LITUANUS THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY Vol. 62:4 (2016)

LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY VOLUME 62:4 (2016)

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LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
VOLUME 62:4, Winter 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.

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Editorial Office: editor@lituanus.org
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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 – 1,550 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

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Reflections of the First World War and the German Occupation in Lithuania Between the Wars: The Transformation of Perspectives

VYGANTAS VAREIKIS

The military actions of the First World War on the Eastern Front have garnered less interest from researchers than events on the Western Front, though they continued longer, involved more countries, more soldiers and civilians, and perhaps claimed more victims. Military actions on Lithuanian territory, which began in 1915, extended for several years after ending elsewhere, with the battles over independence.

In contrast to Western writers, the Lithuanians have left only a few inferior literary texts about the events of World War I in Lithuania and a handful of memoirs about the years of German rule. Perhaps this was because the battles did not last as long and were not as destructive as those in Western Europe, and the German occupation was forgotten against the backdrop of other disasters of the twentieth century. During the same period in Latvia, the Germans took Courland in 1915, and the front line, which divided Latvia for two years, was consolidated at Daugavpils, dividing it between the German and Russian zones. Eastern Europe's fate was decided in Latvia, and the country it-

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self experienced a large dispersion of its population as well as the challenge of Bolshevism after the war ended.

Compared to its neighboring countries, Lithuanian scholarly research on World War I is fairly scarce. After 1990, only a few scholarly texts were published in Lithuania on the war's significance in the formation of Lithuania's self-government, the displacement of the inhabitants into the depths of the Russian empire, the economic policies of the German Oberost administration, and about the movements of military action in 1915 in taking the Kaunas stronghold. Some of the texts about the Great War do not exceed the level of descriptions of battle movements.

It is asserted that the research on World War II have buried the memory of the Great War in Lithuania, and that this can be explained as much by the scanty war action in Lithuania compared to the action on other fronts as by the substantial effects World War II had on the formation of the Lithuanian collective consciousness.

However, this conclusion does not mean *a priori* that the memory of World War I was not intensely discussed during the period between the wars by the people who either actively participated in the war (historians have calculated that some 60,000 men served in the Russian army and about 10,000 on the German side), or lived in the war zone, or experienced the occupying German regime.

"The Great War in Lithuania was one of the worst events in our history. It was in our country—Minor and Major Lithuania—that the two great powers of the world began their struggle," was how Petras Ruseckas began his 1939 book of memoirs about this war.[1]

In the period between the wars, Lithuania's military leaders studied the strategy and tactics of the First World

[1] Ruseckas, *Lietuva Didžiajame kare,* 3.

Šiauliai during World War I.

War, and the culture of power that was set into motion during this war, which had a destructive effect on the inhabitants' mentality, and influenced the creation of modern Lithuania more than the War of Independence. The historian Vejas Gabriel Lulevicius, somewhat overstepping the principles of historicism, asserts that "the Eastern Front experience of the First World War was an indispensable cultural and psychological background for what came later in the violent twentieth century, preexisting mentality."[2]

In the period between the wars, the Great War became a peculiar conscious and unconscious means for the measurement of time and memory (like in the Middle Ages, when historical time was counted from some important natural phenomena or a ruler's coronation). Personal narratives frequently began from the start of the Great War, and illiterate villagers, who usually didn't know the exact date of their birth, would say they were born "after serfdom," "before the Great War," or something similar.

With the shortage of studies, the perspectives formed during the First World War must be reconstructed from various fragments reflected in separate articles, memoirs, and journals published in Lithuania between the wars. This article will examine what influence the years of German occupation had on Lithuanian nationalism, how the perspective on Germans and the German occupation formed, and its expression in Lithuanian publications between the wars.

The First World War in Lithuania's territory

In the summer of 1914, the Lithuanians, whose sense of national consciousness was negligible, while a meager group of intellectuals carefully weighed the possibility of autonomy

[2] Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front*, 3.

in the Russian empire, lived in a state of slumbering agricultural tranquility, as did the other secluded agrarian corners of Eastern Europe. For many inhabitants, when the war came to Lithuania's territory in the summer of 1915, it was a great shock that raised a public panic and had long-term effects on personal experience as much as on the nationalist movement, the creation of the national government's structures, and finally on the collective memory. According to priest and political activist Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, to the Lithuanians, who through more than a hundred years of existence in the Russian empire had lost their national aspirations, the war was unexpected, and, despite the patriotic propaganda actively spread by the Russian empire, was not *theirs*:

> Waiting for the invaders and after they had overrun the country, no one had any idea how to behave, what the real citizens of that country should do—to fight, or to meet a friend with bread and salt. If neither one nor the other, then to at least show them their ill-will, disapproval, to take up sabotage, not sell them food, etc.[3]

All of Europe's nationalities were agitated by propaganda during the war. The technique of accusing the enemy's troops of every possible cruelty is war matériel just as much as the ammunition, or the cannons pulled from warehouses for every war. In 1914, the German and French propaganda claimed the enemy poked out the eyes and cut off the hands of civilian inhabitants. The Germans encouraged the inhabitants of East Prussia to evacuate by convincing them that the Russians from "savage Asia" would murder civilians in their conquered territory.

An "information war" also began in Lithuanian territory in 1915, designed to encourage the local inhabitants to evacuate into the depths of Russia. Russian soldiers hung posters in

[3] Vaižgantas, "Iš lietuvių karo metų," 456.

public places that depicted the cruel behavior of the German forces to civilian inhabitants. Understandably, Lithuania's population was frightened, and those who had been influenced by the propaganda and the Russian soldiers' urging to retreat, hurriedly threw their things into a wagon, and were prepared to run from their birthplace. Some, frightened by the Russian propaganda and forced by soldiers, retreated, while others drove a few kilometers and returned home and gained more, according to Tumas-Vaižgantas, than the war refugees who ended up in the depths of Russia.

When an intensive attack by the Germans began, the Russian government started up their planned administrative institutions for evacuating government property and inhabitants and their belongings out of the war zone. The forced evacuation of Lithuanian Jews into Russia left a deep scar on their collective memory. Around 200,000 Jews, as a supposedly "untrustworthy and German-favoring element" were expelled from the Kaunas, Kursk, and Grodno governorates to governorates in the middle of Russia. The Russian and Cossack soldiers, in their retreat from Lithuania, made pogroms and plundered Jewish property. Consequently, the Jews greeted the German occupation as a lesser evil. The anti-Semitism revealed in the Russian empire forced the Jews to consider the Germans a more civilized nation, and because of the closeness of the German and Yiddish languages and the Jews' commercial talents, they became middlemen between the Germans and the Lithuanians. The leader of the German Army, Erich Ludendorff, observed that the Jewish merchant was an indispensable middleman in providing for the German military. After the war ended, this relationship between Jews and the German occupation administration provided an opportunity for the Lithuanians to accuse the Jews of collaboration, of informing on and exploiting Lithuanians, and instigating the large-scale felling and selling

Kaunas. 1915.

of Lithuanian forests.[4] On the eve of the Second World War, this experience during the years of the First World War and the Jewish inhabitants' good relations with the German occupation administration created illusions in their minds about the "decent" behavior of the Germans.

The "Private Province" in the Oberost

On August 18, 1915, the Russian army left Vilnius, and by fall of the same year nearly all of the ethnic Lithuanian lands were in German hands.

As Liulevicius has noted, the German understanding of the *East* had a significant influence during the First World War; they aimed to reorganize Lithuania's culture and economy and adapt it to their wider plans for Eastern Europe.[5] In October of 1915, the *Oberkommando Ost* was founded in Kaunas, and the entire congregate of the occupied territories in the East took on the name *Oberost*.

The occupied Lithuanian territory, along with the Latvian Courland, were combined under a purely military administration, which was led by the senior war leader on the Eastern Front, (*Oberbefehlshaber Ost*) Paul von Hindenburg. To the very end of the war, there was no civilian government; on May 2, 1916, the Germans even forbade the use of the word *Zivilwervaltung* in relation to the governing of Lithuania. The British historian H.C. Meyer called the Oberost, Hindenburg and Ludendoff's "private province."[6]

The entire administrative work of the Oberost was allocated to war needs, so Lithuania's resources had to be utilized as much as possible for the war industry. Although historians are still discussing Germany's plans for annexation in the East,

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4 Truska, *Holokausto prielaidos,* 40.
5 Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front*, 112–115.
6 Meyer, *Mitteleuropa,* 225.

the plans for colonization, which began to be openly discussed from the very beginning of the occupation, reveal the German administration's attitude towards Lithuanians.

As the German poet Heinrich Heine wrote, a German's thought always and everywhere precedes German action. The idea of "German work" (*Die deutsche Arbeit*), according to which the German mentality embodies planning, focused collective work based on the concept of moral imperatives was begun in the Oberost, and the united ideological rule became "cultural work" (*Kulturarbeit*), in opposition to the Eastern barbarianism, as Russia was understood. German culture and its propagation in the occupied East was understood as the battle of Western civilization with the East's anti-culture.

The German press constantly accented the cultural and economic backwardness of the Russian empire's western provinces. The Germans observed Lithuania's economic backwardness (no drainage in the fields, the scarcity of fertilizer in farming, the lack of quality seeds and pedigreed livestock, and so forth). The German press accented the Middle Age primitiveness in the country, where even nature and the landscape seemed primitive and monotonous to them. German soldiers were surprised that the local inhabitants lived in one building together with their animals, had no conception of hygiene or sanitation, no concern about the roads or their living conditions, and that the Lithuanian farmers were using equipment like wooden ploughs, which had disappeared in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century.

However, the occupation administration which was executing the planned "German work" policy, believed that with the efforts of the German administration, the Lithuanians would yield to a "higher German culture" and by degrees become faithful citizens of the Reich.

The war in the East. Tukums. That's how they look! Photographic reproduction. Germany, 1915 – 1918. To the left – an officer of the German army, to the right – two soldiers on a street in Tukums.

The Transformation of Cultural Communication and Political Norms Among Lithuanians

Because of the English shipping blockade during the war, Germany lacked food products, raw materials, and particularly lumber, so during the years of the German occupation a large-scale destruction of Lithuanian forests began, a complete exploitation of the land's resources, and forced labor of the inhabitants. The German authorities looked at the Lithuanians paternalistically, as if at smaller people who should be thankful for their liberation from the Russian yoke, who had no possibility of becoming an independent political subject, while the Lithuanian country, in their view, was sufficiently large and had resources to provide for German colonialists. According to the German writer Karl von Rümker, after the land was "cultured," the Oberost region could become a priceless warehouse for German livestock and grain, a land for production of lumber and wool, and a valuable space for colonization.[7] The German occupation authorities declared that the German state and the army's interests must always have priority over the occupied land's interests. Besides forced labor and various taxes, new taxes and duties that the local inhabitants had not known under the Russian empire, were introduced—taxes for dogs, tolls for going over a bridge, duties for wagons and so forth. At the same time, exotic prohibitions were introduced, like riding bicycles, traveling out of your county without permission, using a telephone, or writing letters in a language other than German, which many people did not know.

The First World War formed contacts between the Lithuanians and the Germans. Up until then, the Germans didn't know much about Lithuania. The last German envoy to Lithuania (1933–1940) Erich Zechlin, wrote in 1915 in his book *Litauen*

[7] Rümker, *Bevölkerungs*, 212.

und seine Probleme that he knew less about Lithuania than about China, even though he himself had been raised in Schivelbein, Pomerania, a spot not that far from Lithuania.

The communication link between Germans and Lithuanians during the First World War was a peculiar collision between Western Europe's industrialized modernity and Eastern Europe's economic backwardness, expressed in strange forms such as the local inhabitants surprise at the German soldiers playing football, and photography and its possibilities. The German attitude towards Lithuania as a Russian-controlled "Asiatic land," as a bastion of *Unkultur* without a rational or organized culture, was revealed in the German press during the war. Many German soldiers felt antipathy for the conquered country and, although they had regular contact with the locals during the four years of the occupation, did not feel as if they had a common culture. On the other hand, the German soldiers who were in Lithuania during the war had a chance to get to know a country that had been almost unknown earlier. The newspaper *Zeitung der X. Armee,* aimed at soldiers on the front whose stereotypical ideas about Eastern Europe and its inhabitants had been formed before the war, published articles about Lithuania's nature and history, Vilnius and other Lithuanian cities, Lithuanian customs and superstitions, everyday life and other curiosities. A large format book about Lithuania based on these articles, *Das Litauen. Buch eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee,* was published in Vilnius in 1918. At the beginning of the war, German soldiers purchased Russian postcards with views of Lithuanian cities and sent them home through the *Feldpost;* later, like in other occupied countries, the German Army's publishers began to produce postcards with pictures of Lithuania. These postcards would be worth a more detailed study; however, it is noteworthy that Riga, because of its dominant gothic and Art Nouveau architecture and symmetrical

streets, was closer to the Germans as it was more similar to cities in Germany.[8]

In 1915, the occupation administration began to create a network of schools in Lithuania that grew quickly; and, from the second grade on, Lithuanian pupils were required to learn in German. The spread of the German language became yet another important task of the occupation administration. The German pastor C. Ysenburg observed in 1915 that the Lithuanian language should be viewed as merely an aid to learn German, and German could help achieve faster economic progress in the occupied land.[9]

It can be asserted that although the German administration's supervision limited the independent possibilities of education, this occupation created favorable conditions for activities of the national movement and the development of the Lithuanian language and identity. During the war in Lithuania, the society's orientation towards Germany and its political consciousness underwent a transformation and a change in policy vectors. In the first years of the war, Lithuanians openly expressed sympathy for the Russian army and the Russian government. In the century of czarist rule, the government had become its own, and the Russian language and its administrative system was familiar to the inhabitants. A similar feeling was dominant in the Russian-ruled section of Poland in 1916—the local inhabitants did not consider a political orientation towards Germany.

