drag them behind the fence, wherever you want. She has some money saved, they live near the airport, it seems her father is a pilot, has a small house, you'll be satisfied, if not, if you don't like her, that's it!"

This raises the question of whether, during Soviet times, direct ideological censorship was accompanied by whitewashing an artist's public image: the lives of approved writers were presented idealistically. The protagonist's sexual musings and experiences might have been erased in the interest of maintaining a sanitized official image of the author.

The influence of ideological censorship on the authorial typescript was revealed by a thorough comparison of the different editions of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part II. The post-Soviet edition (1995) was released with text that had been deleted from the first edition (1985) due to ideological issues. A comparison

<sup>23</sup> Radzevičius, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai II*, 1985, 151–2.



of the editions turned up several ideological paragraphs likely to have attracted censorship in 1985 that were restored in the 1995 edition. One instance is a passage that directly addresses censorship:

– O cenzūra? Kaip į tokius dalykus žiūri cenzūra?

– Kas? – nustebė jis. Cenzūra? Jokios cenzūros aš nebežinau, anksčiau ji man buvo, teisybė, pernelyg paisiau, mat buvau iš anksto prieš ją nusistatęs, jokios cenzūros nėra. Cenzūra egzistuoja tavy, baisiausia cenzūra, baimė kitų ir visokie kompleksai.<sup>24</sup>

“What about censorship? How does censorship take these things?”

“What?” he was astonished. “Censorship? I don’t recognize censorship anymore, earlier I did, actually, I gave it too much attention because I was set against it; there is no censorship. Censorship exists inside you, the worst censorship, a fear of others and all kinds of complexes.”

However, these sorts of restorations in the post-Soviet edition account for only a small portion of the differences between the authorial typescript and all subsequently published texts. Eliminating the majority of the female characters found in the source text amplifies and accentuates the storyline of the main female character, Stela. Her name is the title of one of the chapters in the book, a decision made by the editor, which indicates his attempt to emphasize her role. With expressions of eroticism reduced, the main character also becomes more consistent, more positive, possibly even straight-laced. The pattern of the changes reveals the editors’ attempt to stabilize the narrative, to make it as smooth as possible, to purify the text by giving up its polythematicity, to limit the instances of stream of consciousness and polyphony. The edited text of the novel not only skews the authentic structure of the authorial typescript, but also removes some of the most important stylistic traits of Radzevičius’s work.

It is also worth mentioning that, as writers, the author and the primary editor exhibit rather different styles and possibly even a different understanding of the artistry involved

<sup>24</sup> Radzevičius, *Priešaušrio vieškeliai II*, 1995, 422; BRAM, folder VI, 105.

in writing fiction. The structural, thematic, and stylistic alterations made to the authorial text give readers the impression that Radzevičius was an author of rural fiction. The original typescript belies his placement in that category. Literary critics frequently support this mistaken assumption in their analyses by stating that urban civilization remained foreign to the writer. The editorial changes have led to another erroneous interpretation: that Juozas, who is the central character in both the authorial and the published versions, is the novel's main narrator. Readers and critics were consequently induced to see the novel as a conventionally patriarchal story. It is often said that the portrayal of women in the published texts is an exclusive function of the main character's life story and point of view. Such statements reflect the fact that most women were silent, sexless, senseless, even nameless figures in these texts.

When discussing the thematic aspects of Radzevičius's novel, literary critics usually emphasize the importance of love and the role of the main female character. The influence of Eros on the protagonist's existential experiences is unduly diminished by the editing, since the erotic layer of the typescript is minimized. Given that the novel's readers and critics had not seen any of the novel's distinctive stylistic features (its streams of consciousness and polyphony), few of its episodic characters (especially women), and no more than a negligible number of the thematic subtleties prominent in the authorial text, they were bound to misperceive the features of the novel as it was originally written. Most of their interpretations are appropriate to Aputis's editions, but are much less germane to Radzevičius's text. *Lietuvių literatūros enciklopedija* (Encyclopedia of Lithuanian Literature) provides a statement that has long been included in textbooks and has already become an accepted "fact" of Radzevičius's works, namely, that "the entire artistic heritage of Radzevičius is uniquely solid."<sup>25</sup> Would literary critics and historians remain so assured after reading the authorial text of *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* Part II?

