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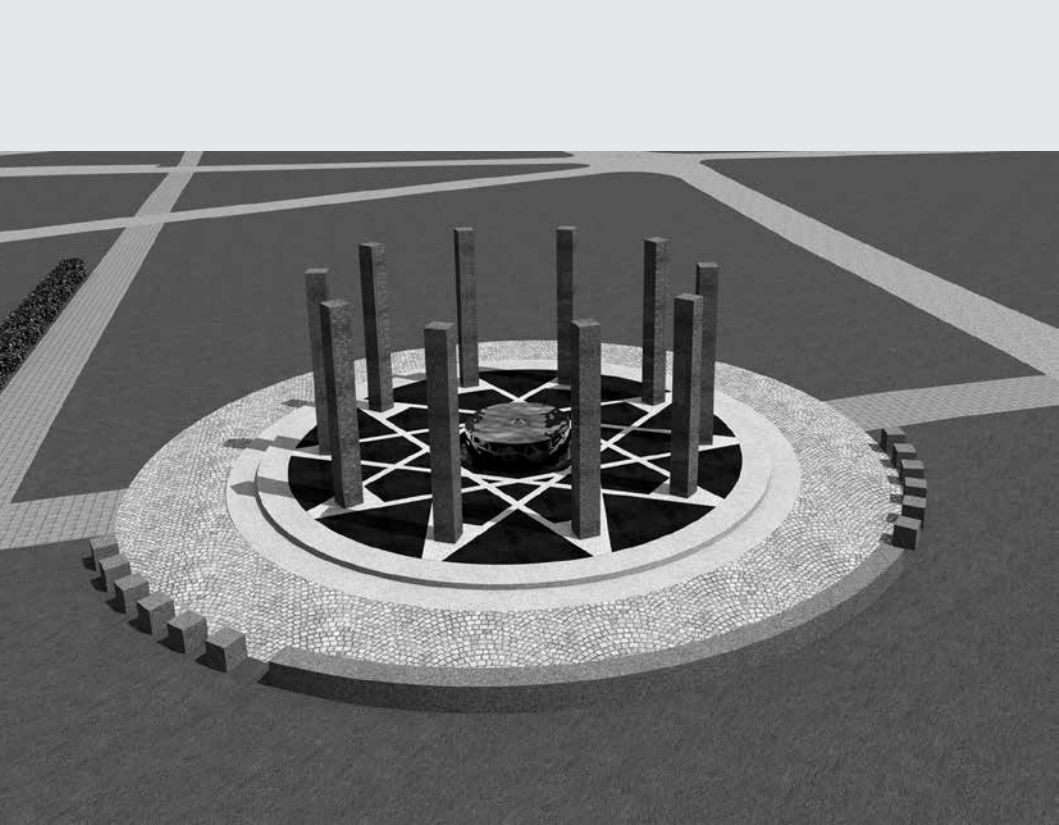
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ABSTRACTS



Award-winning monument proposal to the Reformation and to the founders of Lithuanian literature in Vilnius. Authors: sculptor Dalia Matulaitė and architect Juras Balkevičius. An article on the legacy of the Lithuanian Reformation see on page 5.

The Reformation in Lithuania and Its Impact on Lithuanian Culture

KRISTINA BLOCKYTĖ-NAUJOKĖ

The Reformation, which ignited in Germany 500 years ago, irreversibly changed the history and culture of Europe. It laid the foundations of contemporary Western civilization, changed the face of the universal Church and left an indelible mark on the history of Lithuania. The beginning of the Reformation movement, which quickly reached the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and historically Lithuanian lands, also had a strong connection to the strengthening of the Lithuanian language, Lithuanian nationality and Lithuanian statehood. This article will focus on and closely consider how the Reformation reached Lithuania, which Reformation movements spread in Lithuania and what impact the Reformation had on Lithuanian culture.

Sources for the Study of the Reformation in Lithuania

The first attempt to study the history of the Reformation in Lithuania in the Lithuanian language took place only in 1922 when Jonas Šepetys, a priest in the Reformed Evangelical Church, wrote a book entitled *Trumpa Lietuvos Reformacijos istorija* (A Short History of the Reformation in Lithuania).¹ (Up to that time publica-

¹ Šepetys, *Trumpa Lietuvos Reformacijos istorija*, I dalis, 1922.

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tions about the legacy of the Reformation in Lithuania had been written in Polish, German and other languages.) The first four lines of this book are still very relevant today:

In speaking about the Reformation, one must first understand what the Reformation was, that is to say, one must first untangle the question of the Reformation movement in western Europe, and then one can consider the Reformation in Lithuania, what it became for our country.²

Currently, however, the various aspects of the Reformation are being analyzed very broadly. Two of the most famous current researchers of the Reformation in Lithuania are Dr. Dainora Pociūtė-Abukevičienė³ and Dr. Ingė Lukšaitė.⁴ Professor Lukšaitė has discussed research sources for the Reformation in great depth in her study *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje: XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis* (The Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Lithuanian Minor: from the third decade of the sixteenth century to the first decade of the seventeenth century).⁵ According to her:

In the historiography of the Reformation in Lithuania, when considering how to understand the Reformation itself in its most general aspects, several major groups of historians can be distinguished. Polish and German historians consider their cultures to have irradiated the Reformation in Lithuania. In short, the Reformation is held to be a phenomenon brought about by for-

² Ibid., 4.

³ Principal Reformation studies: D. Pociūtė-Abukevičienė, *Nematomos tikrovės šviesa. Reformacijos Lietuvoje asmenybės ir idėjos*, 2017; D. Pociūtė-Abukevičienė, *Maištininkų katedros. Ankstyvoji reformacija ir lietuvių-italų evangelikų ryšiai*, 2008.

⁴ Principal Reformation studies: I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje: XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis–XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis*, 1999; I. Lukšaitė, “Reformacijos Lietuvoje raida ir evangelikų bažnyčių istorija XVI–XVIII a.” in the book: *Lietuvos evangelikų bažnyčios. Istorijos metmenys*, 2003, 19–162.

⁵ Lukšaitė, “Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje,” 28–45.

eign cultures. During the years between the First and the Second World War, this was the prevailing viewpoint in the works of Lithuania’s historians of Catholic orientation as well.⁶

Zenonas Ivinskis considered the spread of the Reformation in Lithuania to have been due to the weakness of the Catholic Church itself, to insufficient preparation of the lower ranks of the clergy for their work, and to the influence of neighboring Protestant countries.⁷ Some historians of Catholic orientation (Joseph Purickis)⁸ and some Protestant historians (Jonas Šepetys, Kristupas Gudaitis)⁹ considered it to be a stage in the historical development of Lithuania, with its own deep-rooted causes. Most postwar historians and most current historians in Lithuania agree with this position while citing different factors as the principal causes of the spread of the Reformation in Lithuania.¹⁰

The Beginning of the Reformation in Europe

The Reformation began in many of the Catholic countries of Europe in the second decade of the sixteenth century. It was a very complicated phenomenon: it began as the creation of a system of arguments designed to change the faith; it changed the very concept of the Church; it quickly assumed goals of adapting the organization of the Church to the changing structure of society (which, compared to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

⁶ Alekna, *Katalikų bažnyčia Lietuvoje*, 73–74; Saulius Sužiedėlis, “Reformacijos sąjūdis Lietuvoje,” 196; Saulius Sužiedėlis, “Reformacijos nuoslūgis ir katalikų reakcija,” 215.

⁷ Ivinskis, “Die Entwicklung die Reformation.” Bd. 12. S. 1–45.

⁸ Puryckis, *Die Glaubenspaltung in Litauen*, 1919.

⁹ Šepetys, *Reformacijos istorija Lietuvoje*, 1922; K. Gudaitis, *Lietuviai evangelikai*, 1956; K. Gudaitis, “Evangelikų bažnyčios Lietuvoje,” 166–179; J. Kregždė, “Reformacija Lietuvoje. Istorinė apžvalga,” 1980. Vol. 1; J. Kregždė, *Lietuvos reformatų raštija. Istorinė apžvalga*, 1978; A. Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania. Religious Fluctuations in the Sixteenth Century*, 1988.

¹⁰ Lukšaitė, *XVI–XVII a. Reformacijos Lietuvoje reikšmė*, [on-line].

had already changed in the view of many) and to the new political tendencies that were forming. Already in the first decade, the Reformation became multi-directional – different social forces formulated different visions of what was the true faith and the true Church, and they increased instruction in these visions; they created, perfected and systematized theological postulates and also social doctrines. As is generally known, several centers of the Reformation were set up in Germany and Switzerland almost at the same time.¹¹ Although the Reformation was a complex process that took a long time, October 31, 1517 is traditionally held to be the decisive moment which signaled the beginning of Luther's reforms. On that day Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses¹² (in Latin) to the doors of the Cathedral of Wittenberg. These theses encouraged the start of an open public discussion about the maladies of the Christian Church of the time. Luther's theses were quickly translated into German, and in hardly two weeks they spread throughout Germany, and in a few months, throughout all of Europe. This was one of the first instances in history when the recently invented printing press brought about a quick dissemination of information. Luther declared his opposition to the selling and buying of indulgences – documents remitting sins. He asserted that salvation is a gift of God's grace, which can only be obtained by faith.¹³ The social, religious and cultural movement known as the Reformation began in Europe. It created foundations for the formation of modern Western society and for the development of science and education. Martin Luther was not the first Protestant thinker, of course. His predecessors were Jan Hus, who lived in Bohemia a century earlier, and John Wickliff, a fourteenth century English scholar. Even the twelfth century Frenchman Pierre Vaudès may be considered an

early Protestant. However, the influence of each of these earlier movements was primarily local. By 1517 dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church had grown to such an extent that Luther's words quickly ignited a cavalcade of protests, which spread throughout almost all of Europe. Therefore, it is justifiably thought that Luther was the one who had the greatest impact on the beginning of the Reformation. The clearest outcome of the Reformation was the formation of various Protestant denominations.

The Beginning of the Reformation in Lithuania

The Reformation is exclusively a phenomenon of Latin or Western continental Christianity. In one way or another it affected the entire territory encompassed by Western Christianity, and it became the distinctive attribute of the culture which belonged to the Latin tradition of Christianity. Lithuania was and to the present day remains the eastern front of the Western Christian world, the eastern-most border of Western Christianity. In the first half of the sixteenth century the Grand Duchy of Lithuania belonged to the sphere of Western Christianity, as is evident from the great changes to its culture and society which the Reformation generated.¹⁴ Historians essentially agree that the Reformation began in Lithuania in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century: in 1536 Jonas Tartilavičius Batakietis was already giving evangelical sermons in Šilalė; from 1539 to 1542 Abraomas Kulvietis was active in Vilnius, having established a school there; Jonas Radvila, Kešgailas and others began leaning to the Lutheran side. Thus, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Reformation began in Lithuania in that segment of society where the demand for innovations was ripening very clearly as was the realization that changes in many areas of public life in Lithuania were necessary. These included changes in the legal system, in national government, and especially changes in institutions which organized the develop-

¹¹ Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvoje (I)*, [on-line].

¹² The Theses of Martin Luther can be found in Lithuanian on a website created to commemorate the 500 year anniversary of the Reformation: < <http://reformacija500.lt/apie-svetaine/> >. The Theses of Martin Luther in English can be found at the website: < <http://www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html> >.

¹³ Bainton, *Čia aš stoviu. Martyno Liuterio gyvenimas*, 68–73.

¹⁴ Pociūtė-Abukevičienė, *Maištininkų katedros*, 17–19.

ment of culture and changes in the content of cultural life, which at that time was being shaped by the Catholic Church.¹⁵

Thus in the fourth and fifth decades of the sixteenth century the followers of the Reformation laid the foundation for the following cultural phenomena in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania:

1) *the emergence of non-scholastic theology*. In Lithuania, Protestant professions of faith, which initially appeared as individual pronouncements by Reformation founders and which soon were declared to be testimonials for the creation of independent churches in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, are valuable and distinctive source materials for the religious thought and history Eastern Europe. The first such text was *Confessio fidei* (1543) – the profession of faith by Abraomas Kulvietis.¹⁶

2) *the public legitimization of writing in the Lithuanian language, i.e. preparation of books in Lithuanian* (the creation of printing in the Lithuanian language). The first books in the Lithuanian language (a catechism, a primer, hymn books, texts of baptismal rites) laid the foundations for Lithuanian literature. They were the beginning of the epoch of Lithuanian literature written in the Lithuanian language. Lithuanian Lutherans from all regions of ethnic Lithuania were the ones who prepared the first books in the Lithuanian language. Duke Albrecht of Prussia financed the publication of these books in the Duchy of Prussia. Pranciškus Skorina started publishing books in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In addition, Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis created a publishing house for Reformed Evangelicals. It is noteworthy that from 1558 on, publication of books in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania never halted. Even in the middle of the seventeenth century, during the plague and the ravages of war, at least one book was printed each year.

3) *the educational system, the reorganization of its institutions and its content* (two trends in educational reform): 1. Martynas Mažvydas created home schools, which taught writing in the Lithuanian

language and brought about the democratization of writing; 2. Abraomas Kulvietis supplemented the educational system of Lithuania with middle schools which were based on instruction in three languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin) and had a humanistic content. Abraomas Kulvietis announced the principle that the wealth which the Church had accumulated should be designated first for educational purposes, and he began a public discussion of how this wealth should be used.¹⁷

Three currents of Protestantism spread to Lithuania: a Lutheran current, a Calvinist current, and even a radical Arian current. The first stage of the Reformation in Lithuania – in the fourth and fifth decades of the sixteenth century – was based on Lutheran ideas, but from the end of the fifth decade on it was based on Calvinist and Arian ideas. A very important result of the first period was the creation of printing in the Lithuanian language. Writings in Lithuanian had existed before publication of the first Lithuanian book – in the form of manuscripts, copies of manuscripts, translations of liturgical texts. The Reformation nurtured a new outlook towards these writings. It gave them a new status and a different public exposure. The Protestant element of Lithuania's intelligentsia brought to fruition the idea, which may have been growing in Lithuania earlier, that technology – namely the printing press – could be used to disseminate writings in the Lithuanian language, to spread ideas, and at the same time to develop national culture. Preparation of books in the Lithuanian language was a sign that national self-awareness had reached a new level.