On the other hand, in those territories where the Russian Army's (particularly the Cossack's) cruel behavior and requisitions affected the local population, the advantageous mood towards Russia was not unsullied. Up until 1917, when the Germans conquered Riga, people in Lithuania believed that the Russian Army would take the initiative and return quickly. So in 1914 in Kalvarija, after the first German occupation which lasted

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8 *1. Pasaules kara.*

9 Urbšienė, "Vokiečių karo meto spauda," 149.

German Soldiers in Kaunas.

all of three weeks, "everyone sincerely hoped that the Russians would win and the German invasion wouldn't be repeated, but seeing the Russian's poor organization, the disorder, constant examples of lewdness, doubts oppressed every breast."[10]

The writer Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė in her 1916 war diary characterized the inhabitants' ambivalent mood in the village of Puziniškis in the Panevėžys area:

> Before All Saint's Day, then before Christmas, and now before Easter people wait and still wait for the return of the Russians and spread all kinds of rumors among themselves that are difficult to sort out... Although the people's imagination is tortured, it is still lively and fruitful. The more I talk with people, and the patients coming from all directions give me plenty of opportunities for such conversations, the more it becomes clear to me that all of the landless workers wish the Germans to stay. The landowning farmers, whose property the Germans reduce one way or another and who constantly pile them up with bigger and more taxes, wait for the Russians to return. I try to introduce a thought to both the one and the other:
> "So who knows, wouldn't it be better for us to wait for neither the Russians nor the Germans, but rather start thinking it would perhaps be better to start ruling our own country..."[11]

It was only after the conquest of Riga, according to the Lithuanian statesman Kazimieras Bizauskas, that "people said: the Russian is a lout, and it was only after that time that a pure Lithuanian orientation—to rule themselves—began."[12]

The situation in Lithuanian essentially began to change at the end of the summer of 1917, when the Germans stalled at the Western front. It became clear to those Germans who propagat-

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[10] Jokantas, "Suv. Kalvarijoje vokiečių okupacijos metu,"133.
[11] Bitė, "Karo metų dienoraštis," 227.
[12] *Lietuvos istorija,* 41.

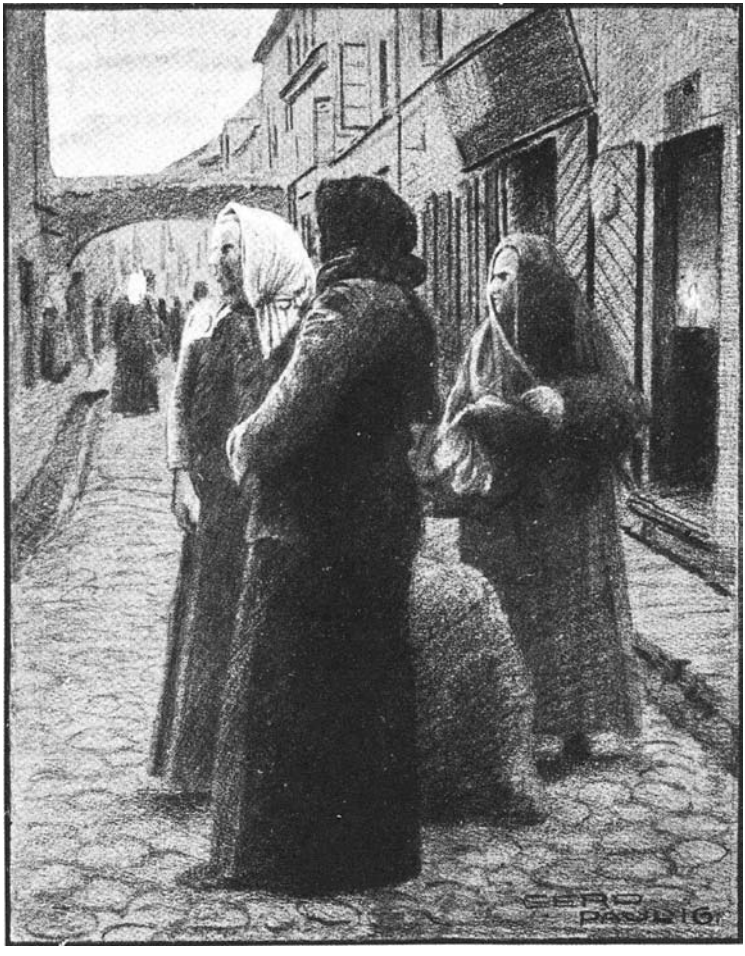
ed annexation that joining the occupied territories would not be easy, and using the principle of national self-determination, the Lithuanians could lean towards a union with Germany. This political line—the idea of union—must be stated as the basic German policy until the very end of the war.

In the summer of 1917, the Germans in Lithuania attempted to form a Land Council, which was to be a wing of the war administration and to agree with the German administration's decisions. When its formation failed, the Germans allowed the creation of the Lithuanian's Organizational Committee, whose convened congress in August of 1917 was the first legitimate government body seeking the restoration of an independent Lithuania. The Germans did not recognize the local population as their equals, so cooperation on a political level wasn't possible, and any Lithuanian self-rule or political independence wasn't imaginable because of the Lithuanians' "naivety" and inexperience.[13] So although up until they withdrew from Lithuania, the German military viewed the Lithuanians' ability to create independent political structures skeptically, it was the German occupation administration that created the preconditions for Lithuanian self-dependence in the twentieth century. The noted Lithuanian jurist, scholar, statesman, and public figure Mykolas Pijus Römeris (1880–1945) recorded in his diary for August 2 of 1922:

> War is responsible for all of our misfortunes, but at the same time we are thankful to it for the existence of our young government, for the fire of emancipation, and for the fact that we can create all together and independently, that we are free.[14]

The four years of German occupation and the experience of war essentially changed Lithuanian life. Lithuania's political

[13] Tauber, *The View from the Top*, 211–237.
[14] Römeris, *Dienoraštis*, 74–75.



Women during war. Drawing by Landsturmann G. Paul. Germany, 1916.

aspirations and aim for local self-rule was born in the storm of the First World War.

Butter, Eier and Kaput: The Perspective on the German Occupation in Lithuania Between the Wars

In texts printed in Lithuania between the wars, the contacts between Germans and Lithuanians during the World War were portrayed using what anthropologists define as the binary opposition of self and other, expressed in ethnic and social dimensions. Under the political conditions of the time, a somewhat stereotypical picture of the German began to form. On the other hand, it cannot be stated that these stereotypical perspectives were formed solely for ideological motives, or that they had no basis. These images performed several functions: with Lithuania's limited ability to spread anti-German propaganda, they became an expression of protest in the 1930s and reflected the problems in the relationship between Lithuania and Germany.

Germany's role in Lithuanian politics between the wars was ambiguous. On the one hand, Germany's and Lithuania's interests coincided in their attitude towards Poland. The recovery of Vilnius, which Poland had occupied in 1920, become the basic aim of Lithuania's foreign policy, and all foreign policy steps were judged from this viewpoint. In Germany, the loss of German territory to Poland after the war formed a negative evaluation of Poland. In 1923, Germany did not object to Lithuania's successful takeover of the Klaipėda area. On the other hand, in the 1930s, with the intensification of conflicts in the Klaipėda area, which the Lithuanians never succeeded in controlling, and the strengthening National-Socialist rhetoric from the German side, the relations between the two states cooled. The economic boycott declared by Germany painfully affected Lithuania, and between 1936 and 1938, Lithuania's politicians and diplomats were left to passively observe how Klaipėda

slowly slid into the arms of Nazi Germany. It can be stated that the image of the German occupation in Lithuania's press reflected not just historical conditions, but also the realities of the political battle over Klaipėda.

Images of the German occupation were stereotyped in the first comical publication in Lithuania, *Vokiečių okupacija Lietuvoje* (The German occupation in Lithuania), published in 1922 by J. Rimkus (Šilietis), who, incidentally, never saw it, as he only returned to Lithuania in 1918 from Russia.[15] The invasion of Germans was compared to the attacks of the Teutonic Knights during the Middle Ages. Some of the drawings audaciously pictured the time of the occupation: German soldiers fired at Lithuanians, the Germans harnessed Lithuanians, and prisoners of war plowed the fields. The book raised a diplomatic storm—the German consul demanded that the publication's distribution be halted on account of its harm to Lithuania's and Germany's relations.

The poems of Jonas Maironis (1862–1932), written during the war and published in 1920, reflect a personal opposition to the Germans, whom he compares to the Teutonic Knights who attacked Lithuania in the Middle Ages by using a hyperbolical image of Lithuania's suffering:

> Hurrying to Žalgiris go awakened
> Fierce hordes of Teutonic Knights?
> Forever killing our forefathers,
> Wolves drunk on blood!
> <...>
> The Germans come from Magdeburg,
> They come from the curves of the Rhine;
> From Regensberg, Mainz, Augsburg
> Streaming in wave after wave.

[15] Rimkus, *Vokiečių okupacija Lietuvoje 1915–1919 m*.

The Kaiser, Lord of Berlin, leads
All teutons in revenge;
What wasn't plundered was destroyed,
Like a storming march of horror!
(*The Nevėžis in the war*)[16]

In 1923, at the initiative of a group of soldiers, the *Karo mokslų draugija* (Society of War Research) was founded in Kaunas. Its purpose was to gather people interested in the history of the war and to spread knowledge of war history to the army and the public. The society sought to not just collect information about battles sites or descriptions of battles, but to also collect memoirs and publish scholarly journals. Although the priority of the history section, founded in 1924, was the War of Independence that took place after the First World War ended, the events of the Great War were not forgotten. The great interest in the actions of the First World War was reflected in the publication *Karo archyvas* (War archive), begun by the War Research Section in 1925. When the relations between Lithuania and German became strained in the mid-1930s, this journal began to exploit a more negative picture of the German occupation and Germans. The memoirs reflected the behavior of the German soldiers at the front—their constant search for food and their plundering in the first months of the war, the brutal terror, and the collapse of the Lithuanians' moral standards: betrayals to the occupation administration, loose sexual mores, and the spread of venereal diseases, resignation, and the fall of living standards. In some occupied areas of Lithuania, German officers and officials lived like lords, in a style they would never have lived in Germany—in manors abandoned by the Russians, surrounded by luxury, with several mistresses. On the other hand, positive moments

[16] Maironis, *Raštai*, 175.

in collaborations between Germans and Lithuanians are mentioned in a group of memoirs.

In 1939, with the Second World War already underway, the book of memoirs *Lietuva Didžiojo karo metais* (Lithuania during the Great War) by the public figure and participant in the battle for Independence Petras Ruseckas (1883–1945), was published in Vilnius. The book had an ideological bent; in the introduction, Ruseckas constructed a clearly expressed moralizing position against the Germans that could have been related to the contemporary political situation:

> Read the memories in this book recounting how the Germans repaid the faith in them—with superficial, empty politeness and greetings, and with immediate, brutal plunder, theft, senseless destruction of farms and fodder, the shooting of animals, requisitions, disdain for the people, beatings and even murders. And, like a cloud of locusts, the Germans came in wave after wave, constantly bringing new destruction. The land of people's blooming, a satiated, peaceful, industrious life began to turn into a country of poverty, trouble and famine.[17]

The memoirs published by *Karo archyvas*, together with the unique and morally sensitive journals of Gabrielė Petkevičaitė Bitė (1861–1943) and other egodocuments,[18] have attracted the attention of scholars as a valuable source for understanding the German occupation and the fashioning of the German image. What do they reveal?

If, to the Germans, Lithuania appeared as a poverty-stricken, dreary land of medieval primitivity, full of unused resources where naive, culturally lacking people of a limited horizon lived, then to the Lithuanians the Germans gave the im-

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[17] *Lietuva Didžiajame kare*, 3–4.

[18] Grifante, "Irgendetwas in mir ist verhärtet," Barniškienė, "Karo metų dienoraštis."

pression of conceited, arrogant, and cruel invaders who did not restrain themselves from plundering and thieving. Lithuanian intellectuals, who knew German and were impressed with German culture, believed that the Germans would act more civilized than the Russians, but they were quickly disappointed. "I and my neighbor deferred to German order, German industriousness, thriftiness, and other good characteristics," wrote Petkevičiatė-Bitė, "but to us their self-satisfaction was horrible, as was their disdain and humiliation of other peoples."[19]

In their memoirs about the time of the war in Lithuania, authors frequently mention plunder on Lithuanian territory, requisitions of livestock, constant demands for food, and the destruction of property. On the other hand, plundering by the warring side has always been the accompaniment of war. For example, in March of 1914 when the Russian Army occupied Klaipėda (Memel), some inhabitants along the Lithuanian border would travel to Klaipėda from Samogitia and seize various items from abandoned houses and farmsteads and later sell them. The behavior of German soldiers on Lithuania's territory, which they considered part of Russia, could have been a reply to the Russian soldiers' actions in East Prussia.

The drastic behavior of the Germans with the local inhabitants exceeded all limits, as wherever the Germans showed up they immediately began plundering everything, the Skuodas priest Pranciškas Žadeikas emphasized in his memoirs released just after the war. "As soon as they went into a Lithuanian cottage, they grabbed everything that fell to hand: horses, meat, eggs, butter, money <...> Lithuanian housewives quickly learned what *Eier* and *Butter* meant in German." According to Žadeikas, after the plundering of the German occupation, Lithuanians "awaited the return of the Russians as a salvation."[20]

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[19] Petkevičaitė-Bitė, "Karo metų dienoraštis," 218.

[20] Žadeikis, *Didžiojo karo užrašai,* 53.

In the first months of the war in Lithuania, the German soldiers, who were fighting fiercely with the Russians, though avoiding the mobile Cossack units, frequently suffered from a shortage of food. To the Lithuanian inhabitants, they gave the impression of a somewhat disorganized army that looked at Eastern peoples as providers of material good, and at the conquered territory as *Etappen-Gebiet* (a communications area). Thus, according to memoirs, the Germans who occupied Žagerė in the summer of 1915 plundered the remaining Jewish stores that hadn't yet been emptied by the Russian Cossacks, took food and other belongings from the inhabitants, and settling in houses they didn't bother to heat with firewood, burning furniture and floor boards instead, and when they had destroyed one house they moved on to another.[21] Ona Vaitkevičienė, in her memoirs published in 1934, characterized the Germans as fairly polite people who didn't pay for anything ("The first impression when the Germans showed up wasn't the worst. They kept saying *Morgen, morgen,* patted us on the shoulder, calmed us down. But they constantly took from the farmers") and were very greedy ("the Germans had an unhealthy greed or desire to immediately take everything away and destroy it, or to eat for all time. They were afraid, apparently, that something would be left for other Germans, Russians, or the housewife herself.")[22] In the face of stress and constant plundering, the local inhabitants' behavior changed as well: "fearing the Germans would take away our last bite, we hid better food, and openly ate only potatoes and bread. If we ate something better, then it was with our ears peeled for an approaching German. If you sensed a German, you'd immediately hide better food—meat, cheese, or an egg—in a pocket. When the danger passed, we'd pull the bit of meat

[21] Mažylis, "Iš Pakrušės pergyvenimų," 287.
[22] Rimkus, "Karo vėtroje," 109.

from our pockets. And that was how you had to sneak your food! What times we lived in!"[23]

A. Vireliūnas, who served in the Russian Army and was captured near Kaunas in 1915, in describing the state of imprisonment, constantly compared the Germans to the medieval Teutonic Knights and added, "it became clearer and clearer why German and devil mean the same thing in Lithuanian folktales..." and the prisoners, when they wrote about the hard work conditions and the constant prodding, never called the Germans anything but "devils" and "wished for nothing so much as the destruction of the Germans, our torturers."[24]

However, this stereotypical picture of Germans painted in some memoirs was one-sided and frequently reflected the Lithuanian propaganda that formed the anti-German political position during the 1930s as much as personal experiences during the war. A deeper analysis of the memoirs reveals that Lithuanians noticed positive characteristics of German soldiers and officers, which were formed by specific features of the cultural life of industrialized Western Europe.