<sup>25</sup> Sprindytė, "Bronius Radzevičius," 409.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

Purs, Aldis, *Baltic Facades: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania since 1945*. London: Reaktion Books, 2012. Paperback, 224 pages. ISBN: 1861898967 (Also available as an e-book edition).

Are the Baltics really the Baltics? Aldis Purs challenges the common notion of a collective identity among Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians in his latest book, *Baltic Facades*. Starting with a provocative statement by Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves, who asked, "Who the f--- are Balts to us?", Purs examines "how fundamentally flawed and incomplete Baltic identity is" (p. 9). But Purs's book is more than a critique of internalizing the geopolitical label applied to the three countries. *Baltic Facades* is written as a handbook for lay readers interested in the past and present of these nations on the Baltic Sea. Condensing into a readable volume the region's history from the prehistoric era to current events is the greatest achievement of this book.

Purs, who received his doctorate from the University of Toronto in 1998, is the author of multiple books on the Baltic States and has taught at universities across North America and Latvia. Purs is a specialist in Latvian history, therefore *Baltic Facades* tends to use Latvian examples. This is appropriate, however, given his claim that "the Baltic concept begins in Latvia and ripples outward" with cultural ties to Lithuania and historical ties to Estonia (p. 12).

Purs offers a brief, yet very rich overview of the Baltic littoral from the Comb Ceramic and Corded Ware cultures of the prehistoric era to Christianization and German, Polish, and Russian domination of the territory until the twentieth century. The progress of pre-Latvia and pre-Estonia are closely linked, while Lithuania's national and political history followed an alternative trajectory until World War I. After common struggles for recognition as independent states in the interwar period, the "shared unhappy experiences" (p. 10) of World War II and postwar Soviet occupation drew the Baltic States closer together as "Potemkin Republics" (Chapter 2).

In the transition from "Soviet Union to European Union," the title of Chapter 3, Purs examines localized administration in the Soviet Socialist Republics as well as the "character of a Baltic movement" for independence from the USSR (p. 88). Common causes are highlighted, as are common struggles, such as the disenfranchisement of minorities in the post-Soviet republics. The desire to shun CIS ties and return to Europe is a theme continued in Chapter 4, "Economic Developments," where Purs retraces Baltic history from its beginnings, but with an economic perspective. Though at times repetitive, it reinforces Purs's assertions on Baltic history covered in previous chapters.

The final chapters return to the questions of identity in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, using the arts to look at the formation of national identity from the nineteenth century onward. Purs also offers a critical analysis of current political machinations (again with a keen eye on minorities) and questions the geopolitical lumping of the Baltic States into a single entity. He asserts that, for Europe, the Baltic States are linked as "the canaries in a twenty-first-century coal mine" — their performance will have global implications (p. 183). The book ends with the prediction that the notion of "Baltic States" will fade away as they leave behind their unhappy shared experiences and integrate into Europe on distinct paths.

Though Purs does not intend for *Baltic Facades* to fill the role of a rigorous academic tome, scholars of the Baltic region are in a unique position to benefit from the text. He is unapologetic in his assertions, both of history and current events, which presents an opportunity to challenge his critiques. There are some misprints (on the date of EU accession, 105) and omissions (for example, influential Latvian President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga is not mentioned), and the academic reader will crave more details and footnotes; however, Purs is successful in drawing attention to necessary debates in Baltic studies.

The central question of Baltic identity is one with which to be grappled. Is lack of a common Baltic identity among its constituent nations enough to disenfranchise the concept? Or do their historical ties (Soviet occupation and a common struggle for independence) and geopolitical realities (concurrent

accession to NATO and the European Union) *de facto* prove the existence of the Baltics as an entity? Indeed, the prime ministers of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia presented a joint statement marking the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and commemorating the Baltic Way demonstration just this year — yet another example of the relevance of this question of past and present identity. Although it challenges their commonality, the book itself pays tribute to the Baltics as a collectively analyzed unit, making the question more pertinent.