The Ways in which the Reformation Spread in Lithuania

As the Reformation was spreading in the sixteenth century, Lithuania was in a commonwealth with Poland and was known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Historians who speak about the

¹⁵ Lukšaitė, XVI– XVII a. Reformacijos Lietuvoje reikšmė, [on-line].

¹⁶ Dainora Pociūtė provides a facsimile of the original text along with analysis and commentary in the original language, in English and in Lithuania in her study: *Abraomas Kulvietis: pirmasis Lietuvos Reformacijos paminklas*, Vilnius, 2011.

¹⁷ Lukšaitė, XVI–XVII a. Reformacijos Lietuvoje reikšmė, [on-line].

time period of the Reformation in Lithuania and Poland, make a distinction between the two countries. They notice an interesting fact, namely that the Reformation was much more active in Lithuania than in Poland. This means that in Europe the Reformation spread far to the East, namely as far as Lithuania. In other European countries the Reformation was either Lutheran or Calvinist; it was based on either one reformer or another. In Lithuania the teachings of both Luther and Calvin spread, as did Arianism, the radical form of the Reformation.

News about the Reformation and its ideas reached Lithuania in various ways. In the first four decades of the sixteenth century information about the Reformation which had begun in the countries of Europe spread in Lithuania among the highborn, especially noblemen, among wealthy city dwellers (merchants, master craftsmen), among the clergy of the Catholic Church, through monasteries (this type of data exists regarding the Dominicans and Franciscans of Vilnius), through students from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania studying in foreign universities (Cracow, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Frankfurt an der Oder, Zurich).¹⁸ Hence, these are the ways the Reformation spread in Lithuania:

1. *Studies in European universities by noblemen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.* After the conversion of Lithuania to Christianity in the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lithuanians for the first time began traveling to Europe to study. At first they went only to universities in Eastern Europe – to Cracow, and Prague. But in the sixteenth century the sons of Lithuanian nobility began traveling to Western Europe – to Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands. And Lithuanian noblemen went not only to Catholic universities, but also to Protestant ones, particularly in three countries, namely to Lutheran universities in Germany and Calvinist universities in Switzerland and the Netherlands. After studying at these universities, some sons of the nobility brought back Reformation ideas when they returned to Lithuania.

¹⁸ Lukšaitė, “Reformacija Lietuvoje,” 7–44.

2. *The proximity of Protestant countries.* Ideas spread through people. In the first half of the sixteenth century two countries, where the Protestant faith had become entrenched, suddenly flanked the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. These countries had earlier been well-known as two orders – the Teutonic Order to the west of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Livonian Order to the north. But as the Reformation spread, secularization processes took place in these territories, and the Lutheran faith was established there. Prussia, where the Teutonic Order became the Duchy of Prussia, was especially important for neighboring Lithuania. This country, where Albrecht, the last Master of the Teutonic Order, had adopted the Lutheran faith and had modernized his country, began to spread Protestantism. Prussia became the center of the written Lithuanian language and of Lithuanian culture. Consequently, the ties Lithuania had with neighboring Prussia were also very important for the spread of Reformation ideas.

3. *German mercantile communities in the cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.* As is well-known, Germany was the fatherland of the Reformation. Where could one find German hues before the sixteenth century? Communities of German merchants and craftsmen, especially merchants, came to be established in Lithuanian cities, especially the larger ones. Scholars have shown that the Reformation, especially the Lutheran Reformation, spread through German mercantile communities in the cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially in Vilnius and Kaunas.

Thus, there was not one single way in which the Reformation spread. It was a very intense movement in Lithuania and manifested itself in three waves. There were only two countries in all of Europe where all versions of the Reformation spread – the Holy Roman Empire and the country of Poland-Lithuania. Of course, before the Union of Lublin, we speak only of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, after the Union of Lublin we already speak of a Republic of Two Nations, in which the three currents of the Reformation were spreading, as much in Poland as in Lithuania.

Lutheranism – the First Wave of the Reformation in Lithuania

Historians divide the age of the Reformation in Lithuania into two stages. The first wave of the Reformation consisted of the efforts of Martynas Mažvydas, Abraomas Kulvietis, Stanislovas Rapolionis and their associates to spread Reformation ideas in Lithuania. The second stage is often called “The Reformation of the Nobles” because it was at this stage that the most influential representatives of the Lithuanian nobility were converted, thereby bringing about changes in community and religious life. One could also designate a third stage, when a radical branch of Protestantism developed and the Arian Church of Lithuania was established.

Representatives of the first wave of the Lithuanian Reformation sought from the very beginning to create in Lithuania an educational system modeled after that of Central and Western Europe. They were the first to take the initiative to establish schools of higher learning, where a modern method of teaching would be used.¹⁹

Thus the first Reformer in Lithuania, the representative of the first Lutheran wave, was Abraomas Kulvietis (c. 1510–1545).²⁰ He was a nobleman of medium rank from the center of Lithuania. In the middle of the sixteenth century, he left to pursue his studies in Europe and studied at five European universities. Upon returning to Lithuania, he began to give Lutheran sermons in Vilnius. He was one of the first Lithuanians to receive a doctorate in Europe. He can be considered the first Lithuanian emigrant or religious refugee, as he was forced to leave Lithuania due to religious persecution. After he returned from his studies in Europe, he became famous in Vilnius for his dynamic activities. He began to give innovative Lutheran sermons, and in 1541 he established a middle level school, a type of college, which

was the first of its kind in Lithuanian history. Thus, in the sixteenth century the Reformation became the instrument by which a full educational system in Lithuania began to be established. There arose a need not only for parish elementary schools connected with churches, but also for higher level middle schools and colleges. Kulvietis established what can be called the first middle school in Lithuania, where all the seven liberal arts and the ancient languages were taught. This very innovative school was closed because of decisions made by the government of the time and because the prevailing Church did not want schools of this type to be established. A few years later Kulvietis was forced to leave Lithuania. He emigrated to Koenigsberg at the invitation of duke Albrecht, and there he became the first Lithuanian professor in a German university. In 1543 Abraomas Kulvietis wrote the first Protestant text (which was published in 1547). It was a declaration of faith, in the form of an open letter to Queen Bona, the current ruler of Lithuania. Unfortunately, Queen Bona did not respond to the letter, and Kulvietis could not continue to promote Reformation ideas in Lithuania. This person stands as an example of why the first Lutheran wave was relatively short-lived, and why all the most important cultural achievements which he bestowed on our country were accomplished in Prussia.

Many other individuals took an active part in the first wave of the Reformation. One of them was Martynas Mažvydas (c. 1520–1563), who arrived in Koenigsberg a year after Abraomas Kulvietis had died. Mažvydas was the author of the first Lithuanian book. The Reformation, in fact, provided each European nation with its first book in its native language. Mažvydas fostered the aims of the Reformation not through Latin, which was incomprehensible to many at that time, but through the native language of the people. He gave his countrymen not only texts from which they could educate themselves, but he also brought to them what he considered most valuable, namely Holy Scripture and texts of piety and devotion. In this way the first Lithuanian book, *Katekizmas* (The Catechism), appeared, but so did other Lithuanian books. And many scholars have concluded that

¹⁹ Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvoje (II)*, [on-line].

²⁰ Detailed information about the life and studies of Abraomas Kulvietis can be found in the study prepared by Dainora Pociūtė: *Abraomas Kulvietis: pirmasis Lietuvos Reformacijos paminklas*, Vilnius, 2011, 11–36.

of the 30 Lithuanian books which were published from the time Mažvydas published the first Lithuanian book to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the great majority were published in the Lutheran setting of Prussia.

Jonas Bretkūnas (1536–1602) was another Protestant from Lithuania Minor. Over a period of 11 years he prepared the first Bible in the Lithuanian language for publication, and he published a book of his earliest Lithuanian sermons. In 1590 this Lutheran pastor, who preached at the Cathedral of Koenigsberg, was the first to translate the entire Holy Bible into Lithuanian. Unfortunately, it was not published and remained in manuscript form due to various intrigues engaged in by local Germans and due to a lack of finances. Scholars, especially Lithuanian and German linguists, who have studied the text of Bretkūnas, have acknowledged that for his time his translation was at the highest level. (It should be noted that when Bretkūnas was translating the Bible, the Lithuanian language as a written language was only in the process of being formed. There were no dictionaries, and many new words had to be created.) Thus, the first wave of the Reformation provided Lithuania with the first Bible in Lithuanian.

Only a few of the most important representatives of the first wave of the Reformation have been mentioned, but in summary it can be asserted that the Lutheran wave provided Lithuania with the first Lithuanian to receive a doctorate in Europe, the first middle school, the first Protestant text, the first profession of faith, the first Catechism, the first Lithuanian book, and the first translation of the Bible into Lithuanian.

Calvinism – the Second Wave of the Reformation in Lithuania

The second wave of the Reformation, which began in the fifth decade of the sixteenth century and was dominated by the Reformed Evangelical faith, continued the project of creating and

adapting innovations, which had already been begun, but in a somewhat inconsistent manner. This second wave, which came from Switzerland and differed from the Lutheran wave, took root and spread in Lithuania during a hundred year period which lasted from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. The question arises – how did this wave succeed in taking root in Lithuania?

The most prominent representative of this wave was Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis (1515–1565). Politically, he was the second most important person in Lithuania in the sixteenth century. He was Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Commander (vaivada) of Vilnius, and a close associate of the ruler Žygimantas Augustas (Sigismund II Augustus). In the middle of the sixteenth century, European Protestant preachers or local Lithuanians who had completed their studies in Europe began to appear in his manors in Lithuania, in Vilnius and Brest and elsewhere. Calvinism, or the Reformed Evangelical movement or creed, as it was more often known in Lithuania, began to spread in the manors of Radvila Juodasis.

In 1563 the Brest Bible was prepared and published with funds from Radvila Juodasis. It was published in Polish since the nobility had become polonized. Texts in the Polish language spread in places where sermons were given in Polish. This Bible was the first printed Bible published within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Thus, while Lutherans provided this first Lithuanian Bible, Calvinists provided the first published translation of the Bible. This Brest Bible was widely used.

Undoubtedly, the second Calvinist wave differed from the first wave, since it operated in Lithuania, and it was able to create many Protestant institutions, three of which should be mentioned: churches, publishing houses, and schools. In the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, as Calvinism spread, an unusually large number of churches, publishing houses, and parish schools appeared in Lithuania. The second wave of the Reformation was witness to a considerable amount of Protestant spirit in Lithuania.

Arianism – the Third Wave of the Reformation in Lithuania

The sixth and seventh decades of the sixteenth century were a time of the sudden spread of the Reformation and the formation of three evangelical movements: Lutherans continued their activities, the number of Reformed Evangelicals increased rapidly, as did the number of Arians who had broken off from them. The Arian Church established itself in Lithuania in the beginning of the sixth decade. This was a very extreme, a radical branch of Protestantism, whose members, it was thought, were people who had broken off from the Calvinists or the Reformed Evangelicals and who, while reading Holy Scripture, began to approach many questions in a radical way. In other words, the Arians first began to study Holy Scripture critically – they advocated a critical approach to the Bible. All Christian denominations persecuted, criticized, and condemned them. Arian Church members gathered most often in private, in secret, in manor houses and forests. The ideas which the Arians had begun to raise as early as the sixteenth century came to be universally accepted values several centuries later and at present are included in the constitutions of many democratic countries. It was in the sixteenth century that Simonas Budnas (1530–1593), a catechist of the Reformed Evangelical Church of Vilnius, who later became a famous Arian, was already writing theological treatises about how people with differing outlooks should sit down at the same table and carry on discussions. Budnas did not see any reason why people with differing outlooks could not communicate with each other and work together. Thus, he made the values of religious tolerance relevant. Budnas was the first to write a theological treatise about controversies and disputes. Arian works from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania include: the booklet by Petras Gonenziētis (Petrus Gonesius), which has not survived, entitled *De Filio Dei homine Christo Jesu* (About the Son of God, the Man Christ Jesus) (1566), the preface by preachers from the Radvila manor houses to the booklet by Grzegórz Paweł z Brzezina entitled *Krótkie wy-*

pisanie sprawy (A Short Account of a Dispute) (1563), and the booklet by Petras Gonenziētis entitled *De primatū Ecclesiae Christianae* (Of the Primacy of the Christian Church) (1566).

It should be noted that the founders of the United States of America read the works of Budnas, Martynas Čekavičius, Gonenziētis and other Arians from Lithuania and Poland. Benjamin Franklin and George Washington cited Lithuanian-Polish Arian books. Isaac Newton, who is known mostly as a famous physicist and mathematician, actually wrote more books on theology than on science, and he also cited Arian texts. Thus, all three waves of the Reformation operated in Lithuania, but Lithuania did not adopt any one of these Protestant waves.