The march of the German Army into Vilnius at the end of September 1915, rather than resembling a "triumphant" holiday parade, gave more of an impression of democratic intercourse to Lithuania's Foreign Affairs Minister Petras Klimas, in contrast to the scenes seen among the Russian army: "there didn't seem to be a difference between the soldiers and officers: all of them equally would sit at a table to drink beer or coffee, chat or laugh, and equally read their newspapers."[25]

This memoirs were written sometime after the First World War; however, contemporary testimonies confirm the impression of *other* Germans. With the Russian units forced out in difficult battles in the summer of 1915, the advancing organized German

[23] Ibid., 112.
[24] Vireliūnas, "Atsiminimai," 119.
[25] Klimas, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, 42.

infantry, bicyclists, artillery batteries, transport units, and other columns made an impression of "great power" on the inhabitants, while the German soldiers surprised them not just with their soldierly image, but also because they read newspapers: "in the meantime, in three months of Russians I didn't see any reading a newspaper."[26] In Juozas Audickas's account from the village of Mikoliškiai in Rokiškis county at the end of July 1915, although the inhabitants' mood was very grim, the Germans made a big impression because they were cheerful, sang songs, smoked cigars, drank rum, and ate well from camp kitchens. Not knowing the German language and the limited communication was a big problem for the Lithuanians. They noticed a stricter military discipline and execution of leader's orders among the German soldiers compared with the Russian soldiers, and "the biggest impression was made by the fact that when a unit of German soldiers stopped for even a half-hour, almost all of them pulled out and read newspapers, shared them among themselves, and discussed them. The entire time I'd never seen even Russian officers reading a newspaper, never mind soldiers."[27]

People who knew German would get newspapers to read from the soldiers, thereby widening their cultural horizons and improving their German language. German was an important means of communicating, so the inhabitants made an effort to learn at least a little bit of German. In 1926, the German administration allowed the organization of self-education groups, volunteer language and instruction courses. Petkevičiatė-Bitė, who had gotten this permission, ironically observed that permission was granted with the condition that only German would be taught: "Even if it was a humorous condition, it wasn't difficult to fulfill. What would an illiterate adult learn in German? At

[26] Audėnas, *Paskutinis posėdis,* 32.
[27] Audickas, "Didžiojo karo atsiminimai," 201.

least *Guten Tag! Bitte! Danke! Butter, Eier, ir kaput!* But the Germans themselves had already taught them to everyone."[28]

The contacts between Lithuanian youth and German soldiers that formed during entertainment gatherings was useful, since the Germans would release the local youths with whom they had enjoyed time together from forced labor recruitment. Besides the short-term closer ties between German soldiers and Lithuanian girls, deeper emotional ties formed between soldiers who fought at the front for long periods and the local inhabitants. Thus in the Puziniškis area at the end of November 1917, Petkevičiatė-Bitė described an emotional farewell with the German soldiers:

> So we parted for all time. We saw our dear soldiers off, unexpectedly, in these horrible times, turned into faithful friends. Those kids didn't leave a single bad memory behind. When we parted, those young warriors, most of whom had already been smouldering in the fire of that horrible war, weren't ashamed, like babes, to wipe tears from their eyes or simply let them calmly run down their wind-blown cheeks.
>
> We, the women parting with them, were all the less ashamed to weep.
>
> "We were hoping to spend Christmas with you," one whispered in parting.
>
> "Christmas! We probably won't have heads on our shoulders anymore," another observed hotly.
>
> "It would have been better not to get to know Puziniškis... It wouldn't have been so difficult to part... Now it seems like I've leaving my parents' home..." said a third in a trembling, deeply moved voice.
>
> Others just quietly pressed hands and hurried to jump into the wagons. The wagons began to arduously move from their spots.

[28] Petkevičaitė-Bitė, "Karo metų dienoraštis," 218.

> A real funeral. The soldiers' things, so carefully piled between four wheels and covered with dark blankets, looked like coffins... We all wept. The wind, whistling, joined in our sorrow.[29]

The archeologist Tadas Daugirdas, who was the director of the Kaunas Museum during the occupation, succinctly reflected the mood of most Lithuanian intellectuals in a journal written in 1915 – he considered the Germans a civilized nation, but after they arrived, he changed his opinion, emphasizing that it would be better for the Lithuanians to tie their future to "the Russians than to those accursed descendants of the Teutonic knights, the Germans' offspring."[30] Daugirdas was insulted by the arrogant behavior of the German officer, the mayor Pusch ("I was received in German when I barely managed to get a word out") and humiliated when he was forced to run behind the commandant's car. On the other hand, the behavior of the Germans as Tadas Daugirdas described it, wasn't judged entirely negatively. The Germans began to improve the commerce and infrastructure of the city of Kaunas, repaired the tramway lines, opened stores and energetically concerned themselves with the city's cleanliness and sanitariness. "The Germans look at us from on high, are extremely brutal, and all of the exploitation they do is explained by the war situation (*Kreigszeit)*, Daugirdas observed, "but I think it couldn't be otherwise. I have to add that if the Russians had been in their place, it would have been much worse."[31]

The fairly objective description by Juozas Breiva, the priest of Daugai, showed the differences in personal experiences during the German occupation. He remarked that at the beginning of the war, there were rumors spreading that the Germans were very cruel, burned farmsteads, raped women, and even

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[29] Ibid., 249–250.
[30] Daugirdas, "Kaunas vokiečių okupacijoje," 122.
[31] Ibid., 178.

killed the inhabitants. The Jewish inhabitants looked more favorably on the Germans, as they had already experienced the Cossack's violence; however, when the Germans came to Daugai and expressed excessive sanitary objectives – they ordered the local Jews to clean the streets and paths on the Sabbath – they insulted the religious Jews a great deal. The Lithuanian intellectuals were also disappointed in the Germans' "culture." The Germans' behavior in different places in Lithuania depended mostly on the behavior of individual commandants. Father Breiva assessed the Germans' behavior as " 'average' – they were neither 'good uncles' nor excessively cruel people, with the exception of their behavior with Russian prisoners'; the German soldiers' excesses, after the front passed, was the persecution of the Lithuanian administration itself."[32]

The Germans executed requisitions in the occupied territory, at which time the inhabitants had to give the war administration the assigned amount of grain. Similarly, butter and meat were taken; farmers were forced to give up eggs, honey, and other contributions of products. Petkevičiatė-Bitė noted that the inhabitants returned to a social-cultural situation similar to that from before the invention of steam power, where visual differences between social classes disappeared:

> There was nothing to buy, or at such a price it wasn't for our pockets. Many of the local people were short of warm clothes and clothes in general, not to mention shoes. Everyone rejoiced, peasants and lords alike, wearing moccasins, and of very poor leather too, for which you had to nevertheless fork out two rubles.[33]

The inhabitants tried to hide food products and valuable belongings, digging out hiding places far away from the farmstead, hanging a side of bacon in the trees of a pine grove or

[32] Breiva, "Atsiminimai iš vokiečių okupacijos," 193–195.
[33] Petkevičaitė-Bitė, "Karo metų dienoraštis," 221.

sometimes even in the cottage's straw roof, which the crows, smelling bacon, would circle. Livestock was hidden in woods, copse, or cellars.[34] The German occupation administration organized conscription to care for the army – inhabitants with their horses and wagons would have to cart fodder for the army's horses to the front in Latvia. The Germans did not pay for this, but they would feed the carters well with canned foods, Dutch cheese, marmalades, army bread and coffee, and didn't mind pouring out some rum, too. When they arrived at the assigned spot, the carters were assigned to the kitchen of the military unit they were attached to, and got the same food as the German soldiers: "We were all happy, because we were villagers; we didn't get to eat like that even at Christmas."[35]

A particularly bad impression left on Lithuania's inhabitants, one that remained a long time in the collective memory, was the German occupation administration's forced recruitment, the hunting down of the inhabitants, and the compulsory labor, instituted because of the great shortage of labor, which some historians consider one of the blackest episodes of the First World War. In the opinion of the German administration, the compulsory employment of the inhabitants was simply a solution to the problem of a labor force; however, these actions caused enormous discontent among the inhabitants.[36]

At the end of 1919, the famous priest Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas read a lecture "Iš lietuvių karo metų psichikos (On Lithuanians' psychology during the war)" at the Lithuanian Scholarly Society in Vilnius. This lecture's aim, as the author said, was not the events of the war or an analysis of its effects, or a wider characterization of changes under occupational conditions in the Lithuanian nation's attitudes, mentality, or politics,

[34] Čilvinaitė, "Didžiojo karo vargai," 199.
[35] Audickas, "Didžiojo karo atsiminimai," 203.
[36] Westerhoff, *Zwangsarbeit im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 37.

but an attempt to characterize one or another trait of the Lithuanian people in the context of the war and "war fear." Vaižgantas asserted that the mentality of Lithuanians formed by the Great War included indifference, confusion, submissiveness (which Vaižgantas called cowardice), and an inability to adjust to challenges. However, the war years also formed another characteristic – the aspiration for political independence was realized.

The negative image of the German occupation and the images of Germans forming during the period between the wars affected the dynamics of political relations. Unlike the beginning of the First World War, after the Soviet occupation in 1940 and the June 1941 deportations, when the Wehrmacht armies invaded Lithuania, they were met by the Lithuanians as liberators from the Soviet terror. The experience of the Jewish inhabitants of the genocidal German policies was completely different. During the Second World War, the comparison between Germans and the Teutonic Knights continued in Moscow instead of Lithuania, where Lithuanian Communists prepared various propaganda publications. During the Soviet times, the First World War and its culture of memory wasn't widely studied or discussed, so the First World War's images of the German slowly disappeared, not just from scholarly discourse, but from the collective memory as well.

Á la querre comme à la querre. The noted memories of Lithuanians about the German occupation reflect the brutal reality of war, although who could have imagined that this war, which, according to some diplomats, was to end all wars, would be repeated in Eastern Europe in a still more destructive form?

This article was prepared under the auspices of the project "Remembrance of World War I: A comparative analysis of Lithuania and East Prussia (Before 1939)" sponsored by the Lithuanian Research Council (MIP-021/2015).

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Lithuanianism and National Characteristics in Twentieth Century Sacral Architecture

LINAS KRŪGELIS

Introduction

The history of the Lithuanian nation is rich in events and epochs which helped to formulate its particular consciousness and identity. It is quite often that, as written in the National Anthem by Vincas Kudirka, we tend to draw our strength from past successes and from the depths of tradition. It is a common practice even at the present time to search for a Lithuanian national type of characteristics from the deep historical perspective of the Grand Duchy or in the still living memory of the witnesses from the interwar Lithuanian period. However, in these contemplative historical musings, religiosity or the religious legacy is not noticed enough for its effect in the formation of Lithuanian national identity. If we were to take a broader view of our nation's historic evolution, we would undoubtedly note the connection between statehood and the status of the expression of religious thought, when the restored Lithuanian state marched together with the strong positions of the Catholic Church in the lives of Lithuanian citizens and vice versa. From this, we could draw the conclusion that at all times, for

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Lithuanians, the moral authority of the Church was equated with the country's moral and national values.

The Early Conception of Sacral Space in Lithuania

It might seem strange, but few Lithuanians stop today to think about the significance of Catholicism in fostering Lithuanianism. On the contrary, parts of society think that the true national origins can be found in the Baltic pagan times. This myth became especially pronounced during the times of Soviet occupation, not just with the help of the anti-Christian thought which was instilled by the occupying authorities, but also by the exaggerated sentimentality regarding the pagan era. Even currently it is possible to hear various speculations about the so-called greatness of the pagan civilization of the Balts during the Middle Ages. However, it is well known that possibly the only evident qualitative indicator of past civilizations is architecture, particularly sacral architecture. In observing the sacral architecture, or at least its vestiges, we can recognize not only the technological achievements of the past generations, but also obtain a picture of their culture, art, and most importantly – spiritual values. The pagan period of our country did not leave us any obvious architectural monuments, for the most part due to lack of information regarding professional architecture, lack of proper technology, primitive building practices, and short-lived building materials. The arrival of Christianity into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania marked a new national epoch of improved quality of life. New opportunities were formed for the establishment of education, as well as for other Western social standards of living. In the religious arena, the universal Christian thinking left no room for the fragmented cult of nature worship. Undoubtedly, these changes did not take place over night; local cultural and new world-view blending with Christian thought took entire centuries. In recent times in the public

sphere, one hears various strange interpretations of historical facts which try to depict the arrival of the Christian culture into Lithuania as an expansion of undesirable foreign ideology. But looking from an historical perspective, we see a paradoxical situation – Samogitia, which for a long time had been opposed to Christianity, over the ages has become a peculiar religious stronghold against anti-Christian political and ideological forces. From that we can deduce that universal Christian values have found a response in the lives of the Lithuanian people, and therefore have become successfully established, and with the passage of time, have become part of the national identity.