The book is for lay readers, and those who will gain most from *Baltic Facades* are those who have some familiarity with the region and its history. Spouses, friends, and classmates who have heard about the region from their Baltic-oriented peers will find their curiosity rewarded. This text has the potential to be an excellent source for ethnic Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians from émigré families, providing an overarching picture of the Baltic peoples' heritage.

Purs succeeds in creating an accessible summary of the history of the Baltic States and their current identity crises. For scholars, *Baltic Facades* is fertile ground in which to sow questions that challenge common perceptions (and misperceptions) of the region. It remains to be seen whether the notion of these three countries as a collective unit will be completely replaced by their treatment as individual nations, or expanded to include other countries touching the Sea, but Purs opens up space for the debate — albeit with language a little less inflammatory than Ilves.

*Indra Ekmanis, University of Washington*

Levandauskas, Vytautas, *Lietuvos mūro istorija* (The History of Masonry in Lithuania). Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla, 2012, 456 pages. English summary. Extensive bibliography. ISBN 978-9955-12-835-9

This splendidly illustrated and thoroughly researched study presents the history of masonry and construction in Lithuania from the thirteenth century to World War I. The territory



covered also includes Klaipėda (previously Memel), as well as the former lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania now in Belarus. Traditional construction materials and techniques are analyzed in detail and compared with practices in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Italy. This volume culminates a lifetime of research that Vytautas Levandauskas commenced with a doctoral dissertation some four decades ago and has continued ever since with a steady stream of scholarly publications.

This study will be welcomed by professionals and non-specialists alike. It is filled with information invaluable for professional restorers, architects, and owners of historic buildings who are conducting surveys and considering or undertaking restorations. Its numerous drawings, diagrams, and photographs will be instantly accessible to the general reader, who may have no interest whatsoever in the chemical characteristics of mortar and plaster, but is curious about the history of a particular region or town. Even those familiar with their local architectural heritage will be surprised to learn more about buildings they thought were already familiar. The author and his wife, Nijolė Taluntytė, ventured to photograph, measure, and take samples from difficult-to-reach and sometimes even hazardous places. They went into dank church basements and dusty attics not generally accessible. They climbed ruined walls and crept into long-neglected underground chambers. In derelict lofts and windswept bell-towers, they risked life and limb treading on floors and beams of dubious solidity. They documented structures that are no longer with us as well as buildings in remote places. Some of them could self-destruct any day.

After presenting the subject's historiography and archival resources in the introduction, the first chapter goes into high gear by discussing the earliest uses of lime mortar as a binding agent. The next chapter addresses the timber and masonry relationships in scaffolding, timber frameworks, and timber and half-timber structures. The winches, hoists, and cranes used for lifting and moving materials are likewise covered. The third chapter is devoted to fieldstones, imported marble, and pebble mosaics for decorating exterior walls, a technique that

was a real revelation to the reviewer. Brick production technology, the properties of brick, its identifying marks, kilns, and firing methods are covered next. The fifth chapter is devoted to mortar and plaster as binding materials and as the grounds for sgraffito work. In broad strokes the conclusion situates the previous chapters' material within the customary historical periods. The extensive bibliography of archival and secondary sources is followed by a glossary and several supplements. The first is an exhaustive examination of the chemical and physical properties of the bricks found in the buildings discussed. The tables are arranged by date, location, individual buildings, and historical periods; mortar data is then analyzed building by building. The collection of building contracts from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries conveys how the builders and patrons of those days attended to detail and quality control. The English summary provides a thorough account of the entire monograph.

Superlative illustrations set this work apart from dry and pedantic scholarly tomes. All the photographs are in color, and the buildings come alive through engaging close-ups. Purely decorative details are given as much consideration as examples of unusual construction joints protruding from thick layers of dust or roof timbers and trusses hiding at the far end of dark garrets and eaves. The study reaches its highpoint by complementing the recently taken photographs with antique construction drawings and illustrations of construction methods found in medieval manuscripts from the British Library, the J. Paul Getty Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and similar resources in Brussels, Bern, Vienna, Cracow, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Paris; these images are also in color and most are full-page. These rarely seen illustrations are immensely helpful in placing Lithuanian construction materials and practices into a very broad European context, in juxtaposition with Roman, Czarist, and multiple other building traditions. This handsomely produced study will long remain an indispensable documentary and visual reference.

