LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY VOLUME 62:1 (2016)

IN THIS ISSUE:

LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
VOLUME 62:1, Spring 2016

Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly (published since 1954) is a multi-disciplinary academic journal presenting and examining various aspects of Lithuanian culture and history. Authors are invited to submit scholarly articles, *belles lettres,* and art work. Manuscripts will be reviewed. Books are accepted for review purposes.

Opinions expressed in signed articles represent the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect agreement on the part of the editors or the publisher.

For submission guidelines and editorial matters please contact the editors. For subscriptions, donations and other business matters contact the administration.

Editorial Office: editor@lituanus.org
Administration: admin@lituanus.org
Publisher: Lituanus Foundation, Inc., Giedrius Subačius, President
Address: 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100–300,
Chicago, IL 60605–2000 Phone/Fax 312/945-0697

Articles are archived and accessible at **www.lituanus.org** and in microform from University Microfilms (www.proquest.com/brand/umi.shtml). They are indexed in: MLA International Bibliography; PAIS International; International Political Science Abstracts; Historical Abstracts (EBSCO); Linguistic Bibliography (Netherlands); Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts; RILM Abstracts of Music Literature; Bibliography of the History of Art; OCLC Article First.

Worldwide circulation per issue – 1,620 copies.
Individual subscriptions $30.00. Seniors/students $20.00.
Institutional print subscriptions $40.00. Electronic copy only $20.00.
 ISSN 0024–5089.
Printed by Kingery Printing Company, Henry Division, Henry, IL
Cover Design by Vincas Lukas.

Periodical non-profit postage paid at Chicago, IL and other locations.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to LITUANUS, 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000

CONTENTS

Sculpture "Sisters" by Dalia Matulaitė in Arklių square, Vilnius. See p. 40.

Virgil in Lithuania: Francesco Petrarch's Interactions with Paganism in the Fourteenth Century

LINDSEY WOOLCOCK

In the Codex Ambrosianus, Petrarch's manuscript of the works of Virgil, two margin comments to the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* record Petrarch's knowledge of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[1] During Petrarch's lifetime (1304–1374), the pagan Grand Duchy of Lithuania emerged as a significant power at the edge of Christendom; and in addition to considerable extension of its own borders, it was the target of one of the longest-lasting crusades in the Middle Ages. Yet, the presence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is often overlooked in the history of medieval Europe, and very little has been written about the Baltic Crusade beyond its military, diplomatic, and political aspects. Petrarch's marginalia offer valuable insight into the cultural exchange of the Baltic Crusade, and how it may have affected the development of Western European culture and humanism. Here I seek to elucidate the marginalia's context in the Codex Ambrosianus, what they reveal about the cultural influence that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania may have had on Christian Europe, and its place in Petrarch's in-

[1] Codex Ambrosianus. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S.P. 10/27 (olim A 49 inf.). Facsimile edition. Mediolani: in aedibvs Hoeplianis, 1930. S.C. Rowell was the first to point out these particular margin comments in respect to the Baltic.

LINDSEY WOOLCOCK has a Bachelor of Arts in History from the University of Pittsburgh. She would like to thank Dr. Natalie Cleaver and Dr. Janelle Greenberg for their help with this article's revision.

tellectual pursuits. By placing contemporary paganism in direct comparison to the classical world, Petrarch was able to imagine a world where the classical and the medieval inhabited a single space and time, and where it was possible to resurrect the classical world to its rightful glory. These glosses offer a window into the complexity of the fourteenth century European world, and how the growing web of political and cultural ties with the margins of that world, contributed to the growth and transformation of late medieval Europe into that of the Renaissance.

Petrarch acquired the Codex Ambrosianus in 1326 in Avignon. It contains the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*; each work is preceded by commentary written by Ovid, and Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid* runs throughout the manuscript. After the works of Virgil, are Statius's *Achilleid*, selections from Horace's *Odes*, and a commentary on Donatus.[2] The Codex is one of the most personal documents of Petrarch's process of reading and study, particularly because of its margin comments, which allow us to trace the way he read a text and more fully understand how classical texts influenced his thinking and writing. Petrarch used margin comments to interject his own thoughts into the text, usually summarizing with a gloss, referencing a correlating text, or making his own remarks.[3]

The first of the two margin comments concerning Lithuania appears in Virgil's *Georgics*. The *Georgics* is Virgil's agricultural poem, composed of four books, each on a different aspect of farming. The margin comment corresponds to lines 373–375 of the second book:

> ...cui super indignas hiemes solemque potentem
> siluestres uri adsidue capreaeque sequaces
> inludunt, pascuntur oves avidaeque iuvencae. (II.373–5)

[2] The most comprehensive study on the Codex Ambrosianus is Pierre de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

[3] Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance*, 78–86.

> For besides the winter's indignities and the tyrant sun,
> Wild oxen ever romp in them, and pestering goats,
> and sheep and heifers voracious graze them down.[4]

Virgil's text emphasizes the danger to crops, not just from extremes of weather, but also from animals that will eat them if allowed into the fields. Petrarch expands upon this in the margins:

> De his didici a procuratoribus theutonice militie esse scilicet eos et hoc nomine dici in confinibus Lutinorum cum quibus est ipsi Militie assiduum bellum. Cornua eorum ipse vidi mire magnitudinis simul et pulchritudinis.

> On the auroch. I learned from the proctors of the Teutonic Order about these and found out that they are called by this name in the borderlands of the Lithuanians with whom the Order has a longlasting war. I have seen the horns of the beast myself; they are of amazing size and beauty.[5]

Petrarch links the ox described by Virgil to the auroch, a breed of European wild ox, which Isidore of Seville describes as, "...the wild ox of Germania, possessing such long horns that supports from royal tables are made from them due to their size."[6]

The second comment occurs in book eight of the *Aeneid*:

> [...] subitoque novum consurgere bellum
> Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.
> Post idem inter se posito certamine reges
> armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenetes

[4] Virgil, *Virgil's Georgics: A Poem of the Land*, 61.
[5] Translated by S.C. Rowell in "A pagan's word," 160. In the original manuscript, the margin comment is located on folio 31r.
[6] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 249.

stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.
Huad procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadriqae
distulerant, at tu dictis, Albane, maneres,
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres. (VIII.637–45)

Then suddenly a new war coming on
To suddenly pit the sons of Romulus against
Old Tatius and his austere town of Curës.
Later the same kings, warfare laid aside,
in arms before Joves altar stood and held
Libation dishes as they made a pact
With offering of swine. Not far from this
Two four-house war-cars, whipped on, back to back,
Had torn Mettus apart (still, man of Alba,
You should have kept your word) and Roman Tullus
Dragged the liar's rags of flesh away
Through woods where brambles dripped a bloody dew.[7]

At this point in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas has just received a shield forged by Vulcan from his mother, Venus. On the surface of the shield are depictions of future events in Roman history, the results of Aeneas's upcoming victory against the Laurentines. Described here is the treaty of peace made after the Rape of the Sabines, sealed with an animal sacrifice. Mettus Curtius breaks the treaty, and as punishment he is ripped apart by two chariots. Petrarch's margin comment concerns the making of the treaty between the Romans and the Latin tribes, and relates it to the Grand Duchy:

Comperi hunc morem feriendi federis et easdem imprecations in caput frangentis fidem apud Lutuinos et id genus hominum etiam nunc servari; et de hoc latius in 12.

[7] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, 252.

> I have discovered that this manner of striking a treaty and the same curses on the head of him that breaks his faith are even now preserved amongst the Lithuanians and that type of people; and more of this in Book XII.[8]

Both of these margin comments are unexpected. Lithuania was at the periphery of the Latin Christian world, and records of details of the Grand Duchy are rarely found in this context: a private manuscript for personal use and reflection, rather than a chronicle or official document attached to a particular state or the church. They provide a rare opportunity to examine how the events in Baltic in this period influenced culture in Christendom as well as politics and diplomacy, which have received the most attention in English-language scholarship of the medieval Baltic.

In Petrarch's lifetime, the Grand Duchy was going through one of its most significant periods of change and expansion. The Grand Duke Gediminas (r. 1316–1342) extended the influence of the Grand Duchy to the greatest extent it had yet seen, with an unprecedented level of internal stability.[9] Simultaneously the Lithuanians conquered portions of the lands of the Rus' to the east and south, and rebuffed attacks from the Teutonic Order orders to the west. The conflict between the Lithuanians and the Teutonic Order, ongoing since Pope Gregory IX's declaration of a crusade in 1236, was of great importance in the politics of Eastern Europe during this period; the balance of power in the region would change drastically depending on who gained the upper hand. However, how much attention this conflict received on a European-wide scale is not yet fully understood.

This is in part due to the nature of the primary source materials available concerning the Baltic Crusades, and the way they have been approached by scholars. Those most widely ex-

---

[8] Translated by S.C. Rowell, "A pagan's word," 160. Original manuscript location is folio 174r.

[9] Rowell, "Unexpected Contacts," 557–577.

amined are chronicles written by members of the Church in the Baltic, official documents from the Teutonic Order and nearby kingdoms, letters from Grand Duke Gediminas, and mentions of the Lithuanians in accounts of the crusade. These sources all originate from the central actors in the Baltic Crusade, and this has led to an intense focus intensely on the crusade's military, political, and diplomatic aspects within the region and in the rest of Latin Christendom. While this is an essential part of understanding the impact of the Baltic crusades, as in the case of the Near East and Iberia cultural influence and exchange were as much of a part of crusade as military campaigns, although it may have been discouraged by the Church.[10]

This does not seem to be the case immediately when looking at our corpus of sources, which tend to polarize the Christians and the local pagans in their language and narratives. However, often the same documents are examined for information on the religion and culture of pagan Lithuania as for the military movements and political implications of the crusade, with the justification being that the chroniclers were the only ones who were able to observe life in the Baltic directly and who were able to write it down. This does not take into account the possibilities of willful omission, purposeful lying, or any other literary or rhetorical program on part of the authors. One example of this is a detail of Lithuanian paganism that has been heavily discussed: the pagan priest Criwe, who is recounted in Nicholaus von Jeroschin's Chronicle of Prussia.

> In the centre of the lands of this foolish people, in the province of Nadrovia, was a distinguished city called Romovia, named after Rome, because it was the residence of Criwe, the highest

[10] An interesting example of how this may have occurred in the Baltic is examined in Kaspars Kļaviņš's article "The Ideology of Christianity and Pagan Practice among the Teutonic Knights: The Case of the Baltic Region," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37 (3), 260–276.

> priest of the heathen religion. The heathens revered him as the Christians do the pope, because as the pope rules all Christians, so this man commanded the obedience of all the heathens: not only the Prussians, but also the Lithuanians and the heathen peoples of Livonia were subject to his command.[11]

S.C. Rowell has pointed out that there is no sound basis for believing such a figure existed beyond these chronicles: paganism in Lithuania was likely decentralized, and no other documents mention any religious figure of this kind.[12] Still, many scholars have accepted the idea of Criwe without question, latching onto the specific name that the chronicles provide.[13] This approach is flawed in that it assumes that the chronicle recorded the truth because of its geographic location in the center of events, and it ignores the obvious rhetorical program of the document. This passage was intended to make the paganism of Lithuania more understandable to Christians and emphasize the need for further crusading effort to bring salvation to the Lithuanians, not to accurately represent and disseminate information on Lithuanian paganism. A similar phenomenon has been noted among English and French accounts of crusading in the Baltic, where the Lithuanians are referred to as 'saracens', a term usually reserved for Muslims, to link the Baltic Crusades with the conceptions of crusading against Islam in the Holy Land and Iberia.[14]

Rather than relying so heavily on chronicles and diplomatic documents for conceptions of Christendom's contacts with the Grand Duchy, we should look for sources from outside of the Baltic that can be brought into dialogue with them. By doing this, we will begin to bring to light the aspects of the

---

[11] Nicholaus von Jeroschin, *The Chronicle of Prussia*, 70–71.
[12] Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, 125–128.
[13] Gimbutas, *The Balts*, 183–184.
[14] Murray, "Saracens of the Baltic," 413–429.

relationship between the Grand Duchy and Latin Christendom which would have been irrelevant to church chroniclers or members of the military orders. The marginalia in the Codex Ambrosianus are a small but significant example of such a source, and when related to the information provided by the chronicles they show a new perspective on Christendom's relations with the Baltic.

The majority of information about the Grand Duchy was brought to the West through the Teutonic Knights. The Knights tried to carefully control the image of Lithuania in the West, spreading anti-Lithuanian propaganda to halt the building of relations between Lithuania and the rest of Christendom that might harm their interests.[15] Petrarch's margin comments arose out of this passage of information; in his comment in the margins of the *Georgics*, he says that he got his information from the "proctors" of the Teutonic Order.[16] Nevertheless, the marginalia appear to be largely accurate. Petrarch's gloss from Aeneid VIII compares the way that the Romans conducted a treaty to the practice that "are even now preserved amongst the Lithuanians and that type of people..." This information is true. The Lithuanians confirmed treaties with animal sacrifice, as well as with written treaties and oral oaths, and it was witnessed throughout the history of pagan and Christian interaction in the Baltic, from the earliest presence of missions into the region. Henry of Livonia recounted such a treaty, sealed by sacrifice between the pagans and the newly created Bishopric of Riga:

> In the meantime, the Kurs, having heard of the coming of the bishop and the beginning of the city [Riga] ... sent messengers to the city to make peace. With the consent of the Christians, they confirmed the peace with an effusion of blood, as is the

[15] Rowell, "The Letters of Gediminas," 321–360.
[16] See above, note 5.

pagan custom. The Lithuanians also, God so disposing, came to Riga that year asking for peace.

The method of confirming a specific treaty was determined on an individual basis. Depending on who was being treated with, and what they took to signify a binding agreement, such as the treaty sealed by "Kissing the Cross", a special means of making a treaty with the Orthodox Christians of the Rus'. There were also instances of multiple methods of treaty confirmation being used in the same ceremonies, to accommodate both parties' religious and legal systems.[17]

The margin comment concerning the auroch is more difficult to verify, because of the specific encounter associated with the passage of information. There were wild aurochs in Lithuania, but without having access to the exact horns Petrarch recalled, we cannot be sure of what he truly saw. Still, whether or not they were truly auroch horns isn't the most important aspect of Petrarch's encounter with them. The horns or other body parts of mysterious and unfamiliar species of animals represented the presence of the fantastic in the medieval imagination and were valued for their obscurity and intellectual interest. Owning a pair of fantastic animal horns was fashionable among the ruling classes during this period; Charles VI of France, the Cathedral of San Marco in Venice, the Dukes of Burgundy and the Dukes of Berry all recorded ownership of "unicorn horns", which in reality were narwhal tusks, but were believed to be real and highly prized.[18] For Petrarch, encountering a pair of auroch horns would be an occasion of coming into physical contact with something legendary, and thus we can largely trust the authenticity of the margin comment.

There are two places where Petrarch could have met with the Teutonic Order and been told this information. The Order

[17] Rowell, "A pagan's word," 148–159.

[18] Museum label for Narwhal Tusk, The Cloisters Museum and Gardens, accession number L.2013.78.

had diplomats permanently stationed at the Papal Curia in Avignon, and he could have met the proctors there during one of his terms as a cleric.[19] He also could have met them at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, which Petrarch visited in 1356 as an emissary for the Visconti Brothers of Milan.[20] S.C. Rowell suggests that the marginalia were recorded on two separate occasions: the *Aeneid* margin comment in 1351, after a treaty was made involving animal sacrifice between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the auroch margin comment in 1356.[21] However, there is no compelling evidence to support that they were written at different times, and the fact that the Aeneid margin comment gives the same general procedure of animal sacrifice as is recorded in accounts of the Treaty of 1351 doesn't constitute a solid connection between the treaty and Petrarch's margin comment. Considering the similar content, style of writing, and their uniqueness within the Codex Ambrosianus, the margin comments were more likely to have been written on a single occasion or within a short time of each other. Thus, the most likely occasion for Petrarch to have recorded both margin comments was in 1356, when he was in Prague. It was equally possible for Petrarch to have met with members of the Teutonic Order there as in Avignon, and unlike the Order's Procurator General, who resided permanently in Avignon, members of the Order that he would meet at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor would have more likely been to Lithuania themselves recently.