The Christian houses of worship to the eyes of medieval Lithuanians, seemed odd. They differed markedly from the pagan sacred places. The new architectural forms, the depth of their symbolism testified to a different paradigm than previously. Not only the notion of God changed, but also the concept and the meaning of the rituals. Such Western researchers as Camilian Demetrescu noted that the ancient non-Christian religious shrines were understood as a peculiar mirror of the heavenly world (*Templum* – a device for viewing the heavens). They were meant to reaffirm the heavenly creation's perfection. The Christian sanctuaries meanwhile strove to reflect the Body of Christ, where different parts of the building were associated with the different parts of Christ's body.[1] This transformation of the paradigm of sacred space becomes even clearer in the ceremonial space, where the burnt offerings are replaced by the Eucharist of bread and wine. For the medieval Lithuanian person, it was difficult to incorporate the fundamental Christian religious principle that the Almighty God could be persuaded by such apparently humble offerings. That notwithstanding, one could state that the Lithuanians have always sensed the sacred nature of the surrounding objects and space. Over a long time

[1] Demetrescu, "Symbols in Sacred Architecture and Iconography."

in the people's subconscious, the sacral natural objects blended with the sacral traditions of the cult structures, which means, that in the Lithuanian world-view, God is understood as not only being present in the surroundings of the church building, but also flourishes in the space of his creation. Perhaps that in part resulted also in the expression of sacred symbolism and images in folk art. The wayside crosses and chapels marked the dissimilarity of the sacred spaces from the profane mundaneness. According to the art critic Jolanta Zabulytė, "essentially all folk art is sacral, not just that which is associated with the church. Every ornament- whether it is a pot decoration, or a window frame, or house furnishings – has some sacral function. Not just decorative, but also protective, that is why certain motifs and symbols are being used."[2] The words of this art critic are likewise confirmed by the creative traditions seen in the Lithuanian Catholic sacred buildings from the various time periods.

Lithuanian Sacral Architecture during the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

During the past six centuries of Christianity in Lithuania, many sanctuaries sprang up whose architectural forms are a witness to the spiritual worldview of the people of this nation. While not attempting to cover the abundant and rich heritage of this sacral architecture, we could try to separate out some individual accents, which these days could be considered examples of the Lithuanian Church's and Christianity's sacral space and tradition. Lithuanian traits in the Catholic sacral architecture can be observed at the very beginning of the twentieth century. The famous Lithuanian art critic Algimantas Mačiulis has noted that during the interwar period in independent Lithuania,

[2] Pačkauskienė, "Sakralus menas: tarp kanono ir interpretacijos."

part of the community including some intellectuals, artists, architects, while inconclusively assessing modern architecture, complained that our new architecture, especially church architecture, does not have any national characteristics.[3] That is why during this period, many Lithuanian architects and artists began putting great creative effort in trying to create a Lithuanian architectural style.

One of the first manifestations of Lithuanian themes in sacral architecture can be found in the Apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary Chapel at Šiluva (Šiluvos Švč. Mergelės Marijos apsireiškimo koplyčia), where, according to tradition, the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This gave rise to the tradition of deep veneration of the Virgin Mary. The image of the Virgin standing on a stone became one of the principal symbols, speaking subconsciously about the primacy of spiritual values over the surrounding material objects, while at the same time symbolizing the victory of Christianity over the archaic cults. The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Apparition whose architect was Antanas Vivulskis, 1903–1924 now stands at the apparition site. As the art critic Nijolė Lukšionytė-Tolvaišienė has noted, A. Vivulskis attempted to create a chapel with a "Samogitian spirit," thus attempting to convey an image of Lithuanianism in an architectural form.[4] Within the composition of the interior, A. Vivulskis subtly imparted a monumental obelisk form, which narrows as it reaches upward, and at the bottom, from the composition point of view, rests on a more massive base. The chapel's interior holds a very special relic – the stone – upon which the altar has been erected with a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is important to note that A. Vivulskis was one of the first architects in Lithuania to use the cruciform

[3] Mačiulis, "Kultūrinės autonomijos ir katalikiško švietimo sistema," 75–112.

[4] Lukšionytė-Tolvaišienė, *Antanas Vivulskis*, 72, 73, 78, 83–85.

The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Apparition. Photo by the author.

motif as an architectural detail of the facade. There is no doubt that this "Samogitian spirit" named by Vivulskis was forming for centuries until it started to unfold not only in folk art, but also in professional architecture.

It was not only A. Vivulskis who successfully spread his ideas regarding national architecture, but also several other Lithuanian architects of that period. One of them was Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis who is considered today as one of the most distinguished twentieth century Lithuanian architects. Most of his designed buildings are concentrated in Kaunas. "He was the first Lithuanian architect to be educated in the West."[5] During the years of Lithuanian independence, V. Landsbergis-Žemkalnis designed several churches: a wooden Church of the Blessed Angelic Virgin Mary (Švč. Mergelės Marijos Angeliškosios) in Kybartai in 1927, the Church of the Eucharistic Savior (Eucharistinio Išganytojo), also in Kybartai, the Church of The Sacred Heart of Jesus (Švč. Jėzaus Širdies) in Mažeikai in 1935, and the Church of St. John the Baptist (Šv. Jono Krikštytojo) in Šakiai in 1936. The works of this architect possessed a distinctive style and contributed to the formation of Lithuanian architectural identity during the interwar period. The buildings that he designed were easily identifiable due to the often repeated separations with vertical elements on the façade's exterior and the disciplined artistic facades. However, as J. Kančienė and J. Minkevičius have noted, the churches designed by V. Landsbergis-Žemkalnis are all very different. "While creating them, the architect tested out various styles, trying to find connections with the traditions from the past – both national and Christian."[6]

One could also mention Vladimir Dubenecki as one of the active advocates of the traditional and national architecture.

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5 Krūgelis, "Kai kurie Lietuvos sakralinės architektūros raidos bruožai," 57–63.

6 Kančienė, Minkevičius, *Architektas Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis*, 23–24.

He was responsible for creating the project for the church at Karmėlava in 1922 and also for several other important public buildings. The art critic Lina Preišegalavičienė has noted an interesting point in his creative biography, that although Dubenecki was not Lithuanian, he was nonetheless one of the first to search for a national style in Lithuania. The architect not only designed a unique church at Karmėlava which has unique regional characteristics, but also kept the stylistic direction in the church's interior. "In the architecture of the church one finds uniquely interpreted motifs of the old wooden belfries and chapels, and feels the harmony and rhythm of proportions of the old architecture."[7] The V. Dubenecki church design is characterized by a moderate décor based on folk motifs. In the wood carvings one can find parallels with folk symbols and the traditional baroque ornamentation: the tulip, sun and cord, baroque scrolls, "S" forms, wavy ornamentations. Looking at the architectural design as a whole, one can find gothic and baroque characteristics, which are harmoniously augmented by the folk motifs.

In addition to the already discussed historical examples of national sacral architecture, it is also necessary to mention the history of the development of the project of the Memorial Church of the Resurrection in Kaunas (Paminklinė Kauno Prisikėlimo bažnyčia, 1935 to 2005). The project was started during the interwar period by Karolis Reisonas, an architect of Latvian descent. The church was intended from the very start to become the clearest symbol of national identity not only among the sacral buildings, but also in the entire urban surroundings of Kaunas. In creating the Church of the Resurrection, even the contest rules specified the need to convey the principles of Lithuanianism in the design. "In the beginning of 1922, Professor Pranas Bučys was the first to suggest: a monument to the regaining of Independence should be a church building

[7] Preišegalavičienė, "Tautinio stiliaus paieškos," 161–171.

erected for that purpose."[8] However, future historical events prevented the project from being completed in time; the unfinished Church of the Resurrection was taken over by the Soviet authorities and its interior was converted into a radio factory. Only when Lithuania once again regained its independence after 1990, was the building returned to the Catholic Church and the details completed in 2005. In rebuilding the Memorial Church of the Resurrection, its original shape which was envisaged by Karolis Reisonas, was maintained, and the changes made "were designed being conscious of the effects of space on a person, sensitively combining decorative materials."[9] Today the church stands not only as an indispensable part of the panorama of Kaunas, but also as a clear symbol of the fickleness of history as well as of Lithuanian perseverance.

Nationality and Catholicism during the Period of Soviet Occupation

The long years of being part of the Soviet Union greatly crippled the country's spiritual and creative potential. Although during the years of subjugation, the influence of the Church was much weaker than that of the oppressors, the Church nonetheless opposed political persecution, ideological repression, and dehumanization of man as an individual. There was no room for religion, spirituality, or deeper exploration of human nature in the communist and socialist manifestos. The ideal of the communist man, formulated according to one "conceptualized" model, was inculcated. Atheism was hailed as the basis for this thinking, offering the illusion of almost withdrawing from all dogmas, and promising a utopian universal well-being. The Church preached opposing truths.

[8] Urbšytė-Vilkienė, "Paminklinės Prisikėlimo bažnyčios atstatymas," 82–88.

[9] Ibid.

It had a tradition of a close relationship with politics during the interwar period, and it had a huge authority among the Lithuanian population of believers. That is why the occupying authorities took various means to minimize its influence and activities. As we know from historical facts, these repressive measures were aimed not only against the Church institutions and its members, but also against the entire sacral inheritance which was clearly demonstrated in the repression of the tradition of creating new sacral buildings.

The latter historical period has been comprehensively explored by the historian Arūnas Streikus. In his book *The Lithuanian Catholic Church and the Armed Resistance Movement in Lithuania*, he writes in great detail about the various sanctions aimed against the Lithuanian Catholic Church by the occupying government, including against the Church's sacral inheritance and the flourishing national ideation found in it. Following this line of research and building on several of A. Streikus's propositions, Kazys Blazevičius explores this thesis further in his article "The Lithuanian Catholic Church during the Soviet Years". In his opinion, the Bolsheviks believed that once the society's organizational models are changed, the subconscious relic of that society, that is, religion, should also disappear.

Both A. Streikus and K. Blaževičius stress that of all the USSR occupied territories, Lithuania was the most Catholic country. Up to the occupation, the Church had considerable authority in the eyes of the population. There were many Catholic organizations in Lithuania. The Christian-Democratic party was an influential political power, the Christian press was very popular and widespread among the population, and the national school system nurtured patriotism

whose moral code was formed by Christian values.[10] This was not in harmony with the ideology of the Soviet government. Therefore the influence of the Church was systematically curtailed and its authority was disparaged. The Soviet government was moreover convinced that the Catholic Church supported the partisan resistance movement and morally encouraged them. In the opinion of A. Streikus, the Church at that time could not publicly express its support for the partisan movement because "it would have resulted in an unnecessary, even if heroic suicide of the institution." Also, this author contends that the Church never promoted the use of force in solving rising conflicts, which is why it could not unequivocally bless armed conflict. Also, some bishops were unsure as to the eventual outcome of the resistance and did not wish to provoke a greater armed conflict and a larger number of victims.[11] The differences in values and ideas between the Church and the Soviet authorities are also reflected in the decisions of the latter regarding the Church buildings. As Liudas Truska emphasizes:

> the great attack on the Lithuanian Catholic Church started on July 8, 1948 with the decision of the Council of Ministers to nationalize all houses of religious worship as well as other church buildings and cult accessories <…>. During the following several years, 130 churches were closed, not counting the chapels.[12]

In total, during the 1944–1953 period, 360 priests were arrested and jailed. Between 1948 and 1949, the last of the Catholic monasteries were closed. Starting in 1949, the Vil-

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[10] Blaževičius, "Lietuvos Katalikų Bažnyčia sovietinės okupacijos metais".

[11] Streikus, *Sovietų valdžios antibažnytinė politika Lietuvoje (1944–1990)*, 186, 214.

[12] Truska, *Lietuva 1938–1953 metais*, 81, 82, 171, 172.

nius Archcathedral was closed, the statues of the saints were removed and blown up, and the building began slowly to deteriorate.

A distinctive contribution to the relationship between the Lithuanian Catholic Church and the ideas of Lithuanianism and nationalism was brought about by the liturgical reforms initiated after the Vatican II council in 1963. This development was explored and written about comprehensively by Egidijus Jaseliūnas. In his prepared publication *The Influence of the Decisions of the Vatican II Council on the Formation of Catholic Resistance in Lithuania,* he thoroughly examines the influence of liturgical reforms in opposing the political regime and in fighting for the rights of society and the Church. E. Jaseliūnas indicates that in order to implement the Church's idea of Renewal, the Vatican II council paid much attention to the renewal of the liturgy. According to him, the Soviet authorities allowed these reforms to be implemented in Lithuania because the governing apparatus was convinced that the liturgical reforms which were looked upon skeptically by the majority of the spiritual leaders would not become a reason for more active religious dissidence. The ideas raised by Vatican II of encouraging more participation by the laity in Church activities, as E. Jaseliūnas maintained, notably arose at the end of the seventh decade at the same time as the Eucharistic fellowship movement.

> This movement spread through many areas of Lithuania and included many secular layers of society, although it was aimed mainly at youth. People gathered in small secret groups to study Church and Lithuanian history, the foundations of Christian doctrine, psychology, and issues in personality development.[13]

[13] Jaseliūnas, "Vatikano II Susirinkimo nutarimų įtaka".

It is possible to surmise from the above-mentioned facts that these underground associations also had an influence on reviving religious art.

At the time when Lithuania was going through the period of occupation and religious restrictions, a talented Lithuanian architect named Jonas Mulokas found a favorable creative niche in the Lithuanian community in the United States. It is plausible that J. Mulokas stimulated by nostalgia for his native land started developing an architectural style permeated with folk art motifs. J. Mulokas incorporated into his Church architecture, folk architectural forms and took inspiration from Lithuanian wayside crosses and chapels in creating church bell towers. "The regionalism trend in architecture, a popular idea of national type buildings in the heterogeneous American society, served Lithuanians as a handy device for anchoring their identity," – wrote the art critic R. Andriušytė-Žukienė. J. Mulokas can be considered as one of the most ardent upholders and promoters of the Lithuanian architectural style.[14] In the area of professional architecture, he strove to impart folk art and small architectural motifs. That is why it is not difficult to recognize wayside crosses, chapels and folk crucifix motifs (which the architect also created) in the silhouettes of the churches designed by him. Although J. Mulokas reached for creative inspiration in folk art, he nonetheless was able to portray folk forms in an innovative way in the very monumental medium – masonry. Thus he was able to refute the criticism and skepticism expressed by many of his contemporaries as to the utilization of traditional forms in the area of professional architecture. Historical and traditional traits are intertwined in his creative works. Later, J. Mulokas applied folk styles very successfully while building churches in the modern style. Among some of the most important of his implemented

[14] Andriušytė-Žukienė, "Dailininko V. K. Jonyno kūryba," 157–169.

projects are: the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary's Birth (Švč. Mergelės Marijos Gimimo) in the Marquette Park area of Chicago, IL (1957); the Church of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (Marijos Nekalto Prasidėjimo) in St. Louis, MO (1956); the Church of Christ's Transfiguration (Kristaus Atsimainymo) in the Maspeth area of New York (1962); the Chapel of the Way of the Cross (Kryžiaus Kelio) in Kennebunkport, Maine (1959); and others. While designing the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he "strove to create a monument to the children of the Lithuanian nation who had departed from their homeland."[15] He wanted to build something akin to a Lithuanian church, even though, according to R. Andriušytė-Žukienė's opinion, hardly anyone knew what that Lithuanian church should look like. The art critic believes that Lithuanians often considered this question, referring to the cherished concept of "Lithuanianism" from the Independence years, which involved intertwining iconographic Christian subjects with the country's and nation's historical moments. The works of J. Mulokas are also special in that, perhaps due to his emigration, the architect had the opportunity to extend the tradition of Lithuanian sacral architecture without political or ideological restrictions. His input into the promotion of Lithuanian and traditional architecture is not always adequately valued or observed.

Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas was an artist who worked closely with J. Mulokas and not only created the interior design elements in the churches designed by J. Mulokas, but also designed his own sacral buildings, incorporating in their forms Lithuanian national symbols. It's a known fact that while studying in Paris, V.K. Jonynas also attended architectural classes. V. Sirvydaitė-Rakutienė, who has studied his works, wrote that V.K. Jonynas from 1956 to 1976 created seven sacral architecture

[15] Ibid.

projects, three of which were implemented. He also completed architectural corrections of another course project.[16] Keeping in mind the Lithuanian nation's old cultural traditions and values, V.K. Jonynas drew ideas for his creations from Lithuanian folk art and revealed in new and subtle ways the beauty of folk ornamentation in architectural motifs and decorative details. One of the better known of sacral buildings created by Jonynas is the Chapel of St. Anne in the Amsterdam area of New York (1971). Designated as a memorial, inherent to the chapel's architecture is the modeled composition having monumental characteristics where three vertical pillars are incorporated into the front façade. In the central pillar there is a concave form in which an aluminum sculpture of a seated *Rūpintojėlis* – the Worried Christ – is incorporated. "A small flat roof is raised above the sculpture and a decorative sun is mounted above – a motif taken from a Lithuanian wayside chapel."[17]

The Expression of Lithuanianism's Characteristics in Churches during the Years of Lithuania's Independence

Five decades of political oppression gave rise to dreams of nationhood and lifted the spirit of Lithuanianism, which ultimately led to the restoration of the state. During this long road the role of the Church and the spread of religious thought were very significant. The freedom to be Lithuanian was also understood as freedom to express Christian values. Without a doubt, this could only be possible by developing strong religious communities, whose gathering places would be the church. Half a century of injunctions against the creation of sacral buildings no longer had any power. So it is no wonder that church architecture became an area through which nation-

[16] Sirvydaitė-Rakutienė, "V. K. Jonyno sakralinės architektūros projektai Lietuvos muziejuose".
[17] Ibid.

al identity traits could now be effectively conveyed. However, in time it became clear that the architecture of the newly created shrines was quite variable, with only a small number of the new buildings being created with a link to the traditional folk sacral architecture. In creating church projects, the greater part of the architects demonstrated their ambitions to follow Western Postmodern tendencies. Undoubtedly, that does not go against the grain of Catholic tradition, which clearly emphasized in the liturgical constitution of the Vatican II Council that the Church respects all art styles and does not hold one of them higher than the other. In spite of the fact that this creative freedom caught many Lithuanian architects by surprise, for some the leitmotif of creating sacral space was maintained in the rendering of national and Lithuanian characteristics in the architecture of shrines.

The clearest expression of the themes of Lithuanianism and the fight against tyranny is expressed in the Martyrdom Chapel (Kančios Koplyčia) at Rainiai (Telšiai region). This chapel was created using the sketches of Jonas Virakas made during the interwar period (architects J. Virakas, A. Žebrauskas. The Martyrdom Chapel built in 1991 commemorates the memory of the political prisoners who were martyred there (Radvila, 1994). The chapel's architectural decorations bear clear allusions to folk art, and the decorative artistic creations illustrate the historical meaning of the sacred building's contents. The dominant crucifix motif within the composition of the interior as well as the roof silhouette testify to the importance of the principles of traditionalism and regionalism in the creation of this chapel's architecture. These stylistic characteristics bear resemblance to those seen in the sacral building projects of J. Mulokas in the United States. This chapel in its artistic and memorial significance indicates that historical hardships and endured periods of repression can be understood through the meaning of Christ's suffering. The design of the chapel is in the form

of a Greek cross, a vertical structure with a tower which rises from the central portion, the form of which is similar to those of wayside folk crucifix designs.[18] The interior and exterior were decorated with the sculptures of R. Midvikas: four bronze figures within the tower represent suffering; a contra-relief crucifix in white marble in the interior, where due to effective light design, one gets the impression that the eyes of Christ are following the viewer who is walking through the chapel (Cultural Heritage Register 2). The stained glass windows in the chapel were designed by the Vilnius artist A. Dovydėnas and depict a wreath of suffering. The coloration of the stained glass is especially subdued, since the artist attempted not to compete with the interior of the chapel and at the same time ensure that enough light is conveyed on other art objects within the chapel. In the vault of the chapel, the artist A. Kmieliauskas from Vilnius painted a large fresco depicting the nation's suffering.[19] As in the works of other artists here, Kmieliaukas' fresco is dominated by the theme of suffering, but it is expressed in a non-traditional way. By the entryway, Kmieliauskas painted grisly scenes of torture with allegorical devils as torturers; above the altar, a composition of the Pieta and the Resurrection; a little further, a scene of the partisan battles; above this, several depictions of biblical scenes of Christ's suffering; and within the highest part of the cupola, the Eye of Providence. Here, bright floating spirit figures balance out the torture scenes of Christ and humanity. According to the artist, the fresco intends to emphasize the Resurrection of Christ which in this case symbolizes Lithuania's rebirth. "While painting, I thought that the Martyrdom Chapel could be dedicated to the martyrs of Rainių Forest, and also to all those fighters for Freedom. This sort of memorial was one of the first in Lithuania."[20]

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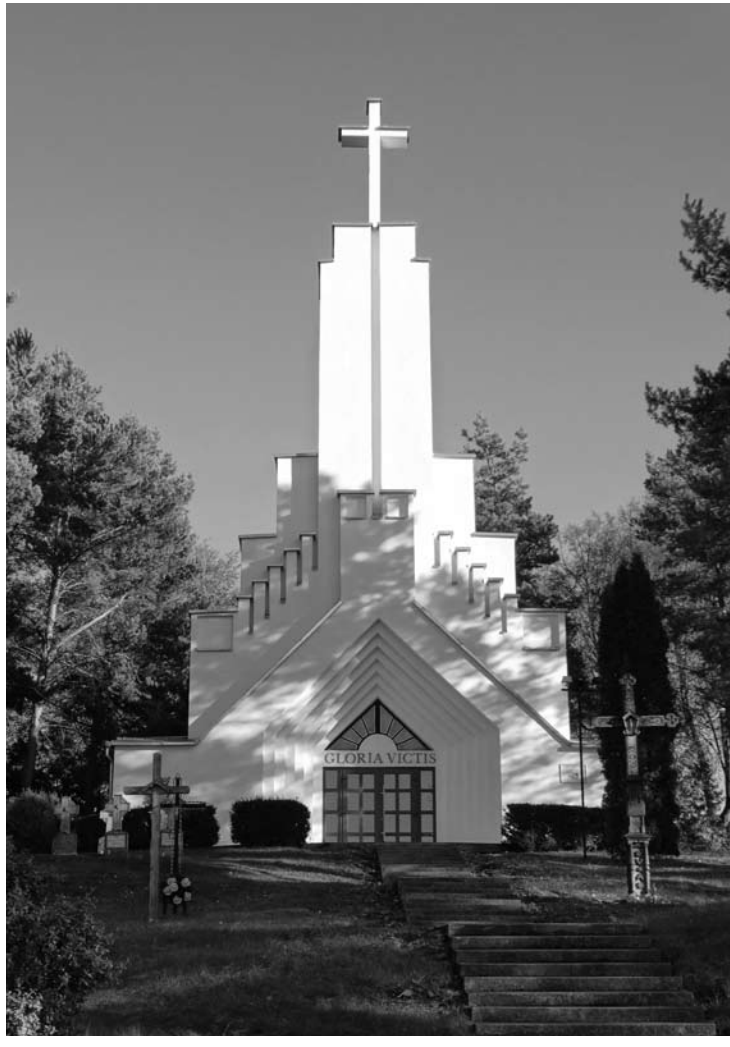
[18] *Kultūros paveldo vertybių registras 1*.
[19] *Kultūros paveldo vertybių registras 2*.
[20] Markauskaitė, *Antanas Kmieliauskas*, 5.



Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of Martyrs Chapel in Utena.

While looking at other Catholic houses of worship built after the regaining of Lithuania's independence, one can notice universal Christian symbolism more often than our country's national traits. That, by no means implies that Lithuanianism's theme was not interesting or relevant to the architects, but since Catholicism is a universal confession, even the architecture of holy places had to heed the universal canons specific to this confession. Nonetheless, due to certain, even though small suggestions, we can notice references to national themes in individual current Lithuanian church buildings. For instance, a building form's monumentality, which in its time was promoted by A. Vivulskis, can also be observed in the interior composition of the Church of the Holy Ghost (architect A. Paulauskas, 1990). The separate areas of the building's interior, as in the Chapel at Šiluva are reminiscent of an obelisk. This impression is further reinforced by the small turrets at the corners of the structure. An even more impressive composition with notched turrets can be seen in the Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of Martyrs Chapel in Utena (architects A. Kuras and A. Remeikis, 1992). In this case, it is not difficult to observe elements of the architectural style favored during the interwar period – the clearly marked symmetry, the incorporation of vertical elements into a rising step-like composition, and use of vertical composition forms for separation elements, all of which was also characteristic of the earlier church projects created by V. Landsbergis-Žemkalnis. Analogous architectural resolutions enriched with Lithuanian folk art motifs can also be seen in the building forms of the Lithuanian Martyrs Church of Domeikava (architects: K. Pempė, A. Asauskas, R. Mulokas, and G. Ramunis, 1993–2002). Here in the massive form of the building, one can find gracefully entwined motifs of Lithuanian wayside chapel forms. This is especially noticeable in the tower and chapel roof silhouettes. In the meantime, somewhat more current artistic measures to convey national characteristics were selected by the architects

A. Zaviša and R. Krištapavičius in 2003 in designing the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary Help of Christians (Švč. Mergelės Marijos Krikščionių Pagalbos) in Nida. Using the contextual scale of the church design and having coordinated the regional architectural motifs with the current interpretations of church towers, the architects proved that sacral architecture can be of high quality from both artistic and functional points of view, even when not using a large spatial scale. The architecture of this church is unique and has clear, even if not straightforward, allusions to national identity. The reed covered roof, the wooden trim, and the external silhouette simply breathe the ancient architectural spirit characteristic of the seashore.

In all the cultures of the world, architecture as an art form represents individual national traditions, as well as ethnographic and cultural identity. In Lithuania, as experienced during various complex historical periods, the tradition of creating sacral buildings reflects this tendency. Based on written facts and illustrations, one can conclude that freedom of religious thought in Lithuania was tightly linked with the country's independence. That is why with the background of historical calamities, constraints on religious thought and on ideas of nationhood, artists were motivated to integrally examine these themes. Not only that, it is obvious that even Catholicism in the long run became treated as part of the cultural self-identity.

Translated by
BIRUTE PENKIUNAS-TAUTVYDAS

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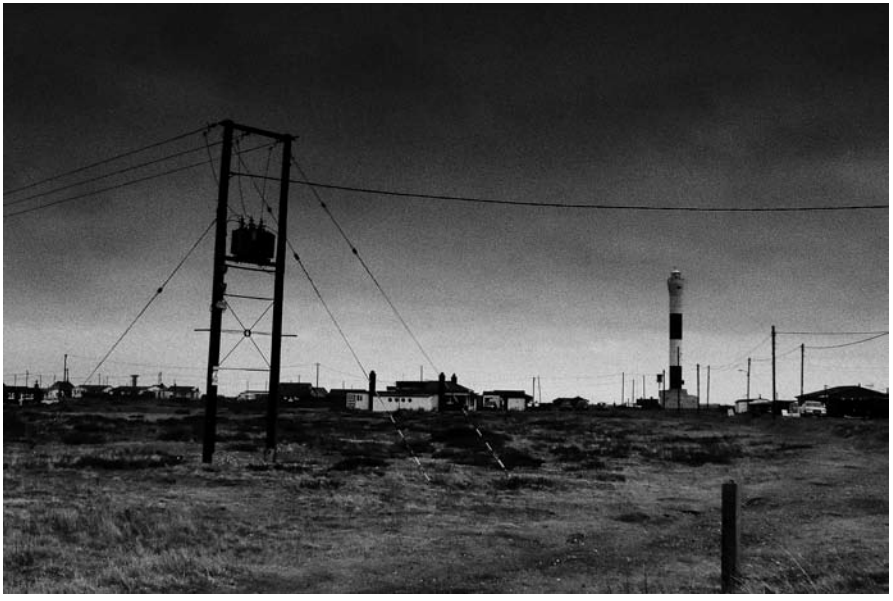
Nellie Vin

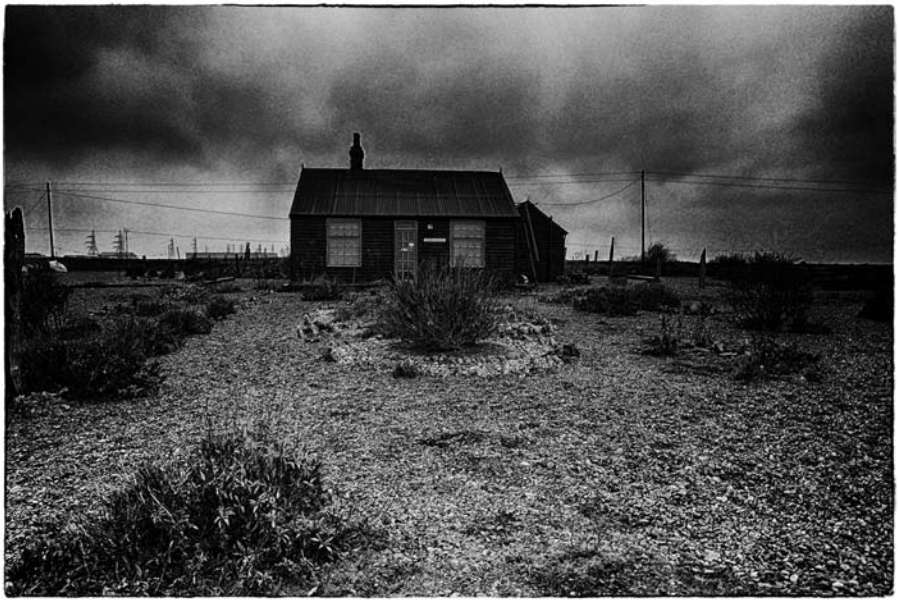
Nellie Vin, born Nijolė Magilaitė, in Klumpės Village, Anykščiai County, Lithuania is a self-trained photographer. She immigrated to the United States in 1996 on an assignment to document life in the USA for Lithuanian television. She enrolled in a photo study course in New York after she received a camera as a birthday present, but found the course too technical and dropped out to pursue the more creative aspects of the field. She spends her time between New York City, London, England, and Lithuania. She had USA residency until 2015 and is waiting to find out about dual citizenship, as she doesn't want to give up her Lithuania affiliation. She is not interested in public notoriety and eschews galleries and exhibitions, preferring to market her work through word of mouth and social media. Among her accomplishments, she is proud to list her work on the cover of National Humanities Medal poet Wendell Berry's book "Leavings." She says about her work, "For me the photography is the feeling, the mood, sensitivity for the subjects or objects. Making a photograph is symbolic. It is a representation, my representation, of how I see the world. I was born in Europe, in a country where we celebrate the sanctity of Nature, revering the Divine in all things; the vast, unknowable spirit that runs through the universe, both seen and unseen..."

