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Editor of this issue
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Lukiškių Square, Vilnius, 2013, the object of numerous discussions on memory and monuments in public spaces. *See article on page 24.*

Photo by Almantas Samalavičius.

Individuals in the Field of the Politics of History during Lithuania's Soviet Period

AURIMAS ŠVEDAS

Only two steps – two decades – separate us from the Soviet epoch. At first glance, it might seem this temporal bridge between two totally different epochs is far too short for us to be able to undertake the requisite comprehensive empirical research or draw sufficiently well-founded theoretical conclusions. On the other hand, a fast-changing world is erasing the colors and silhouettes of Soviet life from our remembered feelings, thoughts, and mental maps so rapidly there is a danger we might soon lose some of them forever, although we need them to record the facts as well as to draw theoretical generalizations. This is especially true of the people who created these colors and silhouettes in the first place: both the silent majority and the individuals arising out of this crowd. The people who, by their lives, built, demolished, gave witness to, or denied the Soviet epoch are receding from us every day; they and we are ever more separated by a time gap that creates ever new hurdles of emotion and meaning between *yesterday* and *today*. That is why we must not delay listening to their voices, which we can still hear by communicating with people who had known them, by leafing through their books, by going along the streets they frequented, and by looking at their photographs.

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It is obvious that time is quickly erasing from our memories both the faces of the silent majority and those of prominent individuals; it is therefore important to look especially closely at the latter today.

But why? On what grounds is this assumption justified? Why is it especially important to look at individuals in order to gain an understanding of the Soviet epoch? We will try to answer this question with the help of two arguments.

Why is the Individual Important? Two Arguments

Investigations into the Soviet period often pose real challenges to the professional community of historians and broader society. This occurs mainly for two reasons. The first is that consideration of the complex and painful topics of the era often provokes ambiguous emotions, calls forth heated polemics, and sometimes pushes a finished piece of research from the field of academic reflection out into the public sphere, where the rules of the game are frequently not fully understood by the scholar and can therefore mislead him. The second is that the Soviet period becomes a professional and existential challenge to a contemporary researcher precisely because of the difficulties involved in correctly analyzing and interpreting the phenomena and developments of the most recent past.

The Ideological Argument

In the community of historical researchers and in society at large, evaluative discussions about individual and collective choices of behavior in the face of non-freedom during the Soviet period and the moral implications of these choices are a constant topic of discussion. Several viewpoints that are more or less opposed to each other emerge in these discussions.

One group of scholars tends to believe that the drama of choice under conditions of non-freedom faced by individuals and society played itself out in a clear binary opposition between resistance and collusion. A second group essentially augments this view by saying that, while society and individuals existed in a field of tension among three available choices – to resist, to accommodate oneself to, or to collaborate with the Soviet

system – the absolute majority chose a passive way of accommodating to the new reality. A third view gives this accommodationist stance a new color by claiming that even though the majority of Lithuania's inhabitants were indeed opportunists to a greater or lesser degree, they made accommodations, not for the sake of leading a "passive" existence, but in order to preserve a Lithuanian spirit and benefit Lithuania. A fourth group takes a further, important step by distinguishing among the varieties of accommodation (with emphasis on the individual's outer demeanor) and opposition (at times dissenting from the regime without transgressing its permissible limits) along with outright resistance.

The abysses of mutual misunderstanding separating these four positions can only be bridged with the help of arguments provided by the twists and turns of the biographies of specific individuals. The observation and analysis of these biographies allow us to leave generalities behind and to start discerning nuances, reservations, and what lies beneath them. In other words, a careful look at the life circumstances of a particular Soviet-era individual may help us avoid falling into the trap of binary, black-and-white oppositions and, at the same time, to see that life in an unfree society was dominated, not by the color black or the color white, but by grays – just because in a specific person's personal and creative biography we can find situations in which a decision to resist gave way to accommodation, which in turn gave way either to collaboration or the opposite.

The Source Investigation Argument

An epoch that lasted half a century, marked by constant clashes between what one thought and what one did, has often left fragmented, uninformative, self-contradictory, and deliberately misleading written records that sometimes not only do not help to answer questions about what really happened, but also ensnare the researcher in a cobweb of intentional omissions, half-truths, and outright lies.

Thus in the gray twilight created by a lack of empirical data and fragmentary records, the histories of individuals often

shed much more light, frequently permitting a glimpse of what was going on around them as well. In seeking to discern Soviet-era individuals and engage them in conversation, a researcher of the past often tries to step over the limits set for hermeneutics by traditional (written) sources. This involves turning to oral-history methods, which offer so many new perspectives for gaining knowledge, bringing various visual sources into the historical (re)construction, and delving into material culture artifacts that previously mostly interested anthropologists and those working in the field of everyday history.

In these ways, investigating what happened to individuals can help expand our conception of what a historical source for Soviet era studies can be, and this expansion can set in motion other changes affecting the reconstruction, interpretation, and evaluation of that epoch.

A Theoretical Problem: What is Individuality in Soviet Times?

This question cannot be answered by eschewing the problem of defining *homo sovieticus*. It is evident that every totalitarian or authoritarian regime attempts to raise up a "new man" who is obliged to live and work for that regime. The Soviet system was no exception. In this essay, we will attempt to present some important historiographic positions from different perspectives and describe specific features of Soviet man.

It was Aleksandr Zinovyev who in 1982 put the concept of *homo sovieticus* into circulation and drew a sociocultural portrait of this *homososos* (a parallel name invented by Zinovyev for the same creature).[1] Another extremely important text is Mikhail Geller's book *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*.[2] The recently begun investigations of that era's everyday life, social relations, stereotypes of thinking, and features of behaving help us understand this "new man's" *Dasein* and his mode of life.[3] This approaches social anthropology, a discipline

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1 Zinoviev, *Homo sovetikus*.

2 Geller, *Mashina i vintiki*.

3 What may be considered a classical position of Western historiography in this respect is expressed in Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*.

whose ideas can also be helpful in describing the characteristics of an individual purposefully raised under conditions of non-freedom. These characteristics are also revealed in the memoirs of that epoch's eyewitnesses and their auto-reflections.[4] Studies that analyze purposefully created images of Soviet man in literature and film help us to understand how the political and party elite looked upon their task of creating this new man.[5] Here one should also recall the sociological investigations that the Levada Center has been carrying out since 1989: these researches have pinned down the essential features of the new man as deliberately cultivated in the Soviet Union and successfully rejuvenated in the post-Soviet epoch. The research findings by the scientific fellows of Yuri Levada's institution permit us to say that a typical *homo sovieticus* displays some or all of the following tendencies: (1) conformity, (2) opportunism, (3) a quest for simplification, (4) a predilection for hierarchy, (5) treacherousness, (6) a sense of uncertainty, (7) a feeling of being part of something special, (8) corruptibility, and (9) the lack of an idea of the past.[6]

The historiographic positions outlined above paint a portrait of *homo sovieticus* as an individual with a split mind (a disconnect between thought and action), marked by chameleon-like qualities, a man needing to find himself at a definite point within a strict vertical hierarchy, operating in terms of a model of time and space structured by binary oppositions.

We might suppose that the easiest way to locate individuals in the Soviet period would be to look for the antipode of *homo sovieticus*: here the guiding assumption could be that a human being who did not match the above-mentioned features or who tried to resist their implantation in his consciousness would automatically be someone "not of this (Soviet) world" or, in other words, an "individual" or a "personality."

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[4] In the Lithuanian context, see the published memoirs of Vytautas Kubilius, edited by Žėkaitė and Sprindytė.

[5] See Clark, *The Soviet Novel*; Attwood, *Red Women on the Silver Screen*; Haynes, *New Soviet Man*.

[6] See Kudryavtseva, "Chelovek nemenyayemyy."

Nevertheless, such a proposal leaves many unanswered questions. We will mention just a few that show how broad the field of investigation is in which we can discuss the issue of what distinguishes *homo sovieticus* from the antipodal *individual*. For instance, which of the dominant sociocultural and psychological components play a decisive part in the individual's breakout from the mass of *homo sovieticus* or, alternately, in her or his immersion in that mass? Do those who played the part of demiurges in the Soviet system, as well as their closest confidants (who well knew the differences between *black, white,* and *gray,* or *moral* and *amoral,* and deliberately broke rules or created new ones), deserve to be called *individuals* as well? The consideration of these and other no-less important questions goes beyond the confines of this article. However, they do force us to define as clearly as possible the way the term "individual" will be used in the research carried out here.

In analyzing models of individual behavior and its effect on the possibility of surviving as an individual in the field of Lithuania's politics of history during the Soviet period, we will discuss what might be called one's personal and/or professional success strategy (which also includes its opposite, failure strategy) or, in other words, an individual's ability to actively participate in that era's public space and official discourse, and to demonstrate a specific kind of opposition to the rules of thought and behavior entrenched in the Soviet era (in exceptional cases, consciously and deliberately creating these rules).

The Types of Individuals Active in the Field from 1944 to 1956

In this period, the sphere of Lithuania's political history saw the emergence of several distinctive individuals who may be grouped by their types and behavior models: (1) demiurges of political history, (2) interwar period authorities, (3) idea-driven people, and (4) bystanders of historical scholarship.[7]

[7] For a broader discussion of these four strategies of conduct see: Švedas, *Matricos nelaisvėje,* 79-102; 129-144.

A Demiurge of Political History

This description is earned by the long-lasting head of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee (from 1940 to 1974) and actual leader of the republic, Antanas Sniečkus. His is an exceptional case that forces discussion of the creation of rules rather than their deconstruction from the perspective of an individual's actions in the Soviet period. Sniečkus's behavior model is expressed in a maxim that was never really kept hidden and shows a rather cynical and utilitarian relationship to reality and history: *Use whatever is useful to me and the Party!* Sniečkus clearly expressed this principle in his speech to the Communist Youth League conference on February 21, 1957: "We should take from the cultural inheritance that which is useful to the Socialist state."[8] According to this principle, adjusting the past to today's requirements usually required misrepresenting and simplifying it into binary models of time and space (where "evil" was represented by Western civilization and the feudal and capitalist formations it spawned). A clear example of how this misrepresentation and simplification worked is provided by a conversation, as retold by the philosopher Bronius Genzelis, between Sniečkus and Juozas Žiugžda, the long-time director of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's Institute of History: "I'm locked in the office with the honorable Sniečkus and we're deciding what to do. You can't write a history book in a jiffy, so the first secretary tells me: take the Šapoka book and change everything to the opposite way!"[9]

This utilitarian attitude (described in the terminology of historians who view Sniečkus favorably as "acting cleverly and subtly") enabled him to become a "long-distance runner" who outlived his "generals," Josef Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev, and many of his colleagues from the Lithuanian party elite. He also was one of the most important creators of Lithuanian Soviet historical policy and contributed substantially to

8 Sniečkus, *1957 m. vasario mėn. 21 d. komjaunimo plenumo kalba.*

9 Aurimas Švedas's conversation with Bronius Genzelis, "Man marksizmas rūpėjo," 109.

the symbiosis of Soviet and nationalist ideologies in Soviet-era Lithuania.

Interwar-Period Authorities

A few of the interwar-period authorities who remained in Soviet Lithuania (Konstantinas Jablonskis, Ignas Jonynas, and Augustinas Janulaitis) might be called "ploughman historians."[10] Their behavior in the new sociopolitical and sociocultural reality shows them to have been *lost in time and space.*

This description of their professional and existential position is engendered by these historians' three incompatible ways of relating to Soviet reality and to ongoing processes in the field of the politics of history: (1) withdrawing, not participating, being apolitical, (2) engaging in conscious and spontaneous affronts, and (3) attempting to influence the situation by using principles of Soviet ideology.

These contradictory actions, showing the particularly complicated situation these interwar-era authorities found themselves in during Soviet times, resulted in their being constantly watched, pushed to the margins (while their authority and intellectual capital was being exploited when needed), and feeling a real threat of repression (Jonynas). On the other hand, the presence of these personalities in the politics of history was very important in a symbolic sense. In spite of the processes of Sovietization directed toward the destruction of the old identity of Lithuanian society, that identity was kept alive through the dissemination of texts through private personal contacts. These private contacts created an intimate interpersonal space where several people could communicate "eye to eye"; it became a crucial means of transmitting the experiences of the interwar school of historiography to several generations of other investigators of the past during the five decades of non-freedom.

[10] See Gieda and Švedas, "Kuo svarbi istoriografijos istorija?" 42-47.

The Idea-driven People

The most prominent representatives of the ideological personality in the politics of history include Povilas Pakarklis and Stasys Matulaitis. The first, the director of the Institute of History from 1946 to 1948, attempted to steer it in the direction of proper historical research rather than meet Soviet ideological demands. The second tried in 1950 to revolt against Žiugžda's successful venture to create and entrench an official version about the past and to turn historical scholarship into a handmaiden of ideology. This model of behavior may be dubbed *the tilting with windmills of idea-driven people.*

Having chosen an inappropriate tactic (overt confrontation), with which they sought to perform a strategic task impossible to achieve under the circumstances at hand (enabling well-conducted scholarly research into the past), both personalities were pushed out of the field. It is symptomatic that looking at the situation from the fringes to which they were driven after sharp conflicts with their opponents, both Pakarklis and Matulaitis bitterly stated in their diaries that they were not able to fulfill themselves and explained why they thought this was so. Pakarklis blamed "differences in psychophysical constitution" allegedly separating him from his opponents, while Matulaitis merely observed, "I'm not fit for the sort of scholarship that is being done here."[11]

A Bystander of Historical Scholarship

Justas Paleckis, a high-standing party functionary who served as chairman of the Lithuanian SSR's Supreme Soviet for more than twenty years (1940–1967), entered the field of Soviet history's politics when, on his own initiative, he prepared two pamphlets: *Tarybų Lietuvos kelias* (1947) and *Sovetskaya Litva* (1949).

In both Soviet times and today, Paleckis's personality called forth divergent responses. His statements and deeds often conflicted with the general policies of the Lithuanian

[11] See Pakarklis, *Dienoraštis* and Matulaitis, *Dienoraštis*.

Communist Party's Central Committee. The behavioral model he exemplified could be tentatively described as follows: *being more equal in status than the other equals allows one to engage in small-time humanism.*

Paleckis tried to apply this tactic to the politics of history when, on his own initiative, judgments concerning the nineteenth-century national rebirth process and some of its phenomena were formulated in a way not fully consistent with the binary oppositions constructed by Antanas Sniečkus and his colleagues – under their pressure, this national rebirth could only be viewed negatively. During a campaign (1949–1952) in which Paleckis's deviations were criticized, it was made clear to him that, by daring to question the scheme "history = the LCP's opinion," a high-ranking party functionary risked losing his status of "being more equal among equals." This meant he could become an outsider to the study of history and politics, as well as be removed from the nomenklatura.

The Types of Individuals Active in the Field from 1956 to 1990

The situation of Lithuania's academic and cultural elite in the late Soviet period can be described as existence in a space with fairly clear game rules, a space formed by unambiguous postulates of official discourse, historiographical-ideological guidelines, and various prohibitions. The challenges and affronts coming from interwar period authorities and idea-driven people doubting the ideologically correct version of the past, the tensions of competing opinions in the public space, dramatic polemics, and the fiery criticism of "heretics" coming from the highest party echelons gradually strengthened the conviction that it was impossible to change the scholarly matrix of the Soviet politics of history by means of confrontation. This realization greatly influenced the behavior of individuals active in the field during the late Soviet period.

From 1956 to 1990, we can note the activities of several consequential individuals who undoubtedly influenced the formation of, and changes in, the identity of Soviet-era Lithuanian society. We may identify these personalities as follows

in accordance with their strategies: (1) the god Janus, (2) the mathematician to whom much is allowed, (3) the divine and demonic movie director, and (4) the poet in a golden cage.

The God Janus

When analyzing the particulars of the behavior of one of the best-known personalities of the Soviet period, the historian Juozas Jurginis, it seems as if he himself is suggesting to us that we identify him with the ancient Roman god of the beginning and the end, Janus, usually depicted with two faces turned in opposite directions.

This view of his personality is suggested by the following features of his actions in the field of Soviet-history politics: (1) constant challenges directed at the official discourse, (2) attempts to land on his feet after being buffeted by the waves of criticism and self-criticism provoked by these challenges, (3) behaviors induced by political opportunism, (4) attempts to be in the opposition without violating the external strictures of the official discourse rulebook (spawning "heresies" while reading the classics of Marxism-Leninism), and (5) playfulness and irony.

These behaviors, constantly played one against the other, allowed Jurginis to present many original theses dissonant with the official discourse about the limitations of historical research traditions formed in the Soviet era, to show the possibilities for a creative treatment of Marxism in investigations of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy's socioeconomic history,[12] and, at the same time, to embark on an especially ambitious and risky project to create a model defining periods of Lithuanian history, in which the significant accents of the Soviet and interwar periods would peacefully coexist: a scheme of the changes in socioeconomic formations and a graphic display of the state's evolution.[13] The latter project was emphatically rejected and roundly criticized, thereby clearly showing Jurginis that his strategy of *constantly*

[12] Jurginis, *Baudžiavos įsigalėjimas Lietuvoje.*
[13] Jurginis, *Lietuvos TSR istorija: vadovėlis vidurinėms mokykloms.*

pushing against the limits of permissibility cannot always be part of a success story.