The Reformation Today, in Lieu of a Conclusion

There is no unanimous opinion on when the Reformation ended in Lithuania. Lithuanian historians writing in the period between the two World Wars and the majority of historians who emigrated from Lithuania after the Second World War as well as some post-Second World War historians from Lithuania and Poland (Saulius Sužiedėlis, Zenonas Ivinskis, Jonas Šepetys, Juozas Tumelis, Marcell Kosman and others) tended to consider the end of the Reformation as having occurred when Jesuits arrived in Lithuania. They considered the beginning of the Counter-Reformation not to be a part of the development of the Reformation. Most of them assigned the processes of the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the Counter-Reformation as the dominant power of that time. According to professor Lukšaitė, the middle of the seventeenth century can be considered the end of the Reformation: in 1658 the Parliament of the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation banned Arians; the wars with Sweden and Russia in the middle of the seventeenth century were the end of a cultural and political time period, which had demonstrated the weak parts of governmental and social structures, had shaken society, had destroyed the material base of the cultural life which had existed before the

war, and which also had changed the power relations in society.²¹ But did the Reformation actually come to an end?

It can be asserted unambiguously that the Reformation, which reached Lithuania in the middle of the sixteenth century, had a huge impact on Lithuania. The first evangelical churches – the Lutheran and the Reformed churches – were born in Lithuania at that time. In general, all of the Reformation movements in Lithuania had a common trait – the fundamental theological ideas of European Protestantism, as proclaimed by Martin Luther, John Calvin and others, were characteristic of them all. However, in the context of Lithuania the three waves differed from each other: the Lutheran wave brought about the publication of texts in Lithuanian, but its creators became the first emigrants from Lithuania, as they were considered not needed in Lithuania. The second wave, the Calvinist wave, was responsible for the establishment of a full educational system in Lithuania and a system of Protestant institutions. The third wave – the radical Arian wave – became known for its radical modern ideas, which undoubtedly could not be expected to prevail entirely even in the entire European context of the time. However, if all three waves are taken together and examined ecumenically, it is clear that the Reformation is one of the most fundamental movements in the cultural history of Lithuania and one of the richest movements in terms of the cultural effects it achieved. As Professor Lukšaitė has said, evaluation of the Reformation in Lithuania must consider two of its aspects: both what its proponents created through their own positive efforts, and also what it encouraged to happen by acting as a positive force in opposition, i.e. the creative force of the Reformation forced the Catholic segment of society and the Catholic Church itself to concentrate its strengths, to reconsider its old regulations and to change its relationship with society.

Thus the Reformation developed the expression of free thought and freedom of religion in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

It sparked a theological dispute, encouraged the culture of the word, initiated the use and spread of the Lithuanian language, it shaped our written language. This means that the Reformation and its ideas, the knowledge of the Reformation, are a part of Lithuanian national identity, national thought and national self-consciousness, experience and historical heritage. Whether we realize it or not, the Reformation acts upon us in many ways even today. This is so not only because the Reformation gave Lithuania the written word, which has helped to preserve the Lithuanian language to the present day, even though this is an especially important accomplishment of the Reformation for Lithuania, but also for many other reasons. Most importantly, the Reformation remains relevant today because of the message of Christianity itself.

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²¹ Lukšaitė, “XVI–XVII a. Reformacijos Lietuvoje reikšmė,” [on-line].

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Translated by RIMAS ČERNIUS

Identity Formation in the Lithuanian Diaspora Press (II)

DOVILĖ ŠARKŪNAITĖ

Themes In The USA Newspapers

In case of *Čikagos Aidas* and *Tiesa*, the most prominent types of news articles turned out to deal with topics such as Lithuanian emigrant news, international politics and Lithuania's place in them, and the readers' opinions about various facets of life in the diaspora. Like the themes in the UK newspapers, the dataset of USA newspapers was also categorized into twelve themes: acceptance of multiculturalism, Lithuanian-American identity, making Lithuania famous abroad, concerns regarding the future of Lithuania, history, community events/news, preserving Lithuanian culture, keeping ties with Lithuania, keeping ties with other Lithuanian diasporic communities, religion, anti-Russian sentiments/Crimea crisis, and news from Lithuania. The following section of the paper provides summaries of the themes as well as illustrative examples from the analyzed newspapers.

Acceptance of Multiculturalism: While the themes discovered in newspapers from the UK revealed that the Lithuanian diaspora in that country prefers interacting with their fellow Lithuanians to integration and communication with people from different backgrounds, the USA community shows a much more open-minded approach to living in a multicultural space:

I was born and raised in Lithuania. I love my country. However, I also love my husband and respect his homeland. Lithuania is

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too small for everyone to find a significant other within its boundaries. After all, love is unpredictable. Our family would like to live, start a business and raise our children in both my husband's and my countries. After all, cultural diversity promotes tolerance and proper values and Lithuania should not take this opportunity away from us.¹

Moreover, the newspapers' authors express sympathy for the Syrian refugees, condemn Islamophobia, frequently talk about other diasporic communities, and display an interest that reaches beyond the Lithuanian diaspora in other ways. All in all, the diasporic community in the USA is much more tolerant of multiculturalism than its UK counterpart.

American-Lithuanian Identity: Lithuanians who live in the USA also show a much stronger sense of hybridity compared to those who are living in the UK. While maintaining Lithuanian traditions is important for the community, the emigrants also show an appreciation for various elements of the American culture, such as celebrating Thanksgiving Day or enjoying Super Bowl American football matches:

I told myself that I will not be making *cepelinai* this year. But as the World *Cepelinai* Day (or the Super Bowl Sunday, depending on who you ask) was nearing, I gave in. I thought about my family: one day, the young relatives will ask me how to make *cepelinai*. I ended up having no one eating of what were supposed to be wonderful *cepelinai*. I could relate to the Seattle Seahawks who ended up losing to New England Patriots at the last minute of the game.²

It is also very interesting to note that the diaspora community in the USA is keenly aware of their own history in North America and seek to make their past here as meaningful as that of their ancestors' past back in Lithuania. For example, one article talks about the idea to not only teach American-Lithuanian

¹ *Čikagos Aidas*, 2015-12.

² *Draugas*, 2015-02.

children about Lithuanian history and geography, but also to start teaching them about the history of the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA:

We are nearing the hundredth anniversary of Lithuanian independence. How could we get our children to be more involved in the matters of the country? Should we not learn from the Lithuanian organization of cartographers and organize a USA-Lithuanian map-drawing contest? I believe that a project like that could unite the Lithuanians living in various corners of the USA: from the descendants of Pennsylvanian miners to the young families that only came here recently. The Lithuanian embassy in Washington could supervise this project and we might involve the consulates, Lithuanian and American education organizations, churches, and the media. Perhaps we could continue the diaspora children's journey across the world in this side of the Pacific Ocean and give meaning to our responsibility to remain Lithuanian by doing this?³

It is apparent that the Lithuanian emigrants in the USA accept the idiosyncrasies of both countries into their identities and in some cases, as the example of the diaspora map illustrates, they even seek to differentiate themselves from the Lithuanians who are living in Lithuania.

Making Lithuania Famous Abroad: One of the issues that the newspapers are concerned about is giving recognition to people who are making Lithuania known in various business, art and academic spaces of the United States. That includes artists, politicians, businessmen, and other prominent people, both born in the diaspora and those who come from Lithuania. For instance, *Draugas* covers the Global Lithuanian Awards every year:

"This is the third time we have found somebody to thank and appreciate. Lithuania is going to stay strong as long as people like you exist" – claimed Dalia Grybauskaitė. "By awarding Lithuanians who live abroad and in Lithuania, we acknowledge the

people who are creating a competitive, modern and constantly growing Lithuania. We celebrate the people whose ideas become meaningful achievements, those, who are proud of their country and know how to be an example for all of us, those, who loudly and proudly proclaim 'Lithuania is mine'". The president stressed that these awards are not only an honor, but also a responsibility to work for the sake of Lithuania, to face new challenges and inspire others. She also urged the winners and other participants to remain with Lithuania and to nurture and protect their country.⁴

The newspapers' editors also give financial awards to some of the aforementioned people as a way of urging emigrants to be more involved in preserving *Lithuanianess*.

Concerns Regarding the Future of Lithuania: While the members of the USA diaspora community still feel a strong attachment to Lithuania, they also express dissatisfaction with some elements of the country, namely its economic situation, corrupt system of education, and incompetent politicians:

People who are concerned with the future of Lithuania realize that we are becoming a disabled country. At a glance, we have all the formal aspects of a proper nation: a territory, native inhabitants, a military, a political system, legal institutions and so on, but an actual country does not exist. Lithuania lacks vitality and spirit, and they continue to be drained by emigration that has been going on for three decades. World history shows that only its citizens can imbue a nation with spirit, and apathetic inhabitants, consumers, immigrants or slaves cannot act as a substitute for that.⁵

In many cases, the people whose opinions are expressed in the newspapers are sympathetic towards the complicated economic situation of the average Lithuanian. Moreover, it is frequently pointed out that Lithuania is flawed because it fails to guarantee a respectable standard of living for all its citizens:

³ *Draugas*, 2016-03.

⁴ *Draugas*, 2015-01.

⁵ *Čikagos Aidas*, 2015-02.

You cannot demand patriotism from a hungry, angry persons who are disappointed in their country. Patriotic feelings would be difficult for them to experience because a human is an emotional being. If one feels like they cannot feel content in their country, they take up a critical position regarding their homeland because they do not feel happy there. Many people make their position known by emigrating, others complain because they feel unhappy and do not feel like pushing themselves to be their best selves as a result. Others might have just had a stroke of bad luck – there are many different life stories. However, in order for a person to feel like a patriot, a certain standard of life quality must be met.⁶

Moreover, while some articles express sympathy for the recent economic emigrants and understand their complicated predicament, others take up a more critical stance regarding emigration:

Without curing the disease of emigration, other ailments such as the lagging economy, the education reform that is going nowhere, and the culture that has lost its way, lose their relevance. Our victories become meaningless as well because if there are no longer any Lithuanians in Lithuania, or if Lithuanians become a national minority in their own country, there will no longer be a reason to improve life in the country. Lithuania will simply cease to be Lithuanian...⁷

The question of whether or not *Lithuanianess* is still present in contemporary Lithuania is also raised in one of the articles that deal with the possibility of risking one's life to defend their country in case of Russian aggression:

The approved military mobilization plan outlines the main mobilization principles and determines what kind of measures government institutions have to take in case of mobilization. However, the possibility of mobilization raises the following question: can a country as small as Lithuania defend itself against a mas-

sive attacker? As many examples show, even small countries are able to resist a huge neighbor as long as its inhabitants have determination, sufficient training and are willing to show self-sacrifice. The question is whether such sentiments are still present in Lithuania.⁸

All in all, it appears that three main issues concern the USA diaspora as far as Lithuania's future is concerned: the unquenchable brain drain that still plagues the country, the government's incapability of securing a respectable standard of living for its citizens, and the apathy of an average Lithuanian.

History: one of the elements present in American newspapers but not the British ones are articles that deal with historical issues relevant to Lithuania and the formation of the Lithuanian nation as such. The topics that are covered in the newspapers include biographies of various partisans, the works of prominent members of the diaspora, and historical events that led to various developments in Lithuania. When it comes to paying respect to various important Lithuanian people and dates, the diasporic community often shows a vigor that might even surpass the Lithuanian press:

September 22nd marked the 47th anniversary of the death of the first constitutional Lithuanian president, Aleksandras Stulginskis. We did not hear of the Lithuanian press mentioning this anniversary in any way. The democratically elected Aleksandras Stulginskis guided our country with his creative energy for six years.⁹

The newspapers' focus on history might be explained by the fact that most of the members of the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA are already second or third generation emigrants who have to consciously seek out their roots because they have no geographical access to Lithuania and no memories of the country

⁶ Čikagos Aidas, 2016-05.

⁷ Draugas, 2016-02.

⁸ Čikagos Aidas, 2015-03.

⁹ Draugas, 2016-10.

of their own: as Hutchinson puts it, “central to ethnicity is the question of origins, the recovery of memory, and of a ‘usable past’ by which to negotiate the problems of the present.”¹⁰ This point is represented well in the following passage from an article that was advertising a book about Lithuanian history:

The *Sąjūdis* showed that Lithuanians were still alive and capable of achieving a lot. This book is about the success of the Lithuanian nation. The first streak of luck was that the nation still exists because it should not be here. Lithuania has been reborn, and now it is drowning again. Now, the nation is drowning in alcohol, pessimism, and hate.¹¹

It is evident that looking back at Lithuania’s past and drawing strength from it, is significant for the emigrants in the USA, not only when it comes to establishing common ground with present-day Lithuania, but also in differentiating themselves from the modern Lithuanians who are so unlike the heroic, patriotic figures that are present in historical narratives.

Diasporic Community: The newspapers consistently cover various events that happened in one of the sub-communities, such as church masses, scout organization meetings, family gatherings in particular neighborhoods, and similar occasions. Not all of the articles are purely informational since some of them also serve the function of making certain issues in the community known in order to take action against them:

We hear complaints that it is getting harder and harder to organize Lithuanian emigrant events from Lithuanian organizations every year. There have been various complaints in the press that even if Lithuanians come to events, they only do so in order to eat and get drunk.¹²

The sheer amount of interaction that happens between the members of the diasporic community indicates a close sense of

¹⁰ Hutchinson, “Ethnicity and Modern Nations,” 653.

¹¹ *Čikagos Aidas*, 2016-09.