Nellie Vin, is a shortening of her married name, Nijolė Vingilienė, for her photo career.

Dungeness is a headland on the coast of Kent. It shelters a large area of low-lying land, Romney Marsh. *This portfolio, Dungeness, has a haunting overtone that speaks to hope and the enigmatic presence of nature and tim*.

Photos from the cycle Dungeness.





The Apparatus of Writers and Four Generations of Writers in Soviet Lithuania

VILIUS IVANAUSKAS

During the Soviet years, artists were affected by the ideology of the time and political demands, so an author's autonomy was limited. The artistic unions, together with other institutions of ideology and inspection, carried out the regulation of the artists; they performed the function of propagating the ruling priorities and supervising the artists. The creative class was formed through membership, privileges, and the supervision of creative works. With the collective conditions of the time, individual artists experienced pressure; however, specific group statutes frequently helped cover an artist (if he was established) if he had deviated slightly from the direction of the government's forbidden "formalism" or "lack of principle." The creative unions of the time and their requirements can be seen as a specific creative apparatus that artists attempted to accommodate themselves to, to adapt to changing circumstances. The Soviet creative apparatus was fairly stable and the cultural processes were stationary; however, this institutional solidity was only one side of the coin. One must look beyond merely the relationship between the artist and the system; different networks and groups of artists, that is, the social circumstances,

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assist in understanding the importance of these groups in the apparatus of art. In examining the effect of these groups, it becomes clear that separate chains of artists formed the dynamic of creation. The apparatus adapted to several chains, and the ideological boundaries slowly changed.

This article utilizes the standpoint of historic and literary sociology (the insights of Evgeny Dobrenko and Ilja Kalinin), in which more attention is paid to separate generations of writers in order to more clearly see the development of their works. The basic thesis is that the generational factor assists in understanding the creative dynamic in the writers' apparatus and in authors' works, as well as the maintenance, discipline and balance between the differing chains. The article examines four of the outstanding generations of writers in the Soviet era and their relationship with the establishment of that era, evaluating their ability to act or to deviate from the priorities of that time. The article relies on studies such as *Rašytojas ir cenzūra* (Writer and censorship) or *Nievienareikšmės situacijos: Pokalbiai apie sovietmečio literatūros lauką* (Ambivalent situations: a conversation about the field of literature during the Soviet era) and the published insights of literature scholars, taking into account the dictates of the system and observations of people's reactions to them, as well as the specific maneuvers of writers and material collected by the author.

Institutional Control

After Stalin's famous 1932 speech in Maxim Gorky's house about writers as "engineers of the soul", a unified Writers Union was promptly founded on the basis of the entire Soviet Union, and a motley of writers' organizations disbanded. The principle of Soviet Realism, which writers were required to follow, was established. When the Soviets occupied Lithuania, this unified system was applied to Soviet Lithuania as well. The structure

of the institutions surrounding Lithuania's writers was made up of several layers: at the center was the Writers Union; on the top, various formulators of cultural policy; on the bottom, the Writers Union employees or organizations that were obviously experiencing its influence (journals and publishing houses); on the side, controlling institutions without policy formation functions. On the level of the Republic, several local institutions had a voice: the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (LCPCC) (particularly the cultural section) as well as the Cultural Ministry or local ideologues with personal influence, such as the Central Committee secretary Kazys Preiškas and the longtime editor of *Tiesa (Truth)*, Genrikas Zimanas. The latter had a great influence in the field of cultural policy and its supervision. The dependent organizations were those the Writers Union supervised directly, who frequently combined their activities with the Writers Union and responded to its management's decisions at meetings, plenums, and conferences.

The table below offers the structure of the institutions surrounding writers' works.

Table 1. The Institutional Structure of the Literary Field

Organization	Functions / responsibilities
Writers Union	▪ Encouragement of writers' work ▪ Formation of literary field ▪ Protection of prioritized areas ▪ Forming and strengthening writers' authority ▪ Material support of literature
Printing and book publishing administration	▪ Formation of prioritized areas and themes ▪ Organization of publishing process ▪ Publication and distribution of works
Editorial departments at journals and newspapers	▪ Spread of writers' works and authority ▪ Literary criticism ▪ Organization of public criticism

Scholarly institutions (VVU, Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute)	▪ Formation of the literary field ▪ Literary criticism and analysis ▪ Strengthening writers' authority ▪ Setting connections with Lithuanians/Lithuanian culture
Radio and broadcast	▪ Spread of writers' works and authority
Other cultural institutions	▪ Collaboration ▪ Participation in understanding priority areas
Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee	▪ Requirements for priority areas ▪ Defining critical points ▪ General ideological supervision
Glavlitas (censor)	▪ Supervision of publication process and censorship ▪ Supervision/censorship of other processes of creative works and approaches

The relationship between all of them was not just regulated and controlled, as the controllers were in the creative organizations as well, e.g., sometimes the internal censorship appeared stronger. This control was diverse; it had many junctures and was sometimes particularly depersonalized and bureaucratic. Here Vytautas Kavolis's concept of the "factory procedure" can be applied to explain the ideological and political context of the time.[1]

Administration Networks

The administration of the Writers Union and the editorial staff of the publications belonging to it or other related organizations was fairly clearly a part of the cultural nomenclature. Most often it was people trusted by the government who also had authority among writers.

[1] Kavolis, "Tvarkos paradigmos: gamta, fabrikas, menas," 183–214.

Table 2. Leaders of the Writers Union and Associated Offices

Writer's Union chairmen	**"Literatūros ir Meno" editors**	**"Pergalės" editors**	**Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute directors**
Kostas Korsakas (1944–1945)	Jonas Šimkus (1946–1949)	Juozas Pajaujis (1942)	Kostas Korsakas (1952–1984); 1946–1952 – Lithuanian Literature Institute Director
Petras Cvirka (1945–1947)	Vacys Reimeris (1949–1969)	Kostas Korsakas (1943–1944)	Jonas Lankutis (1984–1992)
Jonas Šimkus (1948–1954)	Vytautas Radaitis (1969–1975)	Petras Cvirka (1945)	
Antanas Venclova (1954–1959)	Osvaldas Aleksa (1975–1985)	Juozas Baltušis (1946–1954)	
Eduardas Mieželaitis (1959–1970)	Antanas Drilinga (1985–1988)	Jonas Šimkus (1954–1958)	
Alfonsas Bieliauskas (1970–1976)	Leonidas Jacinevičius (1989–1990)	Vladas Mozūriūnas (1958–1964)	
Alfonsas Maldonis (1976–1988)		Algimantas Baltakis (1964–1976; 1985–1990)	
Vytautas Martinkus (1988–1994)		Juozas Macevičius (1976–1985)	

It would be appropriate to single out the two most important periodicals that were the channel for the dominant line of literature (or even of other artistic areas) or the strengthening of ideological boundary markers. The periodical *Literatūra ir menas* (Literature and Art) began publication during the war years in Moscow (for some time the Writers Union published it to-

gether with the Art Council). In 1968, *Literatūra ir menas* became the common publication of all the republic's creative unions, although the writers' influence was decisive, particularly since its editors were usually writers. Another important publication of the Writers Union was the journal *Pergalė,* which also began publication during the war years and became an important platform for trying out new ideas, for pulling young or beginning artists into literature, and for the filtering of risky works.

The Processes of Publication and Censorship

In 1980, the writer Juozas Baltušis admitted the danger lurking in literature:

> ...working in literature, particularly when taking your first steps, you must be careful to not write about what you don't know well, what you are not deeply convinced of. Too much daring brings as much misfortune as cowardice. Caution, and rather a great deal of it, is needed, not just in your work, but also when confronting creative failure.[2]

It wasn't just ideological reasons, a writer's talent, or the nature of the relationship between writers and the leading writers or publishers that had an influence on the process of publication; there were purely bureaucratic reasons as well. For example, it has been observed more than once that while there was various bargaining going on, explanations of the circumstances, and self-protection, it frequently happened during the year-long publication process that the manuscript was actively worked on only approximately twenty percent of the time, and the rest of the time the manuscript would lie around while the editors and reviewers created a "self-protection" situation, and the writers themselves

[2] Lipskis, *Interviu su rašytojais,* 75.

went along with them and agreed to corrections, as they wanted their work to be published. For this reason, besides the institutional structure, it is important to see the processes of inspecting the work, which actively exerted pressure on the writer and his control, and which, incidentally, occurred in a constantly changing ideological-cultural space, particularly in the post-Stalin time period.[3] Inquiring into the publication of a work as the most basic process, for example, reveals the institutional structure's division of responsibilities, the basic points of inspection and its scale, the question of writers' status, the variations working on the dynamics of the distribution of the work, and the following Soviet criteria for works raised during the entire process: 1) the question of ideological content, 2) the work's urgency and 3) the work's quality and the artist's talent. As time goes on these criteria changed.

It is appropriate to characterize the stages of the publication's process. 1) The preparation of the text occurs at the author's own initiative, however, in different time periods the authors would feel varying pressure, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker. To announce a work and to write was required not just because of the necessity of justifying a writer's status as a member or candidate for membership in the Writers Union, but also because of the required understanding of works as a means of ideology. The practice of preparing and printing at least one significant work (a collection, story or novel) per year became established. Under the conditions of totalitarianism, authors were inclined to carefully investigate the allowed boundaries, so they frequently undertook self-censorship. The journalist and poet Aleksas Dabulskis remembered self-control this way:

> Since I had consciously decided not to return to the labor camps in Mordovia, my INSIDE labored mercilessly, never closing its eyes. When some sharper word sprung out, the text was imme-

[3] Dobrenko, Kalinin, *A History of Russian Literary Theory*, 187.

> diately destroyed, crossed out or thrown away. The editors of publishing houses and periodicals pretty much had no need to dirty their hands. If some little discussion occurred, I wouldn't jump in their face; I would give in with a laugh. My creative ambitions had long since been crushed.[4]

When an author would present a manuscript to a publisher, the editorial staff was assigned to an "inside" review, and offered observations about how to improve it. However, the reviewer could be the person who began a concrete oppression of the author and the escalation of "errors" if the work appeared "dangerous." There would be an effort to keep ideological requirements in mind; authoritative writers, poets and critics were assigned to be reviewers. The editor and censor essentially continued the "inside" reviewer's work of evaluating the work's appropriateness in the ideological and artist sense. The editor also evaluated how the writer handled the observations from the inside review. If the author and editors had a good relationship, the observations enabled him or her, in certain cases, to refrain from publishing the work. As the writer Vytautas Bubnys said:

> The editors at *Pergalė* or *Vaga* (I cannot say about any of them that they were very benevolent) knew very well what was allowed and what wasn't, and when they wanted to edit out a little ideologically "sinful" spot, they often cleverly took to proving that it wasn't artistic, that it didn't suit the context, and that everything was clear as it was without that paragraph or couple of sentences.[5]

The editor of the journal *Pergalė*, Algimantas Baltakis, described his feelings of responsibility and psychological difficulty at the time in a letter to his colleague Eduardas Miežalaitis in 1969:

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4 Dabulskis, "Ir smaugiamas pripranti," 37.
5 Bubnys, "Basom per aštrius akmenis," 16.

> Dear Eduardas! That chair is not for me. I actually feel it physically. I can learn anything, a dog gets accustomed to being hung, but I'll never manage to coerce another person, particularly my fellow writers, even though I've had to do this more than once. For some reason, it's unbearable—and it's over. Even more so, since I don't always have business with people I could undoubtedly call our ideological enemies. It wouldn't be hard to work and make categorical decisions, if you could divide everyone into just two categories: here's an enemy, and here's a friend, although there have been cases like that. Unfortunately, most people are so mixed, and you carry such contradictory things within yourself, that you often start doubting if you acted correctly in making one or another decision. And when it happens that I have to reject some work all the same, I ruin my mood for a long time. The thought that I've caused another person xxxx in the soul.[6]

The literature critic Solveiga Daugirdaitė has observed that in post-Soviet research and in the memoirs of the writers themselves, images of the editor as "the cowardly hand of censorship" and the "brave writer" are not always justifiably distinguished, although many situations show that this is a too-schematic, one-sided evaluation.[7] In reality, editors (or publishing houses' directors) were very different; some actively took on the role of supervising ideology (for example, Icchokas Gurvičius, Algirdas Pekeliūnas, Aldona Mickienė), others were more flexible and carefully coordinated proof-reading with the author (Aleksandras Žirgulys, Dominykas Urbas, Aldona Liobytė, Aušra Sluckaitė, Jonas Čekys, Donata Linčiuvienė), helped them improve the professionalism (the structure and composition) of texts with an ideological standpoint.[8] In other words, the writers themselves were, not infrequently, inclined to make compromises. The literature critic Petras

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6 Baltakis to Mieželaitis. September 29, 1969.
7 Daugirdaitė, "Draugas redaktorius," 31–56.
8 Ibid.

Bražėnas similarly characterized the unevenly formed connection between writers and editors in the post-Stalin years:

> Imagine: some editor is sitting there, and he can pretend that he doesn't notice the Aesopian language, the hints, allusions or some other more obvious declarations—that is one variation, it will pass. Another [editor – author's note] is already on the scent, has this term like "inner censorship," and without even waiting for what the other will say, comes out with it first, just so nothing will go wrong. A third truly enjoys directing, to catch something Soviet, left over from post-war fields.[9]

Censorship was a unique selective intervention in the publication process that took place with differing intensities; some authors were checked more carefully, others, the more trustworthy, were censored less. The censors relied on specific established criteria and their own experience. In this phase, a work of literature could be edited or entirely thrown out. On the basis of the inner review, just as much as the editor's or censor's observations, an individual work could be discussed in a Writers Union committee or even a board meeting, as well as become part of the other material collected about a writer's activities.