*K. Paul Zygas, Arizona State University*

## ABSTRACTS

### Documents or Literary Texts? Changing Attitudes Toward Publishing Writers' Letters in Lithuania

Aistė Kučinskienė

This article describes the different types of publications of epistolary texts in Lithuania and discusses some of their specific aspects, including the selection and editing of the text. Since a letter falls somewhere between a document and a literary text, an attempt is made to answer the question: what concepts of perception do publishers of letters take in editing letters, thus determining the reception of the text? A brief survey of epistolary publications in Lithuania is given. Beyond textual procedures, there are always theoretical approaches that predetermine the direction of the reading and comprehension of these texts. The epistolary remains a problematic variety of text. A more precise definition of the concept of the letter would provide a clearer path to a determination of its publication type, the choice of its texts, and the editing of its language.

### Editing Difficulties in Balys Sruoga's *Dievų miškas* (Forest of the Gods)

Neringa Markevičienė

This article discusses some lesser-known aspects of the text of Balys Sruoga's *Dievų miškas*. The emphasis is on the manuscript of *Dievų miškas* and its connections with the editing of the text of two typewritten copies, reflected in published texts of the work currently in circulation. Evidence suggests that none of the currently available editions of this work reflect the author's creative intention.

### Petras Cvirka and the Editing of *Frank Kruk*

Elizabeth Novickas

Before translating a classic work, it behooves the translator to examine variations in the text. Evidence suggests that Petras



Cvirka twice revised his first book, *Frank Kruk*, a 1934 comic novel about a Lithuanian farm boy who immigrates to America. A textual analysis of a copy of the first edition, with revisions in Cvirka's hand, finds that his first alterations, done shortly after the novel was published, consisted largely of responses to published criticisms. The second edit, done in preparation for a Russian translation of the work and used in all subsequent Lithuanian editions, is a revealing example of self-censorship in response to Soviet norms.

### **The Archival Typescript Versus the Published Novel, or How to Recompose Ten Women into One**

**Audinga Satkūnaitė**

Texts published according to primary sources that differ greatly from the version entrenched in the cultural environment arouse controversy and intense discussion among readers and literary critics. A text with a radical transformation after the death of the author is presented in this paper: a published novel that contains not a single sentence from the authorized source. Notable Lithuanian writer Bronius Radzevičius could not prepare the second part of his novel *Priešaušrio vieškeliai* (Highways Before Dawn) in time for publishing. Therefore, after the death of the author, an editorial committee was established, but in essence the work was completed by another Lithuanian prose writer, Juozas Aputis. After a detailed comparison of the source and the published text, it was discovered that approximately half of the primary text was eliminated, and every remaining sentence was edited. This drastic editing had a particularly strong effect on one aspect of Bronius Radzevičius's writing, his "stream of consciousness" technique. Most of the numerous episodic characters created by the author, especially women, were excluded, and their attributes were absorbed to highlight the narratives of the main characters. One of the most important thematic aspects of the source text, its erotic motives, was eliminated.

**The Lithuanian *Acta Sanctorum*:  
Unknown Hagiography by Motiejus Valančius  
Mikas Vaicekuskas**

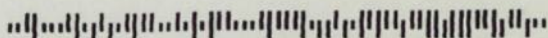
The Samogitian bishop Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875) was a pioneer in the field of hagiographic literature in the Lithuanian language. His two published *acta sanctorum* stand out for the originality and individuality of their style. In the historiography of Lithuanian literature, these works link early didactic literature and later fiction. His corpus has recently been expanded by newly-discovered manuscripts of hagiographic stories: *Žyvatų šventųjų II* (The Lives of the Saints II, 1864), *Darbai šventųjų* (The Works of the Saints, 1874–1875), and a copy of the latter. The texts are interrelated and were affected by the sociopolitical circumstances of the period. They considerably expand the earliest Lithuanian corpus of *acta sanctorum*, enrich the creative biography of their author, and add new information to the history of Lithuanian literature, especially to the emergence of Lithuanian fiction.





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