¹² *Draugas*, 2014-08.

kinship and dense social ties, something that does not appear to be present among the UK Lithuanians. Interestingly, one article compares the Lithuanian diaspora to the Jewish people, showing both a strong sense of community and a desire to differentiate themselves from Lithuanians who live in Lithuania:

By being determined and working hard, we managed to make a living despite having no higher education. However, we want our children to have opportunities that we did not have in order to achieve even more than us. It is evident that Lithuanians can make a living out of nothing, which is why I think that as Lithuanians get more opportunities, we will become a more formidable presence. We will be like the new Jewish people who might not have a country but possess a strong sense of identity as well as intelligence and determination.¹³

This passage highlights several trends that characterize the USA-American emigrant community: a feeling of pride in their achievements, a desire to watch their descendants succeed, and a sense of distance from Lithuania. All in all, it appears that maintaining an active diasporic community is a priority for Lithuanian emigrants who live in the USA.

Preserving Lithuanian Culture: Celebration of Lithuanian symbols, such as traditional costumes, basketball, folklore, cuisine, and language, is a frequent presence in the newspapers. In many of the analyzed articles, national symbols, language in particular, are often exalted and treated with reverence:

Many years ago, I received a very important gift. It never bored me, it always fit me, it gave me joy, and it made me feel at peace. The more I used it, the more important it became. The more I shared it with the others, the more wholesome it grew. I shared it with my children, my students, with the entire LA Lithuanian community which became like a family to me. What was this gift? It is the Lithuanian language and my love for it. This thought never grew old and never changed. For us, those who live here

¹³ *Čikagos Aidas*, 2014-06.

in the USA, the Lithuanian language is our own Lithuania, our own land. We carry it with us wherever we go.¹⁴

Regarding the previous passage, according to Smith, a focus on symbols in the diaspora is often more than merely a manifestation of nostalgia because it also has a unifying function: “the nation is called upon to provide a social bond between individuals and classes by providing repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions” and thus “the nation becomes a ‘faith-achievement’ group, able to surmount obstacles and hardships.”¹⁵ Smith’s idea rings especially true for the diasporic Lithuanians who are facing the task of negotiating their *Lithuanianess* in the light of both the multicultural American environment as well as the social problems that Lithuania faces.

Keeping Ties with Lithuania: Discussing the various ways in which the Lithuanian diaspora keeps in touch with Lithuania is quite frequent in the newspapers. In most cases, the interactions are initiated either by the sub-communities (scouts, religious groups, etc.) that also provide financial support for Lithuanian students or researchers, or the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Those interactions often manifest in meetings with Lithuanian politicians in Chicago and other American cities and sending delegations of Lithuanians who emigrated to the USA to Lithuania.

A couple of articles deal with re-emigration, but they are worded in a way that suggests that the newspapers’ writers do not appear to believe that full re-emigration is possible. For instance, one of them deals with a family that choose to move to Vilnius:

So far, the newcomers in our homeland are still waiting to receive support in their new environment and are hoping to be understood because the opinions regarding their return have varied from very positive to very negative. Nevertheless, the young family has nothing to lose. In contrast, even if Kornelija and

Algirdas’ family decides to return to New York, the years they had spent in Lithuania would be an invaluable life experience and a source of memories that give meaning to their time in this world and not only create their past, but also help them build their future.¹⁶

It is apparent from the way the excerpt above is worded that the author of the article does not believe that the family in question is going to stay in Lithuania for the rest of their lives. The idea that experiencing life in Lithuania is a useful experience, but not a sustainable long-term goal, once again illustrates the dissociation that the emigrant community in the USA feels from Lithuania.

Keeping Ties with Other Lithuanian Communities: This theme shows that members of the Lithuanian diaspora interact not only with Lithuanians who live in Lithuania, but also with those who are scattered all over the world. For instance, one of the articles described the meeting of lituanistic school leaders:

“We are citizens of the world... the children of this century... we are the world” – those are the things that Rugilė, Laima, Jūratė, Danguolė, Nijolė, Irmantas, leaders of lituanistic schools from Melbourne, Buenos Aires, Montreal, Stockholm, Helsinki, Zurich, Frankfurt, and Washington, DC, are writing on huge sheets of paper. Thirty lituanistic school teachers as well as several leaders of world Lithuanian communities from twelve countries were invited into a seminar in Nida this summer by the Lithuanian ministry of education and science.¹⁷

Even though various Lithuanian institutions often organize world Lithuanian meetings, Chicago appears to be the center of the world Lithuanian community which unites Lithuanians from sizeable communities, like those in Argentina or Australia, as well as those from places that do not have a strong diasporic presence, such as Hong Kong or Australia.

¹⁴ *Draugas*, 2015-05.

¹⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, 17.

¹⁶ *Čikagos Aidas*, 2016-11.

¹⁷ *Draugas*, 2015-09.

Moreover, even though lituanistic education is frequently mentioned in the newspapers, the writers also acknowledge that it is becoming hard to teach the emigrant children Lithuanian. Therefore, a rather prominent idea that appears in the USA newspapers is that the Lithuanian language is not necessary to conceive oneself as Lithuanian. It shows an open-minded approach to the issue of nationality compared to the more traditional view of what constitutes *Lithuanianess* which is common in Lithuania, where language is seen as an essential element of the Lithuanian identity.

Religion: The diasporic community in the USA appears to be more religious than its largely agnostic counterpart in the UK. This difference primarily stems from the historical circumstances under which the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA was formed, with churches serving as the first centers of *Lithuanianess* in this country. Religious sub-communities remain an important part of the USA-Lithuanian diaspora:

The press often writes about disappearing Lithuanian parishes and priests who cannot speak Lithuanian. This celebration gave us a chance to consider who we are and what our parish means to us. Our parish is going to be shaped by what we want it to be as well as the way we treat it. This small parish has existed for a hundred years and it is going to remain active because it is supported by the uncommon love of the people and their dedication to keeping it alive.¹⁸

Religion plays an important unifying role in the diaspora because “some deeply engrained religious-cultural habits possess a vigor and tenacity <...> language and formal doctrinal belief seem less deep rooted and it is easier to shed them; but <...> religion continues to act as a diacritical mark for the populations which carry it.”¹⁹ Moreover, even if members of the community are not very religious themselves, they might still be involved in the religious sub-community for the sake of socialization and

a sense of belonging: according to Smith, “religious identities derive from the spheres of communication and socialization. They are based on alignments of culture and its elements” and “join in a single community of the faithful <...> who feel they share certain symbolic codes, value systems and traditions of belief and ritual.”²⁰

Anti-Russian Sentiments: A strong opposition to Russian politics is a prominent theme in the analyzed newspapers. This theme covers both disapproval of Russia’s actions in Ukraine, and the historical past that Lithuania shared with the Soviet Union. At one point, Russia is described as being a “cancer”, and a belief that Putin is going to take advantage of Islamic terrorism in order to re-occupy the Baltic States is quite frequently expressed. Russia’s invasion of Crimea is also seen as a clear expression of Putin’s intentions regarding the Baltic States:

It is still not clear how [the Crimea crisis] is going to end. It is doubtful that Vladimir Putin is going to be satisfied by only taking Ukraine. Only naïve, primitive political analysts can think that the dictator would not like to take back the Baltic States.²¹

The strong antipathy to Russia might be explained by the emigrants’ lingering perception of Russia as a hegemonic power that oppresses Lithuania, and thus their diasporic identity is strengthened by “resisting” it. As Hutchinson puts it, “cultural conflicts inspire competing investigations to map the national territories, histories and cultural practices, and populations” and “out of these debates a national identity is designed, internalized and elaborated.”²²

News from Lithuania: While the newspapers contain separate sections dedicated to Lithuanian news, the articles published there are usually taken from Lithuanian publishers such as *Delfi*, which

¹⁸ Draugas, 2014-07.

¹⁹ Gellner and Breuilly, *Nations and Nationalism*, 71.

²⁰ Smith, “National Identity,” 6.

²¹ Draugas, 2014-12.

²² Hutchinson, “Ethnicity and Modern Nations,” 664.

is why only articles which provided an opinionated reflection on the said news were considered in this study. For example, one of the articles commented on the decline of the Lithuanian farming industry and provided an interesting view of its importance:

Eating the wonderfully delicious Lithuanian bread with Lithuanian butter, I felt grateful for everyone whose effort made these Lithuanian projects that often bear Russian names reach me. I understood that farmers, distributors and sellers should not look for ways to punish the scapegoats [who are supposedly responsible for the decline of the food industry in Lithuania]. If we continue doing that, not only the Lithuanian village, but also Lithuania itself is going to disappear.²³

The fact that the emigrants show an interest in Lithuanian news despite being geographically, politically and economically removed from the country shows that it remains as a unifying element in constructing the American-Lithuanian identity.

Comments on *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas*

Based on the themes derived from *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas*, the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA retain their *Lithuanianess* through teaching the Lithuanian language to their children, participating in cultural community events that deal with Lithuanian traditions, by expressing an interest in maintaining various Lithuanian customs, such as remembering Lithuanian celebrations and professing a passion for basketball, having an interest in Lithuanian history and literature, and by being engaged in the matter of Eastern European politics. Moreover, it is apparent that some symbols of Lithuania are very meaningful for the community, and invoking them also represents a way of unifying the emigrants into a single cluster. The fascination with symbolic representations of Lithuania is understandable because as Smith

puts it, the homeland has an elevated status for emigrants and serves as “a repository of historic memories and associations” that are “places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation.”²⁴ Therefore, even basic symbols of Lithuania, such as the *cepelinai*, serve the purpose of highlighting the emigrants’ uniqueness compared to other inhabitants of the USA as well as creating a sense of communion and mutual understanding within the diasporic community. However, even though the emigrants appreciate Lithuanian traditions, the Lithuanian-American community also appears to hold very negative views of some aspects of Lithuania, namely political corruption that has supposedly led to the general poverty of the country as well as the fraudulent system of Lithuanian education. It could be said that by criticizing the leaders of Lithuania, the emigrants “challenge established social and political élites, who have ‘failed’ the nation”; and “provide maps of collective identity <...> which can mobilize larger social constituencies”²⁵ by doing so. Because of that, it could be inferred by portraying the Lithuanian political elites in a negative light, the diasporic community strengthens its own sense of unity and camaraderie.

Furthermore, most of the cultural events described in the articles concern Lithuanian artists or scholars living in the diaspora rather than those who live in Lithuania, which suggests that the diasporic community has a unique and distinct cultural life that does not necessarily reflect the trends in Lithuania itself. Moreover, the emigrants show that they have internalized quite a lot of “American” elements into their identities, and interactions with the Latvian, Turkish, and Ukrainian diaspora communities are also frequently mentioned, both of which indicate a presence of hybridity among the Lithuanian emigrants. Therefore, it could be inferred that the Lithuanians who are living in the USA make

²³ *Draugas*, 2016-04.

²⁴ Smith, “National Identity,” 9.

²⁵ Hutchinson, “Ethnicity and Modern Nations,” 655.

up a distinct community which incorporates some “Lithuanian” elements into their identities while also stressing a distance from the original Lithuania which possesses many traits that are undesirable for the emigrants. All of those traits mark the American-Lithuanians as people who are living in an “in-between” space. They seek to maintain a distance from their home country, but do not intend to abandon their status as emigrants either – because it provides them with a unique national identity.

Another interesting point to consider is the emigrants’ interest in global politics. In the newspapers, it is signified by a major focus on the Crimean crisis, which suggests that the emigrants feel a sense of kinship with subjugated nations that now face a situation similar to Lithuania’s struggle against the Soviet Union in the past. It is noteworthy because for postcolonial cultural theorists, such as Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Trinh Minh-ha, Homi Bhabha and others, hybridity is not only a cultural phenomenon but also one that has an explicitly political facet.²⁶ The postcolonial writers see the *hybrid* as a force that can undermine or subvert dominant forces through challenging their ideologies. It is apparent that the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA hardly has a reason to challenge their host country which has accepted them and provides them with the space to grow and thrive, which might be why the unspent rebellious desire that the diasporic community still possesses is directed back to the remnants of the original cause of the second-wave Lithuanian emigration to the UK, namely Soviet aggression which is now represented by Russia. That might explain the strong disdain that the American-Lithuanian community still holds towards this country. It could also be said that potential Russian aggres-

sion against the Baltic States is something that unites the community underneath a common cause: after all, the American-Lithuanians played a big role in taking Lithuania’s independence back from the USSR, which makes proactive resistance as well as displaying support for countries that are being unjustly subjugated right now (such as Ukraine), a major defining trait of this particular diasporic community.

All in all, it can be concluded that while they are still being influenced by some elements of Lithuania, Lithuanian emigrants in the United States are nevertheless “marked by their own form of identity and community that arises from living abroad”²⁷, which suggests that hybridity rather than nationalism (or transnationalism) is the stronger driving force behind this community. The American-Lithuanians still engage in preserving Lithuanian traditions, yet their worldview is already strongly colored by their American environment, which explains the emigrants’ passion for the idea of freedom as well as their willingness to engage in various activities with fellow emigrants, a trait which is not traditionally common in contemporary Lithuania. The findings suggest that outside of holding a symbolic meaning in identity construction, the actual Lithuania is mostly a symbol rather than an actual entity for the members of the American-Lithuanian diaspora which was analyzed in this paper. Nevertheless, despite an increasing sense of distance between American-Lithuanians and Lithuania, retaining their *Lithuanianess* remains important for the diasporic community and its members’ identities. According to Hutchinson, “membership of a nation holds out the promise to individuals that their fleeting lives are given meaning by participation in the story of an ‘eternal’ nation”²⁸, which is why Lithuania is still a significant symbol for Lithuanian emigrants even though they might not feel much fondness for its actual social realities.

²⁶ Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*, 2004; Homi K. Bhabha, “How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times, and the Trials of Cultural Translation,” 2000; Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2012; Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 1990: 37; Trinh T. Minh-Ha, *Elsewhere, Within Here: Immigration, Refugeeism and the Boundary Event*, 2010.

²⁷ Hepp, Bozdog, and Suna, “Mediatized Migrants,” 4.