However, the most important phase was the publication. The essential role here was played by the editorial staff of the publishing house, journal, or newspaper. The publishing system itself was supervised by the Publishing and Printing Trades Soviet, formed in 1945, whose function was taken over by the Press Committee in the 1960s, which was established to oversee book publishing, printing, and the book trade. Ten years later, this committee was renamed the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's Council of Ministers Government Publishing, Printing and Book Trade Committee. Although this committee was important

[9] Interview with Petras Bražėnas.

in the administrative sense, in the long run separate publishing houses such as Vaga (until 1965 called a literary publisher), Minties, which published scholarly literature, and others obtained a particularly strong influence; their directors determined the real direction of publishing. Besides these, some periodical publications – newspapers and journals – were also significant. Besides providing reviews of creative works, they also printed literary works. The journal *Pergalė* was particularly important, as it became a trampoline for younger authors and for trying out ideas, as well as a unique testing ground for trying out works the publishing houses planned to release, checking the reactions of readers, ideologues, and critics.

The next phase was the distribution of the work. A work's reach depended on the size of the edition, how it was distributed, if it was available in all libraries, and whether it was written about in cultural publications. Writers such as Eduardas Mieželaitis, Justinas Marcinkevičius, Jonas Avyžius, Grigorijus Kanovičius, and Vytautas Bubnys had experts and propagators of their works beyond the boundaries of the republic and could also rely on the work of the Lithuanian literature commission of the USSR Writers Union.

The Censorship Environment and its Results

Soviet censorship was multi-staged; it began with an individual's self-control, was furthered by the editors at publications and crowned by the institution responsible for censorship, Glavlitas.

Censorship could be applied to repeated verifications and analysis, to the removal of works from the distribution network, and to limiting the book's availability. The public reactions of Party ideologues and of other writers and critics after the work was published was also important. However, reactions to sharp criticism was particularly painful; periodically,

literary critics (for example, Vytautas Kubilius and Ričardas Pakalniškis) were themselves criticized in writers' meetings. A complicated situation would arise if a work was criticized from an ideological-Party position, noticing its "ideological errors." In the Stalin years, this meant complete marginalization, however, even in later years this kind of criticism (by the ideologues Zimanas and Albertas Laurinčiukas, for example) would have serious consequences. The most influential writers (Mieželaitis, Marcinkevičius, Avyžius, Baltušis) had their constant critics (Algimantas Bučys, Vitas Areška, Kazys Ambrasas, and others) who functioned more as propagators and publicists than as literary analysts. The system of control was constructed in such a way that other colleagues – writers and critics – would have their say first, and only then would be supplemented by criticism "from above." This many-layered system was revealed by Oleg Kharkhordin's research into the specific character of Soviet individualism and observations on the collective supervision formerly used.[10] However, besides the control exercised by colleagues and critics, the work had still to go through serious bureaucratic censorship, embodied primarily by the Soviet Glavlitas. It had a much wider field of province than just the appraisal of works. Censorship covered published books, journals, and the checking of other publication's contents, as well as applying renewed requirements to works that had already been published. In other words, there was no guarantee that today's suitable work wouldn't be recognized as unsuitable tomorrow, taken out of bookstores and libraries and turned over to special repositories (*specfondai*). The KGB and sections of the Central Committee also executed additional inspections; creative work experienced more than a routine control – writers would end up in separate campaigns of investigation or inspection.

[10] Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia*, 287.

Four Generations of Writers and Their Ties to the Establishment

In spite of the official creative apparatus, the groupings of writers themselves and competing regulations were also significant, as they created additional control and the propagation of ideas, or else a mechanism for supporting creators. Using this point of view, it is possible to discern and investigate four different groups of writers from different time periods.

The First Generation

When the Soviet government took over, the nucleus of the *trečiafrontininkai* (members of the Third Front), along with additional literati who had matured in Moscow during the war, became the axis of the post-war Soviet Writers Union, which others then joined. The most influential and notable writers were Petras Cvirka, Antanas Venclova, Liudas Gira, Kostas Korsakas, and Jonas Šimkus, as well as Salomėja Nėris, using her cultural capital, and writers such as Juozas Baltušis and Valerija Valsiūnienė, or the young Vacys Reimeris, Vladas Mozūriūnas, and Mieželaitis, who also were among those who had retreated into the depths of the USSR; some had distinguished themselves before the war. It was the Third Front generation of Korsakas and Venclova, and those like the younger cohort of Baltušis and Aleksys Churginas who essentially joined them, who began to legitimize the Soviet government. Their grounds were the creation of a new socialist milieu. Other writers, those who had been recognized before the war but were of a more moderate outlook, were pulled into their circle. The ranks of the more influential literati who retreated to the West, or the writers who were arrested or whose output was otherwise restricted, were quickly filled by the younger generation or somewhat older, previously almost unknown literati, or simply people who had demonstrated activity in the literary field. The

Zhdanov campaign and the deaths of individual writers somewhat re-rated the influence of writers and escalated ideologists such as Aleksandras Gudaitis-Guzevičius, Teofilis Tilvytis, and Romas Šarmaitis. However, the leftists from the period between the wars, with Venclova in the lead, held sway until the end of the sixth decade, when leadership was shared with the intervening generation of Eugenijus Matuzevičius, Mieželaitis, Reimeris, and Mozūriūnas. They were dependent on their older colleagues until the middle of the 1950s, were relatively fragmented, and essentially bound themselves to the first Soviet writers' generation. It is rather difficult to say that the younger literati – younger than Mieželaitis – drawn in during the second half of Stalinism were a noticeably new cohort, although at the time they were called "the young ones." In 1952, Venclova introduced them thusly:

> An entire group of talented young writers have come into our literature: Mykolas Sluckis, Jonas Avyžius, Antanas Jonynas, Kazys Marukas, Antanas Pakalnis, Jonas Macevičius, Vytautas Kubilius, Alfonsas Bieliauskas, Vytautas Radaitis, Vladas Grybas, and others. The young writers are particularly active in developing the theme of collectivization in our prose.[11]

Although at the end of Stalinism it appeared that this generation would be the "young wave" replacing the older writers, and at first famous for their belligerent activism, its members nevertheless did not occupy the ruling posts. For a certain time its members were informally known as the "red bohemians."[12] Antanas Jonynas's son, Antanas A. Jonynas, remembering his father, maintained that the writers around him didn't just like the bohemian life; they were also injured:

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[11] Stenogram of the meeting of Lithuanian Soviet writers. December 26, 1952.

[12] Interview with Algimantas Baltakis. July 21, 2010.

> That bohemianism got in the way of developing their careers and earning trust. That generation came from very complex surroundings and were heavily broken. They had already managed to experience a number of trials. As a generation they weren't able to occupy important positions, you could call them the "broken generation."[13]

One of the outstanding poets of this generation, Vladas Grybas, committed suicide in 1954 when he was barely twenty-seven years old. A part of these artists joined the older ones (for example, Jonynas and Macevičius), others (for example, Luckis, Avyžius, Bieliauskas) joined a slightly younger wave of artists, Justinas Marcinkevičius's "30th" generation, which shaped the post-Stalin cultural field.

The Second Generation

Khrushchev's "thaw" created a somewhat freer atmosphere, new rules and new priorities in the field of literature. As Dobrenko and Kalinin observed, in the post-Stalin period the new generation of authors were actively supported, while the old writers/bureaucrats were slowly pushed out.[14] During this period in Lithuania, the "30th" generation and its representatives who emerged in the 70s – Marcinkevičius, Baltakis, and Alfonsas Maldonis – became the most influential. Their older colleagues practically identified with them, – Mieželaitis, gliding between several generations and for a period this younger generation's patron, and similarly Sluckis, Avyžius, Macevičius,[15] Bieliauskas (who later skirmished with the others) or somewhat younger writers (for example, Bubnys) and other writers closer to them. In essence these two cohorts are a unique cipher for the field of the Soviet

[13] Interview with Antanas A. Jonynas. April 16, 2015.
[14] Dobrenko, Kalinin, "Literary criticism during the Thaw," 187.
[15] Mitaitė, "Juozas Macevičius: ištikimybė savajai kartai ir sau," 93–107.

era's ideology and society's inclusion. The older generation had adapted to the Stalinist epoch, while the so-called "30th" generation became the generation of the thaw. If the older generation helped justify the Soviet rule, then the "30th" generation helped localize this system, to fill the local sphere and the channels of the "friendship of nations" with symbols of ethnic Lithuania, which the entire society identified with. This patriotic course became significant on the level of the Sąjūdis movement.[16]

This generation was exceptional because of its experience, as well as because of the change in the system and the epoch, which shaped its sudden emergence at the top of the establishment. As a representative of the younger generation, Vladas Braziūnas, observed: "It doesn't always happen that way, that the work of your very youth becomes a unique classic, as happened to the generation of Marcinkevičius and Baltakis."[17]

The changes brought by the thaw and the recognition received also shaped this generation's ability to successfully maneuver in the system. Baltakis became the editor of the journal *Pergalė* and Marcinkevičius the deputy chairman of the Writers Union; Bieliauskas, the chairman of the Writers Union was their patron. He was later replaced by Maldonis, who was a close friend and classmate of Marcinkevičius and Baltakis. Because of the popularity of his historic dramas, Marcinkevičius in time became the dominant poet of the "Lithuanian people." The "30th" generation consolidated its position in the Soviet establishment and held this influence right up until the Singing Revolution of the 1990s. They dominated printed books and were included in syllabuses. A few years before the creation of Sąjūdis, in 1986, the critic Ambrasas named the current established authorities: "At least for the time being, Baltušis or Avyžius, Mieželaitis or Marcinkevičius, seem unreachable to

[16] Dobrenko, Kalinin, "Literary criticism during the Thaw," 193–195.
[17] Interview with Vladas Braziūnas. May, 2014.

me."[18] This generation, compared with the older one, could manifest itself on the level of the Union; they had friends in the other republics from their early years,[19] and this made them practically untouchable.

The Third and Fourth Generations

To the third generation, born before, during, or after the war, the post-Stalin years were not the same as for the second generation. This generation never came to dominate the establishment, however, by the end of the Soviet years, through their fame and acknowledgement by the public they nearly equaled the second generation. It expressed its claims to a larger role beginning in the seventh decade. In 1986, Baltakis acknowledged that Sigitas Geda's debut was particularly outstanding.[20] The representatives of this generation (Geda, Marcelijus Martinaitis, Jonas Strielkūnas, Bronius Radzevičius, and others) had a considerable influence on the public's imagination, particularly in further extending the theme of ethnic nostalgia in more modern forms. This, Sigita Geda's generation, although they frequently continued their older colleagues' direction in the sense of content, via means of rather modern poetic expressions varying between traditional and modernist forms, risked the tested boundaries. The critic Rimantas Kmita has observed that "Geda as a poet felt himself a unique instrument of tradition, rearranging the cultural world, creating out of a reserve of experience and recollections, memory, and a nearly platonic sense of beginning ideas."[21] He also ascribed a frequently characteristic rebelliousness in his work and public behavior, which was frequently nevertheless

[18] Inis, *Dešimt klausimų rašytojams,* 16.
[19] Ibid., 43.
[20] Ibid., 45.
[21] Kmita, "Pyktis kaip kultūrinė kategorija," 61.

accompanied by a hidden declaration of loyalty to the system, a unique maneuvering through the existing boundaries.[22]

It is even more difficult to characterize the resemblance between them and a still younger generation. In 1986, Maldonis, the then chairman of the Writers Union, spoke at a conference about the new wave of writers and poets – those who had debuted with a first book in the last five years: Romas Daugirdas, Dalia Dubickaitė, Dalia Kudžmaitė, Gintaras Dabrišius, Jonas Liniauskas, Vladas Braziūnas, Julija Jakentaitė, Ramūnas Kasparavičius, Edmondas Kelmickas, Paulina Žemgulytė, Tautvyda Marcinkevičiūtė, Bronius Ribokas, Vytautas Venclova, Markas Zingeris, Vaidotas Daunys, Angelė Jankauskytė, M. Miliauskaitė, and others.[23] This generation of writers was even more eclectic, marked by a larger inner line and a plethora of creative discourses. Its most outstanding examples – Antanas A. Jonynas, Vytautas Rubavičius, Gintaras Patackas, Braziūnas, Ričardas Gavelis, and Saulius Tomas Kondrotas – were not so stressed, differed between themselves, and in their works were most often oriented not just towards the lost ethnicity and country life, but often towards a more organic psychology of the city than the older generation. True, the representatives of this generation were sometimes reminded that they had learned how to relate to a millennium of folk traditions from their older colleagues, and to avoid fragmentation, as purportedly youth lacked a feeling for the whole, an integrated world view that helped to orient themselves in the contemporary world.[24] They were reminded of the common characteristics of the second and third generation: "to delve into a concrete historical sphere and into the more universal mystery of man's fate," in other words, to see

[22] Kmita, „Maištas „brandaus socializmo" sąlygomis," 80–98.
[23] Maldonis, Alfonsas reporting to Congress of Lithuanian Soviet writers. March 12–13, 1986, 62.
[24] Ibid., 63.

the nation's present in a wider historical context.[25] As Kmita observed, some of the representatives of the fourth generation (Kondrotas and Gavelis) wrote their first works completely detached from tradition, as if they had been from Latin America or some other region and didn't connect themselves with tradition and the need to lean on their roots.[26] Creative variety was characteristic of this generation. One of its representatives, Kondrotas, emigrated to the West. Asked about the influence that literary tradition had on him, he stressed that he did not orient himself towards local writers, but learned and was continuing to learn from world literature.[27] The literary scholar Imelda Vedrickaitė, analyzing Kondrotas's novels, observed the surreal expression, characteristic of his work, taken from the West:

> Delving into man's downfall, repentance, the menace of the world justifying man's animalistic element, the connection between eroticism and insanity, Kondrotas approached the thematic horizon of the surrealists. In his prose he opened a literary revolution against the socialist utopian "reality."[28]

In 1986, the Writers Union chairman Maldonis pointed out the searching apparent in the young writer Kondrotas's writings (the novels *Žalčio žvilgnis* and *Apsiniauks žvelgiantys per langą*), which was a challenge to inert portrayals and at the same time marked by an excessive faith in a playful style.[29] The literary scholar Jūratė Čerškutė, relying on material found in Gavelis's archives, concluded that the method of the nar-

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[25] Ibid., 42.
[26] Interview with Rimantas Kmita. April 9, 2014.
[27] Inis, *Dešimt klausimų rašytojams,* 185.
[28] Vedrickaitė, "Siurrealistinė galios," 101–126.
[29] Maldonis, Alfonsas reporting to Congress of Lithuanian Soviet writers. March 12–13, 1986, 32.

rative construction of this author's unusual and best-known work *Vilniaus Pokeris* was adapted from Akira Kurosawa's film *Rashomon*.[30] She noticed this connection while investigated Gavelis's archive and a letter to Leo Ray of Jan. 27, 1980, in which he mentions using the influence of Rashomon: "let *Vilniaus pokeris* be the quintessence of all of this phantasmagoria."

Incidentally, the fourth generation of writers differed in that they were considerably less combative than those before them. "You are all so friendly, united, and no one's climbing over one another," the poet Bražiūnas remembered an observation of the older generation.[31] In addition, this generation was characterized by individual author's searchings together with a certain sense of commonality. The writers belonging to it had fewer encounters with the censors and control, although they didn't entirely avoid it, either.

The Typology of the Generations and its Influence on Literature's Dynamics

The typical characteristics of the generations are summarized in Table 3, presenting their relationship with the system and their contribution and place in the sphere of Lithuanian soviet literature.

Table 3. Typical Characteristics of the Generations.

Generation	Typical characteristics
"Bringers of Stalin's sun" / former Third Front	Had close ties to the period between the wars, but represented the leftist intellectual wing; looked rather positively at the USSR. Helped legitimize the Soviet system. Fell under the Zhadanov Doctrine.

[30] Čerškutė, "Ričardo Gavelio *Vilniaus pokeris*," 81–100.
[31] Interview with Vladas Braziūnas. May, 2014.

Lithuania's "Sixtiers" born in the 1930s (the "30th" generation)	Educated after the war; made their career during Khrushchev's Thaw. Presented a new stimulus to literature / guided Lithuanian literature out of a dead end. Actively joined in the positioning of Lithuanian particularism. Became the dominant generation up until independence.
Generation born during and after the war: the "young modernists"	Challenged the Sixtiers. More open to new forms of expression. Never became the dominant generation in the establishment, but with their fame and public acknowledgement by the end of the Soviet years almost equaled the second generation.
The generation born in the 1950s: the "worry-free searchers"	Writers who began their careers at the end of the Soviet years.

Every generation would find their own modernism, each sought to transform literature. Creative innovation was one of the elements that exposed the ability of authors, separate groups, or a generation of authors to have an influence on literature's renewal and revealed what kind of innovation could be supported and what kind would be marginalized. Changing time periods used to bring new innovators and waves of modernism, which, as time passed, would most often be normalized and brought into the system; the relationship between the generations would eventually heal.

During the Stalin years, the majority of cultural workers who wanted to remain on top had to demonstrate an obvious leaning towards the Soviet system, to avoid risky creative ideas, especially since all of the basic means necessary for carrying out Communist indoctrination were created during this period. In the meantime, the Khrushchev divide was important from the stance of new aspirations. The modernism of Mieželaitis's work *Žmogus* was considered a standard of innovation, a reflection of Soviet humanism, even Moscow writers praised it. For example, the Russian poet Robert Rozhdestvensky spoke of "the Mieželaitization of Russian poetry." Other influential innovators were presented

the same way, for example, the representative of the stream-of-consciousness direction, Sluckis. They, as well as Marcinkevičius's cohort, being at the top of the establishment, found it easier to express Soviet modernism because of their influence; however, the representatives of the younger generation collided with the limits more often. In spite of the context of the thaw, during the Khrushchev years it lacked a clear direction — the modernists' breakthroughs would encounter a response. For example, at the beginning of April in 1963 at a discussion of creative workers at the Russian Drama Theater, Lithuanian writers were criticized, particularly the writer Romualdas Lankauskas and the artists Saulė Kisarauskienė, Vincas Kisarauskas, and Birutė Žilytė. The modernist impetuosity of the younger generation is visible in the second half of the 1960s (for example, Geda's particularly outstanding debut). On the other hand, their younger colleagues themselves frequently did not avoid intensifying the tension. For example, Geda avoided some of his acknowledged colleagues:

> Like a good strategist, Geda has not shown a single gesture of respect to the best poets, but at the same time has not avoided wrestling with them. [Genius] Strazdas, Antanas Baranauskas and [Kazys] Binkis were individuals which whom Geda's relationship was almost entirely positive. His reception of Maironis or Mieželaitis was much more complicated, but apparently it was most stressful with those poets whose position in the Lithuanian pantheon is still unclear and will unavoidably be adjusted in the near future: Alfonsas Nyka-Niliūnas, Tomas Venclova, Justinas Marcinkevičius, and others. Geda needed strong opponents because only in battle does power manifest itself.[32]

The fourth generation was also marked by modernism. However, compared to the debut of the third generation, a cer-

[32] Kmita, "Pyktis kaip kultūrinė kategorija," 67–68.

tain expression of modernism in the second half of the 1980s was already routine. There was also no striking tension or strain with the older generation. Radzevičius, a representative of the third generation, remembers:

> Let it be forgiven if I somewhat nostalgically state that we, the middle and in part the younger generation, seemingly floundered in a large sea of life, knowledge, and undefined possibilities: the sense of the depths numbed and frightened us. (Who knows if that was characteristic of many people of the older generation?) But we had to imbue other feelings, too, that some of those younger than us already had (Rubavičius, Kondrotas): the depth is not that deep and the sea is not that wide. We had to acquire a sense of limits, without which we would sink and sink into history and mythology; a sense of the ground and reality, we had to shake off that beautiful nebulous fluffiness.[33]

The third and fourth generations avoided tension between themselves (particularly since not a single one managed to take a dominant position in the writers' establishment); however, the boundaries remained. The somewhat older generation sought to emphasize their distinction, similar to how the second generation did earlier with the third. This is particularly clear in the case of Geda:

> Geda dismissed the younger generation nearly in its entirety, upbraiding them for a lack of erudition, unfamiliarity with language, etc. <...> It seems that Geda's attitude and relationship with other players in the sphere of literature suits Mickūnas's words: "the fear to lose power and future significance."[34]

Translated by ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

[33] Inis, *Dešimt klausimų rašytojams*, 295.
[34] Kmita, "Pyktis kaip kultūrinė kategorija," 56–72.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Ruta Sepetys. *Salt to the Sea*. New York: Philomel,
2016. 391 pages.
ISBN 9780399160301.

Ruta Sepetys tells the compelling tale of three teens during the last months of World War II. They are fleeing their war-torn homelands, just ahead of the advancing Soviet army. Joana is Lithuanian, Emilia is Polish, and Florian is Prussian. The fourth, Alfred, is a young German sailor in the port of Pillau. All are realistic, enticing characters. Each has their own story, revealed over the course of the novel. The three meet, befriend each other, and travel together through a devastated East Prussia. Sepetys follows their compelling stories with exacting and wrenching detail. They face hunger, homelessness, deception, bombings, shootings, and looting. There's even an embedded spy story about the disappearance of the Amber Room. Together they form a bond, ensuring their mutual survival. All four eventually sail across the Baltic on the ill-fated Wilhelm Gustloff. Three of them survive the sinking of the ship, while many of their companions are sadly lost at sea, including Alfred.

The historical fiction is based on the real lives of a handful of teenagers and young adults. They boarded and survived the Wilhelm Gustloff. Sepetys' characters are fictionalized composites of these survivors. Their horrors

come from historic memoirs of East European refugees. The destruction of the Wilhelm Gustloff is, of course, a major secret of World War II. Post-war Germany ignored even the shining moments of its Nazi past, while the Soviets, of course, hid their torpedoing of a refugee rescue ship. Sepetys felt compelled to honor it since it is the largest naval disaster in history.

The novel is written for teenagers. Chapters are short, sentences are crisp, and the action moves quickly. The novel alternates between four first-person points of view. Each of the characters tells their experiences from their own perspective. The same incidents sometimes repeat in quick succession, told by two or three different characters, giving the reader a more complete perspective of the event. Alfred's segments are often expressed in letters to and from his mother and his girlfriend. In spite of the target audience, the narrative is non-linear: the reader is forced to produce meaning from the fragmentary episodes.

Sepetys' previous historical novel *Between Shades of Gray* (not to be confused with *Fifty Shades of Gray*) made it to the New York Times best seller list. It has been translated into any number of languages. It is scheduled to be released as a motion picture, *Ashes in the Snow*, in 2016.

Salt to the Sea is a must-read. It realistically condenses end-of war-refugee tragedies into an action-packed adventure. Sepetys is a talented and enticing author. Be prepared for a great story about life, filled with hope, heart break, and friendship.

VILIUS RUDRA DUNDZILA

Helga Merits, prod. *The Story of the Baltic University*.
Merits Productions, 2015. 52 minutes.
www.balticuniversity.info

The Baltic University provided a college education to 1200 Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian war refugees from 1946 to 1949. 170 professors, also refugees themselves, served as the faculty. The university graduated 76 students.

The film documents the oral history of the university. It combines archival photographs and footage with interviews of still-living alumnae. The documentary was released in time for the 70th anniversary of the university. Consequently, the interviewees are in their 80s and 90s. All of the faculty and most of the students have passed away in the intervening decades.

After World War II, displaced persons sought to reestablish a semblance of normal life, including their educational aspirations. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) offered barely minimal support for the Baltic University. Commensurate with a post-war economy, food was rationed, clothing inadequate, and electricity unreliable. Watery vegetable soup, sometimes bread, and occasionally margarine were the staple diet. Students worked in the kitchens and as janitors to maintain their campus. They carried their own chairs between the dorms, mess hall, and classrooms. Firewood served as presents for any occasion. Faculty and students lived together in unheated military barracks, sometimes bunking together to stay warm.

Educational resources were also limited: textbooks nonexistent and notebooks scarce. Faculty taught from memory with blackboards and chalk. Pencils were whittled down to toothpick length. The oral exam was very stressful. After the first semester, the university was moved from Hamburg to a better physical campus in Pinneberg. Classes were generally taught in German, but also Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian, if

the professor did not speak German. The students quickly became bilingual, sometimes even trilingual (Latvians and Lithuanians could learn each other's languages without much difficulty, in contrast to Estonian). Gradually, some students transferred to German universities, while many emigrated abroad.

Students created a vibrant cultural life with fraternities, scouts, singing, dancing, parties, and inter-ethnic sports, especially volleyball. Weekend excursions took students to the countryside. Some even visited the opera house in Hamburg. Couples fell in love, got engaged, and were married.

The few, lucky students who attended the Baltic University developed life-long friendships. Each of the three ethnic groups created their own alumnae clubs. With decreasing frequency, they met for major anniversaries of the university. Their experiences as students of the Baltic University became the defining moment of their young adult lives.

Helga Merits researched the documentary, visiting archives across two continents. Seven former students assisted her with the project, including Paulius Jurkus and Aldona Kirkščiūnaitė-Šmulkštys. Alan Morris provides the narration in a sweet British accent. Leo van Emden edited the flowing montage of photographs, footage and interviews. Twentieth century Estonian classical music accompanies the narrative portions of the movie. Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian foundations underwrote the production. The major Baltic communities of North America and Europe have held viewings of the film, with select screenings in the three Baltic capitols. The movie is available for sale from the web site.

VILIUS RUDRA DUNDZILA

ABSTRACTS

Reflections of the First World War and the German Occupation in Lithuania Between the Wars: The Transformation of Perspectives
VYGANTAS VAREIKIS

The article is a historical inquiry into the cultural memory of First World War and German occupation. The author notes that negative image of the German occupation and the images of Germans forming during this period between the wars affected the dynamics of political relations. The German occupation administration's forced recruitment and the compulsory labor left a particularly bad impression in the collective memory of Lithuanians. During the Soviet times, the First World War was not studied or discussed, thus images of the German occupation finally disappeared both from scholarly discourse and the collective memory.

Lithuanianism and National Characteristics in Twentieth Century Sacral Architecture
LINAS KRŪGELIS

Even though Lithuania was a pagan country for many centuries, during more recent ages its national identity has corresponded more closely with Christian symbols. History shows

that political oppression from without also placed restrictions on the expression of religious thought. It is no wonder that for many Lithuanians, political freedom was also understood as freedom of religious expression. Combining these spheres of life, Lithuanian architects during various historical periods created church architecture, incorporating into it Lithuanian national characteristics. Both the church exteriors and interiors were designed using ethnographic Lithuanian symbolism or using building forms characteristic of the Lithuanian building style. This tendency is especially noticeable starting in the beginning of the twentieth century. It remained popular during the interwar period, and continued even after regaining independence in 1990.

The Apparatus of Writers and Four Generations of Writers in Soviet Lithuania

VILIUS IVANAUSKAS

The creative processes of the Soviet years and the activity of writers was sharply defined by both institutional control and the social surroundings. On the level of control, it is important to see the institutional structure, which was made up of a number of institutions, from publishers and the Writers Union to Glavlitas, the writer as a member of the Writers Union, the publication and censorship processes as well as the ideological control expressed through them. On the level of the system, a work's publication and distribution were planned, and that determined that more attention was paid to the work's ideological "suitability."

In spite of the monolithic effect of the system, the different characteristics of the generations or the tensions between the generations reveal that every generation sought not just

influence in the establishment, but also to shape and transform the common sphere of literature.

The first generation of writers took part in creating and justifying the Soviet system and propagating Soviet ideology, however, because of the rather excessive banality of their works, the public did not "buy" their works and they did not consolidate their position in society as well as later writers. The second generation (connected to the persons of Mieželaitis and Marcinkevičius) is considered the most successful of the generations. Consolidated in the literary establishment by the end of the 1960s, they held a dominant position for several decades. They offered innovative standards, were accepted in all of the USSR and Lithuania, as well as became accepted by both the public and the Soviet nomenclature. The younger generations did not occupy these positions, although they created their own variants of modernism.

In memoriam

ANTANAS A. KLIMAS

1924–2016

Renowned scholar in several fields of linguistics, professor emeritus of the University of Rochester, N.Y. where he taught German and Indo-European and Slavic language issues for decades and was a prolific researcher into the Lithuanian language. He was the editor of Lituanus in 1967–2005 and served on its editorial board.

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