The presence of these comments in the Codex Ambrosianus adds significantly to our conception of the scope and effects of cultural exchange between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Christendom. They show that complex and thoughtful exchange could and did occur beyond that of diplomacy

[19] Urban, "The Diplomacy of the Teutonic Knights at the Curia," 118–121.
[20] E.H. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Eight Years in Milan*, 117–124.
[21] Rowell, "A pagan's word," 160.

or the Knights' propaganda, and it may have influenced the culture of late medieval Europe to a much greater extent than has previously been thought. This is especially pertinent when we consider Petrarch's place in the history of Western thought and literature. Petrarch is one of the foundational figures of humanist thinking. His intense work with and appreciation for classical texts is considered the starting point of the revival of classical literature that came to flower in the Renaissance, and the ways in which his reading and writing diverged from medieval tradition towards a new mode of thinking has been the subject of generations of scholarly work. Petrarch's mention of the Grand Duchy to inform his understanding of Virgil adds a new facet to this discussion, questioning to what degree the contemporary world shaped his ideas about classical antiquity and humanism. The ways in which the marginalia would have enriched Petrarch's readings of the text show that he did not see classical antiquity and the medieval world as separate. The classical world was alive within his own world, and it was possible to restore that culture to Europe both intellectually and politically by reviving the importance of the classical world.

In both margin comments, Petrarch takes an instance of contemporary paganism and places it side by side with the events in Virgil's works. This type of commenting is unique among Petrarch's margin comments and glosses; rather than looking on the text itself or other related texts, he uses an example from the contemporary world and its politics. Though there is no outright statement of comparison, it seems that Petrarch made a connection between the paganism of Classical antiquity and the paganism that he had discovered in his own world, using one to better understand the other, and to enhance his experience of reading. By doing this, Petrarch was able to imagine a world where the classical was still present—it inhabited the same medieval space that he did, and both the classical and the contemporary medieval were alive in the present day. In the comment in *Aeneid* book

VIII, Petrarch writes, "I have discovered that this manner of striking a treaty and the same curses on the head of him that breaks his faith are *even now preserved* amongst the Lithuanians..."[22] In the pagan Lithuanians, Petrarch can see a glimpse of the classical world in the medieval. The comment in the second book of the *Georgics* records a moment where he physically came in contact with something that he has read about in Virgil—a moment that must have been truly thrilling, providing a physical anchor between himself and classical antiquity. In both cases, the world of the Grand Duchy, although it is distant, provides a way for Petrarch to build the relationship between himself, his world, and the world of the text.

Throughout Petrarch's writings, there are instances where he looks for the classical within the medieval world. An example is Petrarch's letter to Giovanni Colonna, *Familiares* VI.2. The letter describes the walks that Petrarch and Colonna used to take through Rome, recalling the classical and Christian associations connected to each place.

> We used to wander not only in the city itself but around it, and at each step there was present something which would excite our tongue and mind: here was the palace of Evander, there the shrine of Carmentis, here the cave of Cacus, there the famous she-wolf [...] here Christ appeared to his fleeing vicar; here Peter was crucified; there Paul was beheaded [...].[23]

In this narrative, Petrarch can see with his own eyes that the classical and the contemporary medieval reside together—the sites of martyrdom from early Christian Rome are only steps away from the ruins of the Roman Emperors, and they inhabit the same physical space without conflict. This can happen because both aspects are a part of Rome; the classical past

[22] See note 7, emphasis mine.
[23] Ibid., VI.2.

and the Christian contemporary make the city what it is, and the pagan facets of Rome cannot be reduced or forgotten because of the arrival and ascendency of Christianity.

Petrarch not only looks for elements of the classical world that have remained, but he also takes this relationship further, by constructing meeting points between the classical and the contemporary medieval in his work. This can be seen in Petrarch's *Itinerarium ad Sepulcrum Domini Nostri Yeshu Christi*, the "Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ." In a letter written to Giovanni Mandelli in 1358, Petrarch responds to Mandelli's invitation to join him on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He refuses the invitation, on account of his fear of dying at sea, but writes the letter in the form of a pilgrimage guide, which will act as a means of going on pilgrimage through writing.[24]

The pilgrimage guide was a common genre of literature throughout the Middle Ages, with certain literary conventions. Petrarch doesn't keep to these traditions in this work. He wrote the text in the form of an epistle, a style associated with antiquity, and focuses the majority of the itinerary on the Italian Peninsula rather than the Holy Land. Petrarch spends most of his narrative away from Christian religious sites; yet, he also doesn't look at the classical sites within a classical context. Instead, he infuses them with the religious language and meaning of pilgrimage, transforming them from something pagan into something sacred, and worthy of being visited on a pilgrimage. He describes entering Virgil's tomb, the entrance to which is enclosed in a mountain:

> [...] the tunnels are very long and dark, within which it is always an impenetrable and fearful night; in the middle there is an extraordinary path open to all, that has a *nearly sacred aspect*,

[24] Petrarch, *Itinerarium ad Sepulcrum Domini Nostri Yeshu Christi*, Proem.

> unviolated even in times of war [...]. Towards the end of the dark passage, when one begins to see the light of the sun, one can see on another prominent height the Tomb of Virgil [...].[25]

Petrarch leads us through the tomb as if it were a pilgrimage site. It evokes from the reader the same emotions of awe and wonder that pilgrims expected to feel upon seeing the sites of the Holy Land.

Petrarch also breaks one of the most prominent conventions of the pilgrimage narrative: that it should end in Jerusalem. Instead, he ends his journey in Alexandria, at the tomb of Alexander the Great. He frames this by allowing the reader to follow the journey of the Holy Family on their flight into Egypt, and over the Red Sea where the Israelites passed. Petrarch tells Mandelli before launching on this leg of the journey that, "I see that you have the look of one who goes farther, and not unworthily."[26] He then goes on into the main argument of the work: that the classical sites should still be revered, though they are not expressly Christian, because they can teach us something worthy.

> And Augustus Caesar [...] after arriving there, visited reverently the tomb of Alexander. And when he was asked if he wanted also to see king Ptolemy, he elegantly answered that he wanted to see a king and not the dead. [...] *Adopt this as your own motto, and desire to see the saints and not dead men.*[27]

The classical figures that Petrarch has included—Virgil, Alexander, and the legacy of the ancient world—are raised up to the level of saints, and become teachers of Christian virtue.

---

[25] Ibid., 10.0. Emphasis mine.
[26] Ibid., 17.1.
[27] Ibid., 20.1-2. Emphasis mine.

> Surely, since you are of quick and receptive intelligence, you will easily learn from so many and such great teachers how little one has to trust a favorable state of affairs, and you will remember forever.[28]

This process of uniting the classical and the contemporary was not something that Petrarch restricted to writing. He actively advocated for the principles he saw in classical literature to be implemented in the real world—both intellectually (through humanism) and politically.[29] He wrote letters to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, pleading him to move his court to Rome and truly resurrect the Roman Empire, and supported the revolution of Cola di Rienzo, hoping that he would unite the Italian peninsula and restore Rome to the glory it knew in antiquity.[30] The Lithuania marginalia are an example of this process in the making. Petrarch's contact with the pagan world of the Grand Duchy and his retranslation of it into the context of Virgil fosters the physical connections and continuities between classical antiquity and the medieval world. It provided the intellectual and physical base for a full revival of antiquity in reality, where the ideas, practices, and forms of the classical world that Petrarch read about in ancient texts could be revived in all aspects of life. Petrarch never saw this happen in his own lifetime; but his idea of intensely implementing the precepts found in classical literature would be taken up later, during the Renaissance, and radically transform the relationship between Europe and the heritage of ancient Rome.

With this in mind, the presence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Baltic Crusade takes on a new significance within the wider context of medieval Europe. Lithuania was a frontier, but it was not isolated from the West; information was

---

[28] Ibid., 20.4.

[29] Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance*, 106–147.

[30] Bayley, "Petrarch, Charles IV, and the *Renovatio Imperii*," 323–341.

able to travel, and there were those in Western Europe like Petrarch who were interested and influenced by the knowledge they encountered in a deep and meaningful way. How far this influence extends has yet to be fully researched, in particular because it requires looking into sources that may not seem directly related to the Baltic, but it is an important aspect that historians of Lithuania or medieval Europe must explore. Not only does it have implications for our understanding of the culture of the fourteenth century itself, but it also may change how we see the transformation of late medieval Europe into to the Europe of the Renaissance. The reach of Christian Europe was expanding and changing during the fourteenth century, politically, militarily, and culturally. Medieval institutions and ideology were still the source of life and culture, but with expansion of political borders, the influence of outside cultures, and a widening variety of needs and motivations of the people in medieval society, those institutions began to take on new forms and innovations. The Lithuania marginalia allow us to examine this phenomenon on the smallest scale, and with their integration into the larger body of evidence surrounding the Baltic Crusade we'll be able to form a more vivid understanding of Christian Europe during this time of change, both on a regional and international level.

Bibliography

Bayley, C.C. "Petrarch, Charles IV, and the *Renovatio Imperii*," *Speculum* 17, 1942.

Christiansen, Eric. *The Northern Crusades*. 2nd edition. London: Penguin, 1997.

Codex Ambrosianus. S.P. 10/27, olim A 49 inf. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Facsimile edition. Medolani: in aedibvs Hoeplianis, 1930.

Gimbutas, Marija. *The Balts.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

Henry of Livonia. *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.* Trans. by James A. Brundage. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961.

Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville.* Trans. by Stephen A. Barney. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kļaviņš, Kaspars. "The Ideology of Christianity and Pagan Practice among the Teutonic Knights: The Case of the Baltic Region," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37 (3), 2006.

Murray, Alan V. "The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41, 2010.

Petrarch, Francesco. *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land: Itinerarium ad Sepulchrum Domini Nostri Yehsu Christi: Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* Trans. by Theodore Cachey. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.

_____. *Rerum Familiarium Libri.* Trans. by Aldo S. Bernardo. 3 vols. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975.

Quillen, Carol Everhart. *Rereading the Renaissance.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Rowell, S.C. *Lithuania Ascending: a Pagan Empire within East Central Europe, 1295–1345.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

_____. "The Letters of Gediminas: 'Gemachte Lüge'? Notes on a Controversy.", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 41, 1993.

_____. "A pagan's word: Lithuanian diplomatic procedure 1200–1385," *Journal of Medieval History* 18, 1992.

_____. "Unexpected Contacts: Lithuanians at Western Courts, c. 1316–c. 1400," *The English Historical Review* 111, 1996.

The Cloisters Museum and Gardens. Museum label for Narwhal Tusk, accession number L.2013.78.

Urban, William. "The Diplomacy of the Teutonic Knights at the Curia," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 9 (2), 1978.

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Trans. by Robert Fitzgerald. New York: Random House, 1984.

_____. *The Georgics: a Poem of the Land*. Trans. by Kimberly Johnson. New York: Penguin Classics, 2009.

von Jeroschin, Nicholaus. *The Chronicle of Prussia*. Trans. by Mary Fischer, Crusader Texts in Translation 20. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2010.

Wilkins, Ernest Hatch. *Petrarch's Eight Years in Milan*. Cambridge, Mass: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1958.

Is Honor Still Important for Lithuanians?

IRENA SMETONIENĖ

Introduction

A. Patackas, in describing the morality and the value system of people today, wrote in 2012:

> If one had to make a list of values which have been most devalued during the last 20 years of independence, honor would probably be in first place... Honor has experienced a complete decline. One gets the impression that this concept has disappeared, that this word is no longer recognizable, that it does not mean anything, that it is even disgraceful, as if it had never existed in our lexicon. Who, for example, without considerable reflection and without being facetious, could name a single deed publicly acknowledged to be honorable? Defended honor? Surely not in the courts...[1]

[1] Patackas A. "Apie garbę ir menkystę". *alkas.lt* (2012-01-28)

IRENA SMETONIENĖ is a professor in the Department of Philology at the University of Vilnius. Her research includes analysis of advertisements from a rhetorical and stylistic standpoint. In 2009 she published a monograph entitled "Reklama...Reklama? Reklama!" (Advertisement... Advertisement? Advertisement!). She is also interested in the history and theory of the standardization of language and in issues in semantics.

Are the people of today truly ignorant of what honor is? An analysis of the concept of the word "honor" and of its underlying context may help answer this question.

Contemporary scholars, including sociologists, historians, psychologists and linguists, are taking an interest in the concept of honor and its place in a system of values. The theoretical insights of F.H. Stewart, namely that there are differences between "vertical" and "horizontal" honor, are important in the analysis of honor. "Vertical" honor is understood to be the special respect which individuals of a higher social position have the right to receive from individuals of a lower social position, while "horizontal" honor is the respect individuals in the same social position have the right to receive from each other. Possession of "horizontal" honor depends upon behavior approved in the group of individuals who are in the same social position. With the passage of time the original criteria of honor–status (ancestry) and behavior - have come into the moral sphere. Stewart's analysis is based fundamentally on personal honor, which nevertheless depends on recognition by a particular honor-based reference group. Thus an individual must demonstrate that he understands the code of honor and follows its precepts.[2] Therefore, honor is subjective and objective. Honor on the subjective level is an individual's desire to have the right to be respected, while honor on the objective level is public acknowledgement of an individual's social worth. Individual honor and individual disgrace are always connected with collective honor and are manifested publicly.[3]

The science of languages has finally returned to an examination of the content of speech and its ties with the consciousness and conceptual world of speakers. This return is responsible for the appearance of a new concept of meaning and for the need to choose an appropriate way to describe the

---

[2] Stewart, *Honor*, 146.

[3] Žvinklienė A. Garbės koncepcija socialiniame diskurse, 84.

concepts nestled in human consciousness. Meaning is starting to be understood as an interpretation of the external world, as the consequence of man's contact with reality, as the existence of appropriate ideas – concepts – in consciousness.[4] What people think or have in their heads when they use a word – a fragment of the contents of speech – has become important. The nature of the content-based fragments which people transmit, or in other words, the meaning of the words they use, depends on place, time and other circumstances, and on the knowledge and accepted values of the speaker and his whole community. A conception of meaning as something subjective rather than abstract and an emphasis on its lexicological and cultural connotations require a new explanation of the meaning of words. Cognitive linguistics examines and describes meanings in precisely this way, namely through contextual experience. That is why its methodology of examining and describing meaning appears to be the most fitting way to convey the contents of ideas. In light of this, Polish ethnolinguist and founder of the Lublin school of ethnolinguistics, J. Bartminski, introduced the concept of *cognitive definition* in his *Dictionary of Folk Linguistic Stereotypes* (Słownik języzkowzch stereotypów ludowych), or more specifically in the preliminary notebook for this dictionary. According to linguist Bartminski, the adjective "cognitive" means first of all that the contents of the given description is of a discernable nature rather than of a solely semantic nature, such as that proposed by representatives of structural semantics; secondly – that this type of definition is connected to cognitive linguistics methodologically. This is further evidence of the closeness of ethnolinguistics and cognitive linguistics, but to a certain degree it emphasizes the non-scientific nature of the definition. According to Bartminski, its primary goal is to explain how speakers understand things, how information about

[4] Tokarski, *Językowy obraz swiata*. 8–9. Gudavičius, *Reikšmė – sąvoka – konceptas ir prasmė*, 108–118.

the world is established through the use of community-based language and language use, how phenomena, their characteristics, and evaluations of their worth are categorized.