²⁸ Hutchinson, “Ethnicity and modern nations,” 655.

Conclusions and Further Considerations

Analyzing the results revealed that while the emigrant newspapers from the UK are strongly concerned with promoting multiculturalism and making the Lithuanian diaspora less insular, the newspapers from the USA show a different approach to reconciling the emigrants' American environment with their Lithuanian national identities. Whereas the UK-based newspapers are first and foremost concerned with challenging the formation of emigrant communities that are isolated from the rest of the UK, the USA diaspora mainly displays a sense of promoting *Lithuanianess* by focusing on history and traditions. Nevertheless, what the two communities have in common is that both of their members tend to view the actual Lithuania in a slightly negative light. Moreover, the newspapers are promoting hybridity of a Western worldview and elements of a Lithuanian identity, which is why despite their differences, both the UK and the USA diaspora communities can be said to exist in an "in-between" space that is displaced from both their home and host countries yet adopts elements of both of them while constructing their national identities. All in all, it is apparent that despite sharing the same roots, the emigrant communities in the UK and the USA differ from one another quite significantly. Their idiosyncrasies are not surprising considering that the two communities largely consist of different generations of emigrants who chose life outside of Lithuania for different reasons. Nevertheless, the communities' peculiarities as well as the way in which some themes overlap reveals a multi-faceted, complex picture of diasporic Lithuania that is being constructed and reflected by emigrant news media.

In the case of newspapers in the UK, the destination of most contemporary economic emigrants from Lithuania, the emigrants are encouraged to both act in a way that is fitting to a person who lives in multicultural Western Europe, and to see Lithuania itself in a less critical, more empathetic light. More-

over, the newspapers are quite strongly concerned with promoting re-emigration, which in turn gives them an almost educational function: it could be said that the writers are trying to teach the emigrants to be more tolerant in order to elevate their emigrant experience from simply living in the UK in order to earn money, into achieving emotional and intellectual growth by living abroad. In other words, the emigrants are encouraged to learn not only how to look out for themselves, but also to develop a desire to contribute to the development of Lithuania's social capital.

Unlike the UK community that is still rapidly growing at the moment, the USA Lithuanians are facing different issues. The Lithuanian-American community played an important role during the period of Lithuania's fight for independence, and they appear to be quite disappointed in the direction that the country has taken during the past couple of decades. The emigrants openly question contemporary Lithuania's ability to muster the same level of patriotism it had a couple of decades ago in case of another foreign invasion. Moreover, their preoccupation with criticizing Russia's actions in Crimea reveals that the Lithuanian-Americans still have a lot of unspent energy when it comes to fighting for democracy and freedom even though they can no longer project their vigor to their homeland. The sense of frustration with Lithuanian politicians and the country's social realities reveals that the ties between the diasporic community and the home country are fraying, and it is rather clear that the idealized Lithuania in the emigrants' minds is becoming quite detached from the actual Lithuania.

In conclusion, while the two diasporic communities and their newspapers are quite different, the findings nevertheless reveal that the Lithuanian emigrant experience is characterized by complicated feelings that emigrants hold towards their homeland. It is both the anchor that holds the UK emigrants back and makes them unable to adapt to life in a tolerant, global environment, as well as the symbol of a lost home that provides the USA em-

igrants with a unique identity as well an almost messianic desire to protect subjugated Eastern European nations from aggressors. The emigrant communities show a picture of Lithuanian identity that might be at odds with the way in which Lithuania is portrayed by local publications, which makes them a significant contribution to the country's concept of national identity that, as is the case with all contemporary nations, is constantly changing and developing

The present paper considered only a sample of what media-focused research could reveal about the issue of Lithuanian emigration and the transformation of Lithuanian identity in a global environment. There still exists a vast amount of unexamined data in the emigrant newspaper archives that can be found both in the UK and in the USA. Examining those archives could shed some light into the development of diasporic Lithuanian identities that took place across decades. Moreover, another relatively unexplored emigrant media space exists on the internet, in online forums where emigrants share their experiences with fellow members of their diasporic communities without the censorship that is bound to appear in forms of mass media such as newspapers. Furthermore, this paper only focused on two diasporic countries without considering the members of the "world Lithuanian" community which encompasses both old Lithuanian immigrant clusters in countries like Argentina or Russia, as well as emerging ones in contemporary emigration hotspots, such as Norway.

All in all, examining the diasporic media has the potential to reveal how the perception of an emigrant's national identity changes over time and how the diasporic community copes with the dissonance that emigration creates. Moreover, it reveals something about the Lithuanian nation as a whole: the insecurities that are carried across the globe show that an emigrants' well-being depends less on their country of residence and more on their mindsets and preconceptions about their identities and their place in the world.

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The Development of Regional Concepts in Wood Architecture in Lithuania

ARNOLDAS GABRĖNAS

The development and the outcome of wood construction in Lithuania were significantly influenced by analogous regional architecture in other parts of the world. Regionalism in architecture refers to features that are prevalent within a given location, a specific territory, or are generated by local tradition. Such architecture may be described as contextual, traditional, vernacular, and expressing local elements, which exemplify the relationship between a building's plan and volume, the structural and aesthetic juxtaposition of materials, the prevalent visual attributes and the character of decor. Regional architecture may manifest local geo-climatic characteristics, national traits, civic outlook and a way of life, as well as geopolitical and socio-cultural development, the relationship between public consciousness and its cultural heritage, and ethnic tradition.¹

The earliest version of regional expression in architecture signified the country's ethnicity, independence, and expression of its local culture, concurrently representing an indigenous form of nationalism, or national romanticism. In the second half of the nineteenth century the theories and work by William Morris and John Ruskin in Great Britain gestated such movements as "The English House" and "The Arts and Crafts." Their ideas were adopted by architects Philip Webb, Charles Rennie Macin-

tosh, Herman Gesellius, Armas Eliel Lindgren, and Eliel Saarinen. The work of these architects displayed a specific representation of their national origins demonstrating that – based on local tradition, structural principles and native materials – it is possible to create contemporary architecture expressing territorial distinctiveness and exceptionalism.

One of the earliest examples of regional tendencies in pursuit of a national architectural identity, which already had matured in other countries, appears in the village houses and – incorporating the elements of the Lithuanian wayside crosses – in a wooden church in Karmėlava, designed in 1919 by Vladimiras Dubeneckis. In his article in the *Lithuanian Encyclopedia*, Jurgis Gimbutas called this architect "a traditionalist," who searched for national expression in early Lithuanian village and provincial town architecture. According to Lina Preišegalavičienė, Dubeneckis was the first Lithuanian architect to explore the Lithuanian native building style.

After the declaration of Lithuania's independence in 1918, the use of the plentiful native forest-generated materials, structural dimensional lumber, and wood trim in architecture, genuinely harmonized with the national rebirth and the restoration of the country's distinctive identity. Although it was built somewhat later, the wooden church in Šiauliai, designed in 1942 by the architect Jonas Ladyga, idiomatically belongs to the 1918–1938 independence period. On its façade, Ladyga incorporated the traditional Lithuanian square-profiled columns and trimmed its tower and the gable peaks with elements similar to the "roofs" of the Lithuanian wooden crosses and wayside post-top chapels.²

The summer amphitheater and motion picture theatre "Voveraitė" in Druskininkai should be mentioned among the idiomatic wooden civic buildings erected early in the period of the Soviet-occupation. The façades of the still existing summer amphitheater incorporate decorative elements of the traditional wooden village house fences, and ornaments of their eave and

¹ Buivydas, "XX a. architektūra," 70–77.

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² Gimbutas, "Kaimo architektūra ir statyba," 1990.

window shutters. The building's roof ridge is accentuated by the symbolism of the "Tree of Life", implying flight. Among other buildings, which recall vernacular architectural elements, is the restaurant "Vaidilutė" in Palanga (1968, architect Alfredas Gytis Tiškus; the restaurant has been demolished), and the vacation homes "Dainava" in Pervalka, and "Kelininkas" in Preila (1971, architect Vaidotas Guogis).

These structures recall homes in the region of Samogitia, the main features of which were monumental thatched roofs with large eaves over the first floor walls. For ornamentation, the architect sometimes used patterns derived from fences, the transitional trim, and the cut-out profile cornice boards typical to local vernacular structures. In the design of these structures, an attempt was made to retain the traditional Samogitian house appearance within the proportions of the roof to the ground-floor story wall, and in the relationship between the height and the thickness of the wooden pilasters. Here we should mention the restaurant "Ešerinė" (1979, architect Vaidotas Guogis, Figure 1). In this building the proportionality of the [structural] elements, the application of the finishing materials, and the similarity and adaptation to a new use, and the scale of the Samogitian village wooden buildings are clearly visible.

Noteworthy application of the regional architectural components appeared in the designs by the Lithuanian exile architects for projects abroad. After the occupation of Lithuania the search for a unique native style of Lithuanian architecture was continued abroad by Jonas Mulokas. While practicing architecture in the United States, he consistently used native Lithuanian art elements in his work. One of his most acclaimed buildings was the Roman Catholic Church of the Transfiguration in Maspeth, New York. In this masonry building the ornamental details were [clearly] inspired by the Lithuanian wooden church architecture. Such native aesthetic ideas influenced the work of other exile architects, Stasys Kudokas and Alfredas Kulpavičius-Kulpa among them.

On the one hand, the use of such vernacular attributes in the work of these architects reflected the longing for their native



Figure 1. Restaurant "Ešerinė", architect Vaidotas Guogis, 1979

land; on the other hand, they enhanced their contemporary-oriented architecture with distinction, vitality and ethereal comfort. In that respect, Lithuanian architecture abroad was analogous to the design principles of Frank Lloyd Wright when he designed the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo melding the appearance of a Japanese house of worship with the elements of an American home. In a similar manner, regional architectural idiosyncrasies also have appeared in wood buildings in Lithuania, as exemplified in the sacral architecture of the Orthodox Christian churches, with their characteristic steeples, consisting of a square base, an octagonal upper segment, and an onion-shaped dome (Figure 2), the mosques with their typical octagonal towers and round cupolas, and the monumental synagogues, featuring multileveled roofs.³

Similar regional influence of Swiss, Russian and Southern Polish style (of the town of Zakopane) may be attributed to wood-

³ Jankevičienė, "Medinė sakrali architektūra," 50–70; Rupeikienė, "Medinės Lietuvos sinagogos," 71–79.



Figure 2. The "Joy of All Who Mourn" Mother of God ikon Orthodox church built in the nineteenth century in Druskininkai

en buildings in Lithuanian cities and resort towns. The Swiss-style buildings featured an asymmetrical appearance, tall and intricate roofs, turrets, bay windows and an abundance of sharply pointed gables, decorated with carved wooden ornaments. The Russian style buildings typically had multileveled open-filigree adornments, impressively-large sculptural columns, and broken-line cornices above windows.⁴ The Zakopane-style's main "calling card", developed within the indigenous Polish culture, was the sun-image decor. Also typical were the strictly symmet-

⁴ Ptašek, "Medinė kurortų architektūra," 111–122.

rical façades, the main entrances defined by columns with pediments, the four-sided mansard roofs, windows divided into small segments and louvered window shutters.⁵

Among examples of regionalism in Lithuania were the attempts to imitate some distant exotic architectural tradition in the design of the exteriors and interiors of several local restaurants. Here, by means of sometimes rather questionable architectural use of wood, there was an attempt to create an ambience and decor typical of some particular country. On the exterior of the "Wild West Inn" in Vilnius, the architect Jokubas Fišeris used a wooden gate, columns, and a massive roof cornice, all intended to resemble an edifice reminiscent of American saloons of the cowboy era. The wood siding on the first floor walls of a bar at No. 8 Vokiečių Street recall the use of wood typical to traditional English towns.

Another important and significant aspect of the use of regional ideas was the attempt to counteract modernistic architectural tendencies. From the beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth century, vernacular trends in Lithuanian architecture gained prominence. They served as a counterbalance to Western abstract modernism, to the idea of "art for art's sake," and to any association with international socialism.⁶ The deficiencies of modern architecture, its excessive rationalism, the domination of the bulk of the building, and the disparity between the individual and the building were noted by Alvar Aalto.⁷ Frank Lloyd Wright also applied traditional materials and construction principles seeking subtle accommodation with nature and the locality of the building.⁸

During the period of Soviet occupation, the use of indigenous Lithuanian features in building design was downplayed and architects turned their attention to the work of Western European,

⁵ Ptašek, "Medinė architektūra Vilniaus Žvėryno rajone," 89–93.

⁶ Buivydas, "XX a. architektūra," 70–77.

⁷ Лисенко, *Дерево в архитектуре*, 1984.

⁸ Kaufmann, *Frank Lloyd Wright*, 1974.

especially Scandinavian, architects who were looking for a harmonious relationship between permanent human values and the traditional lifestyle within the context of history and nature. The ability to adapt wood to bold architectural and structural solutions influenced the self-awareness of Lithuanian architects of that generation. The work of Finnish architects like Alvar Aalto, Heikki and Kaija Anna-Maija Helena Siren, and Norwegian Wenche Selmer demonstrated that, upholding tradition, wood architecture can be related to progress and modernism, and can be socially sensitive. Lithuanian architect Vytautas Edmundas Čekanauskas did not deny that a trip to Finland in 1959 influenced his work. Sensitive acknowledgement of its surroundings is evident in the Lithuanian Composers Association building and its residential complex, located in a pine grove not far from the Neris river, at No. 29 Adomas Mickevičius Street, in Vilnius, completed in 1966. On the exterior of this two-story rectangular building, in addition to other materials, the architect used wood siding. In the interior of the rehearsal studios one of the distinctive features were bent wood ceilings. Wood siding also was applied to the façades of segments of the residential complex.⁹

Incorporating regional tendencies as a newly-discovered attempt to blend with the existing and historic setting, was more prevalent in Lithuanian wood architecture after the country regained its independence in 1990. That, likely, was influenced by the appreciation and wider use of wood as a structural material in buildings in the twentieth century in many locations, and indicated a return and continuation of such a tradition. One of the early outstanding examples during this period, expressing locally native aesthetic elements, is the Sisters of the Divine Providence convent building in Panevėžys, designed in 1994 by Alvydas Šeibokas. In addition to using wood as the structural material, this building embraces locally prevalent wooden components in its entirety. The relationship to that context is evident in the scale

⁹ Reklaitė and Leitanaitė, *Vilnius 1900–2012*, 2011.



Figure 3. Convent building on the Providence Path in Panevėžys by Alvydas Šeibokas, 1994

of its wooden details and in the shape and volume of the building (Figure 3). Equally attributable to these regional tendencies is the search for harmony between the new object and its natural surroundings. Also deserving mention are the houses designed by Sigitas Kuncevičius, Audrius Ambrasas and their associates, built on wooded sites on Ežerėliai and Pasakų streets in Vilnius.

Among regional architectural ideas prevalent elsewhere in the world which influenced the development of the Lithuanian wood architecture and which require special notice is the tendency to adopt *genius loci* – the distinctive character of “the place” – notable by the metaphoric application of architectural elements, frequently without direct expression of any “nationalism,” but embodying geo-climatic and ethno-cultural reality.¹⁰ Norwegian architect Christian Norbert-Schulz maintains that

¹⁰ Buivydas, “XX a. architektūra,” 70–77.

when seeking to create a human environment it is especially important to express the “spirit of place” within the architectural volume and form.¹¹

Such “spirit of place” ideas, attributable to the regional architecture and stemming from the Western World, were instrumental in influencing the human conscience in an emblematic or symbolic, associative manner, and had a significant impact on the reemergence of wooden architecture and the discovery of its new elements in Lithuania while the country was occupied by the Soviet Union. In the nineteen-eighties wood was successfully used in several projects, which can account for the tendency to reflect the “spirit of place” in architecture in Lithuania. Such concepts in the use of wood as the building exterior material are clearly visible in the vacation home project in Strėva (1980, architect Kęstutis Pempė) and the Academy of Sciences vacation home in Palanga (1984, architects Vytautas Dičius, Leonidas Pranas Ziberkas).^{12, 13} These buildings, in their wood detailing, the character of their volume and in the aggregate of their grouping subtly reflected their native region and maintained the tradition of the Palanga wooden architecture (Figure 4).

Analyzing the “spirit of place” tendencies in wooden architecture during the current period of independence in Lithuania, special distinction should be given to the work of a group of architects practicing under the firm name Arches. The work of these designers is not limited by the intent to integrate the building visually and functionally into its surroundings, but frequently it contains some metaphorical significance. Some of the projects designed by Arches have codified names, pointing toward a specific association or idea. The designers liken the “House of Light” in Palanga to a family tree where from a single trunk



Figure 4. *Academy of Sciences vacation housing*, architects Vytautas Dičius, Leonidas Ziberkas, 1984

(the continuous volume of the first level) rise several branches (the two second floor wings, Figure 5). The composition of the building resembles a funnel through which the light flows from east to west.¹⁴

According to the designers, the idea for the building named “Pine Branches,” built at No. 70 Svajonių Street in Vilnius, was inspired by the verticality of pine tree trunks. The configuration of the building’s façade is not unlike pine branches intertwining at various levels.¹⁵ The most metaphorical work by Arches is the “Vila X.” Its design in a way embodies the age-old local fairytale, *Eglė Queen of Serpents*. Here, the angularly undulating plan of the building recalls a slithering motion, and the laminated wood trusses of the upper level suggest the texture of the skin.¹⁶

Architectural criticism during the seventh and eighth decades of the twentieth century raised the question of the role of the

¹¹ Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci*, 1980.

¹² Минкявичюс, *Архитектура Советской Литвы*, 1987.

¹³ Minkevičius, *Lietuvos medinė architektūra*, 2002.

¹⁴ Arches, “Projektai/Gyvenamieji,” [on-line].

¹⁵ Reklaitė and Leitanaitė, *Vilnius 1900–2012*, 2011.

¹⁶ Nekrošius, “Gyvenamasis namas Palangoje,” 39–45.



Figure 5. *The House of Light in Palanga*, designed by the Arches firm, 2007

architectural consumer. The client and the occupant of the building were encouraged to be incorporated in the design at the same time contextualizing and humanizing architecture itself. This principle [of involvement] was applied by the Scottish architect and planner Ralph Erskine in the design of the Byker Wall housing complex in Newcastle. Erskine established a community center where the future occupants of the project could participate in all aspects of the design until the completion of the project. The Busk residence by a Norwegian architect Sverre Fehn at Bamble, Telemark County, Norway, also represents the trend towards cooperation between the user of the building and the designer.¹⁷ This somewhat irrational-looking building shows what interesting configurations are possible when the designer intensely tunes into the needs of the client.

¹⁷ Buivydas, "XX a. architektūra," 70–77.

There are numerous examples of regionalism in Lithuania where the architectural design is dictated not only by the native or urban context of the site, but also by the client. Many projects were built after regaining independence in 1990 where the cooperation between the architect and the client became much more immediate, not unlike the relationship between the seller and the buyer. The "UNI+HOUSE" project by the architectural firm Aexn may be singled out among the more recent, interesting, and positive examples of such phenomena. Here, a potential buyer may select the appearance of the house under consideration from a catalog available on the internet, and choose the exterior wall cladding from seven possible variations.¹⁸ Thus, the future owner of the house is ostensibly included in the design process, where he or she can make selections to change the appearance of the house on the computer monitor. On the other hand, this process takes place within the framework established by the architect, thus avoiding illogical and non-professional choices. Visually less appealing but similar possibilities for selection of the appearance of the desired house are offered by the Jungtinių Pajėgų Namai (JP Homes) company. From the company's internet catalog one can choose among several modular wood construction house plans, each plan available in several exterior styles.¹⁹

As noted by Rimantas Buivydas, another segment of contemporary wood architecture in Lithuania may be included within the local regional design, where "the architects may attempt to view such simple, occasionally randomly formed, 'gray,' ordinary buildings, or larger projects with 'a different set of eyes.' These buildings may not be called 'high art,' but may uniquely 'become poetic' in their commonality, epitomizing reality and even the lack of taste."²⁰ Elsewhere, the floating theater in Venice (Teatro del Mondo) by the Italian architect and designer Aldo Rossi may

¹⁸ Aexn, "UNI+HOUSE," [on-line].

¹⁹ JPnamai "Namų projektai/Moduliniai namai," [on-line].

²⁰ Buivydas, "XX a. architektūra," 70–77.



Figure 6. *Amber salon in Nida* by architect Asta Kazlauskienė, 2001

be included among projects representing such type of regionalism in wood architecture.

The “Amber Salon” designed by Asta Kazlauskienė in Nida, may be designated as a likely example of an “ordinarily poetic” building. This simple wood-frame building, clad in unframed glass and roofed with bundled stalks of reed, is romanticized by the segments of the bow and the stern of a fisherman’s boat, “bookending” it on each side. The architecture here is illustratively and attractively connected to the actual local artifacts (Figure 6). In the town of Šilutė, a bench named “Kurėnas”, designed by architects Inga and Mantas Daukšas, resembles a beached Curonian Spit sailboat. Thus, the ideas of regionalism have been incorporated and remain important as the basis for contemporary wood architectural design and are equally conducive in developing wood as the structural material embodying ethnic, artistic, and functional characteristics in buildings.

Conclusions

World regional architectural concepts significantly influenced and continue to affect the development of wood architecture in Lithuania. Such architectural ideas encourage more meaningful quality in attractive and well thought-out architectural design. The impact of such thinking can be seen in the architectural practice in Lithuania from the beginning of the twentieth century. During the Soviet occupation such regionalism also influenced in a significant manner the uninterrupted development of wood architecture. In Lithuania, the regionally-generated design ideas were directly related to the use of wood in architecture and to the search for new architectural expression using wood and harmonizing it with native ethnographic traits and attributes.

Contemporary wooden structures in Lithuania relate to the concepts of international realism in several ways: a) the expression of architectural distinction and uniqueness, using national cultural characteristics; b) the use of traditional local features in buildings which were designed and built abroad; c) the use of architectural motifs from abroad in local design; d) the harmonious synchronization of architecture with the local context, in that way countering overly modernistic architectural tendencies; d) the “spirit of site” – *genius loci* – tendencies, i.e., the codification of architectural metaphors; f) the inclusion of the potential occupants of buildings in the creative process; g) the adaptation of simple, everyday objects in architecture.

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Translated by ARVYDAS BARZDUKAS

Kaunas – a City of Strange Nostalgia

A PHOTO ESSAY by ROBERTAS KANYŠ

The photos were inspired by the images of pre-WW II Kaunas in the photos of Mečys Brazaitis. He was excellent in capturing the vision of a European city. These photos recall the comments of the poet Marcelijus Martinaitis who wrote

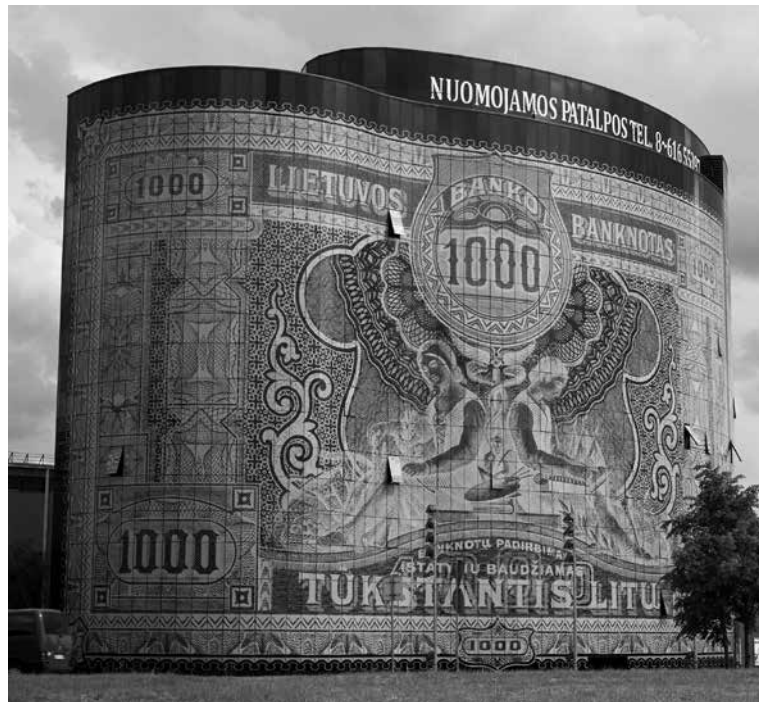
It was hard work in the period of independence but people could get to be better off and thus the last years of the independence period are somewhat very bright in my memory. There were some things to buy, there was clothing, nice boxes, instruments, I used to play with my father's cap, the inner side of which contained an image of some soloist, perhaps even Kipras Petrauskas, the soap Žuvelis had an excellent scent, I was amazed by my mom's leather purse, and she would take out of it a candy or a sweet cake after coming back from the market. I used to open that purse when my mom was unaware, I used to smell it and sense the scent of sweets, scent, cakes or even money. <...> Now I'm thinking how we came close to Europe then and how these trifles disappeared with the life of people, things or the advent of bolshevism."

The fact that people after WWII could not pass on their family histories and traditions to their children was horrific to Marcelijus Martinaitis.

Pre-WW II images and the reminiscences of my parents and grandparents as well as old family photos invoke a sort of nostalgia. Not much has changed since Mečys Brazaitis made photos some 80 years ago. But some things are still lacking, some have disappeared and won't be reclaimed. The worst loss are the people – who once lived here and who created the city, no more those people who owned the buildings. The city became everyone's and at the same time – no one's land.

Instead of people we have an abundance of memorial plaques that make the living city a kind of necropolis. Many buildings marked by these plaques are connected in a strange way. And the general architecture of the city recalls decorations of some old staged performance that has not much in common with contemporary shows. Kaunas overcomes New York as far as advertising plaques are concerned. Sculptures have been multiplying as if they were cats... We have statues of Motiejus Valančius and even Pope John Paul II in the former stadium of *Darbo rezervai*. The city was established on the crossroad of two rivers, but the city dwellers have only Sunday river cruises... Geographically, Kaunas inhabitants are in an excellent position, but the environment is being created by people who are hardly eternal.

Anyway, to tell a story of a city is something more than any photographer can do.



Robertas Kanyas. 289,2 Euro



Robertas Kanyas. *Heroes of Our Times*



Robertas Kanyas. *Forts Forever*



Robertas Kanyas. *Potemkin's Style*



Robertas Kanys. *Legends of the Harbor*





Robertas Kanys. *Wagon of Petras Vileišis*

The Funeral

JAYDE WILL

We had gone to her hometown for the funeral. She had always complained about going home, as it took so long to get there. It entailed five hours and three different trains. It seemed like a lifetime. This time we couldn't avoid the trek.

On the last train, she ran into someone that she knew, one of her former schoolteachers. It was then I noticed the change in her intonation as the words started to become sawed off at the end. I was seeing someone transform in front of my eyes. A chameleon that didn't have to hide itself anymore, as it was in its natural habitat, its natural state.

Incidentally, it was shortly before our trip that I had realized she had always been a chameleon – changing cities, men, feelings, but never having found a place, or lifestyle, or lipstick that she could now say “that’s mine.” You saw it in her eyes, which would light up with energy when you showed her attention, but which would never give off anything but brightness. Even when you are enamored by someone, you notice a tenderness, a softness, or something that has hardened them, or their fear, their judgment. There was nothing there, which is what had attracted me in the first place. “It’s not possible to be devoid of anger at this stage of the game,” I thought to myself. I really did.

We were both already in our mid-thirties, and I was already starting to feel a slowing of the cogs in my body and mind – I was

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less flexible, more set in my ways. And that was what amazed me about her, and made me wonder who she really was. She seemed to have the eternal child in her, with a wonderment in the world around her. It was only later that I found out that this wonderment and child-like innocence hid something much deeper.

We entered the hall where her family was – her mother, her two sisters and her brother. We looked at the casket in that cold, wood-inlaid room, and saw our breath as we inhaled and exhaled on that cold March day. There was no time for introductions or niceties. It was time to mourn.

Her father had died just a few days before Easter. It came as a shock to her and the family. I had never met him, and had been told little about his life. It was Lithuania – people didn't talk about family to outsiders.

You never know what to say in such a situation, as no one can ever truly console you in an event like that. There is just deadness, both in the casket and in your stomach. It's not even a lump you can feel, just an emptiness that slowly gets filled back up by life. My mother died when I was 14, so I knew just how angry I felt when people offered their comforting words. I didn't want to hear them. So many years later, in that funeral parlor in northern Lithuania, I said little, and looked at my girlfriend and her family, the casket, the wood-inlaid walls, the people filing in and leaving, and the wisps of smoke billowing out of their mouths as they talked.

After the wake, there was a small table with sandwiches and vodka. Having seen me for the first time, with eyes and upturned smiles that are thinking "Are you the One?" the relatives and friends of the family started with another question: "How do you like our funeral traditions?" I was used to telling Lithuanians where I was from, or what I do, but not about funeral traditions.

Neither able to digest either the question or the sandwiches so quickly, I could only nod in approval. Asking a Lutheran (who had fallen away from the Church years ago) in a Catholic country, his beliefs concerning the Church is not the way to make a good impression. Thus I chose to shut my mouth and listen to

stories of the family and the small town in their very quick drawl, which after an hour and several shots of vodka become more and more understandable.

A few hours later after a particularly intense talk with one of her uncles, we went to the town square to wait for the bus back to Vilnius. We were sitting alone on the bench, breathing in the cold spring air. After staring at the house opposite us, I asked how she felt.

She said nothing. I asked again. She turned to me with worry in her eyes, with a quiver in her voice: "You remember when I told you that my father wasn't at home sometimes when I was a kid?" She paused. "He had been put in a mental facility, they told him that he was crazy. He had to stay there sometimes."

I didn't know what to say. She continued. "You know, he had to take pills after that. He ended up coming back home and living with my mother. It was hard for them to live together sometimes. But I loved my dad." She turned back to the house, and stared into space. We waited for the bus, which ended up being fifteen minutes late. She climbed in first, and I was behind her. I turned around to take a look at the square one last time, almost as if I knew I would never return, and turned back to take my seat.

Four Stories by Kerry Shawn Keys

A Day In The Life Of Cage's Silence

She was listening to Cage's silence. For that purpose she bought a straitjacket and a bird – not just any bird – but a starling. Her intention at first was to have someone latch the strait jacket around her but then she decided to put it on the starling. After all, it would be ridiculous for her to listen to silence while wearing a strait jacket. And the starling looked quite magnificent even though she could not really see the starling after securing the jacket – there had been so much duck cloth left over that she had draped it over the poor thing. Soon, she began to wonder if the bird could hear Cage's silence or if it was oblivious, being so immersed in the silence under the shroud-like coverlet, or maybe it was just lost in its own silence. Or enjoying it. It hadn't squawked or chirped or uttered a word.

She got bored after a while and turned on the radio, still listening to Cage's silence, of course, and only hearing the radio. She heard on the news in some sort of pidgin English that there had been a meltdown at a Japanese nuclear reactor, and that the radiation was spreading into the food chain, and even into the gaps in the chain of being, especially between plants and animals, and minerals and man, and webbed feet and shoes. There was a moment of silence, and then she could hear the hissing of

KERRY SHAWN KEYS moved to Lithuania in 1998 as a Fulbright scholar and stayed on to become a citizen. He is a well-known and prolific poet, fiction writer and playwright with a number of books on his list. Some of his poems and short stories appeared in *Lituanus* in addition to many other journals.

water. Then she thought, Cage was good with bamboo but what would he do with these rods. They certainly weren't wind chimes or the music of spirits.

Just then a church bell rang out from up on the hill outside her window. She both heard it and listened to it. She wondered if she was engaging in mindfulness, listening and hearing at the same time, or if mindfulness was more attuned to silence. Perhaps, she could come up with a koan to express all of this like, for example, what is the silence of two dead birds flapping their wings, or some such nugget of wisdom. But by this time everything was all befuddled, and she was no longer sure if a koan might be a Jewish cantor or a pine cone falling in a forest of pigeons on a misty hill with no one to hear it. She closed her eyes and saw a stampede of pissed off ants rushing out of their gallery to pallbear the cone away. At that moment, the starling broke loose from its straitjacket and flew out the window in the direction of the bell tower on the hill. A few seconds later – BONG. Oh, she thought, it must have banged its head on the bell and died before there was any chance of conversion. She was in despair. She wondered if she took the bird back to the pet store and told them it was a defect and a pagan, if they would give her her money back. She didn't have the energy just then, so she got up from her chair and turned off the radio and the silence, and as a reminder of the first thing she should do the next morning, she hung the straitjacket on the doorknob before going to bed and falling into the deepest of sleeps.

The White Cat

The first time I spotted the white cat, or maybe the first time that I watched her and knew that I saw her, was years ago hunting with my father at the edge of a cornfield. We were kicking the brush, trying to jump rabbits. There was a thin layer of snow on the ground, early snow, clinging to the stubble, vanishing here and there, the brown stubborn earth swallowing it. You

know sometimes you feel something is watching you. I turned and looked into a huge elm tree nearby, and there she was, calmly crouched on a lower branch, watching, alert, but with no visible sign of fear. A typical farm cat except she was snowwhite, whiter than anything I had ever seen or imagined. Whiter than snow. Whiter than death by the sleek finger of an icicle in an ice palace in Russia in a collection of fairy tales my mother had read to me. I had friends with foxhounds and sometimes when they were hunting fox, they would come across a stray cat, treeing her or trapping her in a culvert under a road, and then doing their damage, but more often the dogs would get their own noses and eyes damaged. One of the hounds I distinctly remember because she was named Beauty. It was a strange name to me, though she was beautiful. But we had a beagle with a pink prick, not a bitch, and we were after rabbits, and the idea of shooting a cat for sport or because it was a custom among some hunters, with an excuse about how they killed the game, was a realm I was reluctant to cross into, and never did, though I did entertain the thought. We stared at each other a long while. Dusk was all about, milky grey and sleepy. My father off in the distance squatting and smoking a corn cob pipe, and soon it was time to return to the car and the city. I turned, walked away, and that was it. Though I could still feel something foreign, maybe the cat or her whiteness, following along.

Many years later an older woman picked me up as her lover. Abigail. She had been my teacher. French. Baudelaire, Victor Hugo, Lautreamont, the usual suspects. She wore black boots, was bisexual, liked knives. She had a cat for a pet. She had never given her a name – she liked that idea. The cat was a good mouser, and would lay them at her feet. Of course, she was black, very black. Too black, as if dyed in a cauldron of ebony. The first night we slept together, sometime in the middle of the night, she jumped up on my chest, and I awoke with a start. We were staring at each other. I was frightened, the cat curious or jealous, or plain aggressive. I don't know. It's funny how day and night mix so well sometimes, each giving birth to the other. White becomes

black. Black white. Both become colorlessly green hibernating in each other as dreams or nightmares. I flashbacked for the first time to the white cat above the powdery snow in the branch of the half-dead elm. Elms were already on their way out, stricken. Maybe, I thought after I calmed down, she had come all this way to a dreary city apartment, still youthful and wild, having had her fill of field mice and butterflies... Maybe she had never been white, but black as night and covered with snow. Maybe we had never abandoned each other. Perhaps her purring paused and perished just short of my hearing. Later, Abigail followed me here and then shortly after died of breast cancer.

All of this comes to mind on this rainy day while walking down the cobbled street to a neighborhood tavern to have a gram or two. Gloomy. The rain incessant. Cars splashing. The poor trees leafless in the cold. Lots of lindens. No elms. I'm wrapped up in a waterproof raincoat, looking like a disconnected amper-sand under a tarp. Late Autumn. No snow yet, but soon. Things, memories, don't just come to mind of their own accord. An old man begging for small change is hobbling down the street. He has on a pair of black boots, and is squinting as if half-blind. A beggar, but what's a beggar? A hunter without game, a teacher soliciting for sport, a monk on the loose, a non-descript collage of mottled flesh soaked in vodka. There's no such thing. He's just begging, holding up a grey, torn umbrella, and on his shoulder attached to a leash, there's a white cat, very white, watching me, it seems, as if I'm an excommunicated and lost church mouse. She is whiter than anything I have ever seen or imagined since that farm cat. I turn away again, but do we ever turn away. The old man is starting to talk very loud, something about change, a penny, and gore and bells and love, in that peculiar voice that deaf-mutes have. The rain's becoming torrential, and it seems my ankles are walking on the surface of the water, my shoes parasitical drowned kittens keel-hauled along for the ride. Again a flashback. I hear Abigail asking me in French if I would put my hunting knife to her throat, and spoon some boiling water on her nipples so she could climax, her black cat lying next to

us on the snowwhite sheet. The rain's starting to turn to sleet, the temperature dropping quickly. Soon snow. I know I need to lie down and feel the snow softly falling, dark and silver across my face, across the lamplight and the universe, across the living and the dead, covering the black cat purring over me, and covering the old man, his cat gone, going alone around the corner toward the cemetery in Kaunas where Abigail lies buried.

On The Spit

At the Spit near where Kant lies buried, the fish are jumping all around the jetty. A little boy throws out his line and catches his own paper boat. The boat chokes midway to shore and dies. A big ship appears on the horizon as if on a rescue mission. However, the boat is very, very dead. While reeling in the boat, a wake of blood trails behind. Meanwhile, as if in sympathy, the water under the big ship shimmers all pink in the mysterious light of the setting sun. It's the ship of death. There's a poem about this ship. I used to read it, imagining I was on board. The boy doesn't read poems. He likes to fish. The fish are acolytes of different schools and tribes. Different pleasures. Let's have a moment of silence to honor the dead boat. The moment of silence is a compromise agreed upon because so many holy men from so many religions had ventured out on the jetty when they had heard that the boat had died. For some, the silence is no different than meditation; for others, prayer; for others, emptiness. Lots of fish continue to jump in the water. Kerplunk. Kerplunk. One day, the entire Spit will go kerplunk. The kid stops reeling for a moment, and calls out over the water, "I am Jonah", and an echo returns, "BS Pepe!", and then adds, "carve me a crucifixion and not a little puppet." Hmm? A stray cat appears and grabs a minnow from the bait bucket. The boy lands his boat. The big ship pulls up near the jetty, a lifeboat is left down, and the priests convey the dead boat to the ship. The boy is amazed and runs home to tell his mom. She laughs. She doesn't believe

him. She sends him to the store to buy some eggs for breakfast. Brown eggs only she says. The boy likes quail eggs but he defers to his mom because she is the big boss of the whole world. But on the way home, he trips and falls, and both he and the eggs splatter over the sidewalk. The loudspeaker in the church on the hill simulates the sound of a bell. Ding dong, Ding dong, a paean tolls. The sun bursts out from behind a purple cloud. His mother rushes from her house only to discover her son splattered on the sidewalk like a ham omelet. She carefully lays a rock over his heart. Then she hops on a bicycle, pedals up the hill to the church, turns off the loud speaker, sits down at the harpsichord, and sobbing uncontrollably, plays "When you wish upon a star".

Winter On A Bridge

in Panevėžys

Why was I here on this suspect bridge reading a poem in this bitter.com cold in a town in the middle of a black market crisis after its stolen car business was put at a standstill when the borders were tightened and everyone who wanted a resurrected BMW already had one. Once the potholed, crossroad conduit from Germany to Russia, car security sirens used to go off every other second, and smashed windshield glass slit the skin of every tipsy ant or bum careless enough to be penséeing the universe and not the pavement. Pavement too good a word for the lumpy, bone-busting sidewalk. That was a few years ago. Now other kinds of sirens read poems, their industrious, spelling bee voices ricocheting off of my forehead worse than any splintered windshield slitting a bug's balls. Sometimes I feel my forehead is a windshield with waggish poete maudit wiper-bangs swishing like miserable, rubbery pricks across a third eye. Who was that frozen fishstick just sermonizing a poem from the bridge to an audience of snowy zebras and jailbird icicles and concrete dressed up in down and ice, all looking the other way as if someone were committing a reprehensible sin, or just staring

into the blanket of falling snow, or jabbering with their friends about getting drunk and angel feathers and Skype porno, or how to karate-fistfuck the asshole of a groping, toxed out, belligerent male poet? The fucking snow was coming down harder and harder and I was smug happy to know my poem by heart, and to be wearing some green work gloves that had a little padding to keep my previously frost-bitten fingers from firing up in the agony that was induced now and then when a bottleneck of cold penetrated my bones like a starving worm into a corpse. I had been a corpse for a long time, ever since my fourth wife ran away to Greenland with an Inuit new-age pagan. Fuck Greenland and fuck women. I looked through the glassy frozen mist pumped from a hundred gabbing lungs, and shouted and stuttered over and over *this knife this knife* at last nearly brain-dead and forgetting the performance poem I swore I knew by heart. By now they must be drinking ethanol and feasting on whale liver in an igloo or their skeletons clinging together with seaweed and seagull shit at the bottom of a fish farm. Like Jack the Joker I could see that jealous knife carving out the scapegoat lung of an inattentive bystander and pitching it into a supermarket for old Walt and Federico to finger before they both disappeared into a cloud of green gas and decomposing chain-smokers over Gotham City. The snow whipped itself into sleet, the air less cold but the dampness welling up and up to my nuts, and my feet losing consciousness of any earthly foothold. I felt like a decapitated statue spinning on soapstone. Wolves and polar bears and white weasels were circling, ready to tear me apart. I could hear the walls whooping Troy and Jericho. From every corner of the town, dilapidated bricks were amputating themselves from their buildings and marching toward the bridge. Wolves and sperm whales and wailing walls, what difference in the glittering icehouse of the hopeless desire to be heard by anyone, to be licked by another tongue as hard and brittle as my cracked fingers, as eager as the ice-tongs that I imagined as the prosthesis helping to hold up the imaginary book of my words as if their speech would shield me from the lure of a swan maiden disguised as one of

the Snow White ermines guarding the bridge. As as as as, was that what life had become after I was abandoned by my mother's breasts almost immediately after birth. As as as, a series of similes... as summer as weather as death as the shade of another Robert Service advancing to cut off my derelict cock. That's what it did. My cock. Right there. No blood, it was colder than a witch's tit. And besides, I had become anemic with depression. I had been exposing myself as I was reciting so it wasn't difficult to get at. My cock was the only part of me immune to the cold since it was colder than the cold. I knew where the shade would take it – to one of those garages where they used to "redo" the cars, painting the body a different color, exchanging pistons and screws, bearings and hubcaps. I quit reciting, the pain was intense despite the numbing cold. I hopped and hobbled and ran and crawled and pushed and shoved my way toward the fuckin' thief, but it was much faster. Maybe it was another Inuit with snowshoes, or some rival Hermes now with a real live herm in hand and winged feet. A few of the so-called poets in my way got elbowed off the bridge onto the frozen river, half-dead for sure I managed to smirk as I lurched on and on, forgetting my life, the fuckin' cold, boom boom, boom boom. Even if they wouldn't drown on the ice below, they might be condemned to a purgatorial coma of visions of Cody Pomeray on Death Row or sugar-plum condoms bulging with a prune cocktail of edible ink. Or bras padded with krypton. At least no one pretending to endure more poems, and the readings would be cut shorter. Where was the shade taking my cock. I hopped and got down on all-fours. I tumbled and rolled and screamed that I would cut out its lungs if it didn't return my cock. I imagined the service center coating it with some weather-resistant plastic, painting it grassy green, selling it to the city of Vilnius as a piece of deconstructed pop art to be erected on the bridge along with the more somber guardian statues of social realism. My anguished threats seemed to have worked. Suddenly, I collided with the turncoat bastard. I held my captive up in the air like it was a trophy from Olympus, but the wind was blowing so hard that I fumbled the

fucker as it squirmed and kicked me in the face. Fuckin' cock I yelled trying to force it back on. But everything was iced over, nothing would work. I tried screwing it on but wasn't sure which way to turn it. I pleaded with it to help me. Shiva o' my darling Shiva! I bit it, breaking off a tooth because it was hard as a railway spike from the cold or rigor mortis or just horny from the friction of our struggle. A crowd of aggressive voyeurs started to converge. They weren't poets. Or they were poets disguised as skinheads and Scottish football fanatics and freaks. One guy, with tiny blue war paint tattoos all over his cheekbones, pulled out a knife. Jesus Christ I screamed and threw him the thing as a sop so he wouldn't go for my balls. This distracted the whole bunch for a brief second while I scrambled away and hid behind a parked car. Immediately the alarm went off but no one noticed. I saw him cut off the foreskin and then walk away leaving the hard-on in the snow. My prepuss, my prepuss I mumbled to myself. I'm a Christian. A Christian. Then to my astonishment, my cock righted itself and started sliding and spinning in the direction of the tattooed Pict, gesticulating and bowing as cocks do, obviously suffering, obviously on a pilgrimage to be consecrated as a votive behind a wicket gate in someone's garage. Fuckin' traitor. Exhausted, I could only crawl back toward the bridge. It was empty. Alone. A shrouded ribbon going nowhere. No one around. It was nearly dark. Everything cloaked and crusted in mystery. Morbid, frozen mush. I crawled under the bridge out onto the ice where the poets I had inadvertently pushed off were spattered about, strewn like bundled up bunches of frayed knitwear from a Salvation Army store. First one and then another I dragged around me, tugging at their hair and boots, making a medicine wheel of sorts. I had to piss like crazy but didn't know how, so I cursed my ex with everlasting scurvy and condemned her to the sixth circle for her heresy. The fuckin' Inuit as sushi for a shark. Then I started to recite a heroic ballad to my captive audience. To the ancient carp under the ice. To the dead in their eternal dirt dungeons. To my missing cock – once glorious bedfellow. The ideal audience. They listened. I knew

they were listening since they were so quiet. I told them everything there is to know. I spoke of the devil, of diabetes, of Dante's love, of Melville, the yellow pears of Holderlin, of Wiki-leaks, of Homer and Hector and Bill Shields, the killing fields, and Mann and Geda and Abelard, of the Last of the Mohicans, of the monster Molotov, of the joys of Spring, and Winter cares, of Adam's curse, of Celine and the oily pits of Ponary. Then my body began to shiver in fear, and resonate with some lamenting hum as if a monstrous, sci-fi vibrator was next to me, accompanying me. I turned ever so slightly to look over my shoulder and saw one of the mysterious sirens who had been on the bridge, the most beautiful of all. I recognized her eyes, though now she was as nude as Kirchner's Marzella. Surely a Lorelei, or forlorn *Jūratė* posted inland for new blood, fresh salt, new recruits. That left me out unless an albino's organs were the holy grail. I had become hueless, an invisible man. Ignorant. Cowardly. My instrument gone. A voice said honey you're tired you're tired over and over you're tired. I began to lose consciousness in the beehive of that drone, and there was an underwater tunnel opening and buzzing between my eardrums and it was filling with siphoned off semen, chrysolite, wax, a parade of Greenland hares and frothy snow, and then I found myself here, dressed in snow like a bride, on the outskirts of the new, global Republic watching the whole episode on footage I'm supposed to edit for a TV special about a typical day in the life of a nearly-extinct poet.

Writers, Surfers, and Accountants

HERKUS KUNČIUS

I've been observing my neighbor for a few years already. He lives in the nine-story building opposite me. He has a wife, a teenage daughter and a one-room apartment. I know, that he came from the provinces, his wife works as a nurse, but he – nowhere, he sits at home. Each time he goes out to the balcony to smoke, my neighbor contemplates something, then disappears for an hour or two.

It would be too brave to think that this track suit wearing slob brimming with health is studying Heidegger from morning to night or watching television all day, otherwise there would be signs of craziness that would be reflected on his face. My neighbor – on the contrary – during all the seasons of the year seems Olympically calm, monumentally concentrated, full of mysterious ideas. I am guessing that he's a writer.

When it gets dark I often see how my neighbor sits hunched over his computer, banging away on his keyboard. It's clear that he's writing, most likely letters or... comments.

Not forgetting my relentlessly writing neighbor, I get lost in thought back to recent times, when there was no internet, personal computers, while the letter typography of typewriters was understood only by professional typists.

I received my first typewriter as an eighteen-year-old. My aunt procured it. Being a member of the USSR's Union of Journalists, she submitted a written request, which was discussed

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during a session by an authoritative board which allowed her to purchase a Yugoslavian De Luxe typewriter for 220 rubles.

We waited almost half a year for the typewriter. When they sent it from Moscow (!), we brought it to Vilnius to Glavlit, where it was not only registered, but also carefully inspected. The prints of the keys were taken – much like those of a gun, so that when – if the need arose – the special forces could find who was reprinting and disseminating texts banned in the country or texts defaming the Soviet order.

After the formalities, when the De Luxe was “legalized,” it awaited yet another procedure – the Latin alphabet was supplemented with Lithuanian letters. In a courtyard off present-day Pylimo Street, in a dark semi-cellar, there was a typewriter repair shop that operated. After handing over the device to the grumpy, yet adept artisans and putting up with waiting a few weeks, until they added the letters A, Š, and Ū and other letters that were not popular in the Soviet Union, the De Luxe was ready for noble work.

While I patiently waited for my desired typewriter, I didn't learn to type in a typist course, but with a friend. His grandfather – a former Communist underground fighter and Soviet partisan, later serving as a functionary possessing high duties in the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, who, although almost illiterate, had a typewriter.

While his grandfather worked during the day in the party committee, my good-natured friend allowed me access to his electric Optima typewriter for an hour or two. A strange feeling would go over me. After you barely touched the keyboard, a key would strike the paper so loudly that whether you wanted to or not you began to think that opposite you was a machine gun, which was able to not only shoot a man, but also to overturn the foundations of a communist holy temple. I remember, after my typing “lessons” – in protecting myself from unnecessary questions from a suspicious elderly underground fighter – we would not only tear up those papers with nonsense written all over them, but we also burned them, not forgetting to bury the ashes in the toilet.

Back then, I associated typing, similar to reading the texts copied by an Era Duplicator copy machine, to a secret and romantic-filled endeavor.

Having been drafted into the Soviet army, I proudly told the head of my division's operative department that I would be able to type, which is why they immediately sat me down at the typewriter. Not long after I received a clearance document from an *osobist*¹, and signed it, which stated that for twenty years I would faithfully protect the secrets of the "strategic" armed forces of the USSR. Having mastered Russian orthography, I churned out various directives and reports for several months, each time typing "Classified" at the top of the page as well as underlining this important warning for the reader.

That was my second typewriter. In other words, in the hermetically-sealed Soviet army, which had particularly unfavorable conditions for an "intellectual," where radios and cameras were forbidden, while television was limited to the news program *Vremya*, I got what even the biggest utopianist couldn't have dared to dream of. Having such a thing, I wanted to risk and utilize the possibilities offered by the typewriter as extensively as possible.

In the evening after quiet hours, when everyone had fallen asleep in the barracks, I would secretly return to the division's headquarters. There, having locked the doors of the operative department's office, I closed the curtains tightly, and typed up "Heart of a Dog" that was provided by a good-hearted *čerpak*². The text of Mikhail Bulgakov's novel that was not particularly liked by the Soviet government was bright blue, faded, and difficult to read.

A month or two later, when the job was finally done, three copies of "Heart of a Dog" went from hand to hand in the barracks with great success, while the titanic effort raised my authority to such heights, that from that time forth the Lithuanian

in the detachment was not only respected by the *dedi*³, but the most rabid *dembeli*⁴.

Today I'd dare to say that the division's *osobist*, who was not indifferent to twentieth century literature easily guessed who had provided those curious draftees with the trio of copies of "Heart of a Dog." Otherwise we wouldn't have discussed – as if by chance – about the "ambiguous" work of Bulgakov – his controversial "The White Guard," the satirical "Theatrical Novel," and "Master and Margarita," which was filled with hate for the socialist order. Luckily, the *osobist* liked the writer Bulgakov, perhaps because of that he didn't take any action.

The ability to type with the typewriter at the time elevated me into a privileged class, protected me from digging ditches, loaded marches at night, and other particularly unpleasant activities for a man of the fine arts. I didn't even guess that a few decades later millions could boast of these skills, even the mentally challenged would find their way around the geography of the keyboard, while typing would become just as natural of an activity as sex, eating, or watching television.

After returning from the army, I was able to await times when the respected profession of a typist, similar to that of a typesetter or a chimney sweep, became rare, finally disappearing entirely. People's literacy became almost universal, though, as it would later become apparent, to the detriment of quality.

With the arrival of the information age, it wasn't difficult to switch from the typewriter to the computer; both devices had a very familiar keyboard, all one had to do was mark the Lithuanian letters. The "counting machine" that appeared at home – as it seemed – offered not only broader possibilities for self-expression, but also coveted freedom.

The pencil sharpeners, pencils, erasers, and white-out disappeared from the table – the environment became cleaner. On the

¹ An NKVD military counter-intelligence officer.

² A soldier who has served a year of his compulsory military service in the Soviet army.

³ A "grandfather," i.e. soldier who has served a year and a half in the Soviet army.

⁴ A soldier who has served his two-year compulsory period in the Soviet military and is waiting to be demobilized.

virtual page of the monitor you could run amok, making mistakes without looking back, because you knew, that soon you would correct them without any problem. What's more – it's a miracle! You could move entire paragraphs easily to the beginning or end or put an entire page in the margins.

The finished text, no longer defaced by the daubs of the white-out, as they would be in those times, didn't have to be brought to the office anymore. It was sent by email. These seemingly at first glance small, but positive changes saved personal time, saved your nerves and... drove, as I later came to realize, one person away from another as far as possible.

Civilization, whose history began three to four million years ago, had up until that time never read so much and wrote so passionately. Not only former soldiers, housewives or wild African tribes learned how to hunt and peck on the keyboard and press "Send," but even the most uninformed social groups, including the elderly who have become juvenile over time, as well as those afflicted with Parkinson's or Alzheimer's.

With the spread of writing and the quick skimming through of texts that accompanied it, as well as the pathological mania of surfing the internet – right here and now – you could in an instant, without painful repercussions, strike a hated enