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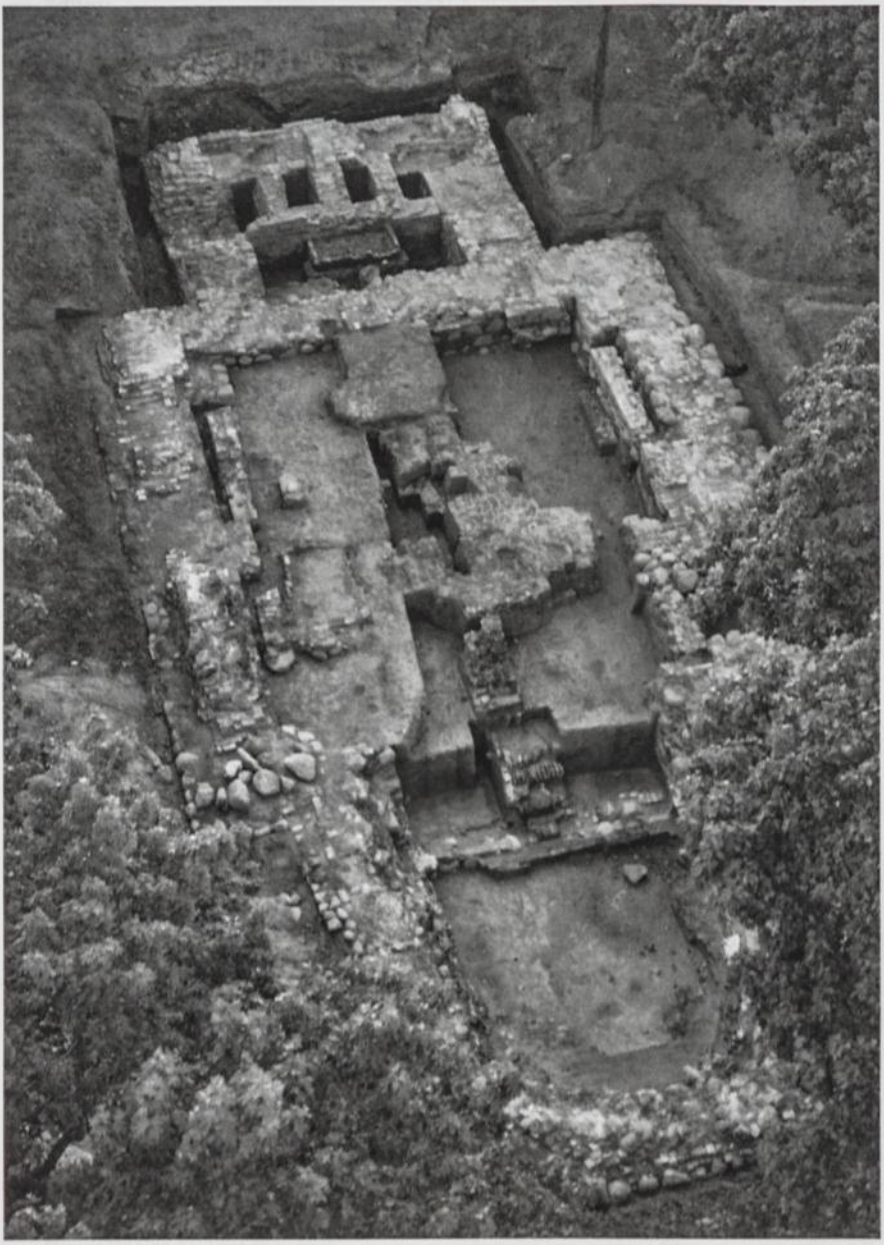

Excavations of former church building in Dubingiai.

Keeping the World Informed

ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

This year Lituanus has entered its seventh decade of existence. It was established in 1954 during the Cold War by a group of active and devoted young people who took as their task providing the world with information about a country that had fallen prey to the colonizing whims of its powerful neighbor before the end of WWII. Lituanus came into being at an extremely difficult moment for Lithuania: the country had disappeared from the world map; guerilla resistance against the Soviet regime was basically crushed; and a large percentage of the population was either imprisoned, deported to Siberian gulags or forced into exile. Meanwhile, the remaining populace was silenced and forced to submit to its Communist masters. Under these dramatic circumstances, the founders of the journal – members of the Lithuanian Student Association—issued a founding statement titled Towards Better Understanding that contained some memorable reflections on its immediate aims:

"This publication hopes to acquaint its readers with Lithuania and the Lithuanians: their problems; historical sketches; cultural background, and environment. We had a taste of independence. We were unfortunate enough to be subjected for over a century to the chains of slavery. These experiences gave us an opportunity to compare the two conditions; gave

us the chance to learn to organize resistance; and taught us to be proud of, honor, and cherish our Lithuanian descent.

These pages will tell you, in print, some of the injustices imposed upon Lithuania; will show you the cruel methods by which the would be masters tried to achieve their aims; will give you a glimpse of the life in a free and independent Lithuania in the 13th through 18th centuries; and tell you what life was like in the present century when the occupation occurred."

Many things have changed since these lines were written. Because of the will and longing for freedom of the Lithuanian people, in addition to favorable historical circumstances, the country is no longer under foreign oppression. In 1990 Lithuanians stood up to declare independence, choosing freedom for the second time in a century. Lithuania eventually joined the European Union, as well as other international organizations, and continues to build and develop its political, social and cultural structures while transcending the often-burdensome legacy of the past. Despite numerous difficulties experienced during the past quarter of a century of social transformation, Lithuania has more or less successfully made its way out of the totalitarian system into the realm of liberal democracy. While this new form of government undeniably has its own problems and contradictions, it nevertheless provides a firm basis for the positive future development of Lithuanian society and its culture.

During the last few decades the journal has shifted its aims and scope according to these changes in national and international contexts, maintaining its solid scholarly format and remaining a forum for informed opinion about Lithuania—its past, present, and future. Numerous editors have worked for decades trying to get the voice of Lituanus and

Lithuanians to be heard among the nations of the world. Each particular period in the journal's sixty-year old history had its own priorities and focal points. The archives of the publication now available to readers online are a testimony to these dedicated efforts. Ours is an important moment as well. We no longer need to convince the world of the many injustices that Lithuania and its people have suffered, including the suppression of national culture under colonialist domination. Neither do we need to argue for Lithuania's legitimate right to freedom and independence. The independence of the country is now firmly established and sustained by the will of its people. In this present climate of normalization it is perhaps quite natural that the rest of the world takes less interest in Lithuania than it did when the country was under foreign oppression. Despite these changing circumstances and shifting worldviews, providing well-researched scholarly articles about the present-day culture and society of Lithuania, as well as various aspects of its past and possible future, will continue to remain our primary purpose.

The present-day journal is now published by a new team of editors who took over responsibilities from colleagues who did their best to keep this publication strong and healthy. As the new editor of Lituanus, I feel it is my duty and obligation to continue the work done by my predecessors, given the long and important history of this journal. I hope that the current editors, publishers, and editorial board, as well as authors old and new, will continue to make Lithuania's voice heard and will work to make Lituanus as relevant and dynamic as it was sixty years ago. Ancient wisdom suggests that continuity without change is rigidity, while change without continuity equals death; I hope that this particular journal will maintain its continuity and at the same time remain open to change.

Ironically, as these lines are being written, the geopolitical situation in Lithuania is getting more complicated and gloomier than it has been during the last couple of decades. Lithuania's powerful and angry neighbor has begun to revert to its centuries-long imperial ambitions and policies, struggling to suppress the turn westwards taken by Ukraine and threatening to restore the boundaries of the former empire. These and other worrisome developments, however, remind us that keeping the world adequately informed about Lithuania remains a task as important as ever.

The Spread of Design Movements in Contemporary Lithuanian Architecture

RIMANTAS BUIVYDAS

The years of change after Lithuania gained its independence affected all spheres of culture in a profound way. During the last twenty years, the winds of change have suffused the art of architecture as well. The new phenomena that have appeared in Lithuanian architecture reflect the radical changes in our country's political, economic, and cultural life. New typologies in architecture have sprung up, the functional texture of many structures has changed, new construction systems and materials have begun to be widely used, and architects have started to turn more attention to preservation, ecological conservation, and the social significance of architectural development. The general democratization of the country's life and its active integration into the world of Western culture, forbidden during the Soviet years, effected serious revisions in the consciousness of the architectural profession. All of this means the creative tendencies and variety of artistic endeavor that appeared after independence can be appreciated as a dis-

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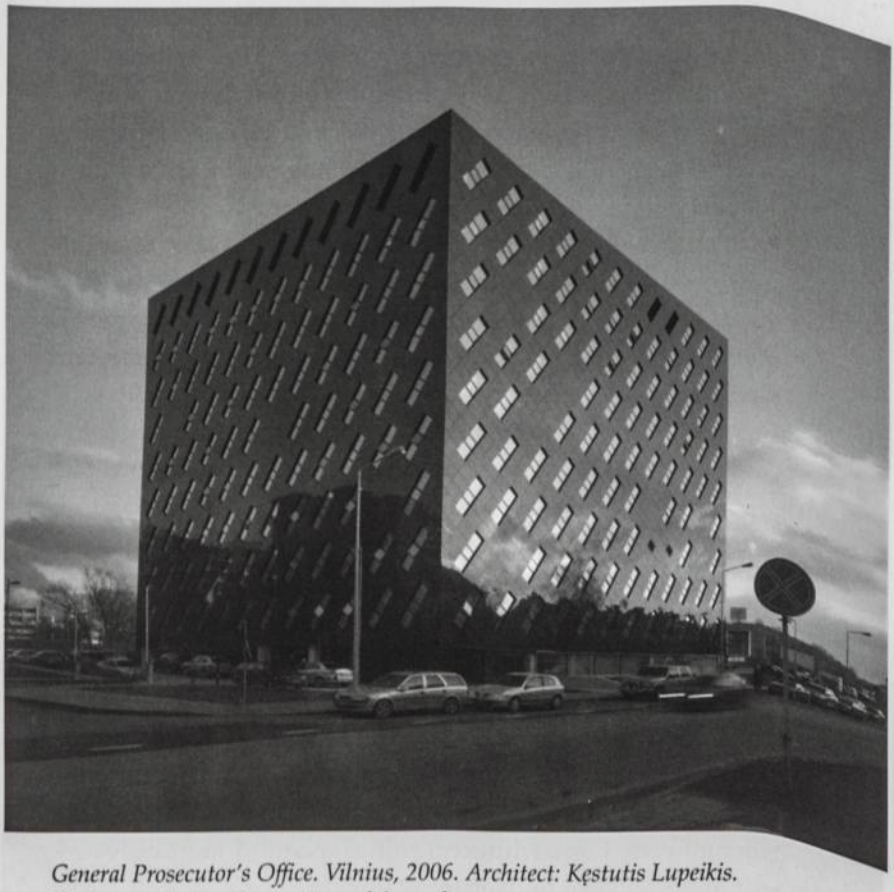
tinct innovation. At the same time, it is imperative to keep in mind that design expression in Lithuanian architecture is not an absolute innovation at the level of ideological conception. In essence, the expansion of today's architectural movements aims to adapt our practice to directions developed abroad. This insight should not be judged as negative characteristic or an expression of some shortcoming in Lithuanian architecture. After all, dangerous isolation or attaching too much significance to a pathology is to be avoided; in attempting to approach the level of Western architecture's art, the need to experiment with ideas current in other countries, in both a theoretical and practical sense, simply becomes an unavoidable necessity. The aim of this article is to reveal why the spread of Western design movements in contemporary Lithuanian architecture is occurring and which of them have inspired well-regarded results.

From the Restrictions that Were to the Torrent of Today's Movements

During the 1990s, the fifty-year period of Soviet rule came to an end. In architecture, as in other artistic fields, the opportunity arose to execute the new artistic concepts proliferating in the West. Nevertheless, it must be noted that, in the architecture of the Soviet period, individual projects in which reflections of the newest foreign movements could be seen, although very few, did appear on occasion. Usually, the ideologues of the Communist Party would severely condemn these cases as an expression of "rotten" capitalism, alien to Soviet man. At that time, Lithuanian architects were taught Western art concepts in a spirit of jingoistic socialism. Although our examples of new architecture were judged rather highly among Lithuania's professional architects, and



General Prosecutor's Office. Vilnius, 2006. Architect: Kęstutis Lupeikis. Photo provided by the courtesy of the author.

a sizable portion of them—if only fragmentarily, because of the total information censorship instituted by the system—knew of the advanced directions of foreign architecture, it was forbidden to voice agreement with these concepts in any public form. It was all the more impossible to declare that an architect consciously followed the essence of one or another Western aesthetic movement. The state morbidly ignored the new vitality of Western architecture. Essentially, during the Soviet years, only the works of foreign architects who had

belonged to their country's Communist Party were openly presented. Probably only professor Jonas Minkevičius, in a book that was very well-regarded by our architects and for many became the equivalent of the knowledge of the forbidden fruit, presented what was going on in architecture elsewhere, even if in a rather brief volume.[1]

In today's Lithuania, the younger generation of architects finds it difficult to imagine the dearth of information that impoverished the profession during the Soviet years, which manifested itself, not just in the mass media, but in the fact that an architects' ability to see new foreign architecture in situ, with their own eyes, was uncommonly difficult. These restrictions were political instruments meant to guarantee the goal that the Soviet Union must have only "contemporary Soviet architecture," without any foreign "isms." In reality, such prohibitions merely increased the hunger to know, to see, and to try advanced ideas in our architecture. This situation became one more reason why the bubble of ignoring foreign avant-garde ideas burst so suddenly after independence was regained. At the same time, it explains why many of our architects, as if intoxicated with ideological and informational freedom, began to use such a variety of creative concepts. Incidentally, this untrammeled enthusiasm did not always result in designs of good aesthetic quality.

The obvious changes in artistic expression in contemporary Lithuanian architecture are not only determined by an essential change in the life of the country, but also this change's unavoidable transformation of the internal process of planning a project. It is clear the architect has gained more independence and rights, but at the same time, his degree of responsibility has also grown immeasurably. During the Soviet years, most Lithuanian architects worked as rank-and-file employees at

[1] Minkevičius, *Architektūros kryptys užsienyje.*

Villa in Juodkrantė. Architects: Gintaras Prikockis, et al. Photo provided by the courtesy of the author.

large state planning institutes or departmental planning offices. It should be noted that many worked at one or another specialty. They had to work within the irrational bureaucracy

characteristic of that period, the "teaching" and the distorted collectivism of the party nomenklatura, and the frequent imposition of codesigners. Projects usually took a long time to prepare and a large portion were never built, but no one was obliged to answer for this. All of this, as unfavorable as it was to architectural work, was an unavoidable reality.[2] Today, architects in Lithuania most often work in private architectural firms, usually with a small number of colleagues. There is hope that this circumstance, together with the freedom to seek creativity, a more harmonious work atmosphere, and the expression of competition explains why projects by the same authors so frequently exhibit a completely different design language. This is often affected by the desire to avoid repetition in the look of buildings.

Typifying the Traits of Architectural Movements

The complex many-sidedness of contemporary Lithuanian architectural design would be worth classifying on the basis of conceptual uniqueness, once the various manifestations are generalized and thoroughly differentiated. This article does not intend to establish the quantity, importance, or standing of these movements in any precise or strict way. At a very basic level, the natural principle of variety in the world affirms everything's interdependence; it is only natural that the aesthetic concepts of architecture are objects of an analogous structure.

Following a similar point of view, we discover that half of contemporary Lithuanian architecture is made up of a movement whose conceptual content's most important signs are objectivity, practicality, social consciousness, and architectural totality. The academic basis of everything and the domination of intellect affirms this segment of architecture as the

[2] Buivydas, "Kai kas apie dvidešimties metų architektūrą."

The Vilnius University Library's Academic Communication and Information Center, Vilnius, 2012. Photo by Raimondas Urbakavičius.

embodiment of consistent objective factors. These distinctive factors, interpreted by planners, imbue the existence of the segment of architecture alluded to, and in a certain sense, direct it toward an antitraditional reference point. All possible advantages and disadvantages are, to all appearances, set unconditionally and accurately. A similar thought process, as if of its own accord, insists the architect be understood as the equivalent of a perfect and unerring instrument.

At this point, attention must be turned to a specific difference among those architects, recognized in this segment of architectural trends, in their conception of themselves. One school of thought affirms the architect is an omnipotent tactician and strategist, the leader of the architecture-construction process, a strict reformer, and an active fighter for this architecture's ideals. A slightly different professional view marks the contours of yet another conception—the architect is understood as a mere

executor of specific obligations, who does not have an actual or essential influence on the architectural process. This thinking seems to indicate the architect is naturally released from the responsibility and necessity to be a creator, because, in this case, the public and the system will be given the kind of architecture they are capable of commissioning.

In order for the polarization of trends in contemporary Lithuanian architecture to acquire a more obvious character, we will briefly present the segment of architecture described by Charles Jencks as New Modernism, and the artistic movements ascribed to it, with representative examples.[3]

Which architectural trend should be described first is not particularly important in the Lithuanian context, because, in today's practice, the goals of functionalism, rationalism, and economics continue to rule as a confirmation of the vitality of the architectural ideology that dominated the twentieth century: neomodernism is considered the most popular movement. One of the newest examples in this direction is the 2011 Balsiai Middle School in Vilnius (architects: Sigitas Kuncevičius, Martynas Dagys, Loreta Kuncevičienė, Žygimantas Gudelis, Viltė Jurgaitienė, and Aistė Kuncevičiūtė). This project has earned several awards. A number of our recent buildings and urban projects must be regarded as instances of structuralism's architectural concepts. An influential object representing this movement is the residential complex Fredos miestelis (Algimantas Kančas, Laimis Savickas, and Lina Kazakevičiūtė). It should be noted that the conceptual rules are the assertion, typical of structuralism, of the equivalence of "interior-exterior" and "home-city," and the entire complex's modularity of structure and clarity.[4] In the Lithuanian context, bold compositional expression, emotional tension, and a connection

[3] Jencks, *The New Moderns*.

[4] Buivydas, "Architektūriniai struktūralizmo idėjos reflektai."

with the deconstructivist expressionist movement is marked by the Vilnius University Library's Academic Communication and Information Center (2012, Rolandas Palekas, Bartas Puzonas, Alma Palekienė, Petras Išora, Matas Šiupšinskas, Monika Zemlickaitė, Lina Sužiedelytė, Aidas Barzda, Jurga Garšvaitė, and Vilmantas Bavarskis). Efforts to express the style of new design through the imagery of industrial manufacturing, carrying over into architecture a sufficiently diffuse computer technology form, would include works attributed to the techno movement. Suitable examples in this direction are two office buildings in Klaipėda (2005, Marina Bučienė and Audrius Bučas). The goals of progress in science and technology and the human penetration of the cosmos have frequently been interpreted in architecture abroad. Although there are not many structures in Lithuania that affirm a futuristic concept in this way, their scarcity merely strengthens the impression made by the Lithuanian Ethnocosmology Center in the Molėtai District (2008, Ričardas Krištopavičius and Audrius Gudaitis). A number of the newest architectural works represent the minimalist movement. According to the Lithuanian minimalist ideologue Kęstutis Lupeikis, the goals of emptiness, silence, simplicity, and purity, offered through new means, inspire today's architects.[5] It naturally follows that this architect's 2008 design of the Prosecutor's Administration Building in Vilnius is a compelling representation of this trend.

In the wing of contemporary architecture that is, in a conceptual sense, seemingly in polar opposition to the movements mentioned above, the goals of traditionalism, the affirmation of subjectivity, creative freedom, tolerant universality, flexible views of the regulations of standards and economics, and treatments sensitive to a project's setting are conceptualized. This architectural trend, in which at least several concepts

[5] Lupeikis, *Minimalizmo galia.*

thrive, fosters an identity of place and a radical emotiveness, with signs of subjectivity and attention to the values of traditional architecture. Here, retrospection, eclecticism, alogicality, elementalism, and ephemerality express themselves in various shapes and combinations. Probably the most essential signs assigned to this part of the architectural movement are, on the one hand, an orientation towards the principle of postmodern historical repetition and, on the other, an attempt to create everything as a surprise. In today's Lithuanian architecture, the idea of the context of place has marked weight; one of its clearest realizations is the G. Petkevičaitė-Bitė Public Library in Panevėžys (2006, Saulius Jukšys). A discussion of the vitality of the interpretative historicism movement could explain the clear desire to return the once-lost supposed picturesque in buildings and to respect it in city spaces. A characteristic example of this approach is the group of buildings on Maironis Street in Vilnius (2001, Henrikas Štaudė and Jurgis Leskevičius). A number of these structures express the architectural concepts of symbolism and picturesque metaphor as an antithesis to the "expressionlessness" that dominated architecture during the Soviet years. Distinctive realizations of these concepts are the two multifunctional buildings in Klaipėda portraying the letters "K" and "D" (2007, Edgaras Neniškis and the Arches firm). Displays of postmodernism's retrospective movement have lessened considerably in the last few years. Many architectural projects were devoted to this movement at the beginning of the post-Soviet period. The clearest example, in which resounds—as the professional press writes—the rusty plinth, columns between windows, the accented compositional axis of the central facade, and emphatic cornices,[6] is the Hermis Bank Building (now SEB) in Vilnius (1996, Kęstutis Pempė and Gytis Ramunis). Among Lithuanian architects, regionalism

[6] Mačiulytė, "Bankas 'Hermis."

The multifunctional building group, "K and D," in Klaipėda. Photo courtesy UAB Arches.

received special attention. Although traditionalism, ethnoculture, and an understanding of the local spirit vary a great deal in the consciousness of different designers, they are unified in their attempts to foster Lithuania's architectural identity. A good example of these efforts is the villa on Miškas Street in Juodkrantė (2008, Gintaras Prikockis, Asta Prikockienė, Inga Tikuišytė, and Andrius Velutis).

Reconstructions of the units of a specific locality's architectural environment, their spontaneous changes at various times, and their random forms, along with the objective to organically link a new work into its surroundings, inspires the followers of the ad hoc movement. An influential realization of this idea in

architecture is the multiunit residential building on Vytautas Street in Vilnius (2000, Romanas Mankus, Robertas Malavickas, Vaidas Saveikis, and Algimantas Šarauskas).

It is natural that, between the two different architectural ideologies discussed here, between poles of opposing artistic conceptions, there is a mixture of styles. The purpose of this article is not to make a precise inventory of all the trends, but to point out that, in a relatively short period of time and in a rather small country, many different realizations of architectural concepts and movements have been accomplished. It is possible that the abundance of movements today, still in the process of evolution, will change into a more consolidated, conceptually mature, and original conception of art.

Translated by ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

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The Dubingiai Microregion: The Radvila Family Ancestral Home

ALBINAS KUNCEVIČIUS

and RIMVYDAS LAUŽIKAS

Introduction

Dubingiai is a small town in Lithuania, in the southern part of Molėtai County, about forty kilometers from Vilnius, next to the longest lake in Lithuania, Lake Asveja, also known as Dubingiai. Along with its branches, Lake Asveja extends for more than twenty-nine kilometers. There are six islands in the lake; the site of the ancient castle of Dubingiai is located on the largest, Pilis Island, across from the town of Dubingiai. The natural and cultural treasures of the area are protected by the Asveja Regional Park, founded in 1992.

Systematic archeological research on the ancient Dubingiai Castle site began in 2003. In 2004, on the site of the former church, through the combined efforts of archeologists, anthropologists, historians, and art historians, the remains of the Radvila (Radziwiłł in Polish) family were identified. In

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2006-2007, the entire site of the former churches was investigated. The uncovered foundations of the Evangelical Reformed Church were restored and preserved and a new crypt for the Radvila remains constructed, along with a new sarcophagus and a granite tombstone with an epitaph. During the celebrations of the millennium of Lithuania's name, on September 5, 2009, the Republic of Lithuania ceremoniously reburied the recovered remains of the members of the Radvila family. The site of the Radvila Palace on Pilis Island was investigated from 2005 to 2010; the result of scholarly investigations from 2003 to 2010, including those on the former church site, the former palace, and the Radvila family remains, were published in the collective monographs *Radvilų tėvonija Dubingiuose* (The Radvila Patrimony in Dubingiai) and *Radvilų rūmai Dubingiuose* (The Radvila Palace in Dubingiai).

2011 saw the initiation of a large-scale scholarly research project called: "The Beginnings of the Lithuanian State via the Dubingiai Microregion's Research Data."[1] The project aims to use archeological data to analyze the Lithuanian state as a political unit and the process of forming the Lithuanian nation and society.

This article presents detailed results of the 2003-2014 scholarly investigations in the Dubingiai microregion, including one of the most significant recent archeological finds in Lithuania—the burial spot of the Radvila family.

The Formation of the Dubingiai Microregion and the Establishment of the Radvila Family

The Dubingiai microregion began forming in the Old Iron Age (the first through fourth century AD, also known as

[1] Albinas Kuncevičius, director; the project is financed according to General Subsidy Measure No. VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K-01-037.

the Roman Iron Age).[2] However, the mobility of the inhabitants during this period led to an unstable territorial structure. In the Middle Iron Age (fifth through ninth century AD), when, owing to the growth in the number of inhabitants and the application of agriculture based on cultivation using two-crop rotation, the mobility of living sites was reduced and a stable territorial structure with a long-term network of roads began to form. We could call the territorial structure of this period a minor microregion. It was an area, walkable in a day, of community living and the stockpiling of empirical experience. Based on the speed of travel and research on the understanding of distance in legal documents, it can be deduced that the diameter of a minor microregion was about ten kilometers.

In analyzing the natural and geographic data of the site, it can be proposed that from the viewpoint of the pattern of settlement and human interactions, a lake as long as Dubingiai's essentially fulfilled the role of a river. It was a natural boundary, a barrier separating one territory from another, encouraging the inhabitants to settle the shores along the lake and seek communication passages across the "barrier." Consequently, in the Middle Iron Age, three stable minor microregions formed in the vicinity of Lake Dubingiai opposite the lake crossings, which we have named after their locations: Asveja (opposite the contemporary town of Dubingiai), Baluošai (opposite Baluošai Lake), and Lakaja (at the northern part of Lakaja Creek). The centers of these possible ancient minor microregions could be associated with place names arising from compound Lithuanian proper names, for example, the mention of *curia Girdemanthen* (known to this day as the Jagomantas hydronym) in Hermann von Wartberge's chronicle describing a 1373 expedition.[3]

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[2] More on research into the Dubingiai microregion's territorial development during the prehistoric period is described in Kuncevičius, "Rytų Lietuvos teritorinis modelis."

[3] Latvis/Vartbergė, *Livonijos kronikos*.

In the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, the ox plow and three-crop rotation allowed the cultivation of the most difficult and fertile land surrounding Lake Dubingiai in what is now the area of the villages of Voroniai, Laumikoniai, and Ciūniškiai. For this reason, the Asveja minor microregion that had formed naturally at this site during the Middle Iron Age would have had an advantage over the other microregions and dominated them economically; although all three minor microregions lasted until the fourteenth century, when they are mentioned in the Livonian Order's descriptions of their expeditions. The description of the 1373 expedition is particularly thorough in regard to place names, mentioning eight permanent and fifteen destroyed territorial units in eastern Lithuania, from which it is possible to locate Asveja, Dubingiai, and Aždubingė (Uždubingė) in the vicinity of Dubingiai Lake, connecting them with the corresponding minor microregions mentioned above.[4]

Because of the attacks by the Livonian Order, these microregions experienced a drastic decline in inhabitants and economic potential. The account of the 1334 expedition of the Livonian Order to Dubingiai and Šešuoliai mentions the death of 1,200 Lithuanians of both sexes; a thousand captives (not counting the dead) are mentioned in the 1373 expedition's account; six hundred captives are mentioned in the account of the 1375 expedition.[5] These numbers are undoubtedly exaggerated, but even if they were several times smaller, the loss to the destroyed territories during these expeditions must have been huge. This shock must have encouraged the three microregions to consolidate around the economically strongest Asveja microregion, forming the natural major Dubingiai microregion. The major microregion was made up of several minor ones and was a space with a center, in which the edges were separated from the center by a distance that could be

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

covered twice in a day, that is, to travel to the microregion's center and back again, leaving enough time to take care of necessary work at the center. It was probably about twenty kilometers in diameter.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas created the first artificial territorial administrative unit—the Dubingiai Parish. It was created on the basis of the old Dubingiai microregion, so its boundaries can be established by research on the parish's area. During this period, there was also an attempt to consolidate the artificial state administrative-territorial division, called the Dubingiai *pavietas* (district), by building a government building at the castle site and a residence for a *tijūnas* (administrator) in the village of Ciūniškiai. In that period, however, secular territorial-administrative units differed as crucially from their contemporary religious units as from today's territorial-administrative units. It can be asserted that, in essence, before the 1547 Volok Reform and the territorial reform of 1564-1565, a territorial-administrative unit was understood primarily as a judicial, military, and economic unit, not as a contiguous geographical territory; it was the people and domains belonging to one owner (later including many villages and estates).

At the end of the conflict with the German crusaders and the beginning of the "Pax Lituana" period, Dubingiai's defensive importance declined. The death of Dubingiai's patron, Grand Duke Vytautas, could have contributed to this, along with the strengthening of nearby major microregions established on better trade routes. The fifteenth-century growth of Švenčioniai, which also had a church funded by Vytautas and was located on the Vilnius-Braslaw road, and the private dukedom of the Giedraitis family (Giedroyć in Polish), the villages of Giedraičiai and Videniškiai, established on the Vilnius-Riga road, pushed Dubingiai to second-rate status. On the other hand, during the second half of the fifteenth century,

through endowments, benefices, and land purchases, church lands and the domains of various noble families (the private holdings of the Sakas, Giedraitis, Radvila, and other families) began to appear in the major Dubingiai microregion.

Among the noble families in the Dubingiai microregion, the Radvilas were the most successful in expanding their private land holdings. Perhaps the earliest Radvila holding in the microregion was the village of Berža (probably located in the vicinity of today's Berža Lake) acquired by Radvila Astikaitis (Radziwiłł Ościkowicz) in 1446. In 1475, Radvila Astikaitis had a dispute with the Giedraitis family over Gudeikiai,[6] and in Mikalojus Radvila's 1482 privilege, the Upninkai church was allotted ten poods of honey from Dubingiai.[7] Between 1508 and 1523, the Radvila family finally took possession of Dubingiai (the castle site and Ciūniškiai). A series of gifts of people and domains were presented to Jurgis Radvila (Jerzy Radziwiłł) between 1510 and 1523,[8] and in 1528, in an inventory of the family's estates, Dubingiai is mentioned indisputably as within the Radvila domain.[9]

The consolidation of the Radvila family expansion in the Dubingiai microregion that began in the late fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth continued. In time, the Radvilas added the remaining lands of Dubingiai's fiefdoms, as well as markedly expanded their territory to the east, creating a geographically more or less unified domain on the scale of a latifundium. In the middle of the sixteenth century, when Radvila received the title of grand duke from the Holy Roman Empire, Dubingiai became the family's private dukedom.

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[6] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD)-AR. Dz. XI, Nr. 9.

[7] Karvelis, *iš Radvilų giminės istorijos*. One pood equals approximately 36 pounds.

[8] AGAD-ML, byla Nr. 209.

[9] Pietkiewicz, "Najstarszy inwentarz."

The Radvila Palace in Dubingiai

The development of the Radvila palace, like the church described later, can be divided into four periods, which can be correlatively called: Lithuanian Grand Dukes (fifteenth century); Mikalojus (Mikołaj) Radvila the Red (sixteenth century); Jonušas (Janusz) and Kristupas (Krzysztof) Radvila (first half of the seventeenth century); and Boguslavas (Bogusław) and Liudvika Karolina (Ludwika Karolina) Radvila (second half of the seventeenth century).

The first indirect written documentation of the former representative buildings of the Dubingiai Castle site reaches back to the beginning of the fifteenth century when, according to Jan Długosz, Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas invited the Polish king, Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło), and his entire royal retinue to Dubingiai and later, in 1420, wrote a letter to the grand master of the Teutonic Order. Without a doubt,

Dubingiai. Radvila Palace. Excavation site.

there were feasts prepared at Dubingiai, and it is likely, by that time, representative castle buildings, or at least a hunting manor, had been built there. The fact that Grand Duke Vytautas wrote the letter in February is also indirect evidence of a castle at Dubingiai suitable for a ruler's winter quarters.

We do not have direct written sources about the old castle at Dubingiai at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, so life in it can be recreated only through archeological evidence. In the layer of black dirt of this period, dated to the fifteenth century, over nine hundred fragments of pottery have been found, among which traditional modeled (pierced) ceramics dominate. They contain a great deal of ground-up rock and were roughly modeled, formed of wide strips of clay, and fired in an oxidizing environment. The majority of the pots have rounded sides and small necks and are impressed with small horizontal wavy lines. Some ceramics are decorated with a circular stamp. Among these ceramics, which are characteristic of the fifteenth century, only three small fragments of the so-called Gothic or black town-type ceramic were found in the layer of black earth: a bowl decorated with a circular stamp, a narrow-sided pitcher, and part of the bottom of a bowl. The ceramic dishes mentioned, at least the bowl, which was also fired in a reducing atmosphere and has nearly no additives to its clay, could have been imported. Artifacts found there, including a stylus (a writing implement characteristic of the Middle Ages), a bone chess piece (a king or queen), arrowheads, a Type III coin from the reign of Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427-1492), a stone spindle, and a bone amulet decorated with a geometric motif, show that, by the fifteenth century, this site supported both intensive habitation and an elite culture for its time.

Starting in the middle of the sixteenth century, we have somewhat more written information about the former buildings and palace of Dubingiai Castle. On November 9, 1547,

Barbora Radvilaitė (Barbara Radziwiłłówna), the wife of Lithuanian Grand Duke Sigismund II Augustus, was living there following their secret marriage. From her letters to her husband and king, we learn she was living in a masonry building well-protected from the waterside. The building was probably old, because, when Barbora Radvilaitė stayed there, one of the basement arches collapsed: Mikalojus Radvila the Red, in a letter to Sigismund Augustus of November, 1547, explained that this misfortune, when the basement arches collapsed just in front of the door to the room where Barbora Radvilaitė was staying, occurred because of "my father's old officers' poor upkeep of the castle." Archeological investigation revealed the castle's older section and basements were apparently rebuilt at that time, i.e., about the middle of the sixteenth century, while the south wall of the castle was reinforced with buttresses.

During the time of Mikalojus Radvila the Red, the castle was not large and nearly square in plan, around seventeen meters east to west and around fifteen meters north to south. Based on inventories, we know it consisted of two stories, with basements and walls in Gothic style without exterior stucco. The building's main facade was oriented to the south, i.e., towards the now-vanished church. The servants' quarters and the stairs to the castle were on the north side. Items from this building uncovered during field work include: two basements connected by a passageway, with a stairway into the basement at the building's north side; the location of a grand stairway leading to the castle's upper floor; a section of flooring, paved with ceramic blocks, on the ground floor; and at the northeast corner, the remains of an annex, approximately four meters (north-south) by nine meters (east-west), above a cylindrical basement arch; presumably a guardhouse, it was apparently used in later times as a kitchen. Above the basement rooms, survive the first floor, made of 21.0 by 17.8 by 5.4 centimeter unglazed ceramic pavers, and part of the walls, which at the ground floor of the premises range from

1.0 to 1.5 meters thick. The first floor of this castle was entered via a grand stairway located in the palace's northwest corner. Only fragments of the stairway's steps survive; it is probable the steps were covered with wooden boards. A fragment of a pine board, laid across the stairway's full width, was found on the second step; in all, seven steps were found.

At that time, there were two basements in the castle. The southeast basement, labeled Basement No. 1 during the research, was 7.6 meters long (north-south); its interior width about 4.9 meters; its height from the ground to the top of the cylindrical arch about 4.7 meters. The remains of a window were found in the wall; its width was about 0.8 meters, its height about 1.0 to 1.2 meters. Two decorative arched-niches were found in each of this basement's south and north walls, whose height and width were both about 0.9 meters, and their depth 0.2 meters. The niches were located about a meter above the level of the floor. In the middle of the west wall of this basement was an entry from Basement No. 1 to Basement No. 2., about 1.6 meters wide and 2.8 meters high. In the entrance was a wooden door, where only the site of a 15- to 17-centimeter-wide door jamb remained. The entire basement was filled with substantial ruins, in which occasional finds were made, mostly pieces of tile and fragments of household ceramics. Household ceramics of the sixteenth and seventeenth century dominated, most of them flat tiles decorated with the Radvila crest, frequently with the initials "I" and "R" (Jonušas Radvila). The more interesting tiles dated from the first half of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth. These included an unglazed cornice tile with a fragment of a "rabbit hunt" and concave tile fragments decorated with scenic drawings and mermaids. There were a large number of glass artifacts, among which, besides fragments of stained glass, was a particularly well-preserved decorative glass goblet. Coins were discovered on the basement floor: the Steponas Batoras

(Stefan Batory) shilling, struck in 1584-1585, or the Jonas Kazimieras (Jan Kazimierz) Lithuanian shilling, show the basement was still in use and not in ruins during the second half of the seventeenth century. At the center of the basement floor was a small stove, whose lower part was paved with brick. The stove was 1.03 meters long and 0.67 meters wide; its firebox was on the south side. The stove could have been used without a chimney; at the time of firing, the smoke would enter the living space and leave through the windows; the heated stones in the stove could dry the living quarters for several days. Apparently, this stove was only used in periods of cold and damp, when a warmer temperature and a drier atmosphere were wanted in the basement. When the palace inventory and the archeological finds are compared, it can be asserted that the palace storehouse could have been located in this basement.

The second palace basement was on the west. Its two chambers were divided by a one-meter thick wall; undoubtedly, both areas were constructed and used at the same time. Basement No. 2 can be identified with the wine and food storage area (*piwnica*) mentioned in written sources. In this site of the former living quarters on the first floor, whose width was 6.6 meters and length 8.0 meters in a north-south direction, some floor pavers, blocks about 18 or 19 by 21 by 5 centimeters square, survived in places above the former arch of the basement. Under this chamber is also a fairly well-preserved basement, about seven by eight meters in area. There was a window in its north wall as well; although considerably destroyed, the remains of a corner formed with blocks placed on a slant is visible. The basement is filled with ruins, but because of the danger of the arches collapsing, a full investigation was delayed until the following season. Only preparation work was undertaken in 2007, when the restorers fortified and reinforced the cracked basement arches. On the north side, the basements had a common entrance from the yard that led

to the western basement; it was possible to enter the eastern basement only by first going through the yard entrance and then the interior doorway in the basement's partition wall.

Comparative research allows us to assert that the old building's architecture is reminiscent of a castle dungeon of the Middle Ages. It had an essentially square building plan, with two large basements and two floors above, both with analogous two-room building plans. The watchtower next to the building allowed access to the outside from the building's second floor. It can be concluded, hypothetically, that the early architecture of the building was formed by rebuilding a masonry dungeon, which was the first structure of the castle created by Grand Duke Vytautas. Based on a stylistic architectural cartogram of the palace's remains, done by the historic architect Robertas Zilinskas, there was apparently a thorough reinforcement of the old building at that time, the middle of the sixteenth century, after the collapse of the palace's basement arch mentioned in the written sources. A buttress to reinforce the southern wall of the palace was built next to the south wall, next to the guard tower, which may have been used earlier as a kitchen as well. In the northeast corner, a stairway was added—a separate exit, designed for utilitarian purposes, to the northern household yard. An outhouse was built next to the palace's northeast corner, next to the new stairway, i.e., a toilet and a drainage tank in the shape of a small tower. As a toilet, it was connected with the halls on the first and second floors. In the northeast corner, there was also a masonry addition that may have been used as a tower at the beginning of the palace's exploitation.

Apparently, there was no substantial construction work done on the site of the castle from Mikalojus Radvila the Red's death in 1588 until the very beginning of the seventeenth century. The first half of the seventeenth century could be called Dubingiai's greatest period of expansion when, at the instiga-

tion of Jonušas Radvila (1579-1620), a new masonry Renaissance-style Evangelical Reformed Church was built around the year of his death. Next to the church, a masonry parsonage was built. After Jonušas died, his brother Kristupas (1585-1649) continued his work. It was Kristupas Radvila's initiative to reconstruct and enlarge the palace (as the archeological research shows, the building's area nearly doubled), and the church's basement was rebuilt as the Radvila family mausoleum.

In an attempt to understand this period's architecture and the structure of the former Radvila estate at Dubingiai, seventeenth century documents—the inventories—can be used. In the earliest (1634) inventory, three basic parts of the estate are delineated: the residence designed for the Radvila family and their guests, an administrators' residence, and the household. In the 1651 inventory, it is written that the residential part of the estate was made up of a masonry palace of two sections. The old part of the palace consisted of two floors with a basement (housing the larder, storehouse, and jail) and a tower. The first level of the palace was not inhabited: the food stores, pantry, and kitchen were located there. The second floor was the residence. There were two large rooms with tiled stoves and a few smaller rooms. The new section was one-story high, with two residential rooms and auxiliary quarters. The entirety of the household buildings consisted of the administrators' house with a kitchen, a newly constructed kitchen building, a sauna, a brewhouse, a granary, three stables, and an icehouse installed at the foot of the hill.

In 2008, the new residential part of the palace, built at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was investigated. The time of the addition's construction was clearly shown by a Dutch tobacco pipe found in a foundation pit next to its south wall. An engraved inscription on its mouthpiece reads "IONAS" (the letters "N" and "S" are on opposite sides) and "1633." Another part of this mouthpiece was found in another

spot of the building's foundation pit. This part is decorated with an ornament of moons and royal lilies. This imported, and for its time rather expensive pipe, clearly shows the foundations were dug and walls laid around 1633.

The new building's length was about 11.5 meters (east-west); its width about 10.5 meters. The interior area of the western quarters, a hall with an anteroom, was 38.4 and 17.9 square meters, respectively, while the second hall and anteroom, which were next to the old palace, were 18.5 and 7.5 square meters. The addition's exterior walls were only about 0.75 to 0.85 meters thick. The floor of the addition's residential quarters was covered in square, unglazed, clay-colored ceramic pavers, whose dimensions were 27.5 by 27.5 by 5.0 centimeters. The floor of the auxiliary quarters was covered in pavers.

The windows of the living quarters were made of stained glass, mentioned in the inventories; during the archeological research, a number of parts of these windows, a green glass about 0.2 centimeters thick and mostly of a triangular form, were found. Window glass of this type was assembled into specially manufactured metal frames, most often made of lead. Over ten examples of these were also found during the research. It is probable that the ceilings of this part of the palace were wooden, and the roof was covered in flat tiles; a number of both fragments and whole tiles survived in the palace ruins.

The addition, like the old palace, was entered from the north; a 1.4-meter-wide entrance in the northern wall survives. The entrance led to the anteroom, which led to the hall. The threshold of the door, about 1.3 meters wide, was covered in mortar. There was a fireplace in the anteroom and a joint stove firebox for a tiled stove that stood in the hall's northeast corner beyond the masonry partition between the hall and the anteroom. There was no direct passageway between the old palace and the addition, and the their floor levels differed by almost a meter. Apparently, this allowed

the authors of the palace inventories to describe them as two seemingly separate masonry buildings of the palace.

One of the most interesting elements of the palace addition was the site of the former tiled stove found in the anteroom hall. At that time, stoves were built in several levels: the bottom was an elongated rectangle, while the top was either four- or many-sided. They were separated from each other, and from the foundation, by ceramic tile. The residential rooms—bedrooms, dining rooms, and halls—were warmed by decorative tiled stoves, while a more ordinary stove, frequently of unglazed tile, stood in the auxiliary quarters. Stoves of that time were most often kindled from the hallway so smoke would not enter the clean rooms.

In the summer of 1655, when the army of the Duchy of Moscow occupied the entire eastern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Dubingiai area was also devastated. According to the inventories and the archeological record, two stages of the residence's evolution can be discerned: before and after the occupation, known historically as the "Deluge." During the war, the masonry palace was so devastated it was no longer fit for habitation; most probably, it was Boguslavas Radvila who saw to it that the old wooden section of the residence, the guest house, was rebuilt into a palace, equipping it with a basement and more rooms.

In the eighteenth century, after the 1695 death of the last representative of the Dubingiai and Biržai branch of the Radvila family, the margrave of Brandenburg and duchess of Neuburg, Liudvika Karolina Radvilaitė, the decline of the Dubingiai duchy and its estate began. The Dubingiai estate was leased on security, passed from hand to hand, most often with the leaseholders concerned only with extracting the greatest and fastest profit, without investing capital to maintain or renovate the buildings. The neglected church and palace continued to fall into ruin. In the 1740 Dubingiai inventory, the masonry palace

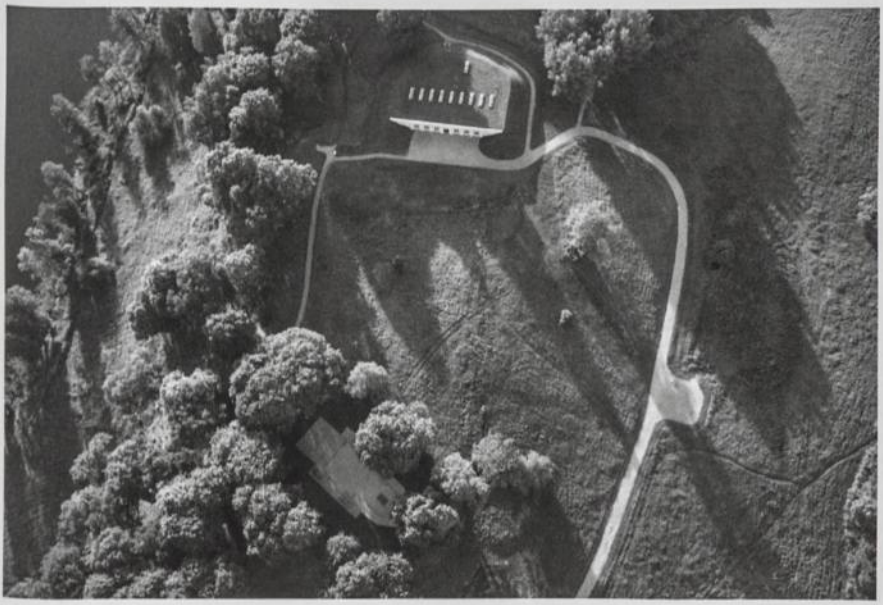
rooms were described as vaulted but empty, without windows or doors. The basements were probably still sound.

Perhaps the last person to see the remains of the Dubingiai palace was Napoleon Orda, who documented the castle site from the opposite shore of Lake Asveja in 1878. His sketch, however, cannot be taken as an entirely reliable historical document. As a representative of the Romantic movement, Orda reworked somewhat the image of the Dubingiai ruins, even illuminating a level at the southwest corner of the building. Archeological research determined that not only was there no tower on the southwest side, but there was no household activity taking place there, since that cultural layer is either nonexistent or very sparse.

The Church at the Dubingiai Site

The first church at Dubingiai was founded by Grand Duke Vytautas around 1420. From the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, funding for church lands ensued at the initiative of rulers and noblemen. It is known that Vytautas and, in 1449, Kazimieras Jogailaitis (Casimir Jagiellon) endowed the church in Dubingiai. The Dubingiai Church was also supported by local noblemen: in 1451, the owner of the Giedraitis estate, Povilas Kareiva, founded a retirement residence for priests not far from Molėtai Parish, in the village of Svobiškis; in 1478, the owner of the Bijutiškis estate, Nekrašas Eirudavičius's widow, Ona, with her sons Bagdonas and Žygimantas, founded one in Bijutiškis village; and in 1542, Povilas Šimkovičius (and, according to some sources, Barbora and Kristupas Giedraitis) funded the so-called Grybiškiai or Bijutiškis retirement residence.

Only a few finds discovered during the archeological dig at the site of the church can be linked to the fifteenth century. This includes tile fragments and a Vytautas Type II coin, a Kazimi-



Dubingiai. Excavation site. Areal View.

eras coin, Aleksandras (Alexander Jagiellon) denarii, probably from disturbed graves, as well as a spearhead, ax, and wallet. No portions of the foundation of the church built by Vytautas were found. All that can be assumed is that the first church did not have foundations bound with mortar. Individual foundation stones could have been removed during later construction or reused in the foundation of the second sixteenth-century church.

The sixteenth century in Europe was a contradictory period. The Lutheran Protestants that appeared in Germany and the Evangelical Reformists (followers of Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin) that appeared in Switzerland at the beginning of the sixteenth century raised a severe reaction from the Catholic Church. The children of the nobles of Lithuania, studying abroad, quickly took on new ideas. The Radvilas were no exception, and became the most powerful supporters of Protestantism in the grand duchy. Thanks to this family,

the first Protestant Bible was translated and printed, and the act guaranteeing the rights of Protestants and Catholics confirmed. In 1547, the Radvilas, who had become *Reichsfürsten* of the Holy Roman Empire, consistently supported the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, his religion), confirmed at the Peace of Augsburg, which meant every duke had the right to establish the religion he practiced in the areas he ruled. Relying on this principle, in 1565, Mikalojus Radvila the Red confiscated the Dubingiai Church from the Catholics and gave it to the Evangelical Reformists.[10] This was probably the same little church, built by Vytautas in the name of the Holy Spirit, which clearly could not fulfill the new community's needs. It can be assumed that it was at the initiative of Mikalojus Radvila the Red that the second wooden church, now an Evangelical Reformed Church, was built in Dubingiai.

More finds are linked to the second sixteenth-century church. Several remnants of this church were found in the archeological dig, allowing a determination of its plan and dimensions. The foundations are of mortared brick and stone, 0.82 to 1.4 meters thick. In its architecture, the second church was a smaller wooden prototype of the third one, which wasn't simply enlarged by exterior masonry, but possibly produced a similar interior structure, divided into two parts by stone pilasters. In addition, there were pilasters at the church's corners. Only the general proportions of the church were changed, from square to rectangular; perhaps that was why the apse was built at a width similar to the old wooden church's altar. The second wooden church, like the third, masonry one, could be described as Renaissance, because from 1577 to 1588, that style was not only the dominant, but the only architecture style in Lithuania. The second church's floor was paved with 19.0 by 21.0 centimeter ceramic tiles. A burial crypt was discovered in the church.

[10] Batūra, "Dubingių pilis XIV-XVI a."

Most likely, the crypt's arches were dismantled during the construction at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the interior of the crypt filled with dirt mixed with individual pieces of human bone and some funerary objects. It can be speculated that this is the first burial crypt in Dubingiai Church: Mikalojus Radvila the Red and the members of his family were buried there from 1577 to 1588. It was only later, when the masonry church was built in the 1830s, that their remains were moved to a new crypt in the masonry Renaissance-style apse.

The first half of the seventeenth century could be called Dubingiai's most prosperous time, when, at Jonušas Radvila's initiative, a new masonry Renaissance-style Evangelical Reformed Church was built with a masonry parsonage next door. From written sources, it is known that this church had one tower, was plastered over, and roofed in tiles, like many other Evangelical Reformed churches of that period in Lithuania. The Radvilas had a particular fondness for this type of church. Religious buildings of a similar style were built on their estates at Nesvyžius, Koidanova, Biržai, Vilnius, Salamiestis, Papilys, and Nemunėlio Radviliškis. The inventories taken before the 1655 attack by the Moscovite army describe the church interior: a marble "Table of God" with seven marble columns, an epitaph in the same stone with a sculptural portrait of Mikalojus Radvila the Red, a large chandelier hung on a chain, a smaller chandelier, and a carved oak pulpit. The floor next to the "Table of God" was laid in black-and-white marble, the rest of the church in pavers. Ten windows are mentioned, carved oak double doors, and an arched crypt; above the church door was a beautiful carved choir loft. Portions of this church's walls and foundations were visible above ground before the archeological dig. During the excavation, all of the third church's foundation perimeter was uncovered and the foundations of the walls, apse, and tower investigated. The church's exterior length was 34.7 meters, and its width opposite the nave was 16.8 meters. The church tower

was 10.0 by 7.5 meters; the exterior of the nave was 17.8 by 16.8 meters, that of the apse, 12.0 by 9.4 meters. In most places, the foundation had been dismantled to the ground or lower; only part of the foundation's inner grout was visible. The church's foundation was massive. The depth of the masonry from the top reached 2.6 to 3.2 meters. The width at the top of the foundations of the tower and nave was 2.1 to 2.54 meters. Altogether, during the 2003-2007 archeological investigations in the vicinity of Dubingiai's former church, 137 surviving graves were discovered, as well as remains from no less than 321 disturbed graves.

Around 1621 to 1627, at Kristupas Radvila's initiative, a burial pantheon for the Radvila family was established. A burial crypt was built for this purpose, marble sarcophagi ordered, and the remains of Mikalojus Radvila the Red and Elžbieta Šidlovecka (Elżbieta Szydłowiecka) moved there. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the following members of the Radvila family were buried beneath Dubingiai's Evangelical Reformed Church: Mikalojus Radvila (1575-1577), Mikalojus Radvila the Red's grandson; Ana Sobkovna (Anna Sokowna-Radziwillowna; died 1578), the first wife of Kristupas Radvila Perkūnas (Krzysztof Mikołaj "the Thunderbolt" Radziwiłł); Elena Glebavičiutė (died 1583), the wife of Mikalojus Radvila (Radvila the Red's son); Mikalojus Radvila the Red (1512-1584); his son Mikalojus Radvila (about 1546-1589) and grandson Jonušas Radvila (1579-1620); Mikalojus Radvila the Black (1515-1565) and his wife Elžbieta Šidlovecka (1533-1562).

In 1655, the Dubingiai church and palace were looted by the Russian army and the Radvila remains desecrated. Henrikas Estka wrote in a letter to Boguslavas Radvila on February 17, 1656:

"The messenger who returned from Dubingiai reported that everything on the estate was burned down, the buildings on the estate and the district, except for three villages the size of a valakas [about 50 acres], are entirely burned down, some of the subjects slaughtered, some driven to Moscow. The church's

marble table is broken into bits, the pulpit and the benches are all chopped up, the epithets scratched, windows broken out, the bell has been taken, and the bodies from the basement thrown about the entire church. The paseniūnis [overseer] collected them and carried them back to the basement."[11]

After the war, the Radvilas were reburied in the church crypt and the church itself partially repaired. In 1686, however, it is mentioned that the church tower was in ruins and repairs urgently needed to the tower, the churchyard wall, the doors, and windows. Although it is known that, in 1687, Liudvika Karolina Radvilaitė donated funds to the Dubingiai Evangelical Reformed Church, it was only renovated in 1710. This did not improve the situation at the castle, however. The Great Northern War brought new disasters. During the war, the Radvila remains were hidden, probably in fear of further desecration. This is implied by the mention that, in 1734, Mykolas Kazimieras Radvila looked for but could not find the remains of the Biržai branch of the Radvila family buried at Dubingiai.[12] By 1730, Dubingiai's Evangelical Reformed community had virtually vanished. From 1710 to 1713, the church lost its status as a parish then became a branch of the Šilėnai and, finally, the Vilnius Parish. In 1730, after the community had vanished, a Catholic rector lived at the Reformed parsonage. In 1735, the church roof and its interior wooden construction were burned in a fire begun by a lightning strike. The building began to fall down. The Dubingiai Church is not mentioned in a 1754 list of the Evangelical Reformed churches of Poland and Lithuania.[13] From 1768 to 1777, the church was described as old; the wall next to the great altar as leaning and partly collapsed, the arches fallen, and part of the roof thatched with straw; the church tower and pediment

[11] Karvelis, *iš Radvilų giminės istorijos.*
[12] Kotlubajus, *Radvilos.*
[13] Batūra, "Dubingių pilis XIV-XVI a."

were still standing, and the churchyard wall, formerly of masonry, had collapsed to its foundations in many places. In the 1851 inventory by Zenon Malecki, the masonry constructions are described as mere ruins.

In 1939, when a tourist villa was under construction, a road was built to the castle. Gravel and bricks were taken from the site of the church. The author of this article saw approximately two hundred bricks nicely stacked in preparation for removal. Wagons full of gravel from the ruined basement were hauled through the church foundation. While removing the gravel, the church's crypt was uncovered. The first archeological expedition to explore the site was arranged, and excavation took place in the territory of the Dubingiai Castle's church. Specialists from the Vytautas Magnus Cultural Museum, led by J. Lukoševičius, uncovered the location of the apse, found the arches of the basement below it, and documented them in drawings. A ring was found, along with a piece of marble and flat tiles. Human bones were mostly individual pieces. The surviving arches of the burial crypt were documented in expedition photographs and drawings.

The Radvila Burial Site

In 2004, the burial site of the Radvilas at Dubingiai Castle was found while investigating the site of the former Evangelical Reformed Church. The forty burials investigated so far can be roughly divided into two groups. The first are undisturbed graves where the bones are in anatomical order, mostly those buried under the church floor. The second are burials disturbed during various construction projects, consisting of individual bones or partial skeletons. Among these burials, a specially built coffin found in the earth below the former "Table of God," held the remains of eight individuals brought from elsewhere. The box, which contained only skulls, the long bones of arms and legs, and some individual pelvic bones or other larger

bones, was only about 1.0 by 1.5 meters. There are no remains of children among the individual adult male and female bones, nor are there any objects included in the burial. The fact that not all the bones of an individual are included or deposited in anatomical order, plus the archeological finding that some bones were gnawed by rats before reburial (possible if they had not been buried in the earth, but in a sarcophagus or crypt), and the reburial's hidden location, indicate that these remains, buried in the most honorable place in the church, were of particularly important people. Since we know the Radvilas built this church and were buried here in a specially ordered sarcophagus, as well as taking into consideration that no source mentions the remains of the Radvilas buried in Dubingiai were moved to other places in Lithuania, it is suspected the burial place found during the archeological investigation was where the remains of the Radvilas were reburied and hidden. Since no funerary objects were found in this grave to allow accurate dating or the identification of individuals, the only possible ways to confirm or deny their identities lie in anthropology, history, and art history, as well as chemical, DNA, and other tests.

Historic and iconographic data provide much worthwhile information on the people mentioned, including their looks, height, and lifestyle, which may be decisive in identifying the remains. For example, historical data show that the only wife of a Radvila buried at Dubingiai, Mikalojus the Black's wife, Elžbieta Šidlovecka, had four sons and four daughters. It is also known that, although Radvila the Red didn't particularly complain about his health, Radvila the Black was rather heavy, suffered from gout, constantly complained of dental pain, etc. Incidentally, Radvila the Black died on May 28, 1565, when, according to his contemporaries, he had covered himself entirely in quicksilver (mercury) at the advice of a physician, to reduce the pain of gout. There is the June 10, 1565 letter of the papal nuncio Gio-

vanni Francesco Commendone, in which he writes that Radvila did this himself, ignoring the warning of the physician:

> Shortly after the application, the pains that tormented him for an entire three days without interruption began, so that his eyes popped out, his ears and lips tore, then his sides expanded, and in the end split his head in two so that he died, abandoned by God.

Anthropological data show there are, at a minimum, eight individuals in this burial: one male thirty to forty years old; one male forty to fifty years old; three males over fifty; one thirty- to forty-year-old female; and two females over fifty. One male was short and had an extremely stocky build. One woman was tall and thin; another had given birth many times. At least one male had a well-developed case of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH), frequently associated with type 2 diabetes and weight gain. Common peculiarities were also found: four of the skulls (three men and one woman) were externally very similar, with large, broad faces, narrow noses, and extremely large eye sockets, but the biting surface of the teeth was uncharacteristic of Asiatic races. Distinct contrasts were observed among the ossifications of the sutures of the skulls (nearly complete ossification indicates old age) and the wear of the teeth (very little wear corresponds to either a young age or nourishment with well-processed and meaty food; the latter is confirmed by obvious calculus on the teeth). All of this evidence—the age of the individuals, the resemblances among some of them, the signs of continuous nourishment uncharacteristic of the ordinary population of that time—confirms the conjecture that the remains found during the dig could be associated with the Radvilas.

A later provisional comparison among the three skulls and the existing iconography, along with the historical information mentioned earlier and the particularities of the bones, allows the assertion that the following individuals are among the remains:

Mikalojus Radvila the Red (1512-1584), Voivode of Vilnius, Chancellor and Grand Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania;

Mikalojus Radvila the Black (February 4, 1515 in Nesvyžius to May 28, 1565, in Vilnius, Lukiškės), Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Marshall and Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania;

Elžbieta Šidlovecka-Radvilienė (1533-1562 Vilnius, Lukiškės), wife of Mikalojus Radvila the Black; daughter of Castellan of Kraków and Chancellor of Karūna Krisupas Šidloveckis (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki) and Zofija Targoviska (Zofia Targowicka);

Mikalojus Radvila (c.1546-1589, buried in 1590), son of Radvila the Red; Master of the Hunt of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Voivode of Naugardukas;

Jonušas VI Radvila (1579-1620), grandson of Mikalojus the Red, oldest son of Kristupas Radvila Perkūnas and his second wife, Katryna Ostrogiškaitė (Katarzyna Ostrogska); Cup Bearer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Castellan of Vilnius;

Ana Radvilienė Sobkovna (d. 1578), first wife of Kristupas Radvila Perkūnas.

Asveja lake. Areal View.

In 2008, when the historical, archeological, and architectural research on the Dubingiai Evangelical Reformed Church was completed, its foundations were preserved and the surroundings tidied up and adapted for tourism. A new burial crypt was built in place of the crypt under the church's apse ascribed to Kristupas Radvila's time. The new crypt was a monolithic 2.0 by 2.0 by 2.2 meter reinforced concrete construction, intended for the September 5, 2009 reburial of the members of the Radvila family. A 114.0 by 210.0 centimeter opening, covered with a lockable metal cover, was made for entry into the new crypt. A 1.6 by 1.6 by 0.16 meter polished black granite slab was placed above the crypt's opening. This is a memorial plaque, designed to mark the spot of the Radvila burial. The engraved text was in the style of sixteenth and seventeenth century epithets.

The Radvila family had a remarkable impact on Lithuania's history. At their initiative, the towns of Biržai and Kėdainiai were created and a number of their buildings, reminders of the past, have survived. Dubingiai was rescued from obscurity and the gravesite of some of the most famous Radvilas and the site of the former castle were put in order. The revealed foundations of the church were restored and preserved, a new burial crypt for the Radvilas prepared, and a new grand sarcophagus and marble grave marker built for their remains. The millennium of Lithuania's name and the interment of the Radvila family found at Dubingiai were signified by their ceremonial reburial there on September 5, 2009 by the Republic of Lithuania. The revealed foundations of the Radvila Palace were covered by a modern concrete dome designed by architect Robertas Zilinskas, and the official opening of the museum inside occurred during celebrations of the coronation of Mindaugas on July 6, 2012.

Translated by ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

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Annual Holidays in Lithuania: Discourse in the Press and the Reality in Daily Life

DALIA SENVAITYTĖ

Introduction

The discourse on annual holidays, just as any other discourse in the media, not only reflects but is also formed by its sociocultural context. The media uphold the dominant ideology as they submit their own predominant discourse for the year, which predetermines interpretations of events and signifies what and how to think about one or another matter (McCombs, Shaw, 1993, 58-67).

This article presents the ways annual holidays have been envisioned in Lithuanian periodicals from the late nineteenth to the beginning of the twenty-first century. It also describes the reasons for some discourse and the relationship of that discourse to Lithuanian identity. There are explanations about which holidays are drawn into public discourse and why, as well as how well a holiday presented in public discourse reflects its actual celebration by the people. This discussion is limited to annual holidays celebrated by Lithuanians collectively[1], leaving aside annual holidays of impor-

[1] As well as usually understandable as "traditional" holidays.

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tance to individuals or their intimates, such as birthdays, weddings, and anniversaries of important events in a person's life. Comparisons of data are made from different historical periods of Lithuania: 1) up to 1918, 2) 1918–40, 3) Soviet times, and 4) post-Soviet times. The basis of this article consists of research conducted from 2012–14 that is also summarized.[2]

Annual Holidays in the Periodical Press from the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

Periodicals written in the Lithuanian language appear in the first half of the nineteenth century.[3] Another stage in the periodical press coincides with the latter half of the nineteenth century, the period when the modern Lithuanian nation was intensely forming on the grounds of its

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[2] The research was funded by Grant No. VAT-30/2012 from the Research Council of Lithuania. The author presents the results of her research analyzing the press during different historical periods in the following articles: D. Senvaitytė. "Kalendorinių švenčių pristatymas lietuviškoje periodinėje spaudoje XIX a.–XX a. pr. [Presentation of Calendar Holidays in the Lithuanian periodical press from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century]." *Res Humanitariae*. 2013, XIII. pp. 267-285. D. Senvaitytė. "Kalendorinių švenčių diskursas tarpukario Lietuvos periodikoje [Discourse on Calendar Holidays in the press of interwar Lithuania]." *Soter*, 2013. No. 45. pp. 115-138; D. Senvaitytė. "Kalendorinių švenčių diskursas sovietinėje Lietuvos periodikoje. I dalis: 1945–1964 metai [Discourse on Calendar Holidays in the periodical press of Soviet Lithuania. Part I: 1945–1964. *Lituanistica*. 2013, No. 2. pp. 101-121; D. Senvaitytė. "Kalendorinių švenčių diskursas sovietinėje Lietuvos periodikoje. II dalis: 1964–1990 metai [Discourse on Calendar Holidays in the periodical press of Soviet Lithuania. Part II: 1964–1990. *Lituanistica*. 2014, No. 2. The actual popularity of holidays is discussed in the article: D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* [Popularity of annual holidays in Lithuania and its contexts] (manuscript).

[3] They were published irregularly. Their content was usually based, not on original texts, but on translations from Prussian periodicals. The Christian holidays are mentioned, but the discourse on holidays is minimal.

unique language and ethnocultural identity. Two monthly periodicals, *Aušra* (Dawn, published from 1883 to 1886) and *Varpas* (The Bell, 1889 to 1904), along with its supplement, *Ūkininkas* (The Farmer, 1890 to 1905), which targeted rural readers, became popular during the prohibition of the Lithuanian press in the Latin alphabet in Lithuania Major, when publications were printed in Lithuania Minor or America and smuggled in. They contributed to the formation of a Lithuanian national and cultural identity and the strengthening of self-awareness. These periodicals devote little attention to the traditional annual holidays of Lithuania, despite their tremendous ideological focus on Lithuanian self-awareness, stressing the nation's relationship to the Lithuanian language, its ancient and noble history, and the ethnic culture of the rural folk who speak Lithuanian. Although the press of that time was active in developing a national identity, it did not use calendar holidays as components of the development of Lithuanian culture. One explanation for this is that the most popular calendar holidays at that time were Christian, which would have linked Lithuanians with Christians from other lands – starting with Poland (whereas, during the period of Lithuanian national identity development, language differentiation was emphasized to define the culture). The holidays did not seem to offer any specific ethnocultural delineation. No one was yet searching for specific pre-Christian traditions that could serve to highlight Lithuanian culture.

Varpas and *Ūkininkas* introduced, from the time they began publishing, the tradition of reviewing major topics that had arisen during the previous year in their December issues and deliberating issues relevant to the upcoming year in their January issues. In this way, Lithuania adopted the tradition by which January 1 becomes the datum point as did periodicals of many other countries. Nonetheless, nothing is said about the commemoration of

New Year's Day itself. One exception is an 1893 article in *Varpas*, "How All Sorts of Creatures Greet the New Year."[4] It presents an intensely joyful, albeit ironic, account of a New Year's gathering that circulated publically. This attests the New Year tradition was widespread and well-known. One issue of *Varpas* wrote about a tradition unrelated to Christianity, known in an area of Panevėžys, called *kupoliavimas* or *kupoliojimas*[5]. This celebration involves gathering on a hill on St. John's Eve and dancing, playing music, singing, and burning bonfires all night long.[6]

The press runs of the aforementioned periodicals were small. Thus, very specialized periodicals were no less important – calendars. They showed the cycle of actual calendar holidays and, at the same time, strongly impacted public opinion about annual holidays. These calendars, published in the Lithuanian language during the 1800s, followed the traditions of calendars published in Latin in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 1400s to the 1700s and those published in Polish during the 1700s. The calendars designated the most important annual holidays as Easter and the other moveable feasts related to it: *Kryžiaus dienos* (Days of the Cross), or three days during the sixth week after Easter; *Sekminės*, Whit Sunday, or the seventh week after Easter; and *Dievo Kūno*, aka *Vainikai*, (Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Body of Christ on the Thursday of the ninth week after Easter, also known as Wreath Day), from the tradition of placing wreaths on cows. Another special point of reference for commemorations would be Lent: *Užgavėnės* or Shrove Tuesday, falling on the seventh week prior to Easter, and *Pelenų diena*, Ash Wednesday[7]. The other Christian holidays noted on these

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4 *Varpas*, 1893, No. 1.

5 Translator's note: from the word *kupolė*, which is a flower, *Melampyrum pretense*, with clusters of blue and yellow blossoms on its stalk referring to the gathering of wild flowers and grasses to weave into wreaths.

6 *Varpas*, 1889, No. 6.

7 Ibid, 273.

calendars were Christmas; Three Kings; *Grabnyčios*, the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord on February 2; *Kazimiero diena*, St. Casimir's Day, on March 4; *Blovieščius*, the Annunciation, on March 25, which, however, in Lithuania, is also called Stork Day; *Petro and Povilo diena*. the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul on June 29; and some others[8], like the earlier non-Lithuanian calendars, these publications would not only print calendars but also supplements containing short literary pieces, popularly presenting topics related to farming, medicine, history, and others.

In 1904, after elimination of the prohibition of the Lithuanian language in the press, but before the reinstatement of Lithuania's independence in 1918, the most stable periodicals that enjoyed the greatest circulation were *Vilniaus žinios* (Vilnius News, 1904–09), which followed in the tradition of *Varpas*; it was replaced by *Lietuvos žinios* (Lithuanian News, 1909–15); a nationalistic newspaper, *Viltis* (Hope, 1907–15); and the most popular weekly newspaper of those times, issued by the Christian Democrat Party, *Šaltinis* (Wellspring, 1906–15).

The press of those times was not paying much attention to calendar holidays. The development of a national Lithuanian cultural self-awareness, however, received as much attention as before. The difference in the press of these times was simply that publishers now expounded differing ideological positions far more than before.

Šaltinis, the weekly Catholic-oriented newspaper, always greeted its readers with the holidays on Easter and Christmas and printed illustrations respective to those occasions. This newspaper did not forget other Catholic holidays – the Ascension, Whit Sunday, and Žolinė[9] among others. The paper also

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[8] Ibid, 274.

[9] Translator's note: the direct translation references a "grass" or "greens" day, since it was the day to bless plants; however, it also refers to the Catholic Feast of the Assumption of Mary, observed on August 15.

ran appropriate, Christian-type illustrations for the occasion.[10] The weekly also recalled farming customs and ran articles analyzing the positive and negative sides of such traditions.[11] The *Viltis* newspaper discussed Lithuanian traditions and holidays, but avoided any talk about Christianity; rather, it searched for the pre-Christian roots of one or another tradition. One example is the article "Kalėdų šventės kilmė" (Origin of the Christmas Holiday), clearly reflecting such a search.[12]

Vilniaus žinios frequently mentions calendar holidays, but only in passing. However, it ran information about the more important Christian holidays, even submitting lists of them, well wishes for Christmas, and parish mass schedules.[13] Articles summarizing the past year would be run at the end of the year. Sometimes, fictional pieces were printed as appropriate for Christmas or Easter.[14] The newspaper also covered the festivities held in Vilnius to celebrate Whit Sunday.[15] Additionally, it reported on topics of one sort or another involving *atlaidai* – these are various, ongoing, special church observances or indulgences. The newspaper paid special attention to the popular observances/indulgences held in Žemaičių Kalvarija that masses of people attended.[16] *Lietuvos žinios* printed a rather comprehensive article in 1914 describing different calendar holidays (Easter, St. John's Day, Body of Christ, Whit Sunday, Christmas, and Shrove Tuesday) and comparing the customs of their observances in rural and urban areas.[17]

Publication of Lithuanian calendars continued during the period right after the press prohibition was lifted, with their

[10] Ibid., 281.
[11] Ibid., 281.
[12] *Viltis* newspaper, December 25, 1913.
[13] Ibid., 275.
[14] Ibid., 277.
[15] *Lietuvos žinios* newspaper, May 26 (June 8), 1911, No. 60.
[16] *Lietuvos žinios* newspaper, July 7 (20), 1911, No. 77.
[17] *Lietuvos žinios* newspaper, February 18 (March 3), 1914.

press runs outnumbering those of Lithuanian newspapers. Traditionally, these favored the holidays of importance to Catholics, especially Easter and its associated moveable feasts.

Therefore, some of the press of those times chose a free-thinking position and tried not to favor Lithuanian Catholicism. Whereas others, especially *Šaltinis*, did the opposite—they pushed Lithuanian Catholicism by constantly reminding their readers about the holidays important to the culture of Catholic Lithuania and its national identity.

It is no longer possible to conduct empirical research about the most popular holidays during those times; all that is left now is the material gathered earlier by ethnographers and featured in the press. It can be claimed that Catholic holidays were the most popular and universally celebrated by Lithuanians. The special observances and indulgences held at different parishes were also popular, attracting numerous people, even from distant parishes. Many local traditions, primarily associated with one or another farm task, were celebrated in different areas throughout Lithuania.

Annual Holidays in the Periodicals of Interwar Lithuania

From 1918 to 1940, henceforth called the interwar period, a great many and varied periodicals were published in the Lithuanian language within the Republic of Lithuania. The newspapers (which became dailies) selected for analyzing the discourse on calendar holidays represented the official policies of the country. These are *Lietuva* (Lithuania), the daily newspaper of the government of Lithuania (1919–28) and *Lietuvos aidas* (Lithuanian Echo), the official daily that replaced the previous one (published in Vilnius in 1918 and Kaunas from 1928–40 as the official newspaper of the Lietuvių tautininkų sąjunga (Lithuanian Nationalist League), a political party, and the government of Lithuania. The choice of other newspapers, which also became dailies, for comparison was in consideration of their representing the most popular po-

litical parties of those times, of the duration of their publication and their circulation. These were the Farmer-Populists Union Party newspaper, *Lietuvos žinios* (Lithuanian News, 1922–40) and the newspaper reflecting the position of the Christian Democrat Party, *XX amžius* (20th Century, published 1936–40).

All the publications of interwar Lithuania considered here differentiated the customs for celebrating some holiday between Kaunas (the capital of Lithuania at that time) and the rest of Lithuania in their articles. Without question, such a difference during those times was a comparatively new thing: the newspapers noticed that many residents of Kaunas returned to their homes - the locale from which they descended – over the holidays. The main line of thought in this discourse is an invitation to remember the old-time village customs, because these link Lithuania with the traditional culture that rural Lithuania characterizes. On the other hand, it is possible to believe that new, modern, urban traditions for celebrating calendar holidays were forming in Kaunas that were relevant to the changed lifestyle of city folk and its features. The media, which rapidly become quite widespread during interwar Lithuania, intensively advertised and promoted holiday traditions in one way or another, for example, holiday visiting and celebrating holidays in certain areas of the city or otherwise.

Different periodicals present calendar holidays differently and do not ground their links to Lithuanian identity in the same way. The two official publications, *Lietuva* and *Lietuvos aidas*, intensively sought the links between these holidays and Lithuanian statehood, whenever they discussed calendar holidays, but especially during the first decade of Lithuania's independence. The holiday issues of the publications always encouraged people to remember the historical events and dates of importance to the nation. Meanwhile, the *XX amžius* newspaper emphasized the meanings of the respective Christian holidays much more than the others did. The opposite is true of *Lietuvos žinios*, which often wrote about calendar holidays but avoided stressing their links to Christianity,

characteristically searching for the wellsprings of one or another holiday in the pre-Christian traditions of various countries.[18]

The way calendar holidays were envisioned changed during the interwar period. The political and economic situation of the country impacted such changes. When Lithuania regained its independence, there were nearly no discussions about calendar holidays. Later, the discourse on holidays became much more widespread, once the country had politically strengthened somewhat and especially once the economic situation improved. Advertisements promoting consumerism during specific annual holidays were widely disseminated in the early 1920s (primarily for Christmas and Easter). Articles describing such consumerism, along with corresponding advertisements, also multiplied during the latter half of the 1930s.[19] The press at this time also began reflecting new traditions that had just begun to spread in society and had not been characteristic of calendar holidays previously (Christmas trees, holiday lights, gifts, and the like). This occurred as much from the newly forming urban lifestyle as the onset of promotions and advertising on ways to celebrate the holidays, merchants offering goods suitable for the holidays, and consumers having the means to acquire such goods. The media advertised various goods and services to make them more popular, encouraged consumerism during holiday periods, and invented holiday traditions of one sort or another by updating old ones or introducing new ones.

All of these newspapers habitually mentioned three major annual holidays—Easter, Christmas, and the New Year—that were usually mentioned in the context of city culture. Several repetitive story lines are perceptible in their discourses about one calendar

[18] Ibid.

[19] There were somewhat fewer of them at the beginning of the decade, when Lithuania was still smarting from the consequences of an economic depression. The respective periodicals also illustrated the circumstances of the economic crisis. Ibid., 132-133.

holiday or another: 1) greetings from the publishers, 2) advertisements with greetings and announcements, 3) informational articles about relevant past or future events, 4) religious, philosophical, and fictional literary texts adapted to a holiday, 5) analytical articles or reviews that deliberate the political, economic or cultural situation of the country or the world and relevant events of the time, 6) articles discussing and/or analyzing the origin, customs, and symbolism of a calendar holiday.[20]

Clear-cut analogies can be seen when comparing the discourse that appeared in the interwar press about annual holidays with the holidays people actually enjoyed: people whose childhoods had coincided with the interwar period were most fond of the holidays that the press of the time mentioned most frequently, starting with Easter and Christmas. Žilvytis Šaknys also obtained similar research results, indicating that the favorite holidays of youngsters during the interwar period were Christmas, Easter, and Whit Sunday.

Easter was one of the most frequently mentioned annual holidays in the interwar media. It was always presented as a happy holiday (or one that should be happy).[21] The Christian-oriented press, such as *XX amžius*, devoted considerable space for recalling the meaning of this Christian holiday, as well as discussing how Easter links with spirituality overall.[22] *Lietuvos žinios* searched for remnants of pre-Christian traditions in Easter and wrote about them.[23] All the newspapers writing about the holiday would indicate that preparations for celebrating Easter began well in advance of the holiday, as often in Kaunas as in the villages, to assure a better and happier celebration. People

[20] Ibid., 131.

[21] Furthermore, when talking about Easter, the plural form of "holiday" is usually used in Lithuanian: people do not write about the "Easter holiday," but about the "Easter holidays." Ibid., pp. 126-127.

[22] Ibid., 126-127.

[23] Ibid., 129.

spent their money rather freely before Easter trying to upgrade their acquisition of goods, products, and the like. The write-ups about specific customs for celebrating Easter at that time devoted much attention to dying and rolling Easter eggs, which were considered essential to the Easter holiday.[24]

Older people who were children during the interwar period remember Easter as one they especially enjoyed, always associating it with springtime and warm weather. Memories of dyeing Easter eggs and other holiday preparations also evoke positive associations.[25] The popularity of Easter in those times and its continued popularization by the media contributed in part to the fact that, even today, older people enjoy Easter more than young people do. Easter evokes much more pleasant memories for the elderly, extending well back into their childhoods, than for young people these days.[26]

During the Christmas season, the interwar press stressed the links of Christmas to Christianity, primarily through the *XX amžius* newspaper. It marked much of their coverage of the preholiday Christmas hubbub and sales, the preparation of holiday foods, and gift purchases. There were descriptions of social visits and arranging evenings at home for guests during the Christmas season.[27] The press of those times paid separate attention to tree decorating and organizing holiday events relevant to Christmas trees, as well as to popularizing the personage of Old Man Christmas, a

[24] Ibid., 128.

[25] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

[26] Ibid. It is notable that, although Easter indubitably links with Christianity and the press stresses the appropriate link, the respondents do not talk about the religious connection, almost never talk about going to church and the like, when they discuss their childhood memories of Easter.

[27] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

Santa-type figure.[28] There were also presentations of ancient Christmas traditions in the villages of Lithuania, primarily by the *Lietuvos žinios* newspaper.[29]

Older people, whose childhoods occurred during the interwar period, associate Christmas primarily with a Christmas tree and the toys decorating it – this was a brand-new attribute of Christmas the press popularized at the time. In part, the press also associated the holiday with the newly popularized Old Man Christmas. The foods specifically liked with this holiday and their preparation, as well as anticipating Christmas, also evoke pleasant memories.[30] Now, when people try to uphold suitable holiday traditions, they pay a great deal of attention to preholiday preparations, holiday dishes, and the like.[31] Other newspapers of the time often ran articles about the features of the Christmas holiday season (i.e., visiting and receiving guests, holiday evenings and spending time together, dining at restaurants, and the like); respondents, however, do not reflect these in their remembrances.[32] Undoubtedly, such results were influenced by the fact that the respondents were children during the interwar period and the ways adults celebrated the holidays were not relevant to them. Furthermore, the corresponding Christmas traditions were much more widespread in the city of Kaunas, where only an insignificant part of the respondents resided during the interwar period.

Publications of the interwar press devote much attention to the New Year as a reference point for assessing the events of

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[28] Ibid., p. 122.

[29] Ibid., pp. 119-122.

[30] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid. It is notable that the respondents did not mention any religious connection when talking about their childhood memories of Christmas, the same as when talking about Easter in their childhoods. Almost all of them did not talk about going to church and the like during Christmas.

the preceding year and forecasting the upcoming year, along with write-ups of New Year's Eve celebrations, home visits for the season, and the like.[33] Correspondingly, the New Year ranks third in popularity, not only in terms of its coverage by the interwar press but also in the childhood memories of older people.[34]

The interwar press payed far less attention to other annual holidays. They are usually only mentioned superficially in short informational articles about events relevant to one or another holiday, just past or soon to come. There were mentions or brief write-ups about special locales. Shrove Tuesday receives attention as a point of reference for Lent. Parties to celebrate Shrove Tuesday in the city and the old-time Shrove Tuesday traditions in the villages received write-ups. Reports on St. John's Day mostly talk about it as an *atlaidai* church observance in honor of St. John or a name-day celebration for people named John. The press also writes about celebrations held by different public organizations to commemorate St. John's Day, providing the most coverage of how it was organized at Rambynas Hill in western Lithuania.[35] A discussion about All Souls Day in the press deliberates life after death, presents a newly organized observance of this day in the Kaunas Municipal Cemetery, and reports on the newly disseminating traditions regarding the upkeep and decorating of gravesites and lighting candles.[36] The interwar press also wrote about the newly introduced Mother's Day, describing the observances held by different organizations to honor mothers.[37] It might be expected, therefore, that the respondents born during the interwar period would name annual holidays of significance to them, in addition to most of the popular holidays already discussed, which would include one or

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[33] Ibid., 123-124.

[34] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

[35] Ibid., 129-130.

[36] Ibid., 130-131.

[37] Ibid., 131.

another *atlaidai* church observance, with the youth preferring one of the *atlaidai* observances most closely linked to the Gegužinės nature outing in May, on Mother's Day, and on St. John's Day/Summer Solstice (especially those celebrating at Rambynas Hill). Correspondingly, the research results gained by Ž. Šaknys also indicate that youth regularly celebrated Shrove Tuesday and St. John's/Summer Solstice during the interwar period.

Annual Holidays in Periodicals During Soviet Times

During Soviet times, public discourse could only reflect Communist Party ideology. The official organ chosen for the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee, as well as the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, for analyzing calendar holiday representations in Soviet times was *Tiesa* (Truth), a daily newspaper.[38]

Calendar dates underwent essential structural changes from the very beginning of the Soviet era. The newly constructed calendar year, as with the entire culture of those times, reflected Soviet ideology and substantiated the Soviet worldview. The press visualized everything in any way relevant to the Soviet sphere in an uplifting manner, joyfully and only from a point of view favorable to the Soviet system regarding actual events at the time. Events not favorable to the image formed by Soviet propaganda would not be discussed at all. If the press happened to hint about ongoing hardships, these would be unmasked as actions by internal or external enemies. The past—prior to Soviet times—was visualized negatively and set in opposition to a positive socialist history and present. Various strategies were undertaken to interlink all the nations under the Soviet Union into one "magnificent Russian nation." One of them was an emphatically pronounced formal and even demonstrative coex-

[38] Other official periodicals represented identical ideology; therefore, they are not additionally analyzed here.

istence of national cultures within the Soviet Union. The goal was to eradicate national substance step-by-step, while retaining "national form" for a time. Another active strategy to eradicate differences among nations (Lithuania being one of them) was the battle against Christianity and religion in general. First, the new annual holidays, specifically those without a religious context, were brought into service in the battle against religion. This was expected to help unify all the citizens of the Soviet Union and create a new identity for the "New Soviet Man (or Person)."

Soviet propaganda changed little during the different periods of the Soviet era (depending on the strategies selected by Communist Party ideologists on how to entrench, uphold, and expand the Soviet regime).[39] The model of Soviet annual holidays introduced during the Stalinist era (with a few minor exceptions) grounded the public discourse on holidays. This was supplemented with Soviet calendar dates relevant to the "New Soviet Person of Lithuania," which were meant to justify the Soviet occupation of Lithuania.

Annual and five-year plans structured the Soviet period. The structure of the ritual year had two special annual holidays—along with the New Year, which formally denoted the beginning of the calendar. These two holidays were May 1, or May Day, and the annual commemoration of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.[40] The form and course of these Soviet Union holidays were essentially the same. The date of a holiday would be set "from above," with consideration for its historical and po-

[39] E.g., after the XX Communist Party Congress in 1956 and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Resolution, "On overcoming the cult of personality and its consequences," which *Tiesa* (Truth) newspaper published on July 3, 1956, the name Stalin and quotes by Stalin disappeared from public discourse. Instead of singing the praises of this leader, attention was directed toward a visualization of the "prospering" Soviet economy.

[40] It must be noted that May Day was regulated by law as a state holiday of the Republic of Lithuania during interwar Lithuania as well. However, the discourse in the press relevant to this holiday was not popular. This holiday was usually mentioned in a negative context.

litical significance. Meanwhile, the beginning of a holiday celebration would be announced to the public by issuing an order.

For the aforementioned reasons, the visualization of calendar holidays in the press of Soviet times became entirely different from that of the interwar period. The most popular holidays – Christmas and Easter – which had been given the greatest amount of attention by the interwar press, were now completely ignored. One clear exception (constituting some continuity with the discourse up to the Soviet period) was the New Year holiday, although now devoid of any Christian content.

The New Year (as with the most popular Soviet holidays) provided an additional opportunity for the Party's propagandists to praise the advantages of Soviet governance and the achievements of the Soviet period. Certain New Year symbols were also popularized; these, however, were no longer linked with Christmas, which was eliminated from the public discourse of those times: a decorated holiday (not Christmas) tree, Old Man Winter (not Santa Claus), and the like. Much attention was given to the children of Communist Party activists at the schools, the clubs of factories, collective farms, and other organized New Year celebrations. Later, the attention also included the adult evenings earmarked for New Year celebrations held at different factories and elsewhere. Advertisements relevant to the popular holidays of interwar Lithuania virtually disappeared from the publications of the Soviet era.

The press began picturing the new Soviet holidays at once, as if their celebrations were comprehensible in and of themselves. People were encouraged to prepare for the upcoming, one or another, Soviet holiday in advance, as soon as the date approached, to work toward the holiday in an improved way. Corresponding articles were published proving that the determination to work better had been implemented. As the holiday approached, publications offered write-ups about the essence and meaning of the holiday, as well as the

historical circumstances of its origin. Once the holiday passed, there were detailed write-ups in Moscow and Lithuania about the celebrations held in towns and small townships. All the grand Soviet holidays would start with speeches by important government officials, who always expressed their gratitude to the Communist Party and its leaders.

May Day was pictured as especially outstanding. The meaningfulness and global nature of the holiday was stressed continuously. The press reflected ongoing preparations for the holiday that, for all practical purposes, would happen from the very start of spring. All the jobs done in springtime were symbolically dedicated to the big upcoming day. Numerous articles were published—at the holiday's approach, during its time, and immediately afterwards—about the celebratory events (military parades, demonstrations by workers, and the like).[41] The tone of these articles would be overly exuberant, showing intently how the holiday spirit had flowed during the events and how enthusiastically people had celebrated.

The annual commemoration of the Great October Socialist Revolution would be given a great deal of coverage in public discourse. The press reflected the preparations underway for these commemorations as early as the very beginning of the year. All work planning and performance were associated with the important day. Before and during the holiday, there was rejoicing at the achievements of the Soviet people and Soviet order. Greetings from high Party officials would be published. Once the holiday had passed, articles appeared on the events held to celebrate this holiday: military parades, ceremonial gatherings, and such.

Annual commemorations of Lenin's Birthday on April 22 took on greater significance during the so-called period of "mature" socialism. This went hand-in-hand with collective, voluntary work to assist some worthy effort, like a city

[41] Ibid., 108-109, 117.

cleanup, for example. Victory Day on May 9 was also noted. Another day that emerged as special was March 8 that, little by little, began to be associated, not only with women workers, but women in general, considering it Women's Day and often related to women and mothers or even young girls.[42]

Nothing was written about the Lithuanian holidays discussed in the interwar press—not until 1988. It happened then because of the changing economic and political situation, the start of the fall of the Soviet Union, and the decreasing influence of the Communist Party. The overall discourse in *Tiesa* changed as sharply as the depictions of the featured holidays did. Discussions then turned to historic dates important to the Lithuanian nation (not the Soviet Union). Little by little, the traditional Lithuanian calendar holidays were also remembered.

Empirical research shows that members of today's older generation most enjoyed and celebrated Christmas and Easter during Soviet times, which, along with the New Year, related to the old as much as the new tradition.[43] A sizeable proportion had also participated in the Gegužinės nature outings and some celebrated St. John's Day/Summer Solstice.[44] Thus, the actual celebration of the holidays no longer corresponded with the official discourse on holidays. Valdemaras Klumbys note that, during the Soviet period, people spoke and behaved in public according to public requirements, but pragmatism determined their actions in practice. The efforts by Soviet propaganda to exchange

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[42] Ibid., 121-122, 128.

[43] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript). New Year was more popular among young people. Persons born during Soviet times considered the New Year as the most meaningful and important holiday of the year (even after Soviet times). See Šaknys. "Jaunimo kalendoriniai papročiai tūkstantmečių sandūroje: tradicijos ir naujovės. [Calendar traditions of youth at the crossroads of the millenniums: Traditions and new customs]." *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos suvažiavimo darbai*, 2003, Vol. 18, pp. 165-176.

[44] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

the traditional annual Lithuanian holidays for new Soviet holidays ran up against the power of tradition. Furthermore, the traditional holidays were consciously or unconsciously understood as a way of resisting the occupiers and their forced ideology.

Nonetheless, the propagandistic public discourse had some influence on the popularity of a given holiday. Some respondents from the older generation indicated their favorite holiday during Soviet times was May 1st. In their memories, these respondents associated this holiday primarily with spring as well as processions, spending time with friends, and simply being with people. Some people who had enjoyed this holiday lost the sentiments they felt toward the holiday in their youth, claiming their outlook on it had changed in the post-Soviet period. Nonetheless, others said, perhaps timidly, that this holiday remained dear to them, because it brought back good memories.[45] Among the annual holidays popularized during Soviet times, March 8th also received a positive response from people. Although it never became one of the "favorite" holidays, it was and is liked by the older generation, now as much as during the Soviet period. It brings fond memories to women about a chance to receive flowers; for many, it was a day to spend with friends and colleagues, and similar memories. However, people never liked the annual Day of the Great October Socialist Revolution that had been popularized during Soviet times. The propagandists did not succeed in generating any important meaning for this holiday or positive associations among the people.

Public Discourse About Annual Holidays After 1990

The Lithuanian press finally became independent of the single official line of Communist Party propaganda after the 1990 reinstatement of Lithuania's independence. Printing of the most varied publications ensued, reflecting different opinions by different

[45] D. Senvaitytė. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

authors. A great variety of Internet media also appeared, as use of the Internet spread. This medium has its own specific way of talking, presenting news, and affecting public opinion.[46] Compared to the Soviet period, public discourse relevant to annual Lithuanian holidays changed sharply again during the post-Soviet period. The discourse became quite varied, geared to a specific publication, the specifics of informational sources and purposes, and so on.

This article analyzes public discourse on annual holidays for this period by employing data from the *Dabartinės Lietuvių kalbos tekstynas* (The Corpus of Current Lithuanian Language),[47] because the number of different media sources and the amount of information accessible to the public is especially plentiful at this time.[48] An explanation of the frequency with which an annual holiday is mentioned in Lithuanian language texts was undertaken on the basis of the Corpus. Furthermore, the Corpus permits one to establish the most popular contextual nouns to appear in published texts.

Research shows that Christmas is the most frequently mentioned annual holiday in Lithuanian language texts from the end of the 1900s to the start of the year 2000.[49] Research also shows that Christmas is in reality the most popular annual holiday in Lithuania over this span.[50] The contextual nouns most often associated with Christmas, as per the Corpus

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[46] Most references, as per Google search data (accessed on 2014 May 05), related to Easter (1,620,000), New Year's Day (1,030,000) and St. John's Day/Summer Solstice (456,000). Next in line were Christmas (424,000), Shrove Tuesday (293,000), and All Souls Day (232,000). The Google search system submitted markedly fewer results for all the other holidays.

[47] http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas; accessed on 2014 May 05.

[48] Most of the links corresponding with Google search data (accessed on 2014 May 05) related to Easter (1,620,000), then with New Year (1,030,000) and St. John's Day/Summer Solstice (456,000). Next came Christmas (424,000), Shrove Tuesday (293,000), and All Souls Day (232,000). The Google search system submitted significantly fewer results for other holidays.

[49] Senvaitytė D. *Metinių švenčių populiarumas Lietuvoje ir jo kontekstai* (manuscript).

[50] Ibid.

data, are "holiday," "family," and "childhood," which correlate quite closely with people's associations with Christmas. People know Christmas as a family holiday.[51] The mention of Easter, as per Corpus data, markedly lags references to Christmas. Nevertheless, Easter is the second most frequently mentioned annual holiday. The contextual nouns most often associated with Easter are: "holiday," "Christ," "God," and "spring."[52] These only partially correspond with the associations people actually have with Easter. People associate this holiday with springtime, which is often why they like it; God and Christ are not mentioned as primary associations.[53] Third place among calendar holidays by frequency of mention is the New Year. Its main contextual nouns are "Christmas" and "holiday."[54] Unquestionably, this reflects the link between Christmas and New Year. Nevertheless, people give Christmas priority and consider it more important and meaningful than New Year's Day, despite the close association between the two and the popularity of the New Year and its celebration.[55]

The public discourse in the various periods often also mentions All Souls Day, Palm Sunday, Shrove Tuesday, and St. John's Day/Summer Solstice. The latter two appear in public discourse more and more frequently and, little by little, are currently becoming popular among young people.[56]

It must be noted that, based on the data from the Corpus of the Current Lithuanian Language, the holidays relevant to Lithuania's statehood—February 16th and March 11th—are also mentioned

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid. Also Ž. Šaknys. "Šventė Vilniuje: Naujieji metai lietuvių, lenkų ir rusų šeimose [Holiday in Vilnius: The New Year in Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian families]." *Lituanistica*. 2014. Vol. 60. No. 2(96). pp. 107-108.
[56] Ibid.

quite often in Lithuanian language texts. But only a substantial proportion of the older generation actually remembers and notes these holidays; they are not especially popular among young people.[57]

Conclusions

Calendar holidays, as constituent parts of ethnic culture, were drawn into the sphere of a developing national self-awareness during the formation of a modern Lithuanian identity and into public discourse relatively late (the exceptions were the calendars, written in Lithuanian, issued as early as the 1800s to remind readers of the most important Christian holidays). The Lithuanian press only begins to discuss calendar holidays to a great extent after 1904. Henceforth, two major ideological lines of thought begin to form in public discourse, each viewing Lithuanian calendar holidays differently. The publications with a Christian orientation accent the essence and meanings of the annual Christian holidays and consider Christianity an especially important part of Lithuanian identity. The other newspapers begin to search for the pre-Christian roots of Lithuanian holidays as well as a Lithuanian identity.

The same two ideological views on annual holidays are also pronounced in the press of the Republic of Lithuania from 1918 to 1940.

A third position begins to appear in line with the state's discourse about annual holidays: people are encouraged to remember the events important to Lithuanian statehood, whenever the official press notes one or another annual holiday. Additionally, the business-promoted commercialization of holidays becomes more and more pronounced in public discourse during the interwar period.

The discourse on calendar holidays changes fundamentally during the Soviet period. New holidays are introduced in an effort to form a Soviet people who have no nationality of their

[57] Ibid.

own. The most important of these are the commemorations on May 1 and the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The popular Christian holidays were entirely eliminated from public discourse. The New Year holiday, which has no religious connotation, was the only one mentioned, and it served to eliminate the function of Christmas.

The discourse on annual holidays radically changed again after 1990. Discussions returned to the holidays formerly part of interwar public discourse. The holidays most frequently discussed are now Christmas, Easter, New Year's, and the holidays denoting Lithuanian statehood, which receive a good deal of attention. Lithuanian identity and Lithuanian "traditional" holidays are connected with either Christianity, pre-Christian tradition, or both.

Obviously, the public discourse about annual holidays affected the actual popularity of holidays during all historical periods. Nonetheless, the links of public discourse to the actual practices for celebrating a holiday and its popularity were not the same. The interwar discourse on holidays realistically reflected the popularity of a holiday and entrenched the traditions for celebrating Easter, Christmas, and the New Year and their features. The discourse in Soviet times did not reflect the popularity of a holiday in reality nor the situations for celebrating the holidays. (Established traditions, handed down in families from generation to generation, had the greatest impact on the popularity of a holiday.) Nevertheless, it did influence a liking for certain holidays – May 1 and March 8. Public discourse on holidays after 1990 once again closely reflects the actual popularity of a holiday and the features for celebrating it, as well as forming such features.

Translated by VIJOLĖ ARBAS

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The Birthday

RIČARDAS GAVELIS

Today was a special day, they sat at the table quiet, tense, with white napkins under their chins. They lowered their eyes briefly, then once again raised their noses and stared at her, contemplating whether they had impressed her or accidently insulted her on such a day.

And she stood, painfully elegant with a black dress, wrinkled hands, with a graceful, calm face. Her hair was white as could be. She wanted to speak and spoke—hollow and sadly:

"It's gotten cold. Markas, you've been here for thirteen years; however, there's never been such a dreary windy evening on your birthday. Aurelijus, don't look at me like that, you're still too young to argue with me."

Aurelijus retracted his head. Today one couldn't even resist her in one's thoughts, even though she might be wrong.

"I made soup, the one you like the most. Broth, with big mouthwatering meatballs in it. Aurelijus, I'll give you more, you slurp them down so hungrily."

Gradually, as if adapting to the rhythm of the words, she served the steaming soup. Margarita had already forgot-

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RIČARDAS GAVELIS (1950-2002) was one of the leading writers of his generation and an author of a number of novels and collections of short stories. His highly acclaimed *Vilnius Poker*, sold 100,000 copies in just two editions when it was first published in 1989. Translated into English by Elizabeth Novickas, it was published by Open Letter in 2009.

ten Aurelijus's look and took a long time in choosing the best chunks for him.

"It's like I'm your nanny. You know what a nanny is, don't you? That's a very caring and affectionate woman. When I was small, there were nannies at all the homes of our friends. But mine was the best in the world... But I don't remember my father. He escaped to Paris—back then, everybody escaped to Paris. He was very fat and had many business cards. You do know what business cards are, don't you?

She was already sixty-seven, and for the first time after her husband's death, she set the holiday table.

Markas looked at the wall, flooded with a faint light, thinking about his leg. Actually, for the last several days, it had become cold, and the rheumatism of old age once again gripped him like pincers. The leg seemed foreign, poorly stuck on, and it was uncomfortable to sit on a high chair with it bent. However, it wasn't proper to complain about one's own diseases on a day of celebration: During the years spent among the things getting older together with Margarita, he learned to respect family traditions. "I wish it would get dark quicker, so she wouldn't notice," he thought. Seeing it, she would only get anxious for no reason, try to console him, and become even sadder. Markas stole glances towards the window (his leg most likely wouldn't bend now) and, like a true aristocrat, waited reservedly, until the host served all the soup.

Afterwards, while all of them ate in silence, Aurelijus pushed his spoon, lying next to the soup bowl, and felt ill at ease. He just could not get used to the celebratory mood, was a bit jealous of wise old Markas, and would have happily curled up on the sofa as usual.

In the twilight, the walls of the room seemed distant and somber—four even planes, four drops of darkness. Dusk had already slipped into the room, and only contours remained of the photographs and miniatures. Someday, they

would disappear for eternity. These things held meaning only for Margarita, her and her only in the whole world, so they had to die together with her.

"Vitalijus wouldn't sit at our table," she began to speak again. "He never wanted to celebrate after... He didn't even want to talk. But we're having fun now, aren't we? Me and you two. The whole time, I had two, just like you.

They hardly saw one another anymore, but they didn't hurry to turn the light on—like actors who have merged with their role, they could sit in the dark, or with their eyes closed, and nothing changed because of it.

Now they dug into the meat, and there was still pie ahead—like a big square piece of ice that never starts to melt. She didn't buy pie, because no one of the three liked cream; a celebration never passed, however, without a pie stuck all over with candles. Margarita, as usual, slowly played with the forks, cautiously divvying up the flavorful meat chunks in the soup bowls.

Aurelijus got used to it, but he was still weighed down by the preciosity, he couldn't find a place for himself or stop being amazed at Markas's dignified calmness.

"You're so sad... And I'm trying so hard. I'm not getting upset because of you. You're so fussy, you don't know what you want yourself. But what's the matter, Markas? You aren't yourself."

Markas simply croaked a little and secretly moved his leg. It was like his hip had come totally unglued from his body, hung in the air, and pulsated with foreign blood, asleep, dead.

"Don't get upset, old boy," she mused. "Twelve years already. No, wait, thirteen... You do hate unlucky numbers too, don't you?"

Markas nodded. Who likes disaster after all? But hey, people are strange, they get too wound up in their disasters, talk too much about them. He nodded again.

"You remember your first evening in this room?"

Markas cowered, even forgetting his leg. Even now, his hair stands on end just remembering it. He had never been so close to death before. He was just a small boy and a goofball; he ran through the field, chasing butterflies, and afterwards wanted to run to the other side of the street. At the time, running across the street was the most attractive and dangerous game. Like huge beasts thirsting for blood, cars hummed past, with their polished sides glimmering, giving off an acrid reek. Markas was amazed by them from birth: they moved ever so quickly, but the horrible silence of a dead person emanated from them.

Markas would jump off the sidewalk happily, youthfully. Right away, however, he was overcome by a primeval wild passion. He maneuvered between the colorful bodies, gradually giving in more and more to the strange desire to fool the cars that all smelled the same, until finally he only cared about one thing: to escape, to avoid the blow, to stay alive. He would come to his senses, already having ended up on the other side of the street, wet from sweat, with shivers running down his spine.

Markas was not able to get rid of the shivering all the time, and forgot it only when, again having latched onto a wild rage, he would take off across the street.

That time, everything was going nicely, but suddenly the world crumbled onto him, trampled and flung him into an abyss, pulled him out of it and once again put him on his feet. Markas staggered, not understanding a thing, he was overcome by fear and anger; the enemy had to be right here, the eternal enemy, which he needed to defend himself from. Markas was disheveled and growled; the vision disappeared, however, and he suddenly felt that he couldn't stand anymore, that all of his bones were broken, and he collapsed on his side helplessly. The sidewalk, the merciful

sidewalk was right there, but people went on by without looking back.

"Vitalijus, look, that poor dog was run over. Maybe he's still alive?" A woman with her husband stopped next to him, and Markas lost consciousness.

Opening his eyes, he saw a pleasant face and a sofa with blue upholstery. Margarita was standing over him.

"You'll live, little guy. That's also what the doctor said. But maybe you'll be more careful when running across the street."

Markas had never thanked her. People don't like to thank others for saving their life, and he understood at once that, for Margarita, he was a person. She only blurted out "doggy" that one time.

Markas got used to it. He didn't wag his tail and even forgot to sniff other dogs. People didn't do that. Lunch at 3 PM, dinner from plates and long walks before going to bed became a necessity for him; he couldn't even imagine it could be any other way. Often, he didn't even understand anymore whether he really was talking with her or just imagining it. He wouldn't sleep for long, and in the middle of the night, he would look at his own image in the mirror in the moonlight. Only when the immense desire to raise his snout and howl arose did Markas still feel like a dog.

Only once had Markas been besieged by pain and the unknown. That had been relatively recently, the night when Vitalijus—who had also lived at Margarita's the entire time and the entire time been quiet—had died.

That time, Vitalijus didn't get up the whole day, and Margarita didn't go for a walk in the evening. Markas went on his own, returned quietly, and slowly went to bed. He woke up in the night, tormented by a bad dream, and suddenly breathed in the smell of death. A spasm choked his throat, and he timidly stuck his snout into Vitalijus's room, where he felt, like never before, as if he were just a helpless white dog.

Vitalijus was lying on his back in a big bed, having put his arms together unevenly, and wasn't breathing anymore. The light was on in the room, and Margarita stood next to her husband barefoot; with her disheveled hair, it seemed as if she had just jumped out of her lair. A brown shapeless lump was rolling around on the floor.

"You see? It was just the fur that fell off. And I was so frightened." Her voice was very calm, void of feeling.

Slowly, she picked up the fur, covered Vitalijus and, as if feeling guilty, looked at Markas.

"That expression of his... He's probably very cold now."

Her eyes wandered around the room, and her bare feet shook on the cool floor.

"But I won't call anyone. It's so late."

And then Markas understood that she was afraid, afraid to be alone with Vitalijus, who had died.

He slowly went to his corner, cold as death itself, feeling guilty that he couldn't help her; that she was alone, even though he was right there; that life is immensely complicated; that you never know who you are and what place you occupy in it.

"Forgive me, Markas. I didn't need to remind you of that," the quiet voice interrupted his thought, and he saw that both were waiting for him.

There was no sense anymore in eating. Waiting a little bit, Margarita put Markas's plate to the side. Her slim arms appeared in the dark among the whitish plates.

Markas's leg felt better, and he looked around. Aurelijus's eyes gleamed, it seemed like he was swallowing his saliva while staring at the pie. Margarita shook the matchbox and started lighting the candles. The faces from the photographs on the wall looked at everyone who was sitting. She avoided those glances and instinctively covered the light.

Markas lowered his head. He knew what Margarita was thinking. In one photograph two young blonde men were smil-

ing. The photograph was old, faded, but now, lit in a strange way, it was like it had come back to life, the faces had regained their color. Four deep eyes gave a pleasant look, as if the young men had gotten ready to sit right at the table.

Markas knew them well, though he had never seen them in the flesh. Margarita spoke about her sons on a number of occasions. When Aurelijus played around too exuberantly, Markas, overwhelmed by an old fuddy-duddy irritability, sometimes wanted to tell him the entire story—everything from beginning to end: how the station looked, how both sons stood, not knowing if they can promise their mom that they will really return—and what two gray pieces of paper mean, in which "killed in action" and "missing in action" are written in a crooked handwriting; and how much a person can cry without stopping; and why Vitalijus, while he was alive, did not say a word at home. The irritability would pass quickly, however, and Markas would think to himself that it wasn't worth saying anything to such riffraff as Aurelijus.

Margarita began pouring sweet tea from a little slender pitcher. Markas thanked her by nodding his head, while the absorbed Aurelijus scarfed down his pie—for him, it was all the same. Margarita poured the last for herself, sunk into the soft armchair and lit up a cigarette. Her graying hair shined; her look was bleary, just her eyebrows rose from time to time.

Perhaps she remembered what had already passed.

Generally, she didn't like to rummage through her memories. What was, was already past, and you can't repeat it again. All events remained somewhere beyond the border of time and did not touch her anymore. Only *papirosy* linked her with the world—Margarita smoked two packs a day. Five years earlier, she had said goodbye to her native city, leaving her memories and friends there, taking only her dogs and fading pain. She almost never spoke to anyone about herself, but all of her neighbors complained about their lives, tangled with details, and complimented her on her dogs. Only

one young man, who in the summer sometimes sat in the yard on a little bench, didn't pet her dogs. (How could you pet them!) And when she spoke, when she said, "You are still young, you probably don't know what people are like," he would just smile sadly. Perhaps that's why it seemed he understood everything.

When Margarita would start to think, her thoughts most often wandered back to childhood, old strange dreams came back to life, where everything was soft and beautiful, where there was a lot of sun and nothing from the forgotten past.

But this evening, perhaps, she remembered more than usual.

The death of her nanny, the trickle of blood, slowly winding its way on the floor, when the nanny was shot by accident by horrible dirty people. They drank a lot, threatened everybody, and sang noisy songs. All she understood was that they wanted to kill the whole world. Then others came, shot at the first ones, and explained that they wiped up the bourgeoisie. They didn't touch her, just broke up the parquet in the rooms, lit it, and warmed their feet. She was already seventeen, but she didn't understand anything, didn't know how to do anything, and knew nothing. Everything frightened her: the word "revolution" and those people who came into her bedroom without knocking, who never in their lives had business cards.

"Girl, this isn't the place for you. Run before it's too late, because you'll get killed, without ever knowing why," a gloomy bearded man said to her once, smoking a pipe and wrapping smelly rags around his legs.

She immediately obeyed, seeing only the balls of smoke from the pipe—that was the only advice, for her the only sentence that she had waited for so long much. Margarita ran where her eyes took her, got lost on dark streets, where armed men went on rampages, and perhaps would have frozen in the stairwell of some building, if she had not been found by

Vitalijus, who had just come from work. She was not in the least surprised that he invited her to live with him; she took care of his sick mother for a year and a half and, once again not the least bit surprised, married him. No one taught her to love, he was the only person dear to her. Or, perhaps, the only one she knew at all well.

Perhaps Margarita remembered how she brought the first dog home, a black bitch almost frozen into ice, and Vitalijus looked at her quietly like always; how at night she embraced the little body close to her and how both would shake, having heard a sound, similar to a shot; how Kleopatra, having turned from a cute little creature into an old toothless bitch, couldn't swallow anything anymore and had deteriorated for a long time; and how she asked that young man sitting in the yard to put a chloroform mask on Kleopatra, because she couldn't do it. After that, she couldn't sleep the entire night, ultimately got up, ran to the little shed and, for some reason, once again pressed the cotton soaked in chloroform on Kleopatra's nostrils, though her little body was already stiff.

And there was much more she could remember, sitting in the armchair and smoking cigarette after cigarette.

When Margarita got up and went through the room, it was already late; Aurelijus was sleeping, curled up on the chair.

Quietly jumping on the floor, Markas thought, "It's difficult for us old people to remember everything." He mumbled "Goodnight" and hobbled to his corner.

But she stood at the window for a long time and watched how a lame white cat was slowly puttering around the yard, as if she was not able to pull free from the narrow strip lit by the moon.

Translated by JAYDE WILL

From Ričardas Gavelis. *Taikos balandis*. Vilnius: Alma Littera, 1995.

BOOK REVIEWS

DAVID FRICK. Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno

Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2013. Hardcover. 529 pages,
ISBN 978-0-8014-5128-7

Vilnius is a city that bridges West and East in the popular thinking of many Lithuanians. Its Old Town has streets and quarters with interesting names that must have had more appropriate significance at one time. Glass, Horse, and Meet Shop Streets; Jewish, German, and Tartar Streets; Mill Alley; Market Square, Fish Market, and Little Market are just some examples. Folktales and urban legends attempt to account for some names and locations. The names allude to a wealth of rich and diverse narratives about the city. The challenge is to imagine the past of the city with its anecdotes, without reifying the past.

David Frick has researched the social and cultural history of seventeenth-century Vilnius, primarily using two censuses. Władysław IV Waza, king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and grand duke of Lithuania, made five trips to Vilnius, the second capital city. His vast retinue included his royal court and even an Italian opera company. His quartermaster was tasked with locating suitable lodgings before each visit, a daunting challenge. He not only records who lived where, but also what they did for a living, where they worked, and who they housed as tenants. Guild records provide information about business circles. Church baptismal, marriage, and death registers reveal a much larger network of circles. Court documents shed light on social conflicts within the city. Frick brings

this formidable information together to paint a detailed picture of the religious, cultural, social, and business life of Vilnius.

Around 1650, Vilnius is a city of some twenty thousand Poles, Lithuanians, Germans, Ruthenians (speakers of East Slavic dialects that would later become Byelorussian), Jews, and Tartars, speaking six different native languages. Polish was the lingua franca (Frick opts for Polish spelling and nomenclature in his book). Five Christian denominations have houses of worship, as do Jews and Muslims. The university brings students from across the commonwealth and beyond. The markets supply the city with local and regional vegetables, fruits, and meats. The guilds and craftsmen market their wares within the city through market places and well beyond though far-flung trade routes.

Frick traces the travels of the quartermaster in mapping out the demographics and buildings of the city. Generally, burghers owned real estate in neighborhoods along confessional lines, but rented beds and rooms based on market forces. Clergy called upon their flocks to avoid religious communion with other denominations, apparently to no avail. Lutherans served as godparents to Catholic children as frequently as Uniates (Byzantine-rite Catholics) intermarried with Orthodox. Interfaith godparenting and marriages served to develop business networks or cross hierarchical social divisions. Jews and Muslim Tartars maintained clearer lines of religious separation. Frick often uses cemeteries to determine the religion of residents, because of the complex web of interconfessional marriages and second marriages, especially in the case of widows. Housing was cramped and offered little privacy. A bed could be located in a hallway, or a bedroom could sleep several unrelated tenants, resulting in many court cases to settle domestic disputes.

Calendars served as another source of conflict. The Gregorian (Western Christian) and Julian (Eastern Christian) calendars, as well as the Jewish and Muslim, had conflicting holiday dates. Catholics and Orthodox Christiams celebrated Mar-

ian holidays and saints' days; the Protestants largely did not. Religious calendars impacted secular holidays, based on the Western calendar. This affected everyday schedules: Residents of one confession could be fasting, while others engaged in religious revelries, with song, dance, and aromatic, rich meals. Markets could be closed for some, while others were trying to address grievances in court.

Vilnius had multiple jurisdictions as well. The church, the nobility, the guilds, religions (such as the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Jews, and the Tartars), and the magistracy all had different, overlapping realms of authority in the city. This led to occasional juridical confusion. For example, a craftsman with a complaint about the public drunkenness of university students near his shop had to figure out which court held jurisdiction and which might be predisposed to rule in his favor. Domestic violence and spousal abuse occurred, with the courts granting separations and divorces. Court cases were heard quickly, within days if not hours of filing. Most legal and commercial documents were written in Polish, although exceptions were frequent. Some documents contain multiple languages: A document written in Polish or German could include Latin, Ruthenian, or Polish inserts that flawlessly follow the grammar of each language. Courts used Polish, but apparently resorted to local languages to overcome the linguistic limitations of some petitioners.

Education was complex. Churches sponsored faith-based primary schools. Promising Catholic pupils could travel elsewhere to study or end up at Vilnius University, which had about 1,100 students in the lower levels and 110 students in theology and philosophy. Lutheran schools prepared to send their pupils to Königsberg or elsewhere in Germany. The Reformed school sent their graduates to German Calvinist universities. Orthodox families, without an institute of higher learning of their own, sent their sons to Catholic or Protestant universities, but apparently not to Greek, Bulgarian, or Turkish ones. Bur-

ghers sought to send their sons abroad to continue or complete their studies. Most residents did not belong to the elites nor receive an education. The guilds accepted apprentices and journeymen, preparing them to become masters. The guilds provided economic, fraternal, social, and religious benefits to their members. Even the poor were allowed to form a guild built on principles of self-help; this extended to the elderly of the city. Such efforts supplemented the charity offered by churches.

The most profound political event of the century was the six-year Muscovite invasion and occupation of Vilnius. Many residents of all confessions fled to exile, especially to Königsberg. Poland was no safe haven against Muscovy. When Russians migrated into abandoned residences, disputes over legal ownership quickly ensued. The city returned to normal commercial life under the new government, along with more ownership conflicts. The Orthodox rose in prominence during the new political situation, while the Uniates felt oppression.

Frick concludes his cultural history of Vilnius with an epilogue on "Conflict and Coexistence." Vilnius serves as an example of a post-Renaissance, multiethnic, and multireligious city in Europe, comparable only to Lvov. For all the romantic notions of harmonious life, Vilnius had the same types of social and violent conflict as other European cities. Jews, in particular, suffered periodic violent attacks. The Catholic elite at the University were prone to harass Protestants, verbally and physically. Vilnius also had its share of violent crime. Frick argues Vilnius achieved tolerance among the Christian denominations. Roman Catholics, at least theoretically, were equal partners with the Protestants and Orthodox in terms of magistracy and commerce. Restrictions during the second half of the century increased Roman Catholic prominence. The Uniate Catholics felt disadvantaged by both their Roman coreligionists and the Orthodox Christians.

Frick is Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of California-Berkley. He is proficient in Polish,

Slavonic, and Russian, and holds credentials in history as well. He provides a meticulous study of cultural life from a variety of disparate sources. Independent of one other, they could only leave a murky impression of seventeenth century Vilnius. Frick provides scrupulous detail, almost to a fault, and proposes credible conclusions for the dynamics he uncovers. I can only imagine the card file he must have created, with thousands of names and notes from all his sources. These allowed him to connect the dots between the different spheres of life in Vilnius. He does share interesting anecdotes about the Glass, Horse and Meet Shop Streets; Jewish, German, and Tartar Streets; Mill Alley; and Market Square, Fish Market, and Little Market mentioned earlier. Frick's research emphasizes religious interconfessional relationships in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. His current book, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, with its emphasis on complex religious intersections, serves as a major milestone in his greater research project.

VILIUS RUDRA DUNDZILA

The Power of Words:
Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe

Edited by James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan.
Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2013. Hardcover. 325 pages. ISBN: 978-615-5225-10-9

Traditional verbal charms are magic words: Speaking them causes changes in the physical world, and a person who knows these words can wield their power. The genre encompasses a variety of Lithuanian terms (*burtažodžiai, maldelės, užkalbėjimai,* etc.), and more broadly, it may also include curses (*keiksmai*); but Lithuanians often called them simply *žodžiai* (words). Al-

though a few Lithuanian verbal charms were first published in 1846, systematic research did not begin until 1929, when a professor of Finnish folklore, Viljo Johannes Mansikka, published the results of his fieldwork in Lithuania. Mansikka's main interest was folk medicine (charms to stop headache, rheumatism, etc.), but Lithuanian folklorists soon discovered many additional charming topics, including, for example, prayers to the spirits of the moon (Mėnulis), hearth (Gabija), and earth (Žemyna), or words to freeze a thief. The first relatively complete overviews of the genre were published in the United States by folklorist Jonas Balys, beginning in 1951 with *Lithuanian Incantations and Charms*. Monumental steps forward were recently made by Daiva Vaitkevičienė, who published a CD-ROM of archival materials, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai* (2005), and the 919-page bilingual Lithuanian-English collection, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimai: gydymo formulės/Lithuanian Verbal Healing Charms* (2008). A vast collection of Lithuanian charms and their many variants is now available to the next generation of researchers worldwide. The book reviewed here offers inspiration for new directions in analysis.

International comparative research on charms and charming traditions flourished in the first half of the twentieth century, but waned after World War II. The enterprise was revived in the twenty-first century by British scholar Jonathan Roper, who organized international conferences and edited two volumes to document the current state of the field: *Charms and Charming in Europe* (2004) and *Charms, Charmers, and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic* (2009).

The third book in this series is *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, presenting chapters by thirteen scholars from ten countries (Finland, France, Hungary, Lithuania, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the USA). A variety of research approaches and arguments is divided into three thematic parts: Part I, "Genre,

Classification, Terminology," revisits the history of charm studies in Norway, Gaelic-speaking lands, and Hungary, and surveys reference tools and concepts for international comparative research. Part II, "Historical and Comparative Studies," attempts to identify origins: Three scholars find the roots of folk charms in medieval Church writings, while a fourth—Daiva Vaitkevičienė (mentioned above)—offers examples of structurally and thematically similar Latvian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Russian charms to argue they are survivals of an ancient, common Balto-Slavic culture.

Folklorists who focus on texts alone often distinguish charms (words that aim to change the physical world) from prayers (words asking a supernatural being to change the physical world), and they most certainly classify healing charms separately from harmful curses. But this book's Part III, "Content and Function of Charms," blurs such seemingly clear boundaries. Analysis is guided by the words and beliefs of the folk who practice charming. Structural and thematic categories of charm versus prayer may not be foremost in a charmer's mind. Charms related to childbirth in Finland and Karelia, for example, often mention the Virgin Mary without addressing her directly, and traditional Orthodox prayers beseech Mary for help in childbirth. Is there a difference? People speak them for the same reason: helping a mother in labor. Part III thus expands attention from "lore," the texts of charms that we find in archives and manuscripts, to "folk," the living people who used these charms in their everyday life.

Much remains to be studied and discovered. How, for example, do charmers believe? A classic study by Finnish folklorist Juha Pentikäinen, *Oral Repertoire and World View* (1987), analyzed 1,592 items of folklore collected from one person, Marina Takalo, among them fifty incantations and many memorates about persons who wielded magic power. Takalo's worldview and beliefs were a complex combina-

tion of Orthodox religion and pre-Christian traditions. She definitely believed that charms work. But although she did distinguish between charms and prayers, her most fundamental beliefs were not in the power of words spoken by humans, but rather, in Fate, as ordained by the Christian God. What did Lithuanian folk charmers believe? Apparently, some belief in the magic power of words continued in the late-twentieth-century Lithuanian-American community, because, in 1951, Jonas Balys found it necessary to introduce his book of charms with this warning: "Attention, reader! The material published in this book is presented primarily for the purpose of scholarly folklore studies. Nowadays these things are not appropriate for practical life. Prayers should be learned from prayer books; and sick people should consult a doctor..."

GUNTIS ŠMIDCHENS

JUOZAS GALKUS. Lietuvos Vytis: The Vytis of Lithuania

Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2009. Hardcover, 420 pages. ISBN 978-9955-854-44-9

Published to commemorate the millennium of Lithuania's oldest known reference, as *Litua*, in the *Saxonicae Annales Quedlinburgenses* in 1009, this handsome volume documents the visual history of the Vytis from the fourteenth century to the present. A brief but informative essay surveying Lithuania's history introduces the visual feast which follows. And it is quite a banquet. Juozas Galkus selected some 550 images, arranging and presenting the superb full-color illustrations under six chronological rubrics: Lithuania of the Gediminids, The Commonwealth of Two Nations, Under Foreign Oppression, Twenty Years of

Independence, The War and the Occupations, The Lithuania of Today. The bilingual texts in Lithuanian and English make this comprehensive visual tribute widely accessible.

The iconic Vytis image rarely elicits a second glance when encountered on recent coinage, paper currency, postage stamps, beer mugs, coffee cups, T-shirts, and car stickers. Putting most such items aside, Juozas Galkus conveys us far away to centuries past and unfamiliar places, finding the Vytis in tapestries, illuminated manuscripts, old maps, chandeliers, baldachins, vault bosses, enamel plaques, fine book bindings, document seals, cannon barrel plates, gorgets, scepters, towels, hunting-knife sheaths, kettledrums, ceremonial-sword hilts, silver goblets, engraved wineglasses, spoons, dinner plates, Meissen porcelain clocks, grenadier caps, and insignia of the Lithuanian units in Napoleon's Grand Armée; also on plaques in churches and on building facades, sculpted tomb reliefs, and glazed stove-tiles; plus carved armorials distinguishing border posts, palace gates and portals, window frames, and ballroom entrances.

The images came from public and private collections, archives, museums, buildings, and outdoor sites scattered eastwards from Paris to Lviv and Lutsk in the Ukraine, stretching southwards from Stockholm all the way to Rome. While the armorials of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth always paired the Eagle of Poland with Lithuania's Vytis, it was also used singly, appearing alone in the coats-of-arms of royals, aristocrats, and high state officials. They commissioned fine articles of outstanding workmanship and beauty, emphasizing their status with an emblazoned Vytis.

The volume abounds with spectacular illustrations and close-ups of the custom-made articles. Unfortunately, the descriptions invariably use "fragment" instead of "detail." A decorated element on a gunstock thus becomes "a gun and a fragment of its butt." Recall that a close view of Mona Lisa's

enigmatic smile is called a "detail" of the famous painting, never a "fragment." Other venial miscues include the Sforza serpent mistaken for a "grass snake." The painted cylindrical glassware of Saxony should be termed *Passglass*, not simply "glass." Saddlecloths and saddle pads are not "horsecloths." A soldier of the 17th Lithuanian Uhlan regiment in Napoleon's army wore a *czapka*, a cap, not a "hat." The 1605 Stockholm Roll, not "Stockholm band," stretches out 15 meters or so when fully opened; it is definitely not "15.5 centimeters long."

Several notable images of the Vytis outside the old borders of Lithuania, Poland, and Saxony somehow escaped inclusion. We would be derelict not to mention the 1935 Darius and Girenas Memorial in Chicago's Marquette Park, the Lithuania Pavilion in the 1939 New York World's Fair, and a mosaic Vytis in Our Lady of Šiluva Chapel in Washington, DC's Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. A Vytis is also in the Vatican Museum's Sala Sobieski in the cartouche above Jan Matejko's huge 1883 painting *Jan III Sobieski Sending Message of Victory to the Pope*. The 1568 engraving of Matthias Zundt/Johann Adelhauser's panoramic view of Grodno clearly shows a mounted knight bearing a Vytis flag. Finally, an incised Vytis helps identify King Sigismund I's horizontal table-clock, dated 1525, now in London's British Museum.

Nonetheless, *Lietuvos Vytis: The Vytis of Lithuania* is a boon companion to the best Lithuanian history books and reference works. Illustrating smaller articles, sometimes quotidian, sometimes representing the state, it offers a compelling parallel narrative to the texts typically accompanied by portraits, battle scenes, and views of cities and ruined castles. Expanding and complementing such coverage, this fascinating volume evokes the times when the illustrated objects were created, cherished, and displayed. More cannot be asked of a history book.

K. PAUL ŽYGAS

The Golden Horse:
A Solstice Fairy Tale in Five Acts by RAINIS.

Translation of *Zelta zirgs*. Translated by Vilis Inde. Marfa, Texas: Inde/Jabos Publishing, 2012. Paperback. 197 pages. ISBN: 978-1-47-521205-1

Rainis, pseudonym of Jānis Pliekšāns (1865–1929), was one of two major authors of the Latvian National Awakening in the early part of the twentieth century. The other was his wife Elza Pliekšāne-Aspazija (née Rozenberga). He wrote eight dramas and ten tomes of poetry. A lawyer by profession, he practiced law part of his career in Vilnius and Panevėžys. He joined the Latvian Social Democratic Party, to seek autonomy and later independence for Latvia. The Russian imperial government exiled him twice for his political activities, and he emigrated to Switzerland to avoid continued political persecution. He served as a member of the Latvian Constituent Assembly and Saeima (Parliament) and, after unsuccessful bids for chairman of Saeima and president, retired from politics. He became the director of the Latvian National Theater and later Minister of Education. He was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Rainis's idea for *The Golden Horse* (*Zelta zirgs*, 1909) came from an Estonian folktale of the type "The Princess on the Glass Mountain." He adapted the story to Latvian folklore motifs. It is an allegorical and melodramatic conflict between good and evil, represented by Father of Light and Mother of Night, with her seven ravens. It also serves as a marvelous children's tale. Antiņš is a simple peasant hero, the youngest of three orphaned brothers. His siblings steal his meager inheritance. Father of Light encourages him to rescue Princess Saulcerīte (Hope for the Sun) from a seven-year bewitched sleep high atop a steep, glass mountain. Mother of Night had cast this

spell on her. In the guise of Saulvedis (Leader of the Sun), he ascends the mountain three times with successive bronze, silver, and golden steeds and armor. He succeeds the third time, but innocent boy that he is, does not know how to "unlock her lips,"—he needs to kiss her. This awakens her body, but not her spirit: she is trapped in a sleepwalking state. She gives Antiņš her ring for their wedding. The dishonorable Wealthy Prince tries to marry her, but she does not recognize him. Since he cannot remove the ring, the Wealthy Prince cuts off Antiņš's finger, but this does no good. In a final dramatic moment, Antiņš reappears, Saulcerīte recognizes him, and they are wed. The action moves quickly, the characters are larger-than-life, and the audience cannot but side with the forces of good against the darkness of evil. Politically, the play represents seven centuries of foreign domination that only Latvians themselves can end by the humblest of means. Saulvedis's heroic rescue of Saulcerīte symbolizes the Latvian national coming-of-age and attainment of independence.

Rainis wrote this drama in a mixture of poetic verse and prose dialog. The verses are infused with folkloric rhymes, assonance, and diminutives. For example, the play opens with the dying father saying farewell to his children:

Es jau jūtu, ak, jau jūtu
To, ko nevēlos vēl sajust.

Vēsums pūš no durvju puses,—Vecais dēls, vai durvis vaļā?

He speaks in the cadence of a folk song. Inde translates these complex lines, as follows:

I feel it. Oh, I feel
That which I do not yet want to feel.
Old air blows from the doorway.
Oldest son, is the door ajar?

Like any other translator, Inde has choices. Does he want to translate the literary nature of the original? Does he want

to convey the driving ideas of the play? He declines the first option and opts for the latter. His translation approximates the versification of the original. The dialog generally reflects contemporary American English. His overall goal is to make this classic of Latvian literature accessible to Latvian youth abroad. Native speakers of Latvian today have a difficult time with the richness of Rainis's lush belles-lettres. Nonnative speakers can easily get lost in deciphering his linguistic code.

All Latvians know Rainis's *The Golden Horse* or are supposed to. It is part of the cultural canon. They might know the story from summaries, but they would not appreciate its linguistic beauty, nuances, and lavishness. Inde's translation seeks to achieve a cultural bridge from the era of early twentieth-century Latvian intelligentsia to the early twenty-first-century Latvian Diaspora.

There is also a generational gap. Young Latvians abroad today are apt to understand current Latvian jargon and nuances. For example, they all know Ainars Meilavs' rock rendition of the folk song "Ai, jel manu vieglu prātu," and can sing along to it. In contrast, *The Golden Horse* is not part of their postindependence, Gen X sensibilities. Their parents, on the other hand, can probably sing the Antiņš and Saulcerīte duet from Jānis Zābers's opera *Zelta zirgs*, based on the Rainis play.

Inde's translation includes an introduction and an afterword. The introduction provides a background on Rainis and the Latvian setting for *The Golden Horse*. It discusses Rainis's use of diminutives (as prevalent in Latvian folklore as in Lithuanian: "dear brother," "beloved father," "little fire," etc.), rhythm, neologisms, and archaic vocabulary. Inde consciously forgoes these in his translation for the sake of readable English. The multipart afterword ostensibly provides the historical and political context of Rainis's drama. It somewhat ironically opens with a thought-provoking quote from Marx and Engels. It begins with an excellent Latvian cultural and political history

leading up to *The Golden Horse*. Then, it continues with a history of Latvian politics to the present, but the connection to *The Golden Horse* is not maintained. The afterword concludes with a well-grounded discussion of Rainis's cultural legacy.

Vilis Inde (1958–) is a Latvian-American lawyer with an artistic avocation, much like Rainis. Inde's creative works focus on art photography and managing a gallery of minimalist art with his fiancé Tom Jacobs in Marfa, Texas, near the Mexican border. His translation was published with support from the American-Latvian Foundation Cultural Fund. An earlier translation appeared in Alfreds Straumanis's *Golden Steed* (1979), an academic anthology of six Baltic dramas in English.

Every Lithuanian should be familiar with at least a modicum of the Latvian culture created by our friendly neighbors to the north. Both countries share many cultural similarities; they call each other, *brāļu tauta/brolių tauta* (brother nation). Rainis's *The Golden Horse*, a classic of Latvian literature, is now accessible to the English-speaking public in a very easy to read translation.

VILIUS RUDRA DUNDZILA

ABSTRACTS

The Spread of Design Movements in Contemporary Lithuanian Architecture

RIMANTAS BUIVYDAS

This article surveys the changes in the architecture of Lithuania since it gained independence, specifically in regard to the spread and adoption of various architectural styles. In a relatively short period in a rather small country, many different realizations of architectural concepts and trends have been achieved.

The Dubingiai Microregion: The Radvila Family Ancestral Home

ALBINAS KUNCEVIČIUS and RIMVYDAS LAUŽIKAS

The article presents the results of the 2003 to 2014 scholarly investigation of the Dubingiai microregion, including one of the most significant archeological finds in recent years in Lithuania—the discovery of the Radvila family burial plot. The Dubingiai microregion, which could have extended for a distance of ten kilometers, began forming during the Old Iron Age (from the first to fourth centuries AD). At that time, Lake Asveja formed a natural boundary dividing one territory from another. In the Middle Iron Age (fifth to tenth centuries AD), three stable small microregions formed around the lake, opposite its crossings. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, created the first artificial territorial-administrative unit—Dubingiai Parish, which was created on the basis of the old microregion. Later, this territory fell into the hands of the Radvila family, who built a masonry palace, rebuilt the old church, and prepared

a family burial site there. The palace and church had completely disappeared by the eighteenth century. Archeological field work was conducted at Dubingiai, during which the palace and church were excavated and the burial site of the Radvilas discovered.

Annual Holidays in Lithuania:
Discourse in the Press and the Reality in Daily Life
DALIA SENVAITYTĖ

This article discusses the features of envisioning annual holidays in Lithuanian periodicals from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twenty-first century. The reasons for a particular discourse are analyzed, along with the links of holiday discourses with Lithuanian identity. The holidays presented in public discourse and their features are compared to common practices of celebrating popular holidays by Lithuania's people. This work summarizes the results of research conducted from 2012 to 2014.

The research results indicate that calendar holidays, as constituent parts of ethnic culture, were drawn into a developing national self-awareness and public discourse relatively late: the beginning of the twentieth century. Discussions in periodicals about holidays during the interwar period become more widespread and especially multifaceted. They associate closely with the actual practice of commemorating holidays. The discourse on annual holidays changes radically during Soviet times. A cycle of holidays forms, but does not correspond with their actual popularity. After 1990, the public envisioning of holidays becomes similar to what it was during the interwar period, both reflecting and forming the popularity of a holiday in reality, as well as the features of celebrating it.

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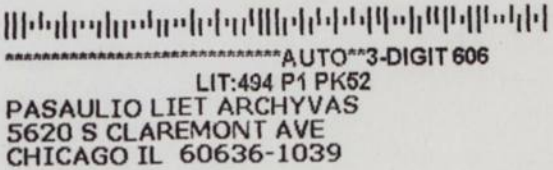

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