Who created this phenomenon of the god Janus – always playing pranks on the system? Here we must again remember the demiurge of history politics, Antanas Sniečkus. The repressive mechanisms of the Soviet system often mercilessly crushed illustrious researchers as well as people in the highest party posts. It was only the patronage of the First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee that helped Jurginis, who so often tottered on the brink, not to fall into the abyss. Sniečkus appreciated the important tasks Jurginis had performed before the war (from 1937 to 1939 he was a liaison between the party secretariat in Moscow and central committee members in Kaunas, and in 1939 he carried out party assignments in the United States); therefore, he did not allow the wheels of the repressive machine to destroy one of the most important opposing figures not afraid to express in public his discontent with some features of historical discourse. Was Sniečkus's attitude here due only to nostalgic memories of a "revolutionary youth"? Or was it a cleverly disguised search for alternatives to Žiugžda's fiercely propagated official discourse? There might be truth in both versions.

A Mathematician to Whom Much is Permitted

The long-serving rector (from 1958 to 1991) of Vilnius University, Jonas Kubilius, is one of very few individuals who may be designated a "long-distance runner" in the fields of both Soviet scholarship and the politics of history. (Besides Kubilius and Sniečkus, the president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Science, the physicist Juozas Matulis, who served from 1946 to 1984, also deserves to be mentioned in this connection.) Kubilius, who became rector after the noisy removal of Juozas Bulavas from this post (the latter served from 1956 to 1958), eventually began to proceed in the direction for which his predecessor had been so savagely attacked at the behest of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. It was during Kubilius's rectorship that the university's

slow "Lithuanization" process was set in motion. He and his people successfully used the university's four hundredth jubilee in 1979; thus the complex of university buildings in Old Town (the embellishment of which produced a number of visual Lithuanian accents) came to be identified in Soviet Lithuanian mentality as a "place of memory," with some compromise forms of "university memory" found (Lithuanian-studies-related accents and even Jesuit and "Polish" touches in place of Soviet ideological ones). This process has been conceptually analyzed and evaluated by Alfredas Bumblauskas, the first to call attention to the effect of Kubilius's program both on the field of the politics of historical scholarship and on the historical consciousness of Soviet-era Lithuanian society.[14]

One reason why Kubilius's activities were successful is they followed his behavioral algorithm to the effect that *all doors open to a talented person with a position*: he used the symbolic capital he had amassed particlpating in the life of academic, social, and nomenklatura-related networks, while constantly testing the limits of what was possible; at the same time, he had partly created those limits himself. On the other hand, this is only a partial explication of Kubilius's success story; his biographers have undoubtedly not yet written the final word.

A Divine and Demonic Film Director

In the Soviet epoch, the community of researchers of the past often did not play the major role in forming Lithuanian society's attitudes toward the past or simultaneously creating specific semantic and emotional stereotypes affecting the shape of its identity. The cinema, held by Soviets to be "the most important of all art forms," did not take long to become an important Lithuanian form of art as well, and it contributed significantly to the creation of images of the past and the formation of a Lithuanian identity. In part, this is thanks to the efforts of Vytautas Žalakevičius, a director, screenwriter, and head of the Lithuanian cinema studio (1961–1974 and 1980–1991). A look

[14] Bumblauskas, "Vilniaus universitetas," 225-262.

at his biography[15] allows the behavioral model of this director to be described thus: *A provincial Jupiter can sometimes get away with more than the oxen.*

Here are the creations that express this model of behavior: (1) masterful films on politically correct themes, (2) brilliant films experimenting on, and expanding, a Soviet-era creator's boundaries of freedom, (3) consistent efforts to create conditions for a golden age of the Lithuanian cinema studio, (4) a virtuoso ability to manipulate people in pursuit of goals, and (5) painful experiences realizing the limits of the possibilities in Vilnius (as Jupiter) and in Moscow (as an ox from a Soviet province).

Žalakevičius's works include signature films, for example, *Niekas nenorėjo mirti* (Nobody Wanted to Die, 1965); strong stimuli (screen-writing, cooperation during filming) given to the creation of the very best Lithuanian films, for example, *Jausmai* (Feelings, 1968); and the creation of a context favorable to projects especially significant to society, for example, *Herkus Mantas* (1972). We can say even more: the Žalakevičius factor is exceedingly important to the appearance of those films we may regard as the Lithuanian nation's "places of memory," offering interpretational schemes for some of the most painful topics of twentieth-century history, such as the post-World War II period and the guerrilla war.

A Poet in a Golden Cage

There is one more individual who must be mentioned in a discussion of Soviet history politics and of Lithuanian identity transformations.

As in the case of Rector Vytautas Kubilius, the life of the poet Justinas Marcinkevičius is still full of challenges to researchers examining his activities and biographical twists and turns. Marcinkevičius in particular has elicited two radically opposed evaluations of his existential attitude and his work. The palette ranges from accusations of complicity with the Soviet government and its special services to insights into his

[15] Tapinas, *Laiškanešys, pasiklydęs dykumoje.* Written in a journalistic style, this is currently his most comprehensive biography.

significant contribution to the community of contemporary writers and to forms of national identity.[16]

There is one more threshold that biographers of this personality will have to step over: to a large segment of late Soviet and post-Soviet society, Marcinkevičius is a symbol of great moral authority, which automatically burdens the process of analysis, interpretation, and deconstruction. This threshold must be crossed both in the course of gathering and verifying data and of interpreting and presenting them to society.

Although these questions are of primary importance in analyzing this individual's actions and his survival in the field of Lithuania's politics of history, even if they are not fully answered, it is, I believe, clear that Marcinkevičius's strategy was *"I call upon my nation... !"* The fact that he realized this in the public sphere and official discourse during Soviet times could be explained, not only by mutually resourceful tactics (both on the poet's and on the system's side) that enabled both sides to pursue their goals, but also by the unexpected emergence of the *talent factor*. To both the "poet in the golden cage" and the supervisors of his creations – who helped create this situation by executing the project of melding Sovietism and nationalism in a symbiosis conceived by the party elite – this factor produced a surprise when Marcinkevičius's dramatic trilogy (*Mindaugas; Mažvydas;* and *Katedra;* 1968–1977) and other works were read and received by most readers in a way that was not previously expected from the viewpoint of the Soviet system's logic.

A Place for the Symbiosis of Soviet Ideology and Nationalism. "Footprints" of Personalities?

One of the most important tasks faced by the Soviet Union's political leadership after the Baltic States had been occupied was to demolish the traditional interpretative context

[16] Two extreme examples of (auto)reflective expressions are the apologetic attitude of Valentinas Sventickas toward Marcinkevičius and the extremely critical stances exhibited by the intellectuals around the journal *Naujasis Židinys–Aidai*. See Sventickas, *Apie Justiną Marcinkevičių* and "Justino Marcinkevičiaus darna. Pašnekesys *Naujojo Židinio–Aidų* redakcijoje," 155-160.

(the grand narrative about past, present, and future; the constellations of established value systems and traditional religious postulates) in which the societies of these states had lived during the interwar independence period. The Soviet strategy and its tactics of destroying this traditional interpretative context embraced people, institutions, and ideas. Lithuanian historiography has already and repeatedly described the successes and failures of this strategy in destroying and/or "reeducating" the old elite and in forming a new one, in breaking down vertical as well as horizontal social ties by mobilizing fear, and in shattering society's existing infrastructure (schools, churches, and organizations) for the purpose of creating new institutions.

What is important to emphasize is that, in performing these tasks, both on the level of the whole Soviet Union and that of the individual republics, a new hybrid of Soviet ideology and nationalism was created, one that preserved some essential elements of the earlier grand narrative about the past, present, and future of the Lithuanian nation.[17]

We will proffer several examples short of a comprehensive analysis but sufficient to permit discussion of an initially improbable symbiosis of ideas and ideologies in the field of the politics of history:

(1) Soviet history textbooks and academic syntheses presented a grand narrative of the Lithuanian SSR's past and present, in which semantic features highlighted in the interwar academic tradition (for example, the importance of independent statehood) were awkwardly combined with theses about the modeling of Lithuanian history into spaces and periods, a thesis that served the Communist ideology.[18]

(2) The accumulated semantic content and emotional energies of artistic phenomena originating in the Soviet period and eventually becoming "places of memory" were often interpreted by society using the conceptual and ideological codes of

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[17] For a viewpoint originating in the Western academic tradition, see Kemp, *Nationalism and Communism in Eastern Europe*. Newly formed views in Lithuanian historiography are found in Laurinavičius, *Epochas jungiantis nacionalizmas*.

[18] For more about this, see Švedas, *Matricos nelaisvėje*, 183-189.

the interwar era, not just in Soviet terms. Examples include the dramatic trilogy of Justinas Marcinkevičius; the history film *Herkus Mantas*, directed in 1972 by Marijonas Giedrys; and the fresco *The Seasons*, created in 1974–1985 by Petras Repšys for the vestibule of the Lithuanian Studies Center of Vilnius University. (The emergence of this fresco in the Vilnius University ensemble of buildings must be deemed an integral part of a broader phenomenon already touched upon in our discussion of Kubilius's program of "Lithuanianizing" the University of Vilnius).

(3) The Soviet-era process of recognizing cultural heritage involved looking at monuments from various historical perspectives, the combination of which created a symbiosis of a traditional interpretative context and an evaluation based on political ideologies.[19]

(4) The process of toponymic politics (creating a system of Vilnius street names) also shows traces of the use and coexistence of two distinct sets of past images (interwar and Soviet) in shaping the face of a Soviet republic's capital city from 1944 to 1989.

As already stated, the above-mentioned accents do not allow us to reconstruct an all-embracing model of the way the politics of Soviet history worked or even to explain its logic. But the coexistence or even symbiosis of particular conceptual and ideological contradictions allows us to assert that the genesis and social distribution of certain phenomena cannot be explained without reference to the activities of individuals (or, otherwise put, their creative relationship to the reality at hand) and without a determination of the success (or failure) of the strategies these individuals used in the public space and the official discourse of their times.

Translated by Mykolas Drunga

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[19] See Vaitkuvienė, *Kultūros palikimo įpaveldinimo procesai.*

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Monuments, Memory, and Mutating Public Space: Some Initiatives in Vilnius

SKAIDRA TRILUPAITYTĖ

Recent actions to endow public space in Vilnius with meaning via monument-building initiatives have, inevitably, been attended by paradoxes. On the one hand, media extol the significance of certain events or persons: such hyperbole not only marks the start of constructing a new monument, but is also reflected in paeans to the symbolic and "exceptional" functions of central urban spaces. On the other hand, we often hear assertions about the indeterminacy and inconstancy of any collective identity, which seemingly casts doubt on the need for any uniform national (or any other) representation. This makes it difficult to conceive forms of public art equally acceptable to all, or a public representational space that unifies the national community. The objective of achieving a stylistic unity of a public space, often declared by urbanists to be an indisputably obvious precondition of urban development, is held by other participants in that space – often appealing to a democratic, constantly changing, and unpredictable way of daily life – to possess no priority whatsoever. Thus the study of places of remembrance unavoidably throws up dilemmas between, on the one hand, the "correct" historical narrative justifying the monument's political significance and, on the other, the currently

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popular "critical school," which recognizes public space[1] that is open and independent of all "repressive" forms of traditional historical narrative or offers distinctions between "art" and "monument"[2] or choices between "traditional" and contemporary ("multifunctional") conceptions of monument[3], between "space" and "things,"[4] and so on.

Since daily political life expresses itself in permanently conflicting interests, it is not surprising that priorities in the creation of public squares and monuments become hostage to differences in artistic taste as well as to political pressures, collisions, and ideological rhetoric. Contemporary theories of identity, which testify to a multifarious and equivocal cultural memory, in practice end up being of little use, because final decisions about the purpose of representational spaces are not made by theorists of culture. How many other monuments to Liberty or to our nation's unity should be built in our country? Who are the most important persons to be remembered? What are the occasions not to be forgotten? By what criteria should competitions for memorial statues be judged? All of these questions inevitably become political issues.[5] The selectivity of efforts to immortalize the past is well illustrated by the contrasting opinions flaring up in the media about what needs to be shown, and seen, in public. The irregularly changing viewpoints

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1 Dementavičius, "Atsiminti negalima užmiršti."

2 Jankevičiūtė, "Takoskyra: menas ir paminklai."

3 Nikžentaitis, "Istorinė praeitis ir dabartis ateities Vilniuje."

4 Grunskis, "Paminklas Laisvei."

5 These have not only been discussed by conservatives, as is frequently suggested, but by leaders of many other political parties as well. Thus, the Social Democrat, Vytenis P. Andriukaitis, in a 2006 publication devoted to the project of a National House on Tauro Hill, asserted that "Vilnius has no Eternal Flame, no Tomb the Unknown Soldier; we have no monument to the Battle of Žalgiris (honoring Vytautas and Jogaila); no statues of Kudirka and Basanavičius, Sapiega, Čiurlionis, Maironis, and so on. It should be one of our long-term cultural and civic goals to mark out visibly in our nation's capital the most important dates of Lithuanian history and our most significant historical figures." Andriukaitis, "Ar Gedimino prospektas tiktai gatvė?" 75.

about these things are expanded upon when one or another opinion, national hero, or date is unexpectedly brought to the fore, even as others are temporarily forgotten. Even though the cultural media have not spared irony in their comments on the anachronistic form of the representative monuments that have arisen in Vilnius over the last few decades while sponsors have praised them, historical memory and public space cannot be reduced to two positions, that of "monument enthusiasts" on the one side, and that of skeptical cultural critics on the other. As time goes by, ideologically motivated oppositions undergo change themselves.

Recently, the public sphere has been filled with discussions about preserving the Soviet heritage versus the appearance of "retrograde" national monuments. In the latter context, there has also been discussion about a monument in Lukiškių Square in memory of those who struggled for the nation's freedom and suffered from Soviet repression. The need for a new, nationally significant monument at this location arose precisely because, during Soviet times, Lukiškių Square was one of the main official plazas and the one where the Lenin Statue stood. During the subsequent period of independence, several competitions for giving the square a new appearance were announced, but unfortunately, so far none of them has succeeded. The preservation of Soviet heritage has become a topic of discussion. For example, from 2010 onwards, there have been emotionally charged discussions in the media about whether and how the sculptures on the Žaliasis tiltas (The Green Bridge) should be torn down or preserved. They are Socialist Realist in style, embody totalitarian art, and recall the former ideology. Many and highly diverse opinions, reflecting different viewpoints on this topic, have been expressed.[6]

[6] Citing examples of various opinions would take up too much space, but their general tenor is indicated by the more radical voices, which urged the Green Bridge be "wiped clean" of Soviet-era "idols." Those calling for historical justice also supported the erection of a Lithuanian Liberty Monument (or one honoring fallen freedom fighters) in Lukiškių Square. More moderate voices thought the

According to the political scientist Justinas Dementavičius, discussions about monuments relevant to national communities "do not just result from certain ideological visions, but also represent, directly or indirectly, relationships to other historical narratives."[7] Hence, questions about the artistic form of monuments to cultural memory would require broader historical treatment, embracing both philosophical reflections on public space and a view of how dominant political discourses have changed. In this article, emphasizing the historical narratives popularized in public forums, I deal briefly with two things: in the context of the failures related to Lukiškių Square, I discuss the functions of representative squares and, with reference to the disagreements about the fate of the Green Bridge sculptures, issues relating to Soviet heritage.

The Problem of Representative Squares: Public Spaces for Recreation or Official Ceremonies?

As distinct from multifunctional public spaces in totalitarian societies, those in democratic societies constantly brim with a variety of human behavior and possibilities for change. The many purposes of public squares are exemplified by main city plazas, which can easily become places for short-term commercial markets, theme parades, political and professional strikes, or active rest and recreation. For instance, all these functions (not just those directly related to its being a street) are served by Gediminas Avenue in Vilnius. And Vilnius's Cathedral Plaza is the churchyard of Lithuania's most significant Roman Catholic church, but when needed, it becomes the site for strictly regimented official state parades and even the inaugura-

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totalitarian statues should remain because they no longer posed an ideological danger and were already officially recognized as part of the Green Bridge ensemble listed on the Register of Cultural Treasures and slated to be preserved. Some moderates and skeptics did not support the building of a new monument in Lukiškių Square because of the artistic arguments mentioned above about their "antimodernism" or "antidemocratic" nature. Discussions were made more fierce by anxieties about sources of financing.

7 Dementavičius, "Atsiminti negalima užmiršti," 112.

tion of Lithuanian presidents. Cathedral Plaza has also been the site of entirely different city festivals, the nature of which in the last decade has led to conflicts between church dignitaries, city officials, and civic groups. What's more, the same area is usually open to young people's recreational activities, and certain zones of it are naturally suited for romantic encounters. And is it necessary to point out that the most popular spot for young people to meet is the area around the pedestal of the Gediminas Statue?

No wonder then that issues relating to the visual enhancement of the main city squares (in Vilnius these include Cathedral Plaza, Daukanto Square, Lukiškių Square, and Town Hall Square) might continue to be divisive for years to come. Perhaps it is to be expected that in Lithuania the visual accents of a city's or the whole country's history – and thus the relevant monuments in their squares – are usually erected to commemorate dates of release from political oppression. After revolts or long-lasting wars, there inevitably follow periods of peace, thus the monument-studded reference points of history are in a way tied together by shapes of a hoped-for national unity. For example, 2003 saw the emergence in Vilnius of a monument giving meaning to the history of the nation's unification: Regimantas Midvikis's sculpture honoring King Mindaugas. Then the need for one more monument of similar import was fulfilled in 2009 as the thousand-year anniversary of the first mention of Lithuania in historical records drew near: a nine-meter tall variation in stone on a folkloric spindle designed by Tadas Gutauskas was built in Vilnius's Vingis Park and called *Unity Tree*. In like manner, the City Council of Vilnius decided in 2007 that Town Hall Square should be renamed Vincas Kudirka Square in honor of the author of the Lithuanian anthem. And in 2009, a bronze sculpture of Kudirka, created by Arūnas Sakalauskas and not originally planned for the festive occasion of Lithuania's millennium celebrations, was also unveiled. These endeavors, promoted by politicians and some civic groups, were roundly criticized by art scholars.

After long discussion, the conditions of a bid, announced in 2008, to redesign Lukiškių Square, stated that the main object

should be a composition symbolizing the nation's struggle for independence called *Liberty*. An earlier intention was to devote this site to memorializing the Unknown Lithuanian Partisan (Freedom Fighter); later, it was decided to settle on a "composition of contemporary memorial architecture" in order to reflect comprehensively the decades-long struggle of the Lithuanian people for freedom.[8] The aim was to bring together representative, memorial, recreational, and societal functions in the same square; financially less-demanding proposals by art scholars to turn it into an ordinary plaza for city dwellers[9] did not gain political support. Since this competition, like the earlier ones, failed for various political, legal, and financial reasons, a bit later a new "double" competition was announced, with two ministries (Environment and Culture) given responsibility for it. In 2011, the Rolandas Palekas Studio won the competition for redesigning the square, and a spot was selected for the monument in memory of those who died fighting for Lithuania's freedom. In October, 2012, the Ministry of Culture announced a competition for best artistic idea for memorializing Lithuanian freedom fighters in Vilnius's Lukiškių Square, with the main provisions of the contest formulated by the Lithuanian Republic's Governmental Commission for the Renovation of Lukiškių Square and the Lithuanian Freedom Fighters Memorial.

Even though the most recent competition also provoked a great number of verbal fights (it was a public secret that various unresolved legal issues relating to the competition conditions deterred many of the more famous sculptors from participating), the Ministry of Culture received twenty-eight competition projects in the spring of 2013, of which eighteen met the competition's technical specifications. In July of the same year, experts chose a project by Vidmantas Gylikis, Vytenis Hansell, and Ramunė Švedaitė entitled *Nation's Spirit*, which, if everything goes well and financing is secured, is to begin implementation in 2015.

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8 See Grunskis, "Paminklas Laisvei."

9 As not infrequently suggested by art students and researchers publishing on this subject. See Lubytė, " 'Laisvės' paminklas."

Here we should recall, not only that the earlier competitions for Lukiškių Square came to nothing, but also that in the broader culture-oriented public there are ever more voices opposing the tradition of stately monuments deemed to embody hierarchical thinking and to overwhelm their surroundings. Although some groups in society offered to solve the monument issue on a volunteer basis, without following the procedures requisite for fulfilling official directives,[10] in reality, the procedural side of the issue was given undue importance. Therefore, the whole process is likely once more to be dragged out indefinitely, and the imposition "from above" of a traditional type of monument will eventually result in the loss of even more supporters in society at large. As the young philosopher Kęstutis Kirtiklis put it, expressing a fairly common opinion, "a monument devoted to those who fell for Lithuanian freedom does not need to be expressed in an anachronistic guise expressive of nineteenth-century ideals." In his opinion, it is by no means self-evident "that statues commemorating suffering must themselves be the cause of suffering" by viewers. Even though he doesn't expect Lukiškių Square to ever be transformed into something "cozy," i.e., a place where ordinary citizens would feel comfortable, Kirtiklis, like many of his contemporaries, is not afraid to make suggestions that perfectly illustrate the priorities of those who prefer democratic decision-making:

> What if we just sow more grass, lay a few paths, and if we really want a focal point, why then, let's put in a fountain! You don't see the symbolism of those fighting for freedom here? To me, a wellspring is much more evocative of the liberty to which those being honored gave their lives than a lady prostrate before some horrendously gigantic Columns of Gediminas.[11]

Unfortunately, as the absolute majority of projects submitted in the competition make clear, their authors think only in traditional stylistic terms, pay no heed to the multifunctionality of

[10] For example, in 2012, relatives of the émigré architect Jonas Mulokas offered to donate a wayside cross designed by the architect to be placed in this square instead of a monument.

[11] Kirtiklis, "Apie paminklus."

a changing culture, and totally ignore the possibilities of contemporary artistic expression. Besides these misunderstandings concerning the artistic language of the monuments (which have brought on ever more suggestions to cease erecting stone or bronze figures in the city), we see today a growing conflict between the memorial and recreational functions of town squares.[12] According to the influential Vilnius city architect Mindaugas Pakalnis, the commission's latest decision regarding the monument and the appearance of a renovated Lukiškių Square represented a compromise:

> For some, it had to be a pompous square, merely a collection of symbols and signs; others wanted something lively; still others yearned for a recreational space in the middle of the city. I think the design chosen [...] represents a compromise between these three views.[13]

Naturally perhaps, it is the central, representative city squares that excite more attention and generate more controversy than outlying squares or spaces. Since the latter depend much less on regulations defining their historical significance, their supervision by means of rules that regulate commercial activities and dog walking and prohibit public drinking, smoking, spitting, and walking on the grass do not limit the natural evolution of visual signs and models of behavior.

Suggestions on how to use public space (including some proposals by contemporary artists), if these are just handed down "from the top," might lack legitimacy "at the bottom" simply because public space, if democratically conceived, is in principle not subject to antecedent instructions.[14] In some of the

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12 Lavrinec and Narkūnas, "Lukiškių aikštė."

13 Narušytė and Jursevičius, "Ryto garsai."

14 In this case, the spirit of debate in a democratic society is well illustrated by the community protests that arose in connection with Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc*, installed in 1981 in New York's Federal Plaza, a development of great significance in modern art history and often referred to in articles written by Lithuanian scholars of art. Serra's conflict with the public shows that contemporary artists as well as authoritarian politicians can manifest an authoritarian desire to turn a site they've chosen into a place where their project absolutely *must* be installed and to force viewers to take it in at just that one site, and no other.

world's cities, even cemeteries (usually islands of quiet reflection) may eventually be made into places for walking around and even for athletic activities such as running and bicycling. Depending on the season of the year, holidays, time of day, safety, coziness, and other highly subjective factors, the choices the city's inhabitants make can lead to open public spaces becoming either zones of peaceful relaxation or, by contrast, no more than areas of transit from one point to another.

For several decades now, less representative public spaces in Vilnius have been enhanced by both small granite monuments and bronze accents of various sizes or by short-term ephemeral art projects in various stylistic guises, as well as memorial plaques (a clear example of this is the Literatų gatvės project in Vilnius). So far, Lithuania still lacks something close to what is customary in Western societies – a tradition of abstract corporate art, although there are beginnings in this direction.[15] But in Vilnius (as elsewhere) there have already been important popular initiatives: from the Frank Zappa Monument and the Užupis Angel to the sculpture for Romain Gary and the azure metal umbrella, dedicated to the memory of Judita Vaičiūnaitė, in the square next to St. Catherine's Church. Private initiative also gave birth to such playful creations as Algis Griškevičius's *Grasshopper: An Autoportrait* (2008), perched on the Krašto Projektai Building on Konstitucijos Street, and the decorative sculpture *Tomcat* (Ksenija Jaroševaitė) dedicated to the memory of Jurga Ivanauskaitė and unveiled in 2009 in Jurga Square at the end of Aguonų Street in Vilnius. At the end of 2011, in the square next to the Press Building, a monument/bench to Andrei Sakharov was unveiled: the memory of this famous defender of human rights was honored at the initiative of the Lithuanian Human Rights Association and the Seimas's

[15] Two examples of this trend might be *Twins*, the (earlier mentioned) Gutauskas's sculpture which is situated next to the Eika Business Center on Goštauto Street in Vilnius, and the four-and-a-half meter tall stainless steel wave (by Gediminas Piekuras) in front of the Vilniaus Verslo Uostas office building on the right bank of the Neris River.

Human Rights Committee. It is natural perhaps that efforts to memorialize representatives of popular culture (such as Vytautas Kernagis) are indeed the most popular.[16] In any case, it is evident that the steady cropping up of monuments in the capital city often occurs without any ceremonious occasion, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the memorial and decorative functions of these structures. Such a visual variety of initiatives and artistic creations would be difficult to imagine in the context of a totalitarian facade culture in which univocal monumental expression was the rule.

Dilemmas of Soviet Monuments: Leave Them or Tear Them Down? The Green Bridge Sculptures

The totalitarian sculptures built the Green Bridge in Vilnius in 1952 have become focal points of heated discussion about Socialist Realism. Four sculptural groups depicting collective farmers, workers, soldiers, and school youngsters (the sculptures were officially named *Agriculture, Industry and Construction, In Defense of Peace,* and *Student Youth*) came to dominate public consciousness in early 2010, when officials noticed these sculptures were seriously rusted. Understanding they needed to be renovated, Russian restorers and the Municipality of Moscow offered their services.[17] The mayor of Vilnius, Vilius Navickas, however, said in response: "We'll fix those mummies, piled up on the Green Bridge by the Soviets,

[16] An important factor here may be the absence of any recognizable and possibly previously imposed boundary separating "historically necessary" monuments from artistic expressions of a more decorative nature. Without any protracted discussions, various groups of people initiated and carried out memorial projects, such as the bench on Gediminas Avenue for the popular Lithuanian song writer and bard Vytautas Kernagis (1951—2008). At the behest of the Ukrainian community in Lithuania, a statue of Ukrainian poet Taras Ševčenka was unveiled in 2011 in a Vilnius Old Town square at the intersection of Bazilijonų, Arklių, and Visų Šventųjų Streets. The statue was created by the Ukrainian sculptor Vitalij Andrijanov.

[17] Tracevičiūtė, "Griūvančias statulas."

ourselves."[18] These apparently folksy judgments had an effect on people's rekindled deliberations about historical memory and disputes about whether these cultural objects were "ours" or "Russian." Just as portraits of Lenin and similar ideological leaders were taken down soon after the reacquisition of independence and discussions continued about which works of totalitarian art representing the repressive regime had the "right" to remain in Lithuania's public spaces, so the continued presence of Soviet sculptures on the Vilnius Green Bridge provoked anger. Quite a few commentators suggested there was a place suitable for sculptures redolent of the former Soviet occupation: Grūtas Park, where Soviet ideological sculptures had been privately collected from all over Lithuania.

In this context, it is important to emphasize once more that the Green Bridge sculptures had not troubled anyone for years, and the debates about their "beauty" or "ugliness" took off less because they had suddenly became unattractive to some than because ideological pre-election disputes exacerbated the just-mentioned objective need for them to be renovated.[19] And while Lithuanian politicians were arguing over who should refashion the Green Bridge's cultural heritage, fuel was added to the fire by media reports that the Russian Embassy was frustrated at Lithuania for allegedly "prohibiting the upkeep of monuments to Soviet soldiers."[20] Even though the sculptures on the Green Bridge are essentially decorative art – they certainly do not indicate a burial site, nor are they monuments commemorating a particular event (as the Russian Embassy maintained) – these disputes showed that the way totalitarian art and culture are understood might eventually change too. As Eglė Wittig-Marcinkevičiūtė observed in a review of these discussions, it is doubtful these questions must be expressed in politically correct and neutral academic language.[21] Interestingly enough, when political circumstances change, these same sculptures might not be replaced by others, but "remixed," as

[18] Urbonaitė, "Vilniaus vadai nesutaria."
[19] See Trilupaitytė, "Ar jau metas Žaliojo tilto studijoms?"
[20] Delfi.lt, "Rusijos ambasada."
[21] Wittig-Marcinkevičiūtė, "Kultūros paveldas."

it were, by changing their names and dedications and thereby their functions: this is indeed the solution that some Lithuanian artists suggested for the Green Bridge sculptures.[22] New political evaluations of the sculptures also renewed discussion among political scientists researching questions relating to the memorial sites of totalitarian heritage and multiple identity.[23]

Thus in the mid-nineties, no one was much exercised over the meaning and status of these sculptures: they were left in peace as decorative ornaments, and questions of responsibility and ownership hardly bothered anybody then.[24] In stark contrast, today more than one nation's representatives are discussing issues of how these sculptures should be preserved and cared for; and in the media, jurists, historians, political scientists, and artists are vigorously commenting on the symbols of this state-protected cultural monument. Not too long ago, it was still possible to naively believe that the laconic official statements about the sculptures' condition would be followed by credible reports on what the institutions responsible for them had decided to do: to finance their renovation from taxpayer funds or to look for other sources of financing? Moreover, a discussion of different ways to do the renovation work should have interested specialists as well. Instead, what filled the air were spontaneous howls that the Green Bridge sculptures were fit only for Grūtas Park, and it was evident from early 2010 onwards that these sculptures had again been turned into rhetorical weapons of ideology bombarding the national cultural imagination.

In May 2013, talk revived about the "necessity" of taking these sculptures off the Green Bridge – not so much for the

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22 Trilupaitytė, "Ar jau metas."

23 Thus, the discussions about the monuments concerned not just the standard issues of culture and urban design, they also considered the political dimension. See Dementavičius, "Atsiminti negalima užmiršti."

24 As we saw in an LTV2 broadcast on November 17, 2010 (which was a rerun of a show originally aired in 1995), at that time, even the municipality was loath to claim ownership of these statues belonging to "nobody."

purpose of restoring them, but for ideological reasons. A conservative member of the Seimas, Kęstutis Masiulis, like many others offended mostly by the Soviet soldiers depicted in one of the sculpture groups, asked the Seimas to consider whether it was really necessary to preserve objects displaying Nazi or Soviet symbols (the latter indeed adorn the soldier group). Masiulis proposed amending an existing 2008 law banning objects displaying Soviet or Nazi coats of arms, emblems, banners, flags, uniforms, etc., to also not allow them to be treated as part of the national heritage. Soon thereafter, another well-known Lithuanian politician, Mečys Laurinkus, also expressed a negative attitude towards what he dubbed "Soviet icons" still standing around in the city and appealed to the nation's conscience.[25] On the other hand, some cultural preservationists, such as State Monument Preservation Commission Chair Gražina Drėmaitė, opposed these sentiments and contended the sculptures in question were primarily works of art and belonged to our historical inheritance.[26] Some emphasized the point that if you removed just the one sculpture group that directly depicted the occupiers' army, the visual unity of the bridge itself would be impaired. Today, it is at least evident that the ideological status of the sculptures cannot be evaluated unequivocally – at least as long as they are still not renovated and pose an increasing physical danger to passersby, a fact the media regularly remind us of.

The official politics of memory is not necessarily legitimized when state officials grasp the rules of historical memory, and/or citizens (allegedly) heal past traumas or, confronted with visual signs from the totalitarian epoch, rob the emotions resulting from past wounds of their sting. The paradoxes of legitimizing the history of the recent past are well illustrated by the famous controversy surrounding the relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn in 2007. At that time, it was asserted that if this monument to the Soviet soldier had been moved from the city center immediately after Estonia had regained

[25] Laurinkus, "Kodėl drąsi tauta."
[26] Ragėnienė, "Žaliojo tilto skulptūros."

its political independence, this could have been accomplished without causing any adverse reactions at all – precisely because during that period, numerous remains from the Soviet epoch were being massively removed from city centers throughout the region (including Lukiškių Square in Vilnius). Unfortunately, for specific reasons, conflicts flared up and riots caused by Russian speakers spread through Tallinn after Estonia had already solidified its independent statehood and joined NATO and the European Union.

The new media (the Internet) and politically biased media reports do influence changes in cultural memory and help exacerbate conflict. By these means, even granite and bronze sculptures originally destined to become "tokens of eternity" are turned into objects of manipulation in the public space and suggest that evaluations of the past may not always be easy to predict in an ever-changing present.

Changes in the way monuments are judged and the attendant ideological paradoxes were clearly revealed in a retrospective exhibition called *Non-Existent Monuments: A Walking Tour of Vilnius*, which opened in May 2011 at the National Art Gallery (curators: Eglė Mikalajūnaitė, Rasa Antanavičiūtė, and Živilė Etevičiūtė). The exhibition analyzed issues of historical objectivity and the impermanence of heroes and offered a look at how the Lithuanian capital was endowed with meaning through monuments from the middle of the nineteenth century on. The exhibition showed designs for monuments that were never built, as well as examples of monuments that existed for only a short time in Vilnius. As the curators put it, "in this city, most monuments were more short-lived than the people they were for." In earlier centuries, when monuments were changed, their pedestals or granite were often reused to express a new political system's ideology, although the monuments themselves did not always succeed in reflecting their new mission. In the words of the curators, they became "actors replacing each other on the same stages (plazas intended for glorification) and acting in similar plays (official ceremonies)."[27]

[27] See the exhibition leaflet.

Conclusion

Throwing light on historical facts allows us to understand not only the transient nature of monuments, but also the way many of them naturally change together with changing political systems ("bad" symbols being replaced during transitions by "good" ones), but some of them have a certain existential fragility. As shown by the small sculptures mentioned previously that crop up steadily in contemporary Vilnius and by the appearance of one or another sort of statue-like visual form in this or that location, these phenomena don't obey any recognizable historical logic. And despite the eternity vouchsafed to historical memory by polished granite, monuments created for solemn opportunities seldom become part of an active city culture unless they happen to emerge in the very center of the city, which is full of people anyway. Traditional figurative monuments, as recent experience in Vilnius shows, ultimately become things of no use or significance to contemporary city-dwellers; they're just stone or bronze simulacra of little relevance to people's everyday lives.

Unfortunately, society tends to look at monuments in a rather one-sided way: they are usually dedicated to one quite specific historical period, event, or person rather than another (period, event, or person). Meanwhile, public space (often given unique meaning by even transitory artistic projects) is becoming a place for very different viewpoints, dialogues, and coexistence. However much national heroes, political systems, and wishes inscribed on pedestals by contemporaries might change (sometimes even two or three times in a single lifetime), the functions of granite and bronze sculptures are just not up to the requirements of contemporary public space. Even the most temporary monuments are not changed as frequently as a democratic public space changes in quick response to the daily clashes between different group interests. That's why theories of public space usually emphasize the need for continuous communication, rather than for an unambiguous cultural memory.

The exhibition about nonexistent monuments was interesting in several respects; not just for what it showed to be

missing or gone, but also as an exposition of cultural history and stimulating material about the collisions of small and large histories and the processes of their (re)creation, which may be more significant to a contemporary spectator than any dry statistical accounting of the monuments' (non)being. As the exposition showed, some monuments never appeared in the city, even though in some cases the campaign to build such a monument lasted several years. Vilnius today seems to be almost unique in that there is not a single figure of a hero on a horse, even though such monuments exist in practically all the larger cities of the Western world. Just as prior to World War II it would have been possible to build (although it wasn't) and to preserve the famous monument to Adomas Mickevičius, so the figure of the Soviet ideological writer Petras Cvirka could have been removed from its pedestal on the square named after him (as the bus station named for Cvirka was renamed Islandijos). Thus sculptures, like passersby, can pop up in front of strangers' eyes; they can be remembered or forgotten; but they can also unexpectedly go away.

In the future, we will celebrate more jubilees, and historians will present additional lists of significant names and events. There will also be other enthusiasts eager to commemorate these things "in the proper way" and in the "right" place. The unsuccessful competitions for redesigning Lukiškių Square and building a Liberty Monument, as well as the newly inflamed controversy over the Green Bridge sculptures (with society's attention, not accidentally, focused on the depicted soldiers of the occupying army) and their historical analogues (the 2007 case of Tallinn's Bronze Soldier), all show that a figurative sculpture in the city can, at any time, become not only an issue of artistic taste, but a political matter as well, thereby transcending its earlier function of simply being a cultural marker or decorative accent. In that case, it is crucially important that questions of immortalizing the past in a democratic society be solved through public discussion in a maximally transparent public environment not governed merely by political or financial might.

Translated by Mykolas Drunga

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Of Tradition and Imitation: Controversy in Contemporary Lithuanian Wooden Architecture

ARNOLDAS GABRĖNAS

The tradition of using wood in architecture, linked to ancient times by the historical heritage of wooden architecture (whether that heritage survives physically or is lost but preserved in the written record), has formed certain stereotypes and associations in society as well as among professional architects. Wood architecture and its expressions are frequently invoked when seeking to convey traits characteristic of Lithuanian architecture. When striving for architectural integration in a sensitive context, such as in older town centers or villages built of wood, the use of wood is often the primary factor in harmonizing new construction with its surroundings; but form is extremely important as well. In such designs, the architect must find a relationship between traditional form and contemporary architecture's functional and aesthetic trends. On the one hand, the historicity of wood architecture and an effective application and interpretation of Lithuanian architecture's ethnic characteristics may assist in creating a distinctive contemporary wood architecture. On the other hand, the object may be evaluated as an unsuccessful imitation. In this article, we examine when imitation appears in contemporary architecture and what its signs are, and discuss the methods used in those

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applications where traditional forms in new wood construction have been positively evaluated. In the decades since an independent Lithuanian government was established, questions about the artistic expression of wood architecture have become particularly pressing as wood gains in popularity and is increasingly used by planners and builders.

A number of researchers have reacted negatively to the direct repetition of traditional architectural forms in new construction. Richard Dethlefsen wrote, as early as 1911:

> Art that merely copies is dead, and only that which is still alive can be saved. [...] However, we want something else: that our craftsmen, particularly the young, learn the language of inherited forms, learn it in such a way that, in the future, creating independently, they could rely on historic examples and that it would become customary to them, as it had been earlier. Only then will it be possible to talk seriously about the survival of historic art traditions and their perpetuation.[1]

The author notes it is impossible to re-create the past in the present, but the continuation of tradition in new architecture is imperative.

In a Lithuanian context, detailed considerations of what actual form this could take appeared after the organization of the 1969 Lithuanian Summerhouse Architectural Competition in Toronto. This competition, which aimed to encourage the study of Lithuanian architecture and its application in today's world, requested that as many attributes of Lithuanian architecture as possible be imparted to the summerhouse's exterior architecture and interior plan. The six-plus designs submitted generated quite a bit of interest. Algimantas Banelis and Jurgis Gimbutas, commenting on the submitted work, agreed that in architecture, as in the other arts, national peculiarities are possible, but a simple application of the primitive decorative elements of barns and cottages in a contemporary building, particularly one functioning as a summerhouse, was neither meaningful nor logical.[2] Apparently, at that moment, the participants

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1 Dethlefsen, *Rytų Prūsijos kaimo namai.*

2 Banelis, Gimbutas, "Lietuviškos architektūros klausimu."

in the competition, the organizers, and the critics were clearly convinced that harmony between the forms of traditional wood construction and contemporary modern architecture was a meaningful practical and theoretical architectural problem. Observing that traditional Lithuanian architectural characteristics in the submitted projects appeared somewhat like caricatures, the panel discussed whether it would be useful to look at the nature of ethnic construction in Finnish or Japanese examples, taking into account each country's climate, landscape, contemporary materials and techniques, and to some degree its historical heritage.[3] At the time, other architectural scholars thought the same. Jonas Minkevičius highlighted Finnish architecture, asserting that the mechanical, banal imitation of traditional architectural folk motifs was not characteristic of its work, and that their schools of architecture, like the people themselves, in their innate qualities show reserve, a sense of moderation, an organic connection to nature, and the use of local materials.[4] Gimbutas declared that, if designed by Lithuanian architects, entirely new architecture would already be Lithuanian of its own accord, campaigning in this way for "new individual creations" without "historical-traditional" markers.[5]

In the half-century since these discussions, the history of world architecture has been supplemented with new examples that offer a new approach to the problem of harmonizing traditional and contemporary forms in Lithuanian wood architecture.

Among the outstanding examples in which a communion between traditional form and contemporary architectural trends has been expertly expressed, pavilions for world fairs are memorable. These objects represent a nation in the eyes of the world, so a great deal of attention is given to the architectural expression of ideas and semantics in their design. Countries with wood-architecture traditions have built interesting pavilions at various fairs. At the 1992 World's Fair, Tadao Ando

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3 Banelis, "Lietuviško vasarnamio projekto konkursas."

4 Minkevičius, *Architektūros kryptys užsienyje.*

5 Gimbutas, "Lietuviškos architektūros klausimu."

designed a wooden building as an interpretation of a traditional Japanese shrine. There are a number of allusions to historic Japanese architecture in the structure. The curved form of the wooden walls evokes images of the roofs of shrines, while the decision to support the emphasized cover of the arch approaches the spatial harmony of the wooden beams and columns of Japanese wood buildings. In 2000, at a similar exhibition, Peter Zumthor's wooden Swiss pavilion was widely discussed. In this object, the author, using the motif of Swiss-style log walls as the composition's basis, interpreted it in his own way to create a contemporary pavilion space that conveys harmony with the nation's past. These objects, however, do not feature any obvious characteristics of their country's historic architecture; they have adopted specific images and allusions, the substance, as signs that, presented in contemporary architectural forms and applied to a contemporary function, are compromises or midpoints between obvious markers of the application of "historical-traditional" and completely new "individual creation" discussed in these cases.

Among other international examples of the creative combination of traditional wood morphology and contemporary architecture, Imre Makovecz's works are worth mentioning. Built on Mogyoró Hill in Visegrád, Hungary in 1978, this architect's camping complex and rest center expertly combined the interpreted images of traditional wooden architecture with a personal architectural style, acquiring an unusual contemporary architectural shape that evokes the oldest wooden structures of Hungary. The architect acknowledged that his design for this group of buildings was based on his analysis of folk art.[6] Makovecz demonstrated that contemporary wooden architecture can indeed be based on the textures of archaic, traditional, and even animal forms without direct imitation, through allusions that grant poetry and a distinctive mysticism to new works. His ski lodge at Dobogókő, where a circular space covered in

[6] Makovecz, "Épületek."

wooden boards brings animal hides and fish scales to mind, can be considered a work of this nature.

When speaking of mystical shapes in contemporary architecture, one must also mention the architect Renzo Piano, who accomplished a unique synthesis of high-tech and traditional architecture in the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Center building in New Caledonia. In particular, it was the traditional wooden house roof, characteristic of the local Kanak culture, that he "translated" into his technological architecture's language in a new, original building that represents the Kanak culture's longevity and symbiosis with nature.[7] The building is designed so the tall convex openwork wooden volumes are not merely a compositional accent, but an original climate regulation system, providing protection from the winds off the Pacific Ocean. In the architecture of this building, Piano speaks in signs, using the indigenous buildings' rounded forms, their lightweight construction, and their openness. The building's design has become a textbook example of contemporary architecture in which innovative forms convey keenly observed features of the local culture.[8]

Successful, well-regarded examples of the synthesis of traditional morphology and contemporary architectural trends in ecclesiastical wooden architecture can be found in the Scandinavian countries. A reconstructed church on Finland's Pyhäjoki River is an exceptional example. Insufficient documentation on the location's earlier shrine was the incentive to design a new building of contemporary minimalist form and ordinary construction, but with the outward aspect of old local churches.[9] A church in Jyvaskyla, built according to the design of Lassila Hirvilammi, falls within a similar creative conception of works based on an interpretation of historic wooden architecture. A shingle church designed by Marta and Lech Rowińsk, on the bank of the Wisła in Tarnow, Poland, is also worth mentioning. Traditional folk architectural motifs are not copied

7 Pryce, *Architecture in wood*, 320.
8 Lehtimäki, et al., *Renzo Piano*.
9 Kasvio, et al., *From wood to architecture*.

directly; instead, the architects aim for the geometric relationships of building forms, restraint of expression, and sense of moderation typical of traditional wooden architecture. The use of historically linked local materials allows us to consider the buildings under discussion as more than just mere examples of contemporary architecture, but see them as contemporary architecture containing meanings expressed through metaphors, signs, and allusions, a connection with what once was, and as a more solid base for the past and the future.

The problem of applying the morphology of traditional wooden architecture is relevant to many architects' practices in the design of smaller or larger residential or public buildings, their interiors, auxiliary structures, and even minor architectural elements, such as fences or benches. Questions of professional solutions are particularly clear when there is a context of historic wooden architecture nearby, or when the artistic expression of wood manufacture is important to the construction material of the other buildings' architectural character and form.

In 2002, through the prism of contemporary functional requirements and modern architectural and construction possibilities, Pritzker Prize winner Zumthor subtly interpreted the particularities of historic wooden houses with his Luzi House, set in the Swiss Alps. The traditional Swiss mountain house is distinguished by its monumental form, massive walls of thick logs, small openings, and roofs with low slopes. As the basis for the composition of the newly designed house, Zumthor took the proportions of historic residences – building height, width, length, and roof slope – but used contemporary elements for the form's constituent parts. This led to visually narrow projections from the main volume that recall notched log corners, large oriel windows and balconies, and the structure of the lightweight roof, seemingly separate from the structure. In 2009, Zumthor built a structure with a similar aesthetic in Leis, Switzerland. This building has a form, height, and roof

line similar to those of neighboring buildings.[10] The harmony in these new buildings creates a smooth length of walls with frameless window openings, a unique contrast to the traditional rough log buildings, in which the window openings are framed and also divided into lights.

Creating harmonious relationships between traditional wood morphology and neighboring new buildings is not an easy task, but a frequent one for an architect working in countries with a deep tradition of wood architecture. In the city of Porvoo, Finland, the new wooden buildings in the quarter on the right bank of the river adopt what is best from the Old Town on the opposite side of the river to the north. The adopted elements include the size of the buildings, the scale of their facade details, the range of color, and the relationship between building height and the width of the street. In this example, the search for a relationship between old and new wooden architecture is facilitated by distance – since the Old Town and the new quarter are separated by a river, the harmony of their composition or the professionalism of their design does not arouse passionate discussion. It is a different matter in the Old Town of Hangö, where modern wood architecture adjoins historic wooden buildings making up a mini-quarter. Here, the juxtaposition of old and new architectural details, their harmony, and the impact of aesthetic choices are clearly displayed. In this resort on the Baltic Sea, in the quarter between Torggatan and Korkeavuorenkatu Streets, the standing structures with apparently identical proportions differ in the particulars of their age and details. In the aesthetic of the exteriors of older traditional buildings, large-scale windows and tall doors dominate the flat walls, and a sense of scale is created by the window lights and the color and relief accentuation of the wall corners and lower window lines. In the new building next door, some of the functional parts of the doors and windows are considerably smaller, and in an attempt to recreate the typical historical spatial harmony, larger openings are simply marked by wall color. Despite

[10] Zumthor, *Zumthor: Spirit of Nature Wood Architecture Award 2006*.

the architect's artistic intention, the composition's variation, its "contemporariness," with various-sized windows and dormers on the roof, looks like a superficial imitation of the neighboring existing historic wooden buildings, which are consistent in architectural style.

These examples show the boundary between a professional interpretation and its mutation into a not-particularly successful imitation is a narrow one. Proportions echoing the superficial context are not of their own accord a guarantee of success, if the totality of architectural detail is not mastered. The interpretation of contemporary forms of common elements requires a more careful study of traditional forms, an understanding of basic connections, and the most important principles of composition.

In Lithuania, which has a long tradition of wood architecture, some contemporary wooden structures, in striving to find a connection with ethnicity and tradition, acquire an emphatically commonplace, primitive presentation of poor aesthetic quality. It is impossible to perceive any sign in these structures that the architect took an interest in the forms of traditional wooden architecture and, having found them, used them creatively in a new structure. It is interesting that buildings with this kind of mediocre expression even appear in city centers or on urban main streets, discrediting the legacy of wood architecture and wood as an architectural material. As Vilnius examples, one can mention the farmers market on Ukmergės Street or the Winter Fair stands in Odminių Square. This creates the impression in the cities that traditional village architecture, wood architecture, is equivalent to plank barracks or temporary sheds.

Society's image of a wooden building as a lowly auxiliary structure with questionable ethnographic characteristics is confirmed by the products some Lithuanian construction firms offer in their advertising brochures, retail outlets, and yearly building shows. The owners of Lithuanian tourist farms often buy these and similar products, thereby unintentionally adding to a distorted understanding of wood architecture in the society.

The above examples show that, in Lithuania, the use of traditional wood architectural forms in new wooden buildings is sometimes treated more as a question of the employment of unimportant superficial visual resemblances rather than as a serious problem of architectural craftsmanship.

Among the Lithuanian buildings of this type is the museum "Girių aidas" (Woodland Echo), built in 1971. Laima Laučkaitė has called this building a wooden artifact, characterized by Soviet-era folk art, folklore motifs, traditional peasant construction, and elements of contemporary architecture and organic nature.[11] The architecture of this wooden building is notable for its great variety of forms and details. The raised part of the building is supported by a modern wood-peg structure, "assisted" by carved columns, the "legs." Parts of the exterior walls are inclined, coordinated on the main facade by windows that narrow towards the bottom. The windows are uniformly framed by gingerbread that crudely resembles traditional window decoration, and a large pseudo-modern glass wall is used in place of the gable panels. The peak of the main gable is decorated with moose heads, while the dormers are topped with forms resembling axes. The exterior reminds one of a witch's house or the like in a fairytale book. The ethnographic architecture presented here is excessively distorted, overdone, with exaggerated proportions. Unfortunately, this building, designed and built by foresters, became famous and attracted visitors from all over the Soviet Union, and continues to be of interest today.

The demand for "attractively" presented traditional wooden architecture is alive in today's independent Lithuania. The log restaurant Bajorkiemis, built in 2002 along the Kaunas-Vilnius highway, without a building permit and according to the owner's vision, was particularly popular.[12] The building, which burned down in November 2012, was considered a fairly accurate copy of the Blinstrubiškis manor, built around 1740 in

[11] Surgailis, *Mediniai Druskininkai*, 176.

[12] Dargis, "Gandai ir mistika," Tvirbutas, 'Bajorkiemio' savininkas viliasi išsaugoti nelegalius pastatus."

The museum "Girių aidas" in Druskininkai, designed by Algirdas Valavičius in 1971.

Žemaitija. To attract visitors, a similar building was attempted not far from Vilnius, on the road to Trakai; but in this case, the Blinstrubiškis principles were not scrupulously followed. The building's volume was much expanded: there were only six windows on each side of the main entrance porch of the original manor, but in the new building, there are eighteen. The porch pediment is also pretentiously finished, incorporates an oval window, and has a more plastic shape. The motif of the design of the entrance pediment is used to decorate the dormers. In this case, it is debatable whether the idea of applying a historic building form to contemporary needs applies to deforming it and incorporating details not characteristic of the original. Even nonprofessionals notice this structure is excessive in scale, inflated, and uncomfortable. It is judged an unsuccessful imitation of a farm manor, misinforming the visitor about the particulars of this type of Lithuanian wood architecture.

The restaurant Trakų Dvarkiemis on the Vilnius-Trakai road, designed by Algirdas Mažeika and Gintautas Remeika, 2006.

The restaurant Žaldokynė, now called HBH, was built in 2005 along the road to Molėtai near Vilnius. In its wood construction, the first floor is "reinforced" by brick and stone buttresses, and covered with a massive straw roof typical of Žemaitian ethnographic farm structures. The building is entered through a porch covered with a raised three-part roof of the same type, supported by wood columns, and pierced by an arched dormer. The building is a pastiche of various farm, factory, and residential building traditions. In terms of composition, it contributes nothing of value to the art of contemporary architecture and uniquely discredits Lithuania's ethnographic wooden architecture, noted for its aesthetic harmony, concord, and functionality.

As Algimantas Mačiulis asserts, "imitation was always architecture's scourge." In his opinion, folk architecture's essence manifests itself in folk art's deep layers and complex semantics, not in the mere collection of its outward decorative motifs. Among the imitative, clichéd interiors Mačiulis studied, he includes spaces formed by wood construction and detail. Early interiors of this nature in Vilnius, in his estimation, include the restaurant Medininkai, where one of the interior accents is a massive wooden gallery with banisters that resemble a castle parapet. As examples from recent years, he mentions the Marceliukės Klėtis inn on Tuskulėnų Street and the Čili Kaimas restaurant on Vokiečių Street, in which

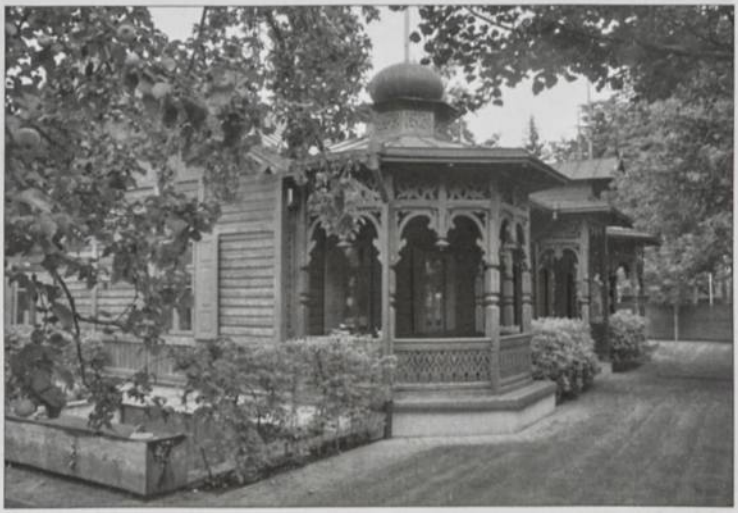
The restaurant HBH on the Vilnius-Molėtai road, 2005.

the wood construction and detail are essentially decorative elements that caricature traditional architecture's integrity. One must agree with Mačiulis that rustic interiors shoved into modern architecture, into new commercial centers, clash with their style.[13] Interior projects that imitate Lithuania's rural style are a unique genre of architecture in which designers apparently allow themselves to behave freely, thoughtlessly manipulating traditional wooden architectural forms without paying sufficient attention to traditional proportions or the unity and meaning of the details.

Nevertheless, examples of the coordination of traditional morphology and contemporary architecture can be found in Lithuania. One may consider the reconstruction of a residential house in Vilnius's Žvėrynas neighborhood, designed by Gintautas Natkevičius and associates, as an example of an appropriate architectural solution. The valuable, visible historical wooden house's architectural shape was carefully recreated in accord with the historical material, without changing the exterior detailing. New architectural forms were adopted

[13] Mačiulis, "Kičo apraiškos," 167-172.

in the basement and the interior, where the unique accumulated historical value of the upper part of the building was not changed or spoiled.[14] The designers' respect for and retention of traditional form and refusal to push contemporary architectural solutions to the fore does not lessen the aesthetic impact of the project and impresses us with its expression of inventive thought.



Residential building reconstruction and addition, D. Poškos Street, Vilnius, 2006. Architects Gintautas Natkevičius, Rimas Adomaitis, and Raimundas Babrauskas; sculptor Algimantas Šlapikas.

In some cases, interesting results are achieved with a more radical reconstruction and recreation of traditional forms on more modest wooden buildings. Alvydas Šeibokas's reconstruction of an early twentieth-century wooden house on Tiškevičiaus Street in Panevėžys can be mentioned as an instance. The architect was not afraid to change the form of the roof, to mount sliding wooden shutters on the facades, or to combine the details of openwork wooden blinds with blank surfaces created from flat wooden planks. The reconstructed building acquired a contemporary architectural character. On

[14] Liutkevičienė, "Medinė Vilniaus karūna," 18-23.

the other hand, with its general shape, proportions, and the scale of the details, it remained related to the surrounding urban wooden buildings. In this case, it is clear the designer chose to solve the structure's functional and aesthetic problems by essentially and suitably forming the building's shape anew.

Reconstructed wooden building on Tiškevičiaus Street, Panevėžys; architect Alvydas Šeibokas, 2006.

In all probability, the most pressing problems in combining traditional form and contemporary architecture's requirements arise when building new or renovating old wooden structures in protected areas. In 2008–2009, in a series prepared by the Ethnic Culture Preservation Commission, an attempt was made to define the basic characteristics of historical wooden structures and to clearly indicate some possible means of balancing the old and the new. An attempt was made to establish theoretical prerequisites for successful architectural solutions. The scholar Aistė Andrušytė and her coauthors observed that it was not just the embellishments and details that must suit a

traditional shape, but also the configuration of spaces and the combinations and proportions of volumes.[15] Writing about the building of new structures in Aukštaitija, Rasa Bertašiūtė and her coauthors state that harmony is possible in the combination of the modern and the ethnographic, when new construction materials, along with contemporary ecological and economic considerations, are linked to those properties of the building and the structure of the building itself that reveal the area's ethnographic particularities. They recommend observing the commonalities in the centuries-old tradition of wood construction. Interestingly, in this study the authors do not reject the possibility of preparing entirely new projects that are not typical of the local architecture, but can be integrated with the existing surroundings via the principles of contrast or nuance. They do, however, emphasize that new structures should not become overbearing, and their solutions should complement the existing landscapes and buildings.[16] The essentials for putting theory into practice can be seen in the 2010 publication *Kaimo statyba: Rytų Aukštaitija* (Village Construction: Eastern Aukšaitija), in which the farmstead building projects presented, as the authors of the text and the projects assert, strive to integrate a contemporary village lifestyle with the forms of long-established farmsteads, with characteristics representative of the area that reflect the worldview, lifestyle, and circumstances of its people.[17] In the projects this publication offers, it is obvious that efforts to, in essence, change the layout or form of at least several details in an entirely traditional building's structure frequently lends the composition a suggestion of the imitative quality discussed earlier. Examples of this are the joining of two customary windows into one in the "Kovas" project, or the doubling of the fancy front-hall window in the "Spalis" project. In 2012–2013, this collection of designs was enlarged by publications devoted to other ethnographic regions

[15] Andriušytė, et al., *Dzūkijos tradicinė kaimo architektūra*, 104.

[16] Bertašiūtė, et al., *Vakarų aukštaitijos tradicinė kaimo architektūra*, Bertašūtė et al., *Rytų Aukštaitijos tradicinė kaimo architektūra*..

[17] Bertašiūtė, et al., *Kaimo statyba: rytų Aukštaitija.*

of Lithuania.[18] The tremendous amount of work the authors put into this (163 projects are presented, the majority of them wood architecture) did not dispel a dispassionate observer's doubt that the inhabitants of a protected area should build the exact same house and farm buildings their forefathers did, ignoring today's functional necessities and the natural urge for technological or aesthetic progress lurking in human nature. Although, in the majority of the projects, the authors attempt to apply present-day planning to living space, incorporating new functions and structural improvements to older building types, in many cases, they try to keep the building's exterior "as it was earlier." This is a dangerous move towards the creation of an imitative, decorative architecture. These project catalogs drew criticism from some Lithuanian architects, who observed that the project solutions do not suit the times nor consider the realities of present-day rural life, and the buildings resembled clichéd, faux architecture.[19]

All the same, the ability to successfully rely on traditional form in one's work and produce an artistic result that is valuable from an architectural standpoint depends on talent, not just theoretical knowledge. A lucid position and confidence on the part of the designer is obviously extremely important to avoid the conflicts between traditional form and imitation in wood architecture. A good understanding of the composition and meaning of the particulars of the desired traditional form, like mastering the rules of an established game, allows a successful contemporary result, one in which the forms of the past are neither distorted nor caricatured. Another successful design principle, which has earned the greatest appreciation among professionals, is when older traditional wooden architectural morphology is interpreted by means of adopting the substance and basic proportions of the forms, and marking and

[18] See Bertašiūtė, et al., *Kaimo statyba: Dzūkija* (2012); *Kaimo statyba: Vakarų Aukštaitija* (2013); *Kaimo statyba: Suvalkija* (2013); *Kaimo statyba: Mažoji Lietuva* (2013); *Kaimo statyba: Žemaitija* (2013).

[19] Leitanaitė, "Naujai architektūrai kaime – tik šimtmečių senumo idėjos?"

coding traditional characteristics by means of contemporary architecture and technology.

In this respect, the architectural group Arches, whose resort project, built at Lavyso Lake in 2008, was designated one of the best works at the show "Žvilgsnis į save 2008–2009" (A Glance at Ourselves 2008–2009), could be mentioned here. This interesting project is a reconstruction of the resort homes Nakcižibis (Night Glow), nestled in a pine forest. As the authors assert, the very name of the buildings, the protected ethnographic village nearby, the surrounding pines, and the lake sprawling alongside inspired the solution. A composition of compact volumes distributed among the pines was required, hence the openwork volumes that gleam at night and are reflected in the water. These were meant to be scattered among the natural surroundings and melt into them, to convey the lines, ease, and grace of the tree trunks, and to appear as translucent as the mass of the pines. Natural and traditional materials – wood, wood chips, and lattice – are used in the buildings' construction. By separating the volumes of the resort homes and dispersing them, they sought to create the necessary uninterrupted connection with the natural surroundings, as well as privacy for the occupants.[20]

Leonardas Vaitys, discussing this project in the press, first notes the absence of detailed ethnographic manifestations. According to him, the buildings' scale, form, and decorative materials seem to allude to traditional farmstead building principles, although the fine details of their facade finishes do not venture further towards ethnography. He then concedes that the composition's joining of all the buildings into a whole is excellent.[21] By not copying traditional decorative details verbatim in the reconstructed buildings, the architects avoided the dangers of imitation. In the common architecture of the reconstructed and new buildings, wood architecture's traditional markers – in particular, its forms, proportions, and the characteristics of its materials – are masterfully united with

[20] Arches, "Projektai/Rekreaciniai."
[21] Vaitys, "Poilsinė prie Lavyso ežero," 70-78.

contemporary aesthetics and functional solutions into a single whole. The accented windows, doors, and roof details beloved of other reconstructed traditional buildings are here designed without any special decoration, by means of minimal contemporary aesthetics oriented towards function.

The new resort buildings next to Lavyso Lake, designed by the Arches firm, 2008.

Conclusion

Imitation in contemporary architecture results when crude, banal, stylistically distorted design solutions appear in a directly repetitive universe of traditional forms and elements. Another variant is when parts and elements typical of ethnographic architecture are incorporated into a structure that is modern in its expression. In imitative architecture, ethnographic architecture is frequently offered as superficial window-dressing rather than a functional necessity. Imitation in Lithuanian wooden architecture is essentially considered a negative phenomenon.

There are two methods of using traditional forms in contemporary wooden architecture that can be positively evaluated. The first is an exact, detailed recreation of a traditional wooden structure, using accurate research materials. Essentially, the motivation for this method can only apply when

reconstructing deteriorated old wooden buildings. The second method is to mark or code forms characteristic of traditional architecture, the aesthetic particulars of its elements, its principles of construction, and its substance, by using new design language. In this manner, a functional, aesthetic object of technologically oriented architecture is created that enriches the connection with tradition and cultural uniqueness without appearing like window dressing.

Translated by Elizabeth Novickas

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A Story Begun But Not Finished

HERKUS KUNČIUS

I

Jokūbas Nagurskis, the landlord of Kurtuvėnai Estate, looked in the mirror. He liked what he saw: a head shaved bald, a fleshy nose, a luxurious mustache, and a beefy face. His sturdy frame sported an ornate doublet covered by a tapered cloak, a gilded sash draped around his torso, and an inordinate quantity of medals.

"An eagle, a fearless falcon, Jokūbas Nagurskis, a buzzard, afraid of nothing," he was muttering to himself, as if in a sacred chant, while pulling over his head a hat embellished with the skin of a recently slaughtered lamb.

Partial to beauty, Jokūbas Nagurskis was Bailiff of Beržėnai, Elder of Pavenčiai and Gintališkės, Colonel of the Beržėnai and Šiauliai districts of the Grand Duchy of Samogitia, as well as Chamberlain of the Grand Duchy of Samogitia. He was esteemed even in Poland. When they awarded him the Order of the White Eagle, they told him it was "for services to the Homeland."

For several decades now, the widower Jokūbas Nagurskis had lorded it over the family's main residence, the Kurtuvėnai Estate and its town. His holdings also included Gintališkės, Kartena with its notorious inn, the estates of Pažyžmės and

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Gordai in the district of Kražiai, and the royal estates of Tuibiai, Ryliškės, Dvoržiškės, Vargeniai, and Maškiškės. Not to mention several estates in Vilnius.

Nagurskis never complained of insufficient wealth, and he could allow himself a lot.

On his estate's dinner table he could take pride in deep and flat English and Dutch plates, crystal wineglasses, fancy beer steins, and golden shot-glasses.

Though indifferent to Spanish wine, Jokūbas Nagurskis was partial to the Portuguese and the Italian grape and never refused to down capacious glasses of champagne by the dozen.

Nor did he ever complain of a lack of appetite. He took a flexible view of gastronomy and did not bellyache about bitter almonds, ginger, fresh olives, peppers, laurel leaves, cinnamon, nutmeg, lavender spikes, rosemary, dates, and, of course, raisins.

He did not fancy red and especially black caviar, although he loved fish, as long as it was from the deep sea. Game meat he relished with Italian macaroni, Dutch cheese, and chestnuts.

He ascribed huge importance to dessert. He always required that dinner be served with no fewer than three sorts of coffee, and there absolutely had to be Chinese tea and lemon juice, not to mention French prunes, orange peels, apricot jam, and, of course, sugar, caramel, and chocolate.

Without these things, Jokūbas Nagurskis could not possibly imagine his life in Kurtuvėnai. In that respect, he was a typical citizen of the Republic in the second half of the eighteenth century: as the saying went, "when a Saxon king rules, you just drink, eat, and loosen your buckle."

Jokūbas Nagurskis looked at his sleekly narrow shoes, as always with their ends smartly pointing upwards. It was time to show himself to the local high society.

In the wooden barn converted into a theater, a few steps away from the manor house, the invited guests were already buzzing about: Count Ignacas Karpis, all powdered up, with his marriage-ready daughter Mirolanda Karpytė at his side;

the rosy-cheeked Pastor Simonas Putvinskis; the timid-eyed Reverend Jokūbas Šmatovičius; and the gluttonous Samogitian boyars Zamgelovičius, Skaševskis, Brošelis, Moravskis, Podsiadło, Ružyckis as well as lesser gentry-folk from the Duchy of Samogitia. Nearby, you could also see the two sons of Jokūbas Nagurskis, who resembled each other ever so little: the strong-necked Jonas and the pale-faced Kajetonas.

Jokūbas Nagurskis sat down in his chair and loftily waved his hand for the show to begin.

When the buzz died down, there in the dusky Kurtuvėnai Manor barn the long-awaited spectacle of Italian comedians started. Rumor had it that Kurtuvėnai had never before witnessed such a thought-engaging performance.

Puppets rising above the curtain commenced enacting an edifying story about the naïve wooden Pinocchio, his misadventures in the Land of Fools, and the hero's friendship with Malvina, the dog Artamon, and the whining Pierrot.

Jokūbas Nagurskis's eye was especially drawn to Karabasas Barabasas, a bearded man who oddly resembled the former lord of Kurtuvėnai Manor, Jokūbas's long-gone father, Pranciškus Nagurskis. Like the latter, Barabasas was mean, demanding, and unbending; he never went without his stick, used it like a stepfather, and displayed a stepmother's lack of kindness.

Events above the curtain went by furiously and dramatically. The Land of Fools was full of passion, treachery, envy, love, and faith, as it is everywhere on earth.

After Pinocchio had buried the gold coins, tension in the barn theater grew palpably, and there was no guessing how it would all end. The more sensitive nobles broke out in a sweat; somebody in the audience (it turned out to be Pastor Simonas Putvinskis) fainted and was pulled out into the fresh air.

Those with stronger nerves, though terribly upset, followed the play with bated breath and suffered deeply over Pinocchio's spiritual downfall. Several spectators identified themselves with the story's secondary characters: for some, it was Father Karl; for others, the blind cat or the hypocrite fox.

When the wooden Pinocchio finally found the golden key,

the noblemen of Samogitia emitted sighs of relief; the boyars Brošelis and Skvaševskis even started weeping, and no one felt tempted to mock them.

The audience had hardly regained their composure when the puppets were replaced by a half-naked female gymnast.

Remarkable what this dwarf could do on the wooden beams just below the barn roof: she jumped up and down, rolled, writhed, turned, swung, crawled, and so on. Everybody wondered: would this gymnast smash to the ground, or wouldn't she?

No, nothing like that happened. The nimble little woman held her balance: she had strong hands, sturdy legs, a square head never before seen in Kurtuvėnai, and she was deaf and dumb to boot. For an encore, after gracefully sliding down a beam, she did a couple of miracles of flexibility: a bridge, a spread eagle, and a head-poke between her legs.

The dwarf was followed by a mime: a white-faced man stood on a block, but to the spectators it seemed he was walking.

He was tiptoeing, but going nowhere.

"Wait for us," shouted the jovial noble Zamgelovičius.

"Where are you rushing to?" ironically asked the tear-faced Skaševskis.

"Is Vilnius very far?" chuckled old Ružyckis, who knew of the ancient capital of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy only from legend.

"Unbelievable," said Jokūbas Nagurskis, as the mime was, as it were, moving faster and faster before finally taking off at a run.

This pleased not only the lesser nobles, but Count Ignacas Karpis as well; he could have spent hours watching the comedian seemingly walking but going nowhere. The same was true of Jokūbas Nagurskis: to him the pointless jerking of the mime seemed to suggest something, but he couldn't for the life of him think of what this might be.

Still, all this was new, hitherto unseen, and full of mystery.

After a half hour went by unnoticed, the comedians were now playing fiddles, blowing flutes, and strumming mandolins. And like a restless heart, inserted between the gymnast's thighs, there beat a little drum.

But soon everyone's attention was fastened upon a bosomy songstress whose breasts were heaving unambiguously. Even the slow-witted Reverend Jokūbas Šmatovičius realized that culpable things were going on in that barn: the old man standing beside her was getting ready to seduce this morally indecisive singing girl.

On the other hand, the stud with a thick craw sang quite beautifully too, his body was taut, culpably active, and lustful.

"He doesn't love you!" Zamgelovičius, a man partial to affairs of the heart, blurted out.

"Grab her and drag her down to the cellar!" the noble Posiadło couldn't help saying. He knew some Latin, so the Italian text of the duet was no mystery to him: he knew what was going on.

"Stay away from him!" Lukrecija, the wife of the noble Brošelis, warned her angrily. "They're all like that!" she reminded her, when the singing girl finally stretched her hand out to her partner.

"He'll seduce and abandon her," the noble Moravskis said with certainty.

"Be quiet!" shouted Jonas Nagurskis.

"Yes, let us listen!" said Kajetonas, who was a little more educated than the others.

"Do you find me attractive?" asked Mirolanda Karpytė, inclining ever so slightly toward the young Jonas Nagurskis sitting next to her. Unfortunately, the lad didn't hear, immersed as he was in the Italian *bel canto*.

And that stuffed turkey with the red crop was still wooing the singer.

The cock sang sweetly:

Là ci darem la mano,
Là mi dirai di sì.

That's how he was inviting the girl for a rendezvous in an outlying hut.

But she was saying:

Vorrei, e non vorrei.

And she was afraid to look him in the eye.

But he didn't let her be:

Partiam, ben mio, da qui.

He didn't let go of her hand and pressed her to start enjoying his intimate services.

"Adulterers! Perverts! Lechers!" said the pastor, who had just returned to the barn. He also demonstratively spat on the ground to show what he thought of Mozart (still unknown in Kurtuvėnai), his music, Italy, the Spanish rake Don Juan, and others of their ilk. As a child, Putvinskis had been educated by the Dominicans. "Shame on the Nagurskises! Shame!" He turned toward the door. "Inviting all these Macaronis to Kurtuvėnai, with all their slime..."

"Well, I liked it," said Kajetonas Nagurskis, not afraid to contradict the departing pastor while secretly sending an air kiss to the singer. She, it appeared, returned the gesture.

"We too like it very much," said the nobles Zamgelovičius and Ružyckis, not particularly known for their strict morality.

"So, go on, never mind him," urged Jonas Nagurskis.

"Don't pay any attention to that loudmouth," said old Jokūbas Nagurskis, trying to calm the somewhat distraught artists. It was only because of his efforts that Kurtuvėnai hosted the most illustrious comedy troupes from Europe.

"Sing, play, and entertain us provincials," he said, winking slyly at Count Karpis sitting next to him.

Ignacas Karpis got the irony, that's why he couldn't help snorting. A second later, he was holding his belly and guffawing heartily.

Satisfied, Jokūbas Nagurskis sat back comfortably in his easy chair and began stroking his mustache: he was ready once again to experience aesthetic pleasure in the barn of his manor.

II

"I am touched to the bottom of my heart," said Ignacas Karpis, as he ceremoniously shook Jokubas Nagurskis's hand. "It's been a long time since I've had such an enlightening experience."

The guest, it seems, was being sincere; he felt spiritually uplifted. "How do you manage to draw comedians out of the deepest recesses to come up to our lands?"

"There's no mystery here: it's the crossroads," said Jokūbas Nagurskis, stealthily wiping his palm, damp with the count's sweat, on his kontusz.

"Yes, yes, now we're all living at the crossroads," Ignacas sighed. "Like sitting on a barrel of gunpowder. You never know who will barrel in next and when, from God knows where: Confederates, Austrians, Prussians, Turks, or Catherine the Second, with her Repnins and Vorontsovs," said Karpis.

"I'm glad you enjoyed it."

"It was an unforgettable experience," said Karpis, again reaching for Jokūbas Nagurskis's hand, but the latter had craftily tucked it behind his waist sash.

"Too bad you couldn't make it last time, when we saw a no-less rich performance: a group of French comedians; they brought with them not only a spur worn by the Maid of Orleans, but a stuffed talking parrot."

"You don't say?" cried Karpis. He hadn't yet heard anything about Orleans and talking parrots.

"It's God's own truth: it had a bare, red bottom, a grinning beak, and an upright red tail."

"Come to think of it: how full of everything our world really is! It has eggs, stuffed animals, statues, people, monkeys, pictures – you name it."

"I agree: it's an unfathomable mystery. Here, you think danger lurks, but when you delve deeper – all you see is joy all around."

"Even under the most adverse circumstances, you do know how to enjoy life," said the count, trying to flatter him. He had his reasons: he wanted his only daughter to marry into the Nagurskis family.

"What can you order done, when everything around you is going to pot?"

"I agree: we only live once," said Ignacas Karpis, powdering his face.

"But there, my dear count, I will dare to contradict you:

there are things on the other side; there's a life after death, a life that smells no less sweet, a life diverse, colorful, and filled to the brim with meaning," said Jokūbas Nagurskis, now pleasantly surprised even by himself. What prompted him to dig so deeply into being? The naive pronouncements of Karpis tired him; yet his own utterances didn't make him feel terribly smarter.

"I don't doubt it in the least. But don't get me wrong," for some reason, Karpis started to apologize and made a fine curtsey. "Once in a while, a blasphemous thought strikes me," he went on, theatrically twirling a finger raised high above his head. "What if after death there's nothing? Imagine then how we err curtailing our desires, smothering our wild passions, and always acting morally, while each day painfully experiencing that the life we're leading is not as full as it could be."

"What are you saying?" Nagurskis said, irritated.

"I, of course, don't think so. But if we accept the false assumption that there's no God and no afterlife either, shouldn't we then relax and go after the fruit that is otherwise forbidden? After all, we won't ever have another chance at this," said Ignacas Karpis excitedly, not understanding that he was going against what he himself had just said.

"Are you talking about our regressing to a primitive state? Becoming bestial?" asked Nagurskis in a tone not particularly genial.

"No, I'm not suggesting we renounce our humanity," replied Karpis carefully, pulling a bit back from the always unpredictable Nagurskis. "I just thought that somewhere in the unfathomable past we lost hold of something very important."

"And what about the Fatherland, Honor, and Faith – these bright lights that do not allow us to stray from the right path?" asked the lord of Kurtuvėnai Manor angrily.

"But aren't these things so ephemeral?!" Karpis went on unperturbed. "Just consider: today, the Fatherland is here; tomorrow, it may have moved to there; and the day after tomorrow, it might be gone forever!"

"And Honor?" Nagurskis exclaimed, demonstratively revealing his chest and thereby showing off his motley medals.

"But don't we know enough people who live without Honor? And not only that – they prosper and are thought honorable."

"Who do you have me in mind, me?" asked Nagurskis, putting his palm on the hilt of his sword.

"By God, no," said Karpis.

"I doubt if living without Honor can make anyone happy," said Nagurskis, running his fingers over the hilt's pommel and nervously tapping it.

"I don't think they'd tell the truth if you asked them," said Karpis very quietly, almost in a whisper. "But again I'd like to know: a nobleman's Happiness – can it be sought without Faith, Honor, and Fatherland? Let's pretend we don't know these concepts, have never heard of them, and our vocabulary doesn't have the words for them. Maybe then that Maid of Orleans parrot would give you a thousand times more pleasure, and maybe looking at it would reveal things in us that we never suspected were there."

"I don't understand what we're talking about." Nagurskis again felt annoyed and exhausted. "You suggest forgetting the most important thing. Going on like this would be just a short step away from abolishing the right of *liberum veto*. And that would mean only one thing: our destruction."

"Are you certain of that?" A devious smile played on Karpis's lips.

"*Vincere, aut mori!*" cried Nagurskis, perhaps a bit too loudly.

The spooked crows in the estate's park rose up, and the white droppings from one of them splattered next to the count.

"You've said it yourself: victory or death."

"These comedians gave rise to strange thoughts in you."

"It's spring," offered Karpis, light-heartedly.

"To me spring is the best time of year," said Nagurskis, looking towards the park and regaining his composure. Talking about nature and the hunt always quieted him down.

"By the way, visit me sometime. I can't promise you comedians, but I'll organize a hunt for the occasion."

"I accept this offer with humility and pleasure."

"But don't delay, come next week."

"Incidentally, not long ago, Lipskis, Paplavskis, Pšibylskis, Pšezdeckis, and myself were in the neighborhood visiting Count Pšobovskis's estate," said Nagurskis, switching to a subject dear to his heart. "The ladies sat in the parlor while we went out into the yard: the lord intended to show us his young pure-bred steed. But suddenly he went wild, we were afraid to approach him," recounted Nagurskis, gazing somewhere into the distance. "But then – you won't believe it – a German baron visiting Pšobovskis suddenly jumped on this steed's back, frightening the horse and instantly taming it. He then rode through the open window into the parlor and made several turns at a walk, trot, and gallop. He jumped upon the table set for tea and had the horse perform its exercise routine. It treaded so nimbly that it broke not one saucer or cup."

"Impossible!"

"God's truth. Count Pšobovskis was deeply affected and gave the tamed steed to the baron as a gift."

"A royal gesture."

"The baron rode it to war against the Turks. Actually, can you guess when the war with Turkey might start?"

"At the moment, it would be unfavorable to Russia," said Ignacas Karpis, furrowing his brow: he didn't enjoy speculating on even the nearest future.

"But we're taking too long. Please accompany me to the table I've ordered set in the manor," said Jokūbas Nagurskis.

III

Mirolanda Karpytė settled on Jonas Nagurskis's arm.

"Let's take a walk."

Not much for words, Jonas Nagurskis obeyed. Nagurskis didn't feel at ease in the company of women. What can you talk about with them? How should you behave? And why do they chase men? It's hard to understand.

There were times when he got up the nerve to say something really important to his female companion, but she would suddenly interrupt him, often even starting to yawn ostentatiously. Then Jonas Nagurskis would stop talking and say nothing the rest of the day; let the women go to hell.

Of course, you could tell them what you saw: a tree, grass, a crow, a stork's nest, a stone-paved path and over there, the cellar, in which carrots and apples stay edible for a year and beets never turn bad...

Alas, the Kurtuvėnai manor park was not large and there was only one sky, so you couldn't avoid repeating yourself. Here we go again: the tree you saw, the grass is green, the barn is wooden...

Nothing else. What was there to talk about in the provinces at the end of the eighteenth century?

Talk about fashion, or about feelings?

But what can you say about feelings? Not a thing. Talk about the weather? That's for the birds. Everyone here in Samogitia, Lithuania, and even Poland knows perfectly well how shitty the climate is: it's cold in winter, passably warm in summer, and in fall it always rains. The springs are equally horrible.

So what else is there to talk about? To describe the clouds floating by, for example: this one is like a sailboat capsized in a lake; that one resembles the Gate of Paradise...

Nonsense.

"And what is that?" Mirolanda Karpytė suddenly asked, her interest perked by a strange contraption next to the granary.

Jonas Nagurskis felt a surge of vigor.

"That's the flogging wheel," answered he, happy at finally finding a redemptive subject. "We punish serfs with it. Rods are fastened into the wheel's holes. When you turn the wheel with the handle, the serf gets flogged by the rods. Let me show you," he said, giving a wink to Mirolanda. "Come here!" he called to the man idling by the coach.

In a short while, the barefoot coachman, who had himself

inserted the rods into the wheel, was lying bare-backed on his belly.

Jonas Nagurskis turned the handle.

"Here we go."

Slowly at first, then faster, ever faster, the flogging wheel spun, leaving ever more distinct marks on his back. The man happened to be patient, or maybe he valued his coachman's duties dearly, therefore he didn't even let out a whimper.

"More?" asked Jonas Nagurskis. His eyes glimmered strangely, his forehead was beaded with sweat.

"Doesn't your hand get tired?" Mirolanda asked, her face showing motherly concern.

"Not at all. It was built so you'd never tire."

"An interesting contraption. My father doesn't have anything like it."

"It's made of oak. Grandfather Pranciškus Nagurskis left it to us. He had it made by a local Kurtuvėnai craftsman."

In her heart of hearts, Mirolanda Karpytė wanted Jonas to stop turning that blasted wheel. Unfortunately, she was afraid to admit this; from her childhood on she had been a shy, well-educated, and very courteous young lady. On the other hand, Mirolanda Karpytė thought Jonas Nagurskis liked to turn the handle, so why should she take away the man's pleasure?

The sight turned ugly, the coachman, streaming blood, was having spasms.

Karpytė, breathless, found no strength to cry, "Enough!"

"Turning it this way you can even flog him to death," said Jonas Nagurskis, explaining the advantages of the wheel. "If you want, I can turn it the other way too."

"Can you?" asked Karpytė, not knowing what else to say.

"Of course," said Nagurskis, surprised at Mirolanda's slow-wittedness.

"Try it yourself."

Mirolanda touched the handle with her fingertips.

At first, she grasped it shyly, as if not trusting herself.

Suddenly, a heat wave rushed over her, an unexpected surge of strength.

Mirolanda turned it once, twice, a third time...

Not feeling any palpable resistance, she laid into it with both hands, turning it faster, ever faster, no longer seeing or hearing anything. After a while, she seemed stuck to it and couldn't tear herself away; she became one with the flogging wheel and its oak rods. She let herself slide ever more deeply into this delirious trip, this eternal motion into darkness.

Whop, whop, whop. The rods rhythmically flogged the coachman, now moribund.

"Faster! Faster!" Jonas Nagurskis egged her on.

"We're flying! Flying!" Mirolanda Karpytė yelled out, crimson-faced, putting all her weight on the handle.

"Perpetuum mobile!" Jonas Nagurskis couldn't help exclaiming.

"Perpetuum! Mobile perpetuum!" reaffirmed Mirolanda with the scream of a mad woman.

"Sacrum! Sacrum perpetuum mobile!"

"Samogitia perpetuum mobile!"

The manor's doorway suddenly revealed Kajetonas Nagurskis standing there.

"What is taking you so long?!" he called impatiently. "Everyone is already sitting at the dinner table: only you two are missing!"

"We're coming!" said Jonas Nagurskis to his brother and told Mirolanda it was time to go.

"One more time, one last time, the very last," begged Karpytė, unable to tear herself away from this fine Kurtuvėnai Park amusement.

IV

The banquet table was laden with dishes. This time, Jokūbas Nagurskis had ordered treats from the forest: stewed deer, marinated venison, wild boar, partridge, fried dove, and hare with stewed apples.

There was plenty to drink as well. First they tasted Benedictine, then Portuguese wine, but when the Samogitian nobles (Skaševskis, Brošelis, and mostly Zamgelovičius) began to

frown, they turned to and stuck with domestic vodka distilled in Kurtuvėnai at a Jew's distillery.

The hospitable host, Jokūbas Nagurskis, did not neglect the comedians: they were feted in the barn. There they could enjoy lukewarm vodka and a broth cooked from cow's feet and cow tails – a Kurtuvėnai delicacy.

Not used to fatty foods, the Italian comedians shrugged, made faces, and freely heaped criticism on the local gastronomy.

When the estate manager, Varlamas Žuravliovas, insistently urged them to down their glasses, the weaker ones began to choke and, their eyes popping out, were looking around for something to "extinguish" the fiery vodka. There was nothing left but to take a sip of that horrible broth.

At first, the comedians found it just so-so. But in a short time, appreciating the bouquet of flavors and odors wafting from the vat in which this dinner party's only dish was steaming, the Italians began bustling about it with their wooden spoons.

The comedians weren't disappointed; the results surpassed their boldest dreams. Especially when the manager, Varlamas Žuravliovas, explained that the fatty supper they were consuming saturated the stomach, so if you drank immoderately you wouldn't get drunk: you could imbibe as much as you want and not feel a thing until early morning.

"And after early morning?" one of the comedians nevertheless inquired, like a doubting Thomas.

"And what can happen after early morning?" the manager asked in amazement. "You wake up like you'd been born anew. Your head is bright, your thoughts clear, you have an immense will to live," Žuravliovas told the comedians and put an end to any lingering doubts. He himself had wandered in from Russia, so he knew what he was talking about.

After all these guarantees, the heartened comedians could not get enough of the vat's goodies; after all, they were thirsty and hungry after their show in the barn.

V

The feast in the smoky drawing room of the manor became ever more boisterous – even the girders began to creak.

It was unbearably hot and stifling, with the candles burning and the dim oil lamps glowing.

The noble Moravskis, having just bitten off the edge of a plate, was happily chewing the Nagurskis porcelain. Stealthily, he tried to discern whether Brošelis's wife, Lukrecija, saw how fine he was this evening.

The noblemen Zamgelovičius and Skaševskis, accompanied by a torrent of homemade vodka, forgot their earlier differences and decided to make peace for all time.

"Let's become blood brothers," offered the noble Skaševskis, his consciousness fogging.

"Like pissing on two fingers," said the noble Zamgelovičius in perfect agreement and drove a table knife into his own palm.

"My little brother, oh brother of mine," said Skaševskis tearfully and placed his own bloody palm on Zamgelovičius's open wound.

The men jumped up and embraced.

Then they kissed; it was a long kiss, very long, as was proper on such occasions – a strong and hot kiss, directly on each other's lips.

The noble Brošelis at that moment felt rejected, not needed by anyone, and of no interest to the nobility of Samogitia. Emboldened by his anxiety, he decided not to be outdone by these newly related boyars. He wanted to prove himself no less capable of enduring pain, so he began to mutilate himself.

At first, Bošelis plucked his mustache, then he stuck a fork into his wrist; finally, he cut his neck with a shard of glass and sniggered.

Podsiadło and Ružyckis, recalling a recent meeting at the regional Diet, started to argue again. Smacking each other on the cheek, they were ready to draw swords and fight it out on the spot. Unfortunately, the circumspect host, Jokūbas Nagurskis, as always, had already disarmed his guests. He knew from

experience that the nobles had hot tempers; that's why he made sure to seat only disarmed men at his banquet table.

"I will not blow in your ass: I'll show you some Samogitian boyar honor!" screamed a red-faced Podsiadło.

"I shit and stomp on such honor!" answered the boyar Ružyckis, who wasn't intending to concede.

"Cut it out, you men," implored Brošelis's wife, Lukrecija. "Sit your butts down!"

"God is love," said the pastor Simonas Putvinskis, appealing to their religious feelings. "God – that's love," he repeated, picking his teeth distractedly with his index finger.

"Make room, give the nobles more room!" said Reverend Jokūbas Šmatovičius, as he pushed away spectators crowding in on the feuding boyars. "Whip each others' asses!" the priest urged them on, as the boyars, now livid, were about to strangle each another.

Jokūbas Nagurskis looked upon these proceedings with great compassion. To the elder Nagurskis, the passions of the boyars were never alien. He himself had punched his neighbor in the nose more than once, whenever he suspected that the latter's opinions were at odds with his own code of honor. What's more, Jokūbas Nagurskis adored duels. He couldn't imagine any feast, even the humblest, without conflict, fighting, and blood, of course.

Such were the customs of the Sarmatians. Even if gruesome, they were their own; it would be sacrilegious not to observe them.

"I'll forget, but never forgive," said the noble Zamgelovičius, suddenly recalling a grievance from pagan times.

"If I manage to fart out my ass, I won't put it in the bushes. If you don't want to fart as one ass, I'll use it to plough with, I'll whip it for you," replied his blood brother Skaševskis, all fired up.

"Go shit!" yelled the boyar Zamgelovičius, jumping from the table.

"Men, shit from the same asshole," said the pastor Simonas Putvinskis, urging the boyars to make peace again. "Fart

from one ass," he added, and inspected with interest what he had picked out of his ear this time.

Jokūbas Nagurskis was highly pleased. As always, his feast was going smoothly, without any misunderstandings.

For some time now, the self-mutilated boyar, Brošelis, had been moaning sadly. Suddenly, as if terrified by the light or perhaps the hunting trophies hanging on the wall, he started to blow out the candles.

"I want to dance," declared Mirolanda Karpytė in the darkening hall, precisely at the moment Zamgolevičius treacherously smacked the boyar Skaševskis on the forehead.

"Let's have music!" shouted Kajetonas Nagurskis, hitherto sunk into a sad reverie.

"Get those comedians to the manor!" roared Jonas Nagurskis: he too wanted to shake a leg.

"They would make a nice couple," Ignacas Karpis whispered into Jokūbas Nagurskis's ear.

The latter did not reply; he pretended not to have understood the hint.

Emboldened by the home-brewed liquor, the Italian comedians played coy: they had come to Kurtuvėnai, for the sum of money agreed upon, just to perform one play. There had been no negotiations for an additional performance, or so they blindly argued. But when the manager Žuravliovas showed them the flogging wheel next to the granary, they sobered up immediately. Moreover, when it was responsibly pointed out to them that they'd be whipped right away, they suddenly rushed out to entertain the Samogitian nobility, so thirsty for entertainment.

Thus after midnight there began an unplanned second appearance of the comedians at the manor.

The sound of flutes, cymbals, violins, and harps had a tranquilizing effect on Nagurskis's guests.

Ignacas Karpis, taking pleasure in the minuet his only daughter Mirolanda was dancing with Jonas, blissfully belched. Jokūbas Nagurskis was satisfied with everything too, and after loosening the sash squeezing his belly, he nodded off.

Zamgelovičius and Skaševskis calmed down at last. The first kept his eyes open, but no longer saw anything with them. The second slept the sleep of the righteous: he snored and hiccupped, and in no way had any control over himself.

Soothed by the Italians' music, the boyar Brošelis found comfort when he placed his head on Lukrecija's hips and allowed himself to be softly scratched around his ear.

Moravskis embraced pastor Simonas Putvinskis around the waist and was happy too: he imagined he was intimately rubbing himself against the Russian Empress Catherine II, ever so desirable.

This scene put the Reverend Jokūbas Šmatovičius in a melancholy mood, for he thoroughly disliked the pastor. Deep in his heart, Šmatovičius rejoiced at having one more pretext to denounce the pastor, on moral grounds, to the ecclesiastical higher-ups.

Only the eternally pale Kajetonas Nagurskis was restless; he poured himself one goblet after another, no longer counting how many he drank this night.

Suddenly Kajetonas perked up and started to listen to a velvet voice:

All you ask for, I cannot give.
You want to be just friends, but not to love me
Oh no, oh no, I can't, I can't be with you!
All you ask for, I cannot give.

That's what the bosomy songstress crooned early in the morning, ensconced on the knees of Kajetonas Nagurskis.

"Why didn't I pay attention to her earlier?" thought Kajetonas through the fog in his head.

She really was a charming comedienne. With noble patrician bearing, an honest face, not marked by vice, a pure forehead, thick eyebrows, no wig, and piercing eyes, perhaps?

A milk-white body hidden from me... A rock-hard bottom. A chin with a hollow. Soft lines everywhere. Where are the right angles?

...And a marble bosom. The hands. The no less beautiful fingers, the moist palm... The foot perhaps is small, very

small... To get up now, to remove the miniature shoe... And to fill it and drink from it.

"Bella!" Kajetonas Nagurskis could not help exclaiming. *"Bellissima!"* He suddenly felt he'd fallen in love with this stranger. *"Bellissima donna."* Kajetonas was losing his mind.

"De Neri, Marie," – the comedienne said, wetting her lips with her tongue and offering them to be kissed.

"Mia bella, mia bella," Kajetonas kept on babbling, not much comprehending what was going on. *"Mia bella, mia bellissima."* He did not notice how his brother Jonas had just left the hall in pursuit of the deaf-and-dumb Italian gymnast.

VI

Mirolanda Karpytė sat down to catch her breath. After her dance with Jonas Nagurskis she felt tired.

And happy.

She closed her eyes, they fastened together thoroughly.

"It's love! No, it's that sneaky Benedictine who's making me sleep," Mirolanda thought, just a second before plunging into darkness.

We don't know how much time had passed, but when she awoke, Jonas Nagurskis was no longer at her side.

Initially, she didn't give it much thought; he'll be back, of course.

Alas, time went by, and Jonas didn't return.

Mirolanda began to worry, because none of the guests was able to explain coherently where her future fiancé had disappeared to.

She poured herself a glass of port and downed it.

And another.

Then she decided to act.

At first, Mirolanda looked under the table, but only Brošelis and Posiadło were resting there, sound asleep.

Then she looked under and behind all the benches and chairs; Jonas Nagurskis was not to be found anywhere there either.

She walked around the entire manor hall, looking into every corner.

In the deepest recess, there was Ružyckis, sitting on the shit-bin and smiling, his trousers down around his ankles. Apparently, he had forgotten his native language and was babbling some abracadabra to Moravskis, who was just a heap at his feet. But standing there were Zamgelovičius and Skaševskis: they were measuring something with very serious faces. But when their eyes met Mirolanda's, both turned away in shame; they didn't even respond to her request to know where Jonas Nagurskis had suddenly disappeared to.

Lighting her way with an oil lamp, Mirolanda went outside: maybe Jonas had gone out to breathe some fresh air.

Unfortunately, there was nobody outside the manor hall either, nobody admiring the star-studded sky or looking at the impressive full moon.

Mirolanda was now intent on finding her Jonas, come what may; but neither the carrot beds, nor the gardens, nor the bushes, yielded any traces of the man closest to her heart.

No sign of him in the serfs' cottages, hog pens, storehouses, stables, or the cellar either. The servants' building was locked; the cemetery was empty of living souls; and Jonas was not hiding behind the crosses there. The church?

Driven by curiosity, Mirolanda broke a window and clambered through. But Jonas was not to be found in the church, neither behind the altar, nor in the confessional, nor behind the stations and holy pictures.

Climbing into the belfry, Mirolanda fell to her knees, tore her fancy dress beyond repair, and scraped her knees.

Suddenly, the injured Mirolanda got the idea that Jonas had probably gone to the Jew's tavern and was keeping company there with the commoners, listening to old Samogitian legends, and imbibing the local atmosphere. But there were only sullen faces sitting around the inn, and Mirolanda did not have the nerve to ask the drunken peasants if they had seen her Jonelis.

Mirolanda also went around the Jew's distillery several times and listened for the slightest whisper or rustle, but didn't hear a thing.

She got the idea to check out the synagogue. But the fear, instilled in her since childhood, that the Jews might kill her and mix her Christian blood into matzo dough, kept her from taking this incautious step.

But her anxiety increased steadily. What if Jonas had fallen victim to some terrible misfortune?

Where was her Jonelis?

Driven by a dreadful premonition, Mirolanda kept walking around the estate's park. Squinting, she tried to make out if that was a drowned man floating in the pond. When she was convinced it wasn't, she went around and inspected every Kurtuvėnai well; but calling out Jonas Nagurskis by name yielded no response whatsoever.

She roamed, silently now; everywhere, there was only silence around her. She didn't know where she was going or what she was doing.

Clouds covered the star-lit heaven and hid the moon.

Worn out by her search, Mirolanda began to lose hope. Her consciousness dimmed; almost out of her mind, she began climbing the maple trees in the park, thinking she'd find her loved one in some crow's nest.

When these efforts turned out to be in vain, she decided to light her way better. Spilling some lamp oil, she wanted to set fire to a haystack directly in front of her. She giggled at the thought that soon the whole of Kurtuvėnai would brighten and warm up.

"Mirolanda?" she heard a familiar voice ask.

"Jonas!" she said joyfully at finally having found her lover.

"I..." Jonas Nagurskis couldn't find anything to say as he came crawling out of the haystack. "I... We're... It's not..." he was babbling, feeling he had committed a mortal sin.

"Jonelis, my Jonelis," cried Mirolanda, clasping her hands around his neck, embracing him, and bursting into tears.

VII

Jokūbas Nagurskis only came round three days later, just before mid-day. He was lying outstretched upon his down bed,

snug and safe, but with a splitting headache. His clothes were strewn all over the place; the shoes and medals testified that he had relaxed quite properly, perhaps even a bit too much.

He'd have snoozed a little more, if not for the flies that were buzzing around and irritating him.

And a woodpecker was annoyingly hammering in the park. The scoundrel. To Nagurskis, it seemed the bird was pounding a wedge straight into his head.

His stomach was churning. His joints ached. His eyes watered. His mouth was a pigsty, a horse stable – you get the idea.

A wasp was ferociously attacking the bedroom window. It was banging around wildly, the parasite.

That's intolerable.

Jokūbas Nagurskis forced himself to get up. Barefoot and in his nightshirt, he tiptoed over to the window, groaning. He squashed the annoying bug against the glass with his nightcap. There. You won't bother the ailing lord anymore.

He felt thirsty.

Jokūbas Nagurskis drank some water from the pitcher then suddenly felt intoxicated once again.

He tottered.

In his head, he saw and heard a salvo of multicolored fireworks going off. Maybe if he lay down for a while, he'd doze off again.

But lying in bed, he found himself yearning for some sour cabbage juice. He nervously rang the bell, calling his servant.

As if he had just come from a decisive battle, Nagurskis felt himself a loser, humiliated, exhausted, disarmed. Unconsciously, his thoughts turned to holy things: the church; tomorrow, he would most certainly invite this architect named Knakfuss from Vilnius. He'll build a new brick church in Kurtuvėnai to rival any in Vilnius and name it St. James. He'll go there himself, alone. He'll also be buried in that church, in the mausoleum.

Sad thoughts came over Jokūbas Nagurskis; he chased them away. He felt nausea rising and threw up.

But to tell the truth, contemplated Jokūbas Nagurskis, I suffer now, and yet how much good I've done in my life: I've put my estate in order, raised two virtuous sons, and haven't neglected spiritual things either.

I, Jokūbas Nagurskis, hired Šelis and Klimovičius from Vilnius and they built the small organ in the church. Everybody's happy now; the Jews are envious. When the organ plays, the serfs fall on their knees. And they make the sign of the cross again and again: they're not forgetting their consciences.

I have no regrets. I'm not sorry for anything. From my meager savings, I paid out two hundred talers and eight groschen, I even added two barrels of rye, one of barley, and half a barrel of wheat. I'd have given them more, only my inborn modesty wouldn't allow it.

I also persuaded the Franciscan friars, I invited them to come to Žaiginiai and unselfishly sponsored their monastery.

That time I really splurged. Did anyone thank me for it? No. Did I hear at least one good word from Pastor Putvinskis? No.

That arrogant, unreasonable, cruel, and greedy pastor misses no opportunity to slander me in the eyes and ears of the hierarchy. He denigrates me to the Samogitian nobility, as if I were only interested in amusements.

This makes me angry. It is only thanks to me, Jokūbas Nagurskis, that a church and belfry were built in Šukotas.

I'm not Karpis, not Putvinskis, not Šmatovičius, not Lipskis, not Paplavskis, and not Pšibylskis. I established a serfs' theater in the barn: let the people of Kurtuvėnai enjoy themselves – do I begrudge them that?

And how much money did I spend on entertainments, receptions, and parties in Vilnius! I could have fed half of Samogitia. And for what? I didn't do this for myself or for my political career. I did it for others, for my neighbors and my country, for the Republic.

And what did I get? A splitting head, the shakes, numb limbs. Didn't I at least deserve some sauerkraut juice!?

There was a timid knock on the bedroom door.

"Come in!" Jokūbas Nagurskis yelled angrily.

A servant carrying a tray stood in the doorway, but for some reason did not dare look his lord in the eye. He just writhed and bowed in humility and then retreated, walking backward. Since he'd gotten what he wanted, Jokūbas Nagurskis brightened up and forgot his pain.

He drank, greedily.

And one more goblet, bottoms up.

The sauerkraut juice was cold and refreshing, just up from the cellar.

Things were looking much better. One could live again, be charitable once more, protect what was dear, spread light, sow good, foster spirituality, and increase these good things manifold – without end.

Jokūbas Nagurskis tore open the envelope placed on the tray beside his juice. Though they often were half-a-year late, the newspapers brought to Kurtuvėnai by the post – *Kurjer Litewski, Kurjer Polski, Gazette d'Utrecht,* and some others – allowed people to orient themselves in the current world, to learn what's new in politics, to be in the midst of decisive events.

"And what will you cheer me with today?" Jokūbas Nagurskis asked, as if addressing a dear old friend, as he opened up the always-welcome *Kurjer Polski.*

At first he didn't believe it; he thought it was an evil rumor. Newspapers often write balderdash. But then the printed words fell upon Jokūbas Nagurskis unmistakably, undeniably, with the full weight of truth: Prussia and Russia (this time without Austria) had again partitioned the Republic between themselves!

This enraged Jokūbas Nagurskis no end. Losing control of himself, he hit his chin with his fist, naively believing this might wake him from a bad dream. No, it was no dream, no morning-after hallucination.

Jokūbas Nagurskis began to huff and puff and bluster. There arose in him a desire to humiliate Russia, to take revenge on Prussia, to punish Austria.

Taking hold of an imaginary sword, Jokūbas Nagurskis engaged in a battle with a three-headed monster: in one fell

swoop, he cut off the heads of the Russian-Prussian-Austrian monster then kicked them furiously, as far away as possible.

He cleared his throat and spat.

Alas.

It was hard to believe that the peaceable Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had already lost Daugpilis, Vitebsk, Polotsk, Mstislavl, and Gomel, had now also lost the voivodeships of Kiev, Bratslav, Podolia, and Minsk, the territories of Brest, and the eastern parts of the voivodeships of Volhynia and Vilnius.

This was a particularly nasty surprise, hurled like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.

And just think of it: barely a few days ago, we had such a carefree fiesta in Kurtuvėnai, Jokūbas Nagurskis said to himself. What a fine and memorable appearance was put in by the Italian comedians, what pranks were played by Skaševskis and Moravskis, how charmingly Brošelis's wife Lukrecija appeared with a burning candle tucked between her legs, how inventively Zamgelovičius entertained the snoozing guests when he stuck an elk's horn on Ružyckis's snoring head.

These emerging memories of the feast made Jokūbas Nagurskis dizzy again. Sleep descended uninvited into his warm goose-down bed once more.

Before falling asleep, Jokūbas Nagurskis's inner voice seemed to call to him to rise, saddle his steed, pick up his weapons, and act with courage in the defense of Liberty, the Republic, and himself.

Unfortunately, on that day in 1793, there was no strength left for him to get up.

Translated by Mykolas Drunga

BOOK REVIEW

Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages. Edited by Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau, and Ineta Dabašinskienė. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. viii+287 pages. ISBN: 978-1-4438-3645-6.

The volume under review seeks to make research into Baltic languages – in all its variety – accessible to the international linguistics community. Lithuanian and Latvian scholars, like their native-speaker colleagues of other "small language[s]" (Vaicekauskienė, p. 85), such as Afrikaans, still publish in their mother tongues most of the time, probably partly to uphold some standard of academic discourse in Baltic. This tradition, though respectable, has the disadvantage that it is hard for outsiders – the present reviewer included – to know what is happening in Lithuanian and Latvian linguistics. *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages* offers ten articles on a wide range of topics in this field and is truly an important step in opening it up to the anglophone world – even in view of pioneering work in this direction by, among others, Holvoet.[1]

The collection of articles is divided into three parts. The first contains two corpus-based contrastive studies. Audronė Šolienė looks at the realization of epistemic necessity in Lithuanian and English. On the basis of translation data, she shows that Lithuanian should be included in the east-west cline proposed by van der Auwera et al., "Epistemic possibility in a Slavonic parallel corpus: A pilot study,"[2] Like the East Slavic languages and unlike English, this Baltic language prefers adverbials, e.g., *turbūt* (probably) to verbs, e.g., *turėti* (to have to) to express epistemic necessity. This tendency is attributed to the low degree of grammaticalization of the modal verbs in

[1] See Holvoet, "Objects, cognate accusatives and adverbials" and "On the syntax and semantics of adpositional local phrases in Latvian."

[2] van der Auwera, "Modality's semantic map."

Lithunian. The cases in which *must* is not translated into Lithuanian, or the translations feature modal markers not triggered by any item in English, are thought to be due to "differences in [the] culture-specific conceptualization of probability and [the] varying use of pragmatic conventions." (p. 35) This intriguing idea deserves to be examined in more detail in a follow-up study. Maria Voeikova and Ineta Dabašinskienė compare Lithuanian to Russian with respect to the acquisition of case by children. They give a very clear – and for their intended audience, highly necessary – overview of the case system in both languages and find that Lithuanian "has a more prototypically inflecting case system, in which reliable (phonologically transparent and salient) inflectional endings serve as principal indicators of case forms" (p. 53), than Russian. Because children tend to learn the most important distinctions and typical functions in a language first, the Lithuanian case system can be expected to be established earlier than its Russian counterpart. This hypothesis appears to be confirmed by Voeikova and Dabašinskienė's longitudinal study of the acquisition of case. However, as the authors themselves admit, it is exploratory at best. Considering the well-known fact that the differences in acquisition among individual children are huge, one can wonder whether conclusions drawn from the speech of one Lithuanian girl and one Russian boy have much significance.

Part two of the volume is more discourse-oriented. The first article studies the link between standardization ideology and linguistic self-confidence. Loreta Vaicekauskienė shows that the standard language is seen as a state affair in Lithuania; its correct use is considered connected to "the survival of the nation." (p. 84) Accordingly, language rules are highly institutionalized and the speech of people in the public domain is heavily monitored. The author argues that this type of standardization has a negative impact on the linguistic self-confidence of speakers. Her interviews (the questionnaire is not appended, unfortunately) with twenty-four TV and radio program hosts, who can be considered expert language users, indeed bring to light an almost schizophrenic attitude. What the informants value

most is clarity, eloquence, informativeness, and the like. When asked to assess their own language, however, they use the official criterion of correctness and become self-deprecating. It would be interesting to see how the situation "in other speech communities with different degree[s] of institutionalization of language ideologies and language monitoring" (p. 100) compares to Lithuania. In the second article, Jūraitė Ruzaitė investigates the discourse of food promotion on Lithuanian bread packages, which the present reviewer was surprised to read are a post-Soviet "genre." She adopts a multimodal approach and analyzes how designers employ layout, graphics, and language to sell the product. Some of her observations are obvious. The finding that bread packages allude to health and naturalness in various ways can serve as one example. But it is fascinating that global themes in the discourse of food are combined with the "[local] idea of bread as a 'cultural myth.'" (p. 117) Pictures of people in traditional costumes, the national colors, references to saints, and so on are used to suggest that bread is part of the country's heritage and somehow holy and/or magical. In the final article, Jolanta Šinkūnienė deals with hedging, i.e., a writer's attempt to tone down his or her commitment to the truth of a proposition in academic texts in Lithuanian. She argues that, in this language, hedges typically take the form of adverbials (which links up nicely with Šolienė's results). The author focuses on the many ways in which items such as *galbūt* (maybe) and *bene* (possibly) actually function in discourse and on the quantitative differences between their usage in a number of scientific fields. Her conclusion is twofold. On the one hand, although Lithuanian academics have a wide range of adverbial hedges at their disposal, they use them sparingly. In this regard, the study complements the cross-linguistic evidence[3] that hedging is characteristic of English and Anglo-Saxon culture. On the other hand, there is a continuum from the humanities and the social sciences, in which hedging is rampant, to the hard sciences, which contain hardly any hedging devices. This

[3] Vold, "Epistemic modality markers."

result is in line with research on other languages[4] and shows that disciplinary trends may prevail over cultural trends.

The third part consists of five articles on grammatical categories. Joanna Chojnicka looks at the Latvian oblique. This verb form is usually regarded as a mood and as signaling unconfirmed information. In the author's opinion, however, it indicates that the speaker is not the source of the information. Moreover, its contexts of usage are used to support the claim that reportive evidentiality, i.e., the grammatical marking of the meanings "reportedly" and "allegedly," and reported speech are the extremes of a single cline rather than two distinct categories. Chojnicka shows that the oblique can be used in a subclause of indirect speech, in an evidential main clause, and in complex sentences in which the complement clause obviously reports the content of a report. It is not clear, however, whether the main clause can be interpreted as a reported speech introducer [...] or as a source of the report. (pp. 181-182)

The second article deals with the specifying existential sentence type in Lithuanian, the equivalent of English *there are roads that must not be followed*. Violeta Kalėdaitė describes its grammatical makeup (e.g., singular subjects take the nominative case, plural ones the genitive) and its functions (e.g., a topic changer) but, regrettably, does not do much more than sketch an interesting research program. In the third article, Erika Jasionytė looks at the Lithuanian impersonal modals *reik(ė)ti* (to need) and *tekti* (be gotten), which – in line with Šolienė's claim – are said to exhibit a low level of grammaticalization. She convincingly argues on the basis of corpus data that the former is more "modalized" than the latter. They both primarily express what van der Auwera and Plungian call participant-external modality: "[It is the] circumstances [...] external to the participant, if any, engaged in the state of affairs [...] that make this state of affairs either possible or necessary."[5] But *reik(ė)ti* is more subjective than *tekti* in that

[4] Hyland, "Boosting, hedging, and the negotiation of academic knowledge."

[5] van der Auwera and Plungian. "Modality's semantic map," 80.

it also often conveys deonticity – which, for clarity's sake, is taken here to include obligation, directivity, and moral necessity. The fourth contribution to this part presents an alternative to the traditional analysis of the reflexive verbs in Latvian as a middle voice. Andra Kalnača and Ilze Lokmane describe them in terms of thematic roles and distinguish three main types: subject reflexives, such as *mazgāties* (to wash oneself), where agent and patient are co-referential, the former is the subject; object reflexives such as *glabāties* (to be kept), where agent and patient are not co-referential, the latter is the subject; and impersonal reflexives such as *iesāpēties* (to feel sudden pain), where there is no agent or subject, only an experiencer. The even more fine-grained network they propose for the various meanings expressed by reflexive verbs in Latvian, impressive though it is, cannot be discussed within the scope of this review. Finally, Loïc Boizou is concerned with the annotation of corpora and, more specifically, with the way in which Lithuanian numerals should be tagged. He makes a compelling case for their treatment, not as a separate word class, but as either nouns or adjectives (the same has previously been pointed out for other languages). It is argued on morphosyntactic grounds that *šimtas* (a hundred), for instance, behaves as a noun while *vienas* (one) functions as an adjective. The author also suggests relegating potentially problematic issues, such as pronominality and quantification, to a semantic subsystem in the annotation. One cannot but wonder, however, whether such strict divisions are tenable from the point of view of grammar. The literature on English quantifiers (e.g., Brems on *a lot of*, *heaps of*, and so on) shows that, synchronically, different points on a developmental semantic scale toward quantification correlate with different points on a syntactic scale from noun phrase to complex determiner. This remark is not meant to diminish Boizou's efforts. The present reviewer is aware that the inherent fuzziness of grammatical categories and the inseparable bond between form and function are hard, if not impossible, to capture with a part-of-speech tagger.

Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages is a very well-edited collection of papers. The few exceptions

include the numbering of the various types of subject reflexives in Kalnača and Lokmane's (p. 242) article and the not entirely idiomatic English in one or two other articles. The editors are right in pointing out that the studies in the volume follow the international trend of substituting intuition-based research for data-driven research, "which enhances the reliability and objectivity of their findings," and that "the authors are explicit about the methodology they use" (Usonienė et al., p. 2). Aside from Vaicekauskienė and Voeikova and Dabašinskienė, whose papers are based on a questionnaire and linguistic experiments respectively, they all turn to corpora for data, but in different ways. Chojnicka and Kalėdaitė, among others, use selected corpus examples to illustrate their arguments and, in a way, to show that the phenomena under discussion are found in 'real' language. Jūratė Ruzaitė, Jasionytė, and others take corpora as their starting point – Šolienė in particular is at the forefront of contemporary corpus linguistics in combining comparable corpus data with translation data.[6] They analyze the variation between languages and/or genres and in function and/or form to look for quantifiable tendencies. The volume under review testifies that the two approaches are valid: they just serve different purposes. According to the editors, another important aspect of the book is that "each piece presented here is embedded in the international discussion of the respective field or on the topic under consideration" (Usonienė et al., p. 2). Most of the articles indeed have an international frame of reference. Voeikova and Dabašinskienė's paper, for instance, is clearly situated within the framework of natural morphology.[7] Similarly, Kalnača and Lokmane apply the thematic role analysis of, among others, Kemmer[8] to the reflexive verbs in Latvian as part of "a project to write a new academic grammar" (p. 230), and Chojnicka's study is meant as a contribution to the joint creation of "a data-

[6] See Mortier and Degand, "Adversative discourse markers in contrast."

[7] See Dressler, "Morphological typology and first language acquisition."

[8] Kemmer, *The Middle Voice*.

base of evidential markers in European languages" (p. 171). The three articles on modality also take the existing literature about other languages into full account. This international perspective makes the volume even more relevant for its intended audience. It is not just about a perhaps lesser-known language family; it addresses a variety of issues in a way that appeals to linguists all around the world. A final, critical comment about the first part of the previous sentence is in order, however. Of the ten papers in the collection, only two deal with Latvian. The rest are on Lithuanian. One could say that there is a certain imbalance between the two languages and that, in a sense, the title's reference to Baltic conceals this imbalance – though, admittedly, it is not easy to come up with a good alternative.

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ABSTRACTS

Of Tradition and Imitation: Controversy in Contemporary Lithuanian Wooden Architecture

Arnoldas Gabrėnas

This article examines how imitation appears in contemporary wooden architecture and what its signs are, as well as discussing positively evaluated methods of applying traditional forms in new wooden construction. The artistic and functional qualities of wood architecture built and designed in Lithuania are analyzed in the context of Lithuanian and foreign architectural trends and realities.

Individuals in the Field of the Politics of History during Lithuania's Soviet Period

Aurimas Švedas

This article tries to answer the following questions: What types of individuals may be identified from 1944 to 1956 and from 1957 to 2000 in the field of Lithuania's politics of history? How did the behavior strategies of these personalities correlate with their chances to stay in the public discourse? What positive or negative deeds were these individuals able to accomplish during the Soviet epoch? How did these activities influence the processes of forming or deforming the historical memory of Lithuanian society during the Soviet period?

Monuments, Memory, and Mutating Public Space: Some Initiatives in Vilnius

Skaidra Trilupaitytė

Recent movements to endow public spaces in Vilnius with meaning via monument-building initiatives have been attended by inevitable paradoxes. On the one hand, the media extol the significance of certain events or persons; on the other, we hear assertions about the indeterminacy and inconstancy of any

collective identity, which seemingly casts doubt on the need for any uniform national (or any other) representation. This creates difficulties in conceiving of forms of public art equally acceptable to all or a public representational space that unifies the national community. The article discusses how monuments transcend their function of simply being a cultural marker or decorative accent and emphasizes that questions of immortalizing the past in a democratic society be solved through public discussion in a maximally transparent public environment and not governed merely by political or financial power.

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