It is easier to understand the essence of a cognitive definition if it is compared to a dictionary definition. A cognitive definition differs from a dictionary definition in several essential aspects. First, a dictionary definition uses the elements of scientific knowledge. Its purpose is to transmit a maximally objective view of reality. Meanwhile, a cognitive definition is based not just on a scientific understanding and experience of the world, but primarily on an everyday, individual understanding and experience of the world. Its purpose is to show what is brought forward into the consciousness of the speaker in a particular speech situation and not what science knows about a particular thing. A cognitive definition must reflect all the aspects of meaning, central and peripheral, denotative and connotative, which people have in their heads when they use a particular word in a specific context. On the other hand, a dictionary definition is based on a hierarchical inner structure, which consists of *a genus proximum* (a concept from above, the most important component of meaning) and of *differentia specifica* (distinguishing features). In describing any kind of denotation, one first chooses the most important component of its meaning (that process may be the equivalent of an introductory categorization of an element of the world), and later one explains its distinguishing characteristics, depending upon the chosen "concept from above". It is especially important that the choice of the most important component of meaning be completely free. The nature of the distinguishing characteristics and their arrangement depend directly upon it. On the other hand, the structure of a cognitive or "open" definition must reflect the mutual ties between the elements of reality which the collective consciousness of the language community has

determined and accepted.[5] Culture determines the meaning of each individual element of speech, which is the result of an interpretation of the human world, and according to the Lublin school of ethnolinguistics, the definition must show this.

Cognitive definition is very important in current Lithuanian linguistics because it provides the kind of linguistic and cultural portrait of objects which representatives of the language culture of Lithuania see. It also shows which characteristics of objects are fixed in language, how these characteristics relate to each other, and what their underlying bases are, and which subjective and cultural forces affect the appearance of the visual structure of the object. The purpose of this article is to formulate a cognitive definition of the word "garbė" (honor) by considering lexicological sources and data from contemporary discourse. To analyze this concept, I have chosen the open-definition or cognitive-definition method as perfected by the Lublin scholars. This study is new to our linguistic analysis, as conceptions of individual words have not been analyzed in Lithuania. However, such analysis is especially important when discussions of Lithuanian national identity, ethnicity, and differentiation arise.

Honor *(garbė)* in Old Documents and in Current Lexicographic Sources

Honor has long had an important place in the value system of Lithuanians. Etymologists consider the Lithuanian word for honor (*garbė*) to be a derivative. They assert that the Prussian word *girtwei* along with the Lithuanian word *girti*, as well as the Latvian word *dzirt*, meaning to raise up, worship or praise someone with words, have maintained their Proto-Indo-European meaning quite well.[6] Popular websites and personal blogs discuss and write about honor. These are not scientific studies of

[5] Bartminski, *Językowe podstawy obrazu świata*, 44.

[6] Mažiulis, *Prūsų etimologijos žodynas*. 374.

honor, but they give us an idea of what honor means to people today. They let us observe how this concept has changed, how new aspects of it have arisen. The literature of antiquity constructed a particular value system according to which someone was honorable if he participated in wars, if he acted according to set rules of orderly conduct, if he followed rules appropriate to his social class. During all historical periods, people have looked to antiquity and have learned from it whenever issues of value arose. The understanding of honor presented through visual art and literature, especially Gothic art and literature, also has shaped the concept of honor. Romantic depictions of power, courage, military prowess, and sometimes nobility and generosity, have become some of the principal elements of the code of honor. These qualities are reflected in old Lithuanian literature. The understanding of honor changed over time. Religion, old writings, the formation and centralization of the nation-state, the monopolization of government power, modernization, occupations and many other factors determined these changes.

Thus, etymologists consider the word *garbė* itself to be derivative. However, its meaning is not completely clear even now because from the time of the earliest writings other synonyms (such as "gyrius", "liaupsė", "goda") have been used along with *garbė*. One of these synonyms, "šlovė", was always in competition with it.[7] In general this was not relevant for a peasant-culture people. It is only now that inquiries into semantics are being made since the Civil Code of Lithuania contains provisions about derogation and defense of a person's honor or dignity. Dictionary definitions have been inadequate for lawyers because in order to accuse or

[7] Along with the synonyms mentioned, the loan-word "onaras" must be mentioned. The Latin word *honor* which is derived from *Honos*, the name for the god of nobility, honor and military justice, corresponds to the Lithuanian word *garbė*. The Latin word retains its meaning in many European languages. However, this word has taken on a strictly negative meaning in everyday spoken Lithuanian for various psycho-social reasons.

defend someone, it has become important to clarify how people understand honor, to explain what the general sememes of this word are, and what the antipode of honor is.

R. Bončkutė, in her analysis of the writings of Dionizas Poška, a famous writer of the beginning of the nineteenth century, asserts that up to the eighteenth century fundamental classical values survived in European literature. According to these values, glory ("šlovė") was connected with noble deeds, far removed from concrete daily life. According to R. Bončkutė, honor was an attribute of the lower class. It was something a member of the upper class conferred on someone from a lower class as recompense for courage and loyalty. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, this traditional understanding was still alive in Lithuania. For example, Dionizas Poška states in his poetry that government ("valdžia") belongs to the king, glory ("šlovė") - to a lord, honor ("garbė") – to a nobleman. It is interesting that the religious literature of the time conveys the traditional understanding of these words. Bončkutė asserts that in religious hymns God is adored ("šlovinamas"), Christ is worshipped ("garbinamas"). The Blessed Virgin Mary when she is referred to as being at the side of God is described by the word "palaiminta" (blessed), but when she is referred to as being next to other women, the word "pašlovinta" (glorified) is used. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Enlightenment ideas begin to arrive in Lithuania, and the distinction between aristocratic and folk cultures begins to lose force. The aristocratic concept of honor becomes unfashionable. A peasant was thought to understand which values are true and to be skeptical of empty praise.[8] A break in Lithuanian culture takes place in the nineteenth century – the Samogitian movement, which placed primary emphasis on patriotism, national identity, language, and Lithuanian self-worth, begins. Bishop Motiejus Valančius creates

[8] Bončkutė, "Garbės ir šlovės samprata Dionizo Poškos kūryboje," 139–145.

a politically-organized nation by relying on the peasantry and its language. Thus an effort was made to give new content to the words "šlovė" (glory), "garbė" (honor), "dora" (virtue), "tauta" (nation). Poška even wrote in one of his poems:

Jūs, raštininkai, garsiai giedokit
(You writers, sing loudly)
Garbę karalių ar viešpačių didžių
(The honor of kings or great lords)

The poem by the enlightened nineteenth century poet George Sauerwein, *Lietuvininkai mes esam gimę* (We were born Lithuanian), which became the national anthem of Lithuania Minor, reflects aspects of patriotism with particular clarity.

Old writings have had a strong influence on explanations found in dictionaries. Current Lithuanian lexicographic sources (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (LKŽ) (The Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (DLKŽ) (The Dictionary of Current Lithuanian) and *Antonimų žodynas* (AŽ) (The Dictionary of Antonyms) give the following meanings for the word *garbė:*

LKŽ: garbė - glory, respect, a good name.
DLKŽ: garbė - respect recognized by society for accomplishments; glory, a good name.
AŽ: garbė - respect rendered by society for accomplishments.

As can be seen, the LKŽ gives meanings based on synonyms, the DLKŽ expands the meaning by using a general sememe based on current usage, while the AŽ pays attention to semantics as it adopts the most important sememe from the DLKŽ. However, such an explanation of the concept does not encompass the whole spectrum of honor.

Even though dictionary explanations explain words with other similar words, one can give the following general definition of honor by looking at examples of synonyms and antonyms for honor: It is moral value, good works, societal recognition of accomplishments, talent and work, a good name, virtuous behavior, being an example to others, unselfishness, praise, being exalted by others.

Lithuanian dictionaries of the twentieth century do not reflect the understanding people have of what honor means to them. They try to explain this concept by using the closest synonyms, but separate discourses show that the concept of this word is varied and multifaceted. Current literary and journalistic texts and the thoughts of well-known people shape the way in which the people of today understand and evaluate this concept.

Honor in Specific Discourses

The moral norms of a nation are reflected best in its folklore, especially in adages, riddles, and sayings. Adages function simultaneously as elements of speech, representatives of traditional culture, rhetorical devices, and tools for determining social interactions.[9] That is why the use of the word *garbė* in adages is a record not only of experience, but also of the clear moral norms of a nation. One can see from adages that for Lithuanians honor is the most important of values, without which a person could not live a fully wholesome life as a member of his community. Death would be preferable to life without honor. Honor is a priceless value, more valuable than wealth. It can be achieved only through virtuous and unselfish work and by not seeking advantages. It must not be sought as a result which will provide an excuse for boasting. It is achieved by completing tasks, by keeping your word. The highest honor comes from dying

[9] Zaikauskienė, "Lietuvių paremijų funkcijos šiuolaikiniuose kontekstuose," 63–64.

for one's country or an ideal, or from bringing up one's children so that they commit themselves to the good of the community and to spiritual values in order that they become an example to others. An honorable person does not boast of his honor, but remains moral, just, and committed. He is someone who knows the power of words and who weighs each word before speaking so as not to offend or belittle those near him. He is someone who cherishes his language as the greatest national value and the foundation of national identity.

In religious discourse, honor adopts a particular formula, which is repeated in prayers (*Garbė tau, Viešpatie* – Glory to you, O Lord; *Garbė Dievui aukštybėse* – Glory to God in the Highest etc.). It signifies a particular respect which is connected not only to praise but also to humility.

In literary discourse, the word "*garbė*" (honor) is used quite traditionally – according to meanings found in adages. For Lithuanian writers, honor is work whose results will be acknowledged by others, a feeling of self-worth, conscience. It is customary in this discourse to link honor with heroism, sacrifice for one's country, for one's nation, for an ideal.

The highest conception of honor can be found in special websites whose purpose is to encourage patriotism and an appreciation of one's national identity (karys.lt; sarmatai.lt). These sites present the viewpoint that defending and protecting one's country is the highest form of honor, that honor is connected with conscience, with one's self-awareness of being a citizen, with the duty to one's country. It is a particular form of personal self-appreciation – a way to determine whether you have fulfilled your responsibilities. Honor entails being trusted by others, having pride in your ability to represent your country, city or particular group. This is particularly characteristic of sports discussions and the speeches of politicians. Honor rises to the status of the highest moral value when the context is the honor of women.

The use of the word *garbė* in political discourse is especially important because politicians have the trust of voters, and with some reservation are authority figures. It can be said that the understanding of honor which politicians expound travels through all discourses – the thoughts of politicians are constantly cited and are constantly the subject of commentary. For them honor and conscience, which are constantly used together, are the most important values, without which human beings are weak and unhappy. The semantics of this word encompasses pride, courage, self-worth. It is an essential value without which a human being could not call himself a human being.

In legal discourse, honor has become the subject of litigation, and the word itself – a legal term. Lithuanian courts hear cases involving insults to personal honor and dignity. The Civil Code contains an explanation of the concept of honor. Handbooks and legal scholars provide further explanations. The Code relies on a dictionary definition, but legal practice adds explanations which clarify the most important sememes of this word. Legal scholars in essence provide the following semantic definition of this word: *Honor and dignity mean a certain level of human decency, a correspondence to it; they mean unwritten but socially accepted ethical, moral standards; they mean that a person has earned the respect and appreciation of his peers as well as self-respect, to which a human being is entitled as an individual.* In this discourse, a person's honor is closely related to the idea of individual identity. It is a moral value, which the fundamental law of the land protects. Honor is connected to decency, to a person's acceptance in society and to society's view of him, to the feeling of self-worth which the person himself possesses.

Contemporary Youth's Understanding of Honor

While acknowledging that the understanding of honor in society has changed over the ages, I have tried to analyze how

young people understand honor, to discover the extent to which they have retained the aspects of the concept of honor which appear in adages and in literary and contemporary discourse, to discover new developments which have appeared because of changes in historical, social, and political realities. This is a generation that has grown up in an independent Lithuania. Students from the University of Vilnius participated in a survey which the Student Council of the University of Vilnius helped to organize. The participants were bachelor's and master's degree students in the Departments of Philology, History, Medicine, Physics, Mathematics and Information Sciences, and the Institute of International Relations. The study examined 136 questionnaires: 64 were from students of the physical sciences (31 males, 33 females) and 72 were from humanities students (29 males, 43 females). Participants in the questionnaire were asked to consider: *What is real honor for you? What kind of person would you call honorable?* The students were also asked: *Where did you learn about honor?* The answers "from my parents" and "in school" were expected, since these two institutions have the greatest impact on the formation and cultivation of values.

The answers to the question *What is honor?* were categorized using a cognitive methodology: descriptors were isolated and the answers were given with percentages. The descriptors were listed in decreasing order: Good works 9.05%; Assistance 8.19%; Conscientiousness 8.19%; Justice 7.33%; Acknowledgement 6.90%; Sacrifice 6.47%; Unselfishness 4.74%; Respect 4.74%; Aspirations 4.74%; Keeping one's word 4.74%; Being principled 4.31%; Dignity 3.88%; Morality 3.45%; Value 3.45%; Being responsible, having responsibilities 3.02%; Nobility 3.02%; Telling the truth 2.15%; Acknowledging your mistakes 1.72%; Virtue 1.29%; Idealism 1.29%; Value norms 1.29%; Heroism 0.86%; Empathy 0.86%; Courage 0.86%; Combativeness 0.86%; Humaneness 0.86%; Ethical behavior 0.43%; Self-confidence 0.43%; Patriotism 0.43%.

Lexicographic Sources	Separate Discourses	Questionnaires
Good works	Good works	Good works
Acknowledgement by society for accomplishments, talent, work	Acknowledgement by society, trust	Acknowledgement by society
Unselfishness	Unselfishness	Unselfishness
Virtuous behavior	Virtue	Virtue
An example for others	An example for others	
A good name	A good name	
Praise	Conscientiousness	Conscientiousness
Being exalted	Respect for others	Respect for others
	Sacrifice for one's country, for an idea	Sacrifice
	Keeping your word	Keeping your word
	Moral behavior	High moral standards
	A feeling of self-worth	A feeling of self-worth
	Justice	Justice
	Patriotism	Patriotism
	Care for others	Helping others
	Heroism	Heroism
	Being entrusted with some task	Telling the truth
	Being a representative of a country, a city, a group	Acknowledging one's mistakes
	Carrying out one's duty to one's country	Acting on principle
	Work, dedication to work, to an idea	Responsibility
		Working towards a goal
		Dignity
		Nobility
		Value judgments
		Empathy
		Courage
		Fighting for truth, for the weak
		Preserving a sense of humanity
		Self-confidence
		Idealism

General Conclusions

Analysis of ancient documents, contemporary discourse and questionnaires given to young people shows that there are aspects of honor which flow through all of them – from ancient documents and facts found in colloquial speech, as recorded by the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*, all the way to the questionnaires of young people who grew up in a democratic Lithuania. It is reasonable to believe that these aspects make up the core concept of honor.

Thus, it can be said that for Lithuanians honor is the trust society places on someone, the merit acknowledged in recognition of good and unselfish deeds done for the benefit of society, in recognition of virtuous behavior and a moral life. It is interesting that "virtue" was mentioned only a few times in the questionnaires. Perhaps in our times this value has truly lost the importance that it once had. However, virtue was perhaps understood differently in the seventeenth century than it is now. It may be that the students were expressing the same thing in different words, while the concept itself has not disappeared from the nation's scale of moral values. Only the same type of conceptual analysis could reveal the true nature of the concept of virtue, but for now it is fitting to include virtue in the concept of honor.

For young people, an honorable person is someone who has accomplished much; he is a person whom I would like to emulate; a person from whom proper behavior can be learned; he is someone who can be held up as an example to others, who gives others an example to follow; he is an example, an authority figure to others. In other words, honor can be supplemented with a few other essential things, namely that the person who has a good reputation in society and who is (or can be) an example to others is honorable.

The understanding of honor changes over time, and so the aspects of honor which best reflect the thought and com-

posite parts of the value system of present-day Lithuanians are very important. For Lithuanians, conscientiousness, justice, keeping one's word, a high personal sense of morality, respect and care for others, a feeling of self-worth, sacrificing oneself for one's country, for some idea, for the good of humanity, patriotism and heroism all enter into the concept of honor. The last two aspects of honor (patriotism and heroism) take up a very small part in the value scale of young people. Perhaps that has occurred because these two aspects of honor are formed by a literature which looks back to the literature of antiquity and its stereotypes and by patriotic upbringing. However, young people of today read less and less, and the schools no longer engage in patriotic upbringing. Little is said about it in families as well. Re-examination in a few years, when a new generation will have grown up, may be able to establish whether these aspects have disappeared or are being reborn. Today, these aspects remain as important in the description of the concept of honor as before. Differences are also unusually important. For example, journalistic sources show that trust placed in someone, when he is entrusted with announcing something, with accomplishing some task, when he is given the right to represent a country, a city, a group, is very important for Lithuanians. In addition, devotion to work or to an idea is very important, because society trusts and respects someone more if he is devoted to his work and does it conscientiously. Praise, even though it appears in old documents and dictionaries and in literature, is connected more with religious discourse, but is not typical or characteristic of other discourses.

Young people expand the concept of honor to encompass general humanistic features, such as the struggle for truth, struggle on behalf of the weak, preservation of a sense of humanity. Moral principles are especially accented, such as telling the truth, admitting your mistakes, acting on principle, being responsible, all of which can be described by a

general sememe – high morals. In addition, seeking a goal, dignity, nobility – which are already expressed by other aspects of honor.

In general, one can say that a Lithuanian wants to be acknowledged and respected. He particularly emphasizes the feeling of self-worth, the effort to achieve a goal and other factors for which he could be honored. On the other hand, a Lithuanian necessarily sees himself as a member of a community, because only a community can acknowledge the worth of an individual. Therefore, individual honor is connected with collective honor.

Data from various discourses permit the following cognitive definition of Lithuanian honor: honor – it is a feeling of self-worth and responsibility, when a person feels that he is appreciated for his life, for his deeds, and it is a good name, earned in society by good and unselfish deeds, by virtuous behavior and a virtuous life, by a high level of morality, by conscientiousness, justice, keeping one's word, by respect and care for others, by sacrifice for one's country, for an idea, for the good of other people, by patriotism and heroism.

Translated by RIMAS ČERNIUS

WORKS CITED

Bartmiński, Jerzy. *Językowe podstawy obrazu świata.* Lublin, 2007.

Bončkutė, Rūta. *"Garbės ir šlovės samprata Dionizo Poškos kūryboje."* In *Žemalė: gimtasis Dionizo Poškos kraštas,* Telšiai: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2007.

Gudavičius, Aloyzas. "Reikšmė – sąvoka – konceptas ir prasmė." In *Res Humanitariae.* Klaipėda: Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla, 2001.

Patackas, Algirdas. "Apie garbę ir menkystę." Accessed January 28, 2012. www.alkas.lt .

Mažiulis, Vytautas. *Prūsų etimologijos žodynas.* Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1988.

Stewart, Frank Henderson. *Honor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Tokarski, Ryszard. "Językowy obraz świata a niektóre założenia kognitywizmu." In *Etnolingwistyka,* Lublin, 1998.

Zaikauskienė, Dalia. "Lietuvių paremijų funkcijos šiuolaikiniuose kontekstuose." In *Tautosakos darbai,* t. 41, Vilnius: Literatūros ir tautosakos instituto leidykla, 2011.

Žvinklienė, Alina. "Garbės koncepcija socialiniame diskurse (I)," *Sociologija. Mintis ir veiksmas,* 2 (25), Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009.

The Genius Loci, Public Spaces and Transformations of Vilnius' Urban Milieu*

ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

There is hardly any need to argue that public spaces are those predominantly urban areas where the most essential and epochal social changes become manifest in their most visible and tangible forms. Like in most other Eastern and Central European countries and societies making up the vast post-Soviet area, public urban spaces in Lithuania in general, and its capital city Vilnius in particular, underwent significant spatial and symbolic transformations during the last quarter of a century since the spectacular break from the Soviet Union. And yet, despite the fact that two and a half decades have passed since the end of the infamous Soviet era, a large number of public spaces in Vilnius to this very day remain a kind of 'black hole' in the capital's urban topography, making its present urban culture highly questionable. Usually one might expect to find abandoned, unattended, ghost-like urban voids somewhere on the city's margins or in its remotest outskirts, but examining recent urban developments in Vilnius, one finds quite the opposite is true – shapeless and almost defunct public squares are situated in the capital's central areas, stripped of their former ideological signs and symbols for good but without the acquisition of

* The article is based on a lecture delivered at the School of Architecture at Rome University Sapienza, Italy on May 29, 2015. My thanks are due to my host, Professor Donatella Scatena, who provided me an opportunity to once again revisit the issue of urban public spaces.

any new content, form, or meaning. Some of them have been neglected and misused for such a long period that today they sometimes look like dangerous places one should avoid as soon as sunset approaches, and in fact some of them are. Distasteful graffiti covering these shapeless abandoned urban wastelands seems to cry out for adequate municipal care, sufficient public funds, and large scale communal movement directed towards reviving and refurbishing the areas of urban publicness. These spaces, I once elsewhere called "faceless and placeless",[1] seem to signify a partial failure of state and municipal policies in dealing with the urban legacy of the Soviet era, and are reproachful visual manifestations arguing for an urgent need of insightful urban design in order to breathe new life into some of these gloomy and sometimes even scary territories that embed numerous controversies and the failures of the 'frozen' transitory period. The situation, however, is not without hope, as some of the squares and parks in Vilnius center and the Old Town have been successfully revived during the last decade, especially in those unfortunately not very numerous cases where the authors of redesign projects gave some thought to their new civic functions and uses, aesthetic qualities, and last but not least – chose to pay homage to the phenomenon of genius loci, otherwise known as the spirit of place.

Revisiting the Genius Loci

The concept of genius loci has an old history and in fact dates back to Roman times and possibly even beyond, as the Romans most likely inherited some aspects of their religious mentality from their predecessors, the Etruscans, whose legacy contributed to Roman skills in building and engineering, envied and admired even today. The visual image of genius

[1] Samalavičius, "Placeless and Faceless," 18–19.

loci in the Roman religious imagination was expressed in the shape of a human figure holding several symbolic objects: a cornucopia, a ritualistic vessel shaped as a plate, and a serpent. Traditionally the Romans consulted genius loci while conducting rituals associated with choosing a site for establishing a town. As Joseph Rykwert has emphasized in his ground-breaking research a few decades ago, choosing a spot for human settlement has been considered an important decision since the dawn of civilization. The will of the gods had to be observed and, accordingly, different cultures performed specific rituals before people started building a city or town.[2] Romans were no exception among the other ancient societies that performed founding rituals. After the Roman empire disintegrated, the purpose and meaning of genius loci was largely lost, yet the phantom of the Antique spirit of the place occasionally surfaced in various contexts during later historical periods of Western civilization. However, throughout the entire pre-Modern period following the waning of the Roman civilization, genius loci was treated as something of an obscure metaphor, and only in the second half of the last century did it acquire a theoretically elaborate form. The idea of the spirit of place was revised, conceptualized, and applied to a systematic study of architecture and its natural/urban environment due to the research efforts of architectural theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz, an internationally renowned Norwegian scholar who seems to have realized some of the dead-ends of contemporary city-making. In his seminal study, *Genius loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture,* Norberg-Shulz presented a view that deviated from the ideas about urban planning and design eschewed by his friends and associates inspired by the stubborn rationalism and urban megalomania of Le Corbusier and his numerous adherents.

[2] See Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town.*

Šventaragis square in Vilnius after reconstruction.

Insisting on the need to not only revise architectural vocabularies, but to develop a more promising approach towards shaping contemporary cities, Norberg-Schulz offered a distinction between the notion of space and those of place and character. According to him, "whereas 'space' denotes the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up a place, 'character' denotes the general atmosphere which is the most comprehensive property of any place."[3] He was, however, inclined to conclude that in order to have a more prospective view of urban developments, it was of utmost importance to make a conceptual distinction between space (as generalization and abstraction) and character of a place, as places, unlike

[3] Norberg Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, 11.

spaces, are always real, specific, unique, and embedded in their immediate environments. This shift of perspective in understanding and conceptualizing architecture and the built environment urged him to develop a qualitatively different meaning of urban places, one the notion of "urban space" does not contain. Perhaps avoiding criticism or eschewing some form of "fundamentalist" attitude, Norberg-Schulz explained that the structure of the place should not be treated as fixed, i.e., so rigid it could never be subjected to any kind of change. On the contrary, he argued that urban places change continuously and sometimes these changes occur very fast; however, this does not mean one cannot discern some stable, enduring qualities of a place or of its identity. Places have the capacity of receiving various "contents," and some of them continue to exist even after significant changes have been implemented. Settling in some place, as Norberg-Schulz insightfully noted, is a human activity that does not simply mean erecting some man-made structures or shelters in order to survive physically: it is "rather an existential concept which denotes the ability to symbolize meanings. When a man-made environment is meaningful, man is at home."[4] This implied that understanding and interpreting the built environment in this way.

> Genius loci of human settlement in fact represents a microcosmos, and cities differ in what they gather. In some, forces of the earth are strongly felt, in others the ordering power of the sky, others again have the presence of humanized nature or are saturated with light. All cities, however, have to possess something of all these categories of meaning to make urban dwellings possible.[5]

One of the essential flaws of modern architecture and urbanism, according to Norberg-Schulz, was the fact that archi-

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

tects have tended to ignore and neglect the existential dimension, thus significantly impoverishing the humaneness of the built environment.[6]

More than three-quarters of a century before Norberg-Schulz articulated his concept of genius loci, there was another attempt to conceptualize the feeling for place ignored during the modern era. It was provided by an Austrian architect, Camillo Sitte, who rebelled against the purely technical attitude towards city-making that was shared by the majority of architects and urban planners in the first half of the last century who had fallen under the spell of ideas of progress and technological advancement. Opposing the view that urban development is largely a process of engineering, he argued that the ancient art of city building should be studied and revived. His seminal book, *Die Stadtebau,* addressed these concerns through the examination of a large number of European squares, as well as various other types of public spaces constructed in different periods of the pre-modern era. Though Sitte did not directly refer to, or elaborate on, the idea of genius loci, nevertheless he was very much concerned about the particular qualities of urban planning during those historical periods that furbished European public squares with their unique atmosphere and remarkable aesthetics. "Anyone who has enjoyed the charms of an ancient city would hardly disagree with the idea of the strong influence of physical setting on the human soul,"[7] Sitte remarked while musing about the lost art of making urban public places. His book was a timely call for architects, urban planners, and designers to study the rich legacy of pre-modern urbanism, and to retrieve these artistic skills and use them in the city-making of modern times. No wonder his ideas had a strong following in Austria and Germany in its time. The intellectual legacy of both architectural thinkers offers excellent

---

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning,* 135.

critical tools to rethink and reconsider some of the controversial and depressing practices of urban design that have resulted in converting large parts of contemporary cities into huge urban wastelands. Unfortunately, these tools were, and continue to be, largely neglected in Lithuanian urbanism during the last quarter of a century.

Urban Places as "Frozen" Spaces

Immediately after the restoration of independence in 1990, a great majority of the Soviet ideological monuments erected by the former regime in those public spaces of Vilnius considered most significant, and accordingly seen as the most symbolic embodiments of Soviet ideology and power, were mercilessly pulled down. These spectacular events were attended by large crowds of city dwellers, who applauded enthusiastically when the large statue of Lenin facing the much-feared and despised KGB building was toppled and dismembered, or when a lesser figure of the local Communist icon Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas (designed by the sculptor Petras Vaivada and erected in 1962) in front of the facade of the Old Town Hall was less spectacularly removed from its place, hopefully, forever. In a collective memory shared by many eyewitnesses, these events were associated with a resolute farewell to the era of Soviet domination. Some monuments, removed in either a spectacular or a mundane and far less telling fashion, eventually found their way to Grūtas Park (or Stalin's World, as it is often labeled by its Western visitors). The park has accumulated a rather representative collection of the sculptural legacy of Socialist Realism under the private ownership of a former Communist functionary who seems to have had an eye for a clever, long-term business plan.

The hasty removal of Soviet monuments from many urban squares and other public places in Lithuania's capital, as

Defunct square in the vicinity of Pylimo Street.

well as from other towns and cities all over the country, was followed by large-scale urban refurbishments, albeit with a different degree of success. These activities were first and foremost focused on demolishing the most important visual symbols of the Soviet power and Communist ideology, with little thought of what might be offered in their place. A number of factors contributed to the precipitous and often heedless redevelopment of the urban tissue in Vilnius and elsewhere, including the uneven and somewhat dramatic economic developments during the first post-Soviet decade (here one might recall the economic blockade initiated by Moscow immediately after it lost its former "socialist" republic, as well as the socially painful and ambiguous large-scale privatization program implemented by inexperienced new governments), plus the chronic scarcity

of municipal funds, and last but not least, the poor imagination of urban planners and designers who were ideologically educated to disdain the urban legacy of the pre-Soviet era. An abandoned, incomplete high-rise concrete structure visible in the central part of Kaunas is, to this very day, one of the most obvious examples of the abortive redevelopment projects that swept Lithuania's largest cities during the post-Soviet period.

Vilnius was no exception. Despite the fact that no comparable abandoned high-rise building can be found in Lithuania's capital, it has its own ambiguous urban legacy from the first decade of post-Soviet urbanism, such as a significant number of neglected and unused, ghost-like squares and other kinds of public places from which the former ideological monuments of the Soviet era had been removed, leaving them without any social function or, for that matter, any new public art objects. These areas are now gradually decaying and falling to pieces. They might be viewed as vivid expressions of the chaotic and largely unbalanced urban policy pursued by Vilnius municipal authorities during the transformative period of moving from planned to market economy. Despite occasional calls and promises to improve things (articulated mostly before each upcoming municipal election and forgotten as soon as they are over), so far little has been done to reshape and revive these squares and other public places while adapting them to the needs of present-day urbanized society. The famous graffiti "Vilnius Full of Space" inscribed on one of the abandoned buildings in the capital's central area might be evoked as an anonymous acknowledgment of the lame urban policy of the recent decades, which ignored public interests and served the needs of developers and financial investments and more often than not by-passed the city's public spaces.

In some cases, public spaces emptied of their compromised symbolic content hardly look public at all: they often remain abandoned, badly neglected, and devastated sites that

perform no social function and are cautiously avoided by most city dwellers, excepting groups of teenagers, graffiti "artists," and members of local gangs apt to leave their own marks on these spaces.

A glaring example of these no-man's lands is the site formerly housing the now demolished monument for Soviet anti-Nazi guerrilla fighters, executed by the sculptors Algirdas Antanas Zokaitis and Juozas Kalinauskas. Located in a large square designed and implemented in 1983 in a territory adjoining present Pylimo Street, in front of the Classicist Evangelist Reformers' Church, this large central area almost borders the building of the Cultural Ministry on Jonas Basanavičius Street, and a part of it once contained a cemetery where members of the Reformed church parish were buried. The concrete remains of the former monument site and the paved paths now look like ruins of some structure destroyed by a mysterious natural disaster. Despite an obvious need of refurbishment, municipal authorities, as well as other government institutions and public forums of architects, urban planners, artists, and heritage protection authorities endlessly debate its future without the slightest hope of agreement on what should be built in place of the demolished symbols of the Soviet era. Disagreements continue over whether the square should continue to be a formal monument site, or whether it ought to be redesigned into a more intimate place for public leisure activities and the social interactions of city dwellers.

Lukiškės Square is undoubtedly an even more striking example of these abortive attempts to reconstruct and utilize the large public spaces that became defunct after the collapse of the previous regime.[8] During the decades of the Soviet reign, Lukiškės Square was the main public space in the central part of Vilnius, perhaps only rivaled in terms of its social importance by Cathe-

[8] For a more detailed discussion, see Buivydas and Samalavičius, "Public Spaces in Lithuanian Cities," 1–9.

dral Square (named after the Grand Duke Gediminas – the city's founder – during the Soviet era). However, under colonial rule, a square located in front and around the Catholic cathedral – even deprived of its original sacred character by being closed and converted into a state-owned museum of visual art – was considered secondary to a square containing the city's most important homage to Lenin, a statue erected as early as 1952 and sculpted in the Soviet Realism style by Nikolai Tomsky. However, a quarter of a century after the statue's dramatic end, a series of architectural contests failed to bring forward any agreeable vision of the square's future. After endless public design contests (the results of some were infamously annulled for various reasons) and futile public debates, the layout and structure of the square remains in the same shape as it was in the Soviet period, except that the square is stripped of its central visual and ideological element – the statue of Lenin. Some of the smaller details of square's Stalinist era design survive to this very day; for example, the tall metal lamp posts, which look pretty exotic to new generations of city dwellers who have only a vague understanding of the post-war urban reconstructions and the urban aesthetics of the period. Occasionally, the square becomes the site of artistic and musical events that draw large crowds. Several years ago, a group of artists at a public festival erected a tall monument made of sand and dedicated to John Lennon. It ironically and wittily played with the similarity in the names.

As already mentioned, during the first few years after re-establishment of independence, there had been numerous attempts to remove any public monuments associated with the Communist ideology.[9] Some radical activists demanded that each and every monument referencing the visual memory of

[9] For art critics' approach to these issues, see Trilupaitytė, "Monuments, Memory, and Mutating Public Space: Some Initiatives in Vilnius," 24–41.

the dependence era be pulled down. However, public reactions were mixed. Some of these monuments, like the infamous groups of sculptures on the city's Green Bridge, had become so familiar that they came to be treated as a sort of natural element of the townscape, or at least viewed with indifference by a large majority of Vilniutians. On numerous occasions, architectural historians and art critics argued that this group of sculptures – some of the statues created by Lithuania's leading sculptors of the post-World War II period – represented the legacy of the local version of Socialist Realism. Recently, the statues were subject to a new storm of negative public emotions, largely triggered by Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the aggressive rhetoric directed against the Baltic states. As attempts to stage a public discussion were unsuccessful, the sculptures on the Green Bridge were eventually removed by the decision of Vilnius' new municipal authorities. And yet, despite strong voices raised against the removal by a number of art historians and critics, at the moment it does not look like the city has lost an important part of either its history or identity, as some local and foreign visitors had argued.

The New Life of the Old Squares

Despite the many notable failures already briefly discussed, there are some squares and other public places in Vilnius that have been more or less successfully redeveloped, acquiring new uses, symbols, and/or meanings. Few people, if any, complain about the present shape of Cathedral Square, a site that was an extremely important social space during the national resurgence movement at the end of the nineties (several extremely important political rallies of *Sąjūdis* were held there). The spatial structure of Cathedral Square has changed several times during its history. One should be reminded that the present empty space belongs to a later urban development

Refurbished Moniuszko square.

of the city, since during the medieval period, the area was densely packed with buildings set close to the Grand Dukes' Palace and behind the enclosures of the city wall. Later, after the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the city wall was demolished and the territory was reconstructed into open public space by the authorities of imperial Russia. In the beginning of the last century, a large monument to the Russian empress Catherine II (sculptor Mark Antokolsky) was erected in the southwestern part of the territory; however, it was removed during World War I.

The present Cathedral square was finally shaped under Polish occupation between the two world wars. The design was provided by architects Romuald Gutt and Stanislaw Bukowsky. The

authors of the project intended that a statue of Marshall Pilsudsky would eventually be erected in the square and bear the bombastic name of "the Nation's Forum." The design of the square (but not the monument) was generally appreciated by the Lithuanian authorities and architects when Vilnius was given back to Lithuania on the eve of World War II (only to be soon taken over by the Soviets), as the scale was fairly human and the design highly qualified, so it was used for the area's reconstruction and has rarely become an issue of public controversy to this very day. During the first post-Soviet decade, the square changed its former appearance somewhat, especially when a monument to the Grand Duke Gediminas was erected (the model was authored by Vytautas Kašuba and enlarged by sculptor Mindaugas Šnipas).

Some smaller, more intimate squares, like the one dedicated to the renowned Polish composer Stanislaw Moniuszko in front of St. Catherine's Church, are also examples of sensitive urban design. The square, containing a bust of Moniuszko erected in 1922 (sculptor Boleslaw Balzukievicz) was reconstructed and newly opened in 2006, and immediately became a favorite place for various uses: a walking promenade uniting Gediminas Avenue and Vokiečių (German) Street; a place for meetings and sitting down and quietly enjoying the trees and a small fountain; a playground for kids; and a venue for concerts at noontime during the summer.

Although, unlike some other central and eastern European cities, Vilnius can hardly boast of impressive fountains, a few have recently become points of attraction in the Old Town. A rather shapeless territory in front of the French embassy on the junction between Pilies and Didžioji streets – one of many open spaces that came into being during World War II as the houses were destroyed by gunfire and never rebuilt – has become a likable and sociable place, especially in summer, because it contains large trees, a fountain, several open air restaurants, and is close to the main walking artery in the Old Town.

The Town Hall Square – undeniably one of the most successfully reconstructed public spaces in Vilnius – also increased its charm when a fountain that existed in pre-Soviet period was rebuilt on its periphery. A square in the vicinity of Arklių Street – previously a rather dull, neglected, and shapeless territory – was revived after an impressive public sculpture "Sisters" dedicated to Lazdynų Pėlėda (a pseudonym of two sisters, the Lastauskaitės, who wrote prose in the beginning of the last century) was erected around 1995 (sculptor Dalia Matulaitė). More recently, a weekend flea market, as well as a few open air restaurants, have added to its public character.

These are a few examples indicating that paying attention to local genius loci can be extremely helpful for breathing new life into public places full of historical memories. Moreover, these places are of utmost importance in the making of urban communities. As Jane Jacob has wisely remarked in her latest book, "For communities to exits, people must encounter one another in person."[10]

The Uncertain Future of Publicness

Quite recently, the future of some public spaces has been challenged by the expansion of real estate business and private ownership. Big business has started to press municipal authorities to give way to its interests with little or no consideration of public opinion or the public interest. A well-known Lithuanian architect, Gintaras Čaikauskas, has commented on this tendency, insightfully emphasizing that in such undefined situations, the position of profit-oriented businessmen is particularly active, more so since these "no-man's lands" are located in the commercially most attractive urban spaces of Vilnius.[11] These processes, which are significantly reshaping the Vilnius townscape accord-

[10] Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead*, 37.

[11] Čaikauskas, "Atskirtys visuomeninėje aplinkos sampratoje," 251-265.

Sculpture "Sisters" by Dalia Matulaitė in Arklių square, Vilnius.

ing to the whims and visions of private investors and real estate developers, are a continuation of developments that started more than two decades ago, when market values took over.[12]

Recently, a tendency to transfer former public spaces to private ownership or mixing these forms of ownership has become increasingly dominant in both Vilnius and other large Lithuanian cities. In a number of cases, municipal authorities include parking spaces for automobiles in the specifications for the designs of central public spaces like squares. In some cases, attempts were made to convert public spaces into the roofs of parking lots.[13] The urban space now known as Šventaragis Square (in the vicinity of Cathedral Square and Gediminas Avenue) was originally designed to contain a large underground parking area and

[12] Samalavičius, "Facing Globalization," 103.

[13] See Buivydas and Samalavičius, "Public Spaces in Lithuanian Cities," 1-9.

Abandoned former Lietuva cinema. All photos provided by author.

even a gasoline station; however, due to the protest activities of numerous individuals and almost twenty public associations, the municipality's plans to make a deal with a private company were finally abandoned. This public place, now containing trees, greenery, benches, open air restaurants in the summer as well as water fountains, has become a notable public attraction in the central part of Vilnius. On the other hand, it is an encouraging example of how the public interest can win over private ones.

Far more ambiguous, were attempts to "protect" the former Lietuva Cinema. The campaign, initiated by the famous artists Nomeda and Gediminas Urbonas, has won them some international prizes, but its local results were questionable. Aimed as "a continuous project criticizing and resisting the privatization of public space in postcommunist

societies,"[14] in 2005–2006 the campaign stopped the demolition of a closed cinema theater, a typical mass-manufactured building project of the Soviet era (though undeniably culturally important in its own time), and its replacement by a condominium building. (Coincidentally, the new building promised to contain a small cinema hall.) This abandoned, neglected, and shapeless structure continues to dominate the area, providing ample food for thought about the reasons, developments, and final results of some heedless public campaigns. A private art museum is expected to go up there soon – which is the unexpected fruit of the campaign.

Commercial interests cropping up in Vilnius' urban policy were extremely visible during the last decade, signifying the growing power of financial capital and its influence on the current urban culture. Because of the constant pressure of private interests, the designers of public spaces often sacrifice the public interest in favor of private ones and accordingly compromise the roles and functions of urban public spaces. In these cases, their genius loci are, as a rule, totally neglected. Summing up this brief discussion of urban development, public spaces, and the local genius loci, one could say that during recent years, globalized commercial culture has become more and more visible in Vilnius as well as other Eastern European cities. As urban historian Spiro Kostof has insightfully noted about the fate of public spaces in the era of heedless urbanization, "Our public places were proud depositories of common history. We have largely abandoned that sense of a shared destiny, and our public places show it. What is left may not be much, but it is crucial."[15] This remark should be taken seriously by those who think seriously about the future of urbanity in Vilnius and other Lithuanian cities.

[14] (Anonymous) "Įvertinta pro-testo laboratorija."
[15] Kostof, *The City Assembled*, 187.

WORKS CITED

(Anonymous) "Įvertinta pro-testo laboratorija", *7 meno dienos*, 2006-10-13 (No. 726). Acessed October 30, 2015.

Buivydas, Rimantas and Almantas Samalavičius. "Public Spaces in Lithuanian Cities: Legacy of Dependence and Recent Tendencies", *Urban Studies Research*, vol. 2011, Article ID 284573, 9 pages, 2011, doi: 10.1155/2011/284573.

Collins, George R. and Christiane Craseman Collins. *Camillo Sitte: the Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York: Dover Publications, 1986.

Čaikauskas, Gintaras. "Atskirtys visuomeninėje aplinkos sampratoje," *Urbanistika ir architektūra*, vol. 33, supplement 1, 2009.

Jacobs, Jane. *Dark Age Ahead*. New York: Random House, 2004.

Kostof, Spiro. *The City Assembled*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli, 1980.

Rykwert, Joseph. *The Idea of a Town*, Cambridge, MA: the MIT Press, 1976.

Samalavičius, Almantas. "Facing Globalization: Lithuanian Urbanism Between Postcommunism and Postmodernity". In *Postcommunism, Postmodernism and the Global Imagination*, ed. Christian Moraru. Boulder, Colorado: Eastern European Monographs/Columbia University Press, 2009.

_____. "Placeless and Faceless," *Architectural Worlds*, (Shenzhen University) , Vol. 28, No. 150, 2013.

Trilupaitytė, Skaidra. "Monuments, Memory and Mutating Public Space in Vilnius," *Lituanus , vol. 60, No 2, 2014.*

The Twenty-second of March is the Thirtieth of March

GINTARAS BLEIZGYS

Today is the twenty-second of March, three forty-five in the afternoon. The sun is shining. It's very bright in the world. In my world, which I look at through the window for a long, a very long time. The trees today are naked; not just leafless, but snowless. Nakedly gray, grayly black, blackly naked. It just happens I see two very large trees a bit farther off. Three times larger than the house "growing" (looking like some mushroom) under them. I look at those bared trees and laugh, and the more I laugh, the more carefully I look, and the more I laugh. At myself. Lord, I say, those trees are gorgeous. You created them beautifully. In this depth, in this swamp, out of which I'm trying to chat with You. There are, I think, some million layers, some million partitions, a million lightyears between You and me. An infinity. It's interesting to talk through a million lightyears. Even the worst skeptic would have to smile when they've gotten it into their head to speak to someone through a million lightyears; even a goat, an ass, a boot would have to start smiling. That's what I think. Even those two trees would start smiling, and probably are. This smile, this joke, is at my enormous inadequacy.

GINTARAS BLEIZGYS is one of the most outstanding poets and essayists of the younger generation, the author of eight books of poetry and the collection of essays *Estafetė*, as well as the editor of several collections of poetry. In 2014, he was awarded the Jotvingiai Prize for his book of poetry, *Kai sėlinsi manęs*.

The very first thing a person should feel when addressing the Lord is those millions of lightyears, that swamp of swamps, that inadequacy, the impotency of thought, the blindness. I'm amused at my blindness. You are next to me. And I'm talking. Because how could I talk, after all, if I didn't believe You were next to me, right here, reachable with my hand (it would be better to say with my heart). You are next to me, but I'm blind, I'm completely limited—so much so, that I'll never be able to see You, never get a millimeter closer in a million lightyears. My conversation with You is a blind show. A blind reality show. Turn on the television. Look at the idiot, you could lend me a telephone, too, so I'd understand better that I'm talking, really talking, to the point of frenzy, I'm talking through a million lightyears—through all of the visible universe, all matter. I'm talking to that which cannot be observed. What's on the other side of those two beautiful, naked trees. Don't tell me you can't understand a simple thing like that? Don't tell me I can't understand a simple thing like that—something, as I've already mentioned, I can reach with a hand (i.e., a heart)?

I'm talking, but I don't see who I'm talking to. Actually, it's not just that I don't see, I can't imagine it all that well, either. During one program on "Marija's Radio," the priest said: If someone were to tell me they know God, I'd start laughing, because to say that would be the same as to say I'll ladle out the ocean with a teacup. I have a teacup I've now brought over to my ocean. I ladle the water, look at it, and acquire a particular vision, a particular sense, fragments, collages about the One I'm talking to now. How could I not laugh at my stupidity and weakness? How far I am from the One I barely grasp. And how stubbornly I work at ladling out the water with that ridiculous teacup. I will ladle, too. As long as I'm alive. Until I turn blue. With an idiotic stubbornness. I believe in the promise that when the time comes, I'll step this one huge, huge, insane (no other way to say it) step, not some seven-mile step, come on;

a million-lightyear step, that's to say, at one moment, for all time, I'll step right through all of my blindness, stupidity, and limitations, I'll step to the place to where I'm now trying to talk, I'll step to the One I now imagine (I hope) I'm talking to. That would be some step. Some people are afraid to fly in an airplane, and when the plane encounters a larger air pocket or dives downwards so it appears for a few seconds to be diving out of control, they start screaming. No, at first they catch their breath, and only start screaming afterwards. But when you think of how it would take your breath away when you take that million lightyear step...

Now it's the twenty-third of March, five-thirty in the afternoon. It's slowly getting dark. I'm standing in the Kučiūnai cemetery. Now what kind of spring is this. I really didn't believe in a spring like this—there's still snow everywhere, but there's birds. I'm standing alone in a village cemetery, alone with a thousand birds. Starlings, magpies, crows, chickadees. It seems more like morning than evening. It seems at any moment the sun will come out. My mouth open, I stand by your grave, mama, and smile. You're truly not lonely here, as it's impossible to be lonely in this kind of whistling, chirping, and peeping. You see, I say, you've got more friends than I do; I say this and smile, because it's funny to talk such nonsense. You're not here. You're a million lightyears away. Hello, I say, Lord, who's with my mama now. Both of you are so far away and you know, I say, I miss my mother. Caw, caw, answers the hundred and fifty-year-old raven in the neighing pine. And I smile again, because why did he need to caw like that right in the middle of my speech. Caw, I say, isn't he perhaps grumbling at Your orders. Won't he peck out my eyes, who pecked out my eyes that I can't see through that infinity, through a million lightyears?

Deaf, blind, and foolish, there I stand in the cemetery, actually, charmed by Your birds, the hundred-year-old pines, this

solitude in which it's impossible to be alone, this sun, which should any moment now explode out of the clouds like some lily flower. Hello Lord, I say, you know I love Your trees and birds, and even the wind from the fields of Poland, which is fluttering the edges of my coat. You know, I'll be sorry to part with these things of Yours. I say this and smile, because after all, only a fool or some stubborn ass could resist (that is, regret) being led to the pasture of inexhaustible plenty, that is, heaven. Yes Lord, I say, I want to put on those million-lightyear shoes of mine now and take an intoxicating million-lightyear step—straight out of everything I see and have become accustomed to.

There's always more reason to go to those pastures, always more people to see, always more of my own pulls me there. What kind of muck will I have to be pulled out of, what kind of muck—I never stop smiling, because it really is funny to me that You'll have to pull this kind of fool, this kind of ass, like some rabbit by the ears, like some fish, some snarl, some bumpkin. Out of these trees, out of Lithuania and the Polish border, out of Kučiūnai, Veisiejai, out of Vilnius, out of family, out of time, out of the body—out of the body, that is, out of me myself—like some kind of sleeve, I am your sleeve, Lord.

I light some candles and stand there quietly. It's been a long time since I was so happy, a long time since I have stumbled into a kingdom of birds like this one; once people thought birds were the closest to the spirit (closest to heaven), maybe now some heavenly bird archetype has blossomed within me, blossomed like the sun beyond the clouds, like the lily flower. My soul, Lord, is full of lily flowers. Lakes and lilies, clouds and sun lilies. It ought to be beautiful in my soul. And birds, actually, there ought to be a huge number of birds there, even that deep-voiced raven of Yours perches there, and starlings. And the snow is melting there now, and my soul yearns for You terribly, now it really is yearning, undoubtedly because my mama is with You, because now, it's just that I never would learn to lie,

because now there's no meaning left. No meaning to any lies, and it's funny to me that there's no longer any meaning to lies, because even in my great stupidity I understand my longing is pure, that You have taken a part of my heart, a part of my soul, that my longing for You is pure, that You made me egotistically, that is, like you yourself, so that my egotism would become pure and there's not a drop there I've merited, not a drop in all of that damned million lightyears, in all those million lightyears of my stupidity, stubbornness and egotism. And I listen to the birds and watch the snow melting: "in the corners of my soul water starts burbling," but to write that down is likely a very small silliness, such a small silliness compared to that million lightyears of blindness, that it doesn't even show, that I'm not even ashamed.

A week has gone by. Time. It's important to me now. I imagine that time is this huge, huge woodcutter. He came and chopped it down. I think about Veisiejai and I think time has come and chopped it down in one swoop. My Veisiejai is like a reed. Burying their parents, the children bury their past. My mama isn't in Veisiejai, so Veisiejai doesn't exist for me anymore. It has moved a million lightyears away. Farther than I could say. Several times, driving by in the early morning, I stopped by "home." I made some tea and sat at the table alone, that is, with Veisiejai, Mama, and You. I sat there and a million lightyears away, and this huge, huge silent woodcutter came and swung an axe at my head. And it was very funny to look at that huge, huge woodcutter, as shy as some weasel. I turned to him with my split head invulnerable to any woodcutter's axe, because my body is not here, my body is a million lightyears away, because my home is not here, because my kingdom is on the other side of this kingdom. And today it's no longer important anymore whether it's March twenty-second now, or March thirtieth has already come. It's very bright in the world. In my

world, which I look at through the window for a long, a very long time. It just happens I see two very large trees a bit farther off. Three times larger than the house "growing" (looking like some mushroom) under them. I look at those bared trees and laugh, and the more I laugh, the more carefully I look, and the more I laugh. I've renounced time, Lord, even the trees and the window. I like traveling. Particularly snatching out of the body. A million lightyears away.

Translated by ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

JUDITA VAIČIŪNAITĖ (1937–2001)

from the cycle "To the Only City"

VI

My old courtyard is also a piece of Vilnius:
its spacious square, its thick stone walls,
clothes hung out to dry, the noise and light,
the wind that spills over the fence all day...

The hollow echo of dusty streets is hardly heard...
Windows, windows all around... Shining eyes of glass.
Grey pigeons wade all day with blushing feet
through melting snow... They come and go...

How many people have passed through these gates!
What variety of footsteps fend the courtyard's paths!
Perhaps the others gazed upon it all the same –
seeing these glimmering roofs, these fluttering wings...

Maybe their smiles and tears have now seeped
into my old courtyard – this piece of Vilnius...
Maybe for that reason the walls sparkle in the sun,
trying to tell us something, full of lucid life...

Lilacs on Pylimo Street

Lilacs, cut down by the Vilnius synagogue,
still shine with clusters of violet light,
still fragrant, dusted with gasoline, the heavy
lilacs, cut down by the Vilnius synagogue,
still echo a rusted bell from the railroad –
the dead city's undying soul –
lilacs, cut down by the Vilnius synagogue,
still shine with clusters of violet light.

Wagon

The railroad tracks will emerge
from last century's red brick
station, overgrown with ivy.
The train window will frame a solitary birch,
then marshes, ravines...
And in the narrow, swaying wagon,
checking tickets, once again, the conductor
will stop in front of you,
and you will be short a few measly cents
for happiness,
and you will stand alone, pushing on the ceiling
with your palms, already tracked by the years...
Still, while the bolt hasn't yet struck,
you will travel on with your standing ticket
and feel a wild, divine weight, a charge –
left with the poor,
you will yearn for a ray of light
like the spark of childhood, hot and true.

A Bell from the Vilnius Fair

Warmed by my hands:
a small earthenware bell
from the town-hall fair –
what an amazing ring
beneath the high, autumn sky
still filled with sun,
I hear an echo
of Vilnius's ancient bells,
and it fills me with cheer.
The voice of those who lived here –
let it ring
through the fog,
let this heart of clay,
resonant with fire,
with wind blowing dust and ashes away,
echo –
a little, earthenware bell
from the Vilnius Old Town fair.

from the cycle "Vilnius Churches"

3. Saint Katherine's, or Benedictine's, Church

Their hands stretched to embrace –
or maybe to bless:
angels, apostles, saints –
hands from the pleats of statues fluttering in the draft,
from rose shadows and azure
through dirty gold,
through dust, filth and rust –
apostles, saints, bishops,
hands for us sinners, stretched
in the dark humidity,
when clouds sink low,
when the storm gathers,
when rain closes out the rays,
a baroque theater –
Sibyl and Anne, noblemen's daughters, nuns
who march from the nunnery
through the ruined church
on the gallery floor covered
with the Pacas family's fleurs-de-lis –
ashen marble splits
and smoky frescos chafe, disgraced,
their cherry colors,
their blue-greens, grown over with mold –
they march with candles in the first procession
to a still soft chanting in the church,
having left it to the barbarians.

Amber Gems

Amber gems polished by shifting sands,
rough, old amulets shining in the sun –
for a woman short of happiness, storm-loved,
limpid gems like a morning wave, eyes
I will not see, thrust into the gloaming,
    driven by gyres –
amber gems washed in the spume of the sea –
fires on the hill, stakes,
    lighthouses by drifts
of time's moving sand,
    gems of my ancestors:
rivets of boats, stoney net plummets,
ashes in the fireplace,
    baskets of flounder
buried in damp sand –
    above prongs of fog: ribbons
of constellations from the bronze age,
    above the auroras of boats,
boggy, overgrown pools –
    a place of sacrifice in the dunes,
a raspberry bloated with blood
    of Teutonic Knights and local Kurs.

Vytis

The heraldic horseman flies –
a white-armored horseman,
a gravestone horseman,
the horseman of the official seal –
I feel the wind of Žalgiris
blowing into my eyes –
still warm after hundreds of years,
I feel the flame of my fatherland's fire,
mournful and bitter –
the cloth of flags –
the blood of Žalgiris,
the blood of gulags,
bending in the breeze –
the shining knight flies above Vilnius
and his horseshoes spark,
and his shining sword
glitters in the sun,
his shield bears a cross –
the silver warrior
fighting for freedom,
the horseman honoring
the hopes of our ancestors,
Traidenis, Algirdas and Vytautas,
their ancient heraldic sign.

Siauroji Street

Where a courtyard like a shell
guards a small, graceful church,
where green shutters twine, and a window
opens onto smutty snow,
onto a cross-section of pavement,
onto the lives of clay,
onto the depths below peat
where the tree's god has rotted away,
where the sun's magical wheel
still guards the fireplace's flame,
the bronze patina sand,
the thousand-year-old skull of a bear,
a boar's tooth amulet,
then a ghostly, bewitching leap above it
into medieval clay
where the street turns deeper
towards the undiscovered ford of the Neris.

The Defensive Wall of the City

Vines wind round an arrowslit
and the cinema doors,
but the gates still creak in an airless space,
perhaps still opening in a dream –
perhaps a guard still stands in the niche against the Tartar horde –
I nudge the gate open
onto twilight and garlands of ivy
that sway above Vilnius engraved:
the defensive ruins and a nameless spring,
or just the cold flow of the Styx –
I walk along the nonexistent wall
that twists and turns through my subconscious,
but the gates and towers only lie in the album of Vilnius' sights,
in the silence of old watercolors
by Smuglewicz –
a hopeful and vital maple tree spreads
among bricks and crumbling blocks
that fended off fire and blood and pitch –
cemented, they still hold up my home,
and get under my skin like a great work of art.

Under Electra's Virginal Statue

Under Electra's virginal statue
above the city sunk into gloom,
the river freezes, blended with night,
between December's banks –
winter stings the street,
even smiles go out – and continually patient,
with flurries above the frozen river's crook,
you plumb the depths
under Electra's light
where the Neris runs by the hospital window –
it's already winter – you grasp at life now
like a pulsing vein.

Translated by RIMAS UŽGIRIS

The Composer and Musicologist Vladas Jakubėnas

RITA NOMICAITĖ

Vladas Jakubėnas[1] (1904, Lithuania–1976, USA), a Lithuanian composer, musicologist, pianist, and pedagogue was born on May 15, 1904[2] in the town of Biržai. He grew up in an uncommon environment. His mother Halina Lipinska was a Polish aristocrat, and his father Povilas Jakubėnas, served as the General Superintendent of the Lithuanian Reformed Evangelical Church.

Vladas Jakubėnas' music is original, having a recognizable sound. Today we can confirm that this sound embodies Jakubėnas' statement regarding the path of Lithuanian music: portraying the individuality of a minor European country through central Europe's modern artistic language. This primary aesthetic idea of Vladas Jakubėnas, as developed in his musicological works, will remain important for a long time.

The contemporaries of Vladas Jakubėnas maintain that throughout his life he had an active interest in many things and was quite remarkable. The openness of his imagination could in

[1] In the documents – Vladislovas Jonas Jakubėnas. Lithuanian Literature and Art Archives, f. 84, ap. 4, b.24

[2] His actual birth date – November 11, 1903. By Jakubėnas instructions, his baptismal date May 15, 1904 is considered as his official birth date.

RITA NOMICAITĖ is a musicologist and member of the Lithuanian Composers' Union. Having graduated from the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theater, she continues to research Lithuanian musical life of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries.

part account for his two-pronged musical endeavors: his musicological achievements being no less important than his compositions. The following is a telling statistic. The most complete list of Jakubėnas' works was compiled by L. Tamulytė-Venclauskienė.[3] One hundred and three sources are noted in the list. The list also includes fragments of unfinished works, as well as instrumental variations of the same work. Moreover, it is becoming clearer that this list is incomplete: missing are the restructuring of Lithuanian folk songs for choir (found in the published collection "Už jūrų marių" (Across the Seas) of Vaclovas Juodpušis), compositions for the voice, and scores for the fortepiano which are constantly being uncovered in Lithuanian museums and in various archives. Over a thousand articles were published in Jakubėnas' books of essays and in the periodic press. The number of his musical works and articles clearly illustrate the convergence of his activity areas.

Although, as a child, Vladas Jakubėnas had an agile mind, he started his musical studies quite late, and almost immediately became involved with composition. When WWI broke out, the Jakubėnas family moved to Russia and temporarily settled in a Moscow suburb. In the summer of 1918, they returned to Biržai. Jakubėnas did not receive consistent music lessons until 1920, at which time he started attending the Aušros gymnasium in Kaunas and enrolled in the famous pedagogue's Elena Bilminiūtė-Čiurlienė's fortepiano class in the Juozas Naujalis School of Music.

During the 1924 to 1928, Jakubėnas studied at the conservatory in Riga. He chose this particular one because it was closer to home and because Latvia was a Protestant country. Moreover, Riga at that time already was a large European city where musical life was simmering and a student knew that he would have many opportunities to hear the newest trends in impressionism, and Russian modernism. He tried to prepare himself in two areas. The fortepiano studies, however, did not go so

[3] Venclauskienė, "Outline of the Life and Creativity," 34–47.

well. Janis Osis, in citing instructors' comments in Jakubėnas' graduation documents, noted that he was very talented, but that his hands were unsuited for the piano: could he really become a pianist?[4] As it was, he did not stage recitals. While living in Lithuania, he performed occasionally as an accompanist (with Vincė Jonuškaitė, Juozė Augaitytė, Kurt Engert). Later during the German occupation years, in the Displaced Person camps, and in the United States, working as an accompanist became one of his sources of livelihood.

Jakubėnas studied composition with prof. Jāzeps Vītols. From this disciple of N. Rimsky-Korsakov, according to Jakubėnas, he obtained the academic foundations of a Russian conservatory training. Vītols praised his student, and his observations, as seen today, were insightful in describing the main characteristics of the Jakubėnas' style. "You need to fight against the obvious one-sided leaning toward impressionism"; and "his friendship with the classic polyphony is not the hottest, although his innate talents encourage working at least in the direction of modern counterpoint", noted the professor.[5] The Latvian musicologist Janis Osis, while living in Lithuania and supporting his opinions with various documents and also utilizing the Latvian press, maintains that Jakubėnas was one of the most talented students at the conservatory at that time.[6]

Jakubėnas returned for a short visit back to Kaunas, and on June 10, 1928, he gave his author's concert at the Conservatory Hall, which was the platform for a new composer to be presented to the community. Jonas Bendorius, in his review of the concert, appraised it as a joyful, but a professionally realistic performance. According to the reviewer, Jakubėnas "is a talent in a not yet completely creative, mature personality". But

---

[4] Osis, *The Musical Life*, 143.

[5] Ibid., 142.

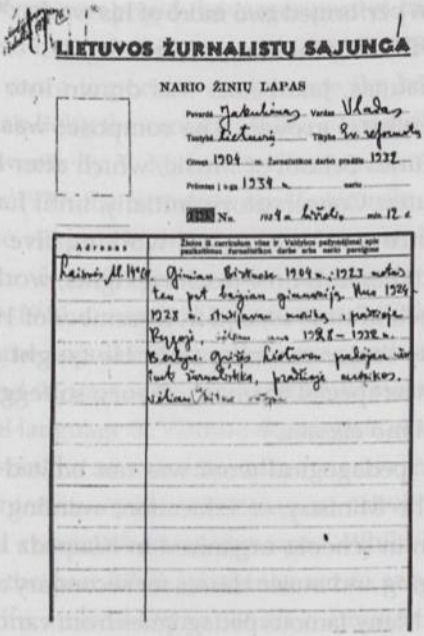
[6] Jakubėnas' ties with the Latvian musical scene continued at an intense level. He was awarded Latvia's order of the Three Stars Level IV.

the concert raised many hopes that "in the future we may be able to assign Jakubėnas among our most prominent musical composers."[7]

The studies that Jakubėnas started that same year are considered, according to most of his biographers, to have had the most fundamental influence in formulating the composer's style. And it should be added – for his aesthetic sensibility to mature. In 1932, having received a scholarship from Lithuania's Ministry of Education, Jakubėnas attended master's classes with the famous composer and conductor prof. Franz Schreker at the Berlin Staatliche Akademische Hochschule fur Musik. Franz Schreker is the author of nine operas and four ballets, as well as works for the symphony orchestra. Modernists such as Ernst Křenek and Alois Hàba had studied with him, but during the period when Jakubėnas was studying, he was already old and a master from a past epoch. In the article, "Under the German Modern Music Skies", Jakubėnas depicted his teacher as belonging to the yet living, but already not very influential, post-romantic ("Nachromantiker") group; this musical direction was also known as post-Wagnerian, romantic-impressionistic.[8]

In spite of this, Jakubėnas, while in Germany (according to Jeromimas Kačinskas), assumed the mood of modern music. He became a follower of neoclassicism, and all because he happened to be in Berlin when this city had become the European capital of the new music. Arnold Schönberg lived here, Paul Hindemith and other "fathers" of modern music, and the student Jakubėnas was walking in the same corridors at the same time as they. While studying there, Jakubėnas wrote the Prelude and Triple Fugue in D-minor (1929), the String Quartet in A-minor (1930), and his Symphony No 1 (1932). The young Lithuanian immersed himself in this maelstrom of innovations,

[7] Bendorius, "Concert of Vladas Jakubėnas' compositions."
[8] Jakubėnas, "Vokiečių modernios muzikos padangėse," 15.



LIETUVOS ŽURNALISTŲ SĄJUNGA

NARIO ŽINIŲ LAPAS

Jakubėnas' file in the Lithuanian Association of Journalists.

and his previously mentioned creations were performed publicly in Berlin at that time: in 1929 the Prelude and the Fugue were performed in the School's auditorium, and the Symphony conducted by Franz Schrecker was performed by the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra in 1932. His Quartet was performed in March of 1932 by the International Society of Contemporary Music group in Berlin. Following this concert, Jakubėnas was mentioned in the reviews by the "Morgen Post", the "Deutsche Algemeine Zeitung", the "Berliner Tageblat", and the "Deutsche Tages Zeitung". In the last newspaper, Dr. Herm Springer wrote that "the piece is full of life, conceived in the field of national music, it is full of blood and musicality."[9] Lithuania was admitted into this prestigious still functioning organization only five years later. While Jakubėnas was residing in the United States,

[9] Cit. in: "7 meno dienos," 2.

this organization performed two more of his works: "The Dance of the Little Devil" and "Intermezzo Rustico".

Back in Kaunas, Jakubėnas was drawn into the forces of Lithuania's cultural growth. The composer was invited to teach in the Kaunas School of Music, which after half a year became the Kaunas Conservatory. Initially, until June of 1935, he had freelance teaching rights, working five to sixteen hours per week; then full time teaching rights, working twenty hours per week until 1940; and in December of 1940 he was promoted to the senior teaching staff. He taught theoretical disciplines such as special harmony, theory, solfeggio, and the required fortepiano classes.[10]

Jakubėnas' pedagogical work was not limited just to the conservatory. The Ministry of Education, wanting to expand choral education in schools, organized in Klaipėda in the summer of 1936 singing and music classes for secondary and middle school teachers. Many famous pedagogues from various specialties were invited to participate, among them Juozas Babravičius, Nikodemas Martinonis, Ignas Prielgauskas, Jurgis Karnavičius, and Balys Dvarionas. Jakubėnas was assigned to teach the methodology of teaching music history. Jakubėnas had also promised to teach in the first Lithuanian Folk Conservatory, but details regarding this have not survived.

The teaching profession – public, partly private, or private was the main source of income for Jakubėnas throughout his lifetime. His students remember him as teaching clearly and comprehensibly, while Kačinskas and others who were recently interviewed remember Jakubėnas as having rare pedagogical talents.[11]

---

[10] In the M. Mažvydas Library Manuscript section, there are undated Jakubėnas' lecture texts on the History of Russian Music covering the period from Mikhail Glinka to Pyotr Tschaikovsky as well as Modesto Musorsgky. F. 119–3.

[11] Kačinskas, "Vladas Jakubėnas and His Music."

Jakubėnas composed the larger part of his creative work while he was living in Lithuania. During the 1932 to 1944 time period, his more important works were the ballet "Vaivos juosta" (Vaiva's Belt); the cantata "Mano pasaulis" (My World) in 1943 with words by V. Mykolaitis-Putinas; Symphony No 2 in A-minor in 1939; the Serenade for Violoncello and Fortepiano in 1936; two rhapsodies for the fortepiano: an F-minor in 1936 and E-minor in 1940; the Second Rhapsody for the symphony orchestra in 1940; a march "Nurimk, sesut" (Calm down, Sister) which became popularized as a folk-song with words by Pranas Vaičaitis; and various arrangements of folk melodies for chorus. The musical language of Vladas Jakubėnas is of that time's modernist bent – in the neoclassical style.

The intensity of his musicological activities in Lithuania and abroad remained about the same. While living in Lithuania up to the year 1944, Jakubėnas wrote around 900 articles other than his musical works, which is around half of his entire legacy. The works written in his native land could be divided into several genres: Lithuanian music history survey articles and other studies published in various books; articles published in periodic literature including articles about issues; monograms and overviews about composers and performers; annotations, seasonal and monthly overviews, reviews; and publications of other genre such as obituaries, opinions, remarks regarding cultural language questions and so on.[12]

During the fourth decade and first half of the fifth decade, Jakubėnas had become the main authority covering musical

[12] For further information on Jakubėnas musicological activities, see Jonas Bruveris, *Vladas Jakubėnas operos gyvenime*, manuscript, 2004, p. 7; Jūratė Landsbergytė, "Lietuvių muzikos modernizmo idėjiniai įvaizdžiai," Menotyra, No 1, 2004, 38–43; Rita Nomicaitė, "Vlado Jakubėno muzikologinės veiklos apybaraiža," Menotyra, 2, 1997, 31–37.

themes in Lithuania. He was entrusted with the general musical studies in the representative state-wide anniversary publications such as *Lithuania 1918–1938* (ed. Vincas Kemežys), and *Vytauto Didžiojo Garbei* (1937). The latter included an article entitled "Lietuvių muzikos keliais" (Down Lithuania's Musical Paths) which was lengthy and detailed with the material being analyzed from several aspects. Specifically, he maintained that musical originality was conditioned by the nation's worldview as well as the country's geographic situation, and was determined by the cultural conflict between the East and the West (term used by Jakubėnas). Regarding the first theme, Jakubėnas had written several times. He had explored the idea in several articles that Lithuanians need to build on the "general" European musical technique and to synchronize it with Lithuanian folkloric characteristics, thus forming a Lithuanian composers' school. In the introduction to the above-mentioned article, he presents a section on European musical history starting with the Middle Ages. In it, he stresses that the collision between the elements of Eastern and Western cultures, which was quite relevant during the Lithuanian Independence years, first appeared in the works of Čiurlionis. Jakubėnas considers Čiurlionis to be the first Lithuanian modern composer – he was the first to lead our music from provincial backwaters and to bring it nearer to the European music of that period.

In the latter part of the article, Vladas Jakubėnas sums up the atmosphere at that time in free Lithuania. The given summary is also appropriate in appraising the life and works of Jakubėnas himself in his native land:

> The stormy political times have caused many of our musicians to suffer a huge internal and external turmoil. Perhaps many of them could not accommodate themselves to the new realities and many, although promising creatively, had to follow different paths, so far not having fulfilled their potential, since the

change in conditions between the earlier times in Lithuania and the present is gigantic. It is not just the change in cultural orientation, but life in free Lithuania elicited a whole series of new conditions which are not only incomparably better than before the war, but also contain in themselves new difficulties.[13]

According to Vytautas Landsbergis, Jakubėnas was the first to write a larger study about the music of M.K. Čiurlionis, having understood its worth.[14] Jakubėnas wrote an analytical and substantive summary included in the 1938 publication *M.K. Čiurlionis*.[15] Jakubėnas had a most high regard for Čiurlionis as an artist. He wrote many articles discussing his creative works; he lectured with great admiration about him to his pupils, and made efforts that his music would be performed.

More than one of his articles arose from his close collaboration with his Latvian colleagues. In the twelfth volume of the Latvian Encyclopedia (1935), there is an article "Leišu mūzika" about Lithuanian music written by Jakubėnas. He also wrote for the periodic publications "Burtnieks" and "Mūzikas apskats". One can surmise that V. Jakubėnas also had contact with the Polish press, because one of his articles has been found: the newspaper "Wiadomości literackie" contains the review: "Wspòlczesna muzyka litewska" (No 12, 1936?)

In June of l934, Jakubėnas was unanimously elected into the Lithuanian Journalists' Union. He was its only musician member. By that time he was already a well-known publicist. In 1932 he had taken over music reviewer's duties from Jonas Bendorius at the national newspaper "Lietuvos aidas," publishing sometimes two to three reviews per week. He also collaborated with other public position publications: the magazines "Vairas" and "Jaunoji karta". Somewhat less frequently, he also wrote

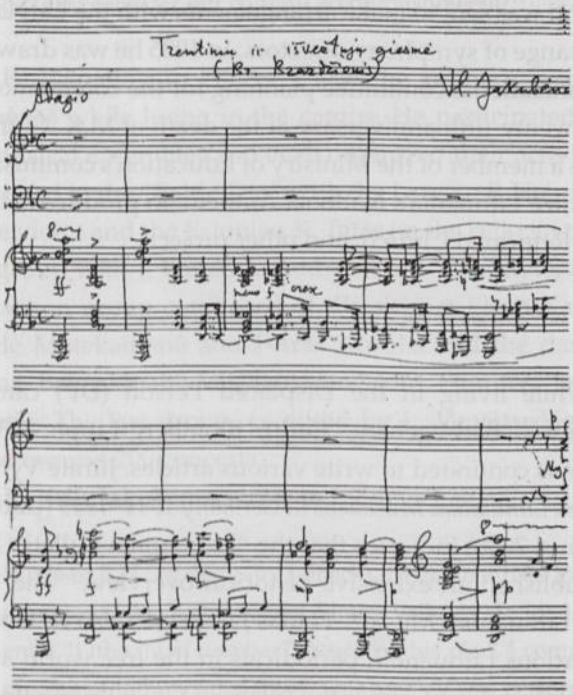
[13] Jakubėnas, "Lietuvių muzikos keliais," 901.
[14] Landsbergis, Čiurlionio muzika, 5.
[15] M.K. Čiurlionis, ed. Paulius Galaunė, 21–33.

for the cultural as well as for all the musical periodicals such as "Naujoji romuva", "Literatūros naujienos", "Meno dienos", "Muzikos barai", and "Muzika". He discussed the timeliest topics including the modern paths in European music, reviewed the hottest events such as the International Society for Contemporary Music festivals, and commented on Lithuania's music perspectives. He produced creative portraits of the most famous musicians such as Juozas Naujalis and Kipras Petrauskas, and reviewed the premier performances at the National Opera.

"We are starting a new section in our magazine: an appraisal of a radio music program for next week," wrote A. Gričius, the editor of "Bangos" in September of 1932. Under the heading "Garsų pasauly" (In the World of Sounds), Jakubėnas wrote every week for half a year (while the magazine existed) sometimes just enumerating the pieces, at other times relying on emotional literary language – especially when commenting on romantic music such as that of Edvard Grieg.

Jakubėnas did not stop his collaboration with the press during the years of the first Soviet occupation nor during the period of German occupation, all the while trying to find something of use for the musical scene in the changed environment through the newspaper "Tarybų Lietuva", or concerning himself with lifting the morale through periodicals such as "Į laisvę" or "Ateitis".

The musicological efforts of Jakubėnas were not limited to periodical literature. He also acted as an announcer at various performances. He gave impressive speeches, and made introductory comments at various important commemorations and concerts at the National Theater (April 22, 1936 commemorating the anniversary of the death of M.K. Čiurlionis; also on February 9, 1936 during the Belgian music concert and others). He was often invited to the Kaunas Radio station where he was planning a musical cycle from various countries. He often participated actively at the conferences of



Chant of the Exiled and Deported.

the Lithuanian choir and music societies. He presented many scholarly lectures, delivering the great majority of them in provincial areas. He often was a visitor at the "Aukuras" club in Klaipėda, as well as at various gymnasiums, where he presented the students with lecture-concerts. His opinions were also appreciated by representatives of other branches of art. Jakubėnas attended the famous Lithuanian Congress of Culture in 1935 which was sponsored by the editors of "Naujoji Romuva", and took part in round table discussions concerning art, theater, and general life topics.

That Jakubėnas had strong organizational skills is indicated by his membership in various societies, committees, and

so on. In 1933, he was elected secretary of the Philharmonic Society, and was sent to make arrangements with the Latvians for an exchange of symphony directors. In 1935 he was drawn into an organizational committee planning for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of M.K. Čiurlionis. He was a member of the Ministry of Education's commission to harmonize Lithuania's National Anthem, to produce a hymnal for the Reformed Church, and other projects.

*

While living in the Displaced Person (DP) camps in Germany – Badsegeberg, Eutin, Blomberg-Lippe – Vladas Jakubėnas continued to write various articles. Jūratė Vyliūtė in her book *Lithuanian Musicians in Germany 1944–1949* (published in Vilnius, 2006) indicates that the "Lithuanian Bulletin No 11, 1947 published an extensive historical overview, "The Evolution of Lithuanian Music". Vladas Jakubėnas also collaborated with various Lithuanian periodicals in the free world such as "Žiburiai", published by Lithuanians in Great Britain. In these, he wrote on various general topics as well as regarding his concert tours of Great Britain during 1948 and 1949 which were organized by the Baltic Association of Great Britain, the British Arts Council, and the Lithuanian Council. The tour from March to May of 1948 was composed of Izabelė Motekaitienė, Elena (Alė) Kalvaitytė, Stasys Baranauskas (Baras), Ipolitas Nauragis, and Vladas Jakubėnas. During the January to April tour of 1949, Antanina Dambrauskaitė went in place of I. Motekaitienė. Jakubėnas begins his detailed reporting with this statement:

> Baltic artists for the first time have gone to present concerts in England! This is a new and unexpected fact in our DP lives. This raises bright hopes for many. Some even think: perhaps the world will finally begin to pay attention to our plight, exiles

without a country, look at us as more than a cheap labor force, but also consider our cultural accomplishments?[16]

Participating in concerts was the primary activity for Jakubėnas while living in the camps. He participated in several musical ensembles and even organized their activities. He performed in the "Baltic Trio" with the Latvian F. Heinrichsons on the violin and the Estonian K. Tatar on the cello; in the "Baltija" group with J. Frank, L. Aadre, Elena Kalvaitytė; and in a five person group composed of the singers Elena Kalvaitytė, Izabelė Motekaitienė and Petras Kovelis and the dance pair Tatjana Babuskinaitė-Vasiliauskienė and Simonas Jasinskas-Valbasis. The last group, as noted by L. Venclauskienė, presented around 200 concerts.

In 1949, Jakubėnas wrote to J. Žilevičius:

> While in Bad Segeberg (by Lubeck), when an artists' group was organized, the ballet soloist Simas Velbasis decided to present a "Lithuanian number"; based on his plan, I compiled this medley of Lithuanian dances. This medley was performed with great success in all three zones in Western Germany.

The medley was called "Jonukas ir Magdutė" (Johnny and Maggy). In a letter, Jakubėnas cites that he had sent this opus along with several others to the Žilevičius archives, but there is no further mention of this work. The medley is not listed in any lists of Jakubėnas' works.

One of the loveliest works for choir from this DP period is "Vakaro maldoj" (In the Evening Prayer), composed in 1947 with words by Kazys Bradūnas from his collection "Pėdos Arimuos" (Footsteps in the Tilled Fields), which was also written in Germany in 1944:

[16] Jakubėnas, "With Lithuanian singers."

Forgive, o Lord,
That this grey path and land I love with such fierce ardor.
And that the heart, this much confessed to You,
Has turned into a tillage clump of my native soil.
(Last stanza of the poem)

*

Vladas Jakubėnas settled in Chicago in the fall of 1949. He was able to make a living from his music. For a while, he taught music at De Paul University, but did not hold any other formal jobs. He made a living giving private piano lessons, taught composition, and worked with singers for a time in the Alice Stephens (Alisa Steponavičienė) voice studio. He was an organist in the Lithuanian Lutheran Church of Zion parish. He gave concerts as a pianist and acted as an accompanist. In one of his letters to J. Žilevičius, Jakubėnas states that

> this year I am overloaded with lessons and occasional concert events. Yesterday I was engaged in two events. I played a solo recital at a commemorative event for Šatrijos Ragana, and accompanied a dancer at the BALF event in Indiana Harbor. I zoomed from one event to the other in my car.[17]

As earlier in Lithuania, Vladas Jakubėnas remained a well-known musical personality within the Lithuanian community. His organizational skills as well as his erudition, artistic sensitivity, and his humaneness were widely appreciated. He continued to contribute to the more serious Lithuanian publications such as "Draugas", "Aidai", and "Muzikos

[17] From an undated letter, most likely 1955.

žinios", and was elected an honorable member of the Lithuanian Journalistic Society.

The musicological activities of Vladas Jakubėnas while he was living abroad are as important as were those in his native land. He was entrusted with several historical overviews of Lithuanian music. His articles appear in several publications: in the fifteenth volume of the Lithuanian Encyclopedia, "Lithuania" (Boston, 1968, 684–701) – regarding music; in the publications "Opera in the Artistic Life of Lithuanians" which was intended to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the opera (MCMLXVII); "Music and Christianity", "The Contributions of Protestantism to the Evolution of Music" published in "Our Wings" (No. 89, 1955, and No. 3, 1953,); and others. V. Jakubėnas provided detailed texts to many important records, among them the K.V. Banaitis' opera, "Jūratė and Kastytis", recording, and for the commemorative record dedicated to Alice Stephens vocal ensemble's fifteenth anniversary.

There was almost no time left for musical composition. His largest works written in the United States were the "Intermezzo Rustico" for the string orchestra (1962), an orchestral suite "Miško šventė" (Sylvan Holiday) based on ballet material (1952), and the cantata "De Profundis" for mixed choir and organ with poetry by B. Brazdžionis (1966). The lines of poetry which are so well known to every Lithuanian, end with "White in the white cherry orchards/land of my forebears, Lietuva". V. Jakubėnas also wrote "Hymn of the Exiles and the Deported" for the 1956 Lithuanian Song Festival of the United States and Canada. As he himself held, that is his most significant choral work.

Vladas Jakubėnas died unexpectedly on December 13, 1976, with a completed concert review for the newspaper "Draugas" in his pocket. A strange coincidence that it was a review of a religious concert. The review was published on December 18. The greater part of Vladas Jakubėnas creative

works have been returned to Lithuania and are gradually receiving more attention from performers. And his reviews today serve as a basis for the historiography of Lithuanian music.

Translated by Birutė PENKIŪNAS-TAUTVYDAS

WORKS CITED

"Su lietuvių solistais per Angliją," *Žiburiai*, May 22, 1948.

7 meno dienos, No. 82, April 29, 1932.

Bendorius, Jonas. "Concert of Vladas Jakubėnas' Compositions," *Lietuvos Aidas*, November 06, 1928.

Jakubėnas, Vladas. "Lietuvių muzikos keliais." In *Vytauto Didžiojo garbei*, Kaunas, 1937.

Jakubėnas, Vladas. "Vokiečių modernios muzikos padangėse," *Muzika ir teatras*, No 1. 1933.

Kačinskas, Jeronimas. "Vladas Jakubėnas and His Music," *Draugas*, December 27, 1975.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. *Čiurlionio muzika*. Vilnius, 1986.

Osis, Janis. *The Musical Life of Lithuanians in Riga*. Thesis work, 1972.

Venclauskienė, L. "Outline of the Life and Creativity of Vladas Jakubėnas." In *Vladas Jakubėnas*, compiled by L. Venclauskienė, Vilnius, 1994.

ABSTRACTS

Virgil in Lithuania: Francesco Petrarch's Interactions with Paganism in the Fourteenth Century
LINDSEY WOOLCOCK

This article examines two margin comments found in the Codex Ambrosianus, Francesco Petrarch's manuscript of the works of Virgil, which mention the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the practices of its pagan inhabitants. These margin comments have yet to be fully discussed by historians of medieval Lithuania or Petrarch scholars, but they offer important evidence of the cultural exchange that came out of the Baltic Crusade. Though scholarship on the Grand Duchy has focused intensely on the political and military aspects of the Baltic Crusade, cultural exchange played an equal role, and it had a much greater influence on Christian Europe than has previously been attributed. This is especially important when we consider the later significance of Petrarch's works for the development of humanism. Such scholarship changes our understanding of how Petrarch conceived of the relationship between classical antiquity and his own medieval world.

Is Honor Still Important for Lithuanians?
IRENA SMETONIENĖ

Honor as a moral value has become the object of multi-faceted analysis in present-day scholarship. Sociologists, historians, psy-

chologists, and linguists are taking an interest in the concept of honor and in the place honor has within a value system. Honor has occupied an important place in the value system of Lithuanians from time immemorial. Popular websites and personal blogs write about, and discuss honor. These sources do not consider honor from a scientific viewpoint, but they help us to understand what honor is to the people of today, to observe how the concept has changed, and how new aspects of it have arisen. Current cognitive methods allow us to construct the value system not only of separate individuals but also of society as a whole through analysis of the concepts of individual words.

Etymologists consider the word "garbė" (honor) to be derivative. They assert that it has preserved its Proto-Indo-European meaning quite well. The analysis of this word allows us to take a look at the world view of Lithuanians, through which those who use the language create their cultural and social identity. It also lets us examine one element of a value system – honor. One can arrive at a semantic description (cognitive definition) of the word "garbė" (honor) by analyzing ancient texts, lexicographic sources, contemporary discourses, and questionnaires completed by young people. It is a feeling of self-worth and responsibility, when a person feels that he is appreciated for his life, for his deeds, and it is a good name, earned in society by good and unselfish deeds, by virtuous behavior and a virtuous life, by a high level of morality, by conscientiousness, by justice, by keeping one's word, by respect and care for others, by sacrifice for one's country, for an idea, for the good of other people, by patriotism and heroism. This definition is very important for current linguistics because it provides a linguistic and cultural portrait of an object, as representatives of a particular language/culture see it. It also shows which qualities of the object are fixed in language, which characteristics form the basis of these qualities and which subjective and cultural factors influence the appearance of the particular visual structure of that object.

The Genius Loci, Public Spaces and Transformations of Vilnius' Urban Milieu

ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

There is hardly any need to argue that public spaces are those predominantly urban areas where the most essential and epochal social changes become manifest in their most visible and tangible forms. Like in most other Eastern and Central European countries and societies making up the vast post-Soviet area, public urban spaces in Lithuania in general, and its capital city Vilnius in particular, underwent significant spatial and symbolic transformations during the last quarter of a century since the spectacular break from the Soviet Union. And yet, despite the fact that two and a half decades have passed since the end of the infamous Soviet era, a large number of public spaces in Vilnius to this very day remain a kind of 'black hole' in the capital's urban topography, making its present urban culture highly questionable.

Composer and Musicologist Vladas Jakubėnas

RITA NOMICAITĖ

Lithuanian postwar emigre composer, musicologist, and piano player Vladas Jakubėnas (1904–1976) graduated from the Riga Conservatoire and the Berlin Higher Music School, and taught in the Kaunas Conservatoire before moving to Western Europe towards the end of WWII. His post-war years were spent in Chicago. Jakubėnas did not compose many musical works; however, his musicological writings are numerous: he wrote more that 1500 articles and essays for books, encyclopedias, and the press. He placed Lithuanian music in a European context and urged it to become an integral part of European music. His texts are one of the most essential sources of Lithuanian musical history.

List of Donors

January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2015

$1,500 Lithuanian Foundation, Inc.

$1,200 Donatas Januta

$500 Aušra Kubilius

$200 to $499

John R. Dainauskas, Jonas Dovydėnas, Maksiminas Karaška, V. Victor Lapatinskas, Albinas Markevičius, Marija A. Meškauskas, Jerome J. Norton, Vidmantas Raišys, Irena Raulinaitis, Richard A. Rikoski, Rimantas Rukštelė, Lilia Kiaušas-Sollish, M. & A. Vygantas, Carol Yaster

$100 to $199

Algis F. Alantas, Dalia & Jurgis Anysas, Elena Barnet, Kyle Z. Bell, George L. Bendikas, G. & S. Damašius, John & Agatha Dancy, Mary Daugėla, Albert M. Drukteinis, Vytautas & Eglė Dudėnas, Algimantas & Lucia Garsys, Giedrė Gillespie, Goddard Graves, Zita Halka, John & Marija Hauser, Algirdas J. Jakstys, Jonas Karaška, Peter Kaufmann, Vladas Kaupas, Douglas Komer, Algimantas Kriščiūnas, Arvydas Mackevičius, Regina & Julius Matonis, Jonas Mekas, Vaida & Algis Mikuckis, Julia & Charles Petrauskas, Aloyzas Petrikas, Ernest Raskauskas Sr., Isabel Smulkstys, Ada E. Sutkus, Vytas Švalbonas, Dalia Tallat-Kelpša, Audronė & Arvydas Tamulis, Birutė & Kęstutis Tautvydas, Saulius Vaičekonis, Jonas Vainius, Elona & Juozas Vaišnys, Laima P. Vanderstoep, Romualdas Veitas, Paul Yakaitis, James R. Yankaskas

$50 to $99

A. Stephen Aglinskas, Marius Ambrose, Danutė & Vytautas Anonis, Dalia N. Armonas, Rima Aukštikalnis-Cibas, John Bačanskas, Rimvy-

da Baipšys, A. Baltrušaitis, Danguolė Bartkus, Joan & Peter Bielskus, R. & D. Bitėnas-Kavaliūnas, Sophie Oželis-Blumenfeld, I. Bertulytė-Bray, Nijolė Bražėnas-Paronetto, John V. Cernius, Dalia Cidzikaitė, Victor I. Covaleski, A. V. Dundzila, Genovaitė & Vytautas Gedminas, Janis A. Gramatins, Diane Gregart, Rūta Hoffa, Palmira A. Janušonis, Mindaugas Jatulis, Julius Jusinskas Jr., A. Stpehen Kalinsky, Zinaida & Rimas Kalvaitis, Rimas Keris, Birutė Kliore, Ramūnas Kondratas, Vida Krištolaitytė, Jonas Krutulis, A.A. & Aldona Kudirka, Irma Laisvėnaitė, Theresa & Algimantas Landsbergis, Šarūnas Landys, William Lozinger, Algis Lukas, Michael P. Lukas, Vincent J. Mažeika, Vita & Victor Memenas, John Michuta, Algis Mickūnas, Richard A. Mikaliūnas, Robert C. Novak, Alphonse J. Palaima, Francis Petrauskas, A. & D. Polikaitis, Arthur Shevchenko, Andrew R. Sestokas, Patricia Sidas, Juliann Skurdenis, Paulius Slavėnas, Liudas K. Slenys, Romas Slezas, Vytautas Šliūpas, Antanas Sužiedėlis, Birute V. Kozicka, Donatas Tijūnėlis, Audronė Užgiris, Loreta & Petras Vainius, A. & V. Valavičius, Delija Valiukėnas, Dalius Vasys, Aldona Venk-Venckūnas, Diana Vidutis, Robert A. Vitas, Robert Wayne Wallace, Al Zolynas

$25 to $49

Regina Bacanskas, Aldona & Stasys Bačkaitis, Paul A. Balchas, Nick Baltis, Daiva Banaitis, Susan & Paul Binkis Jr., Irena Blekys, Reda & Petras Blekys, Pranas Budininkas, Grace Budrys, Rita Bureika, Christopher Cowan, Joseph A. Daubėnas, Rūta Daugėla, John Deikis, Rita Durickas Moore, Gerald L. Edson, Gintarė Šileika-Everett, Birutė Fleck, Ray Gayauskas, Antanas Gilvydis, Eric Hamp, Dalia Jakas, T.E. Janeliūnas, Irena Jansonas, Sharon Joffe, Alfred Kachergis, Sophie Karaitis, L. Eve Karnitis, Rūta Kazakaitis, Stephen J. Klemawesch, Asta Kraskouskas, Gražina & Romualdas Kriaučiūnas, David Lapinski, Henrikas Laucius, Richard W. Leigh, Janina Levanas, Tony Mankus, Steven Marcinkus, Victoria Matranga, Robert G. Mazeika, Evelina Mickevičius, Marija Newsom, Gerald L.M. Pechukitis-Parks, John Patrick, Mark Paulekas, Arvydas Paulikas, Vytautas Pileika,

Aldona Noakaitė-Pintsch, John D. Podgwaite, Andris Prieditis, John Rejeris, Aldona Rekašius, Paul Rizauckas, Theodore & Ritonė Rudaitis, Ramunė Bernotas-Shubert, Grazina & George Sirusas, Viktoras Stankus, Donald & Birute Sturmer, Jurgis Štuopis, Dalia & Martynas Trakis, Vytas Vaitkus, Henry Valentinas, Bronius Vaškelis, Joseph Vizgirda, Jonas Zdanys, Edmundas Zeikus

$24 and under

K.G. Ambrozaitis, Andrejs Baidins, Laima Baltrenas, John P. Baltrus, Sigita Balzekas, Arvydas Barzdukas, Basiulis Trust, A.V. Bernotas, Ramūnas Bigelis, Jadvyga Biskis, Veronica & Maryte Bizinkauskas, Erika D. Brooks, Janis Chakars, John Chernoski, Regina Connolly, Albert J. Contons, Ona Daugirdas, Ruth Daukus, E.D. Davidenas, Lenore Dickinson, Virginia Dubauskas, Phyllis J. Edwards, Melvin Fitting, A. & H. Gamziukas, Aleksandras Gedmintas, Saulius Jameikis, Renata Jankauskas, Danute Januta, Alphonse G. Jarus, Rita Juskaitis, Algis Kazlauskas, Kestutis A. Keblys, Bertha Kelner, Zivile Khoury, Rom Kilikauskas, John W. Kuncas, Gita & Aidas Kupcinskas, Bert Laurence, Birute Lintakas, Lithuanian Charitable Society Maironis Park, Benedict Maciuika, Elena Majauskas, John D. McManus, Sally Morton, Kestutis Nakas, Valdmyra M. Nance, Aldona M. Olson, Leonard F. O'Neill, Tadas Osmolskis, Maria Paskevicius, S. & I Petravicius, Thomas Petroskey, Irena & Juozas Polikaitis, John Raugalis Jr., Rose Galinis Reeder, Jurgis Savaitis, V. Sernas, Regina D. Setikas, Victor Skade, Viktoria Skrupskelytė, Birute Skurdenis, Ronald & Christi Slavenas, Tomas Sperauskas, Ruta Staniulis, Kostas Stankus, Aldona Stark, Thomas Stemmy, Tadas Stomma, Pijus Stoncius, Patricia A. Streeter, Algis Strimaitis, Milda & Stasys Tamulionis, Peter S. Titas, Ann Marie & Joseph Ugianskis, Richard A. Uronis, Ada Ustjanauskas, Audra & Joseph Valaitis, Dana E. Valius, Roman Vanagunas, Rimas Visgirda, Genevieve A. Yeager, Ann & Joseph Yuscavage, William Zalpys, Catherine & Peter Zavorskas, Regina & Eugene Ziurys, Roman Zorska, Antanina R. Žmuidzinas

LITUANUS • 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000

www.lituanus.org

LITUANUS THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY Vol. 62:1 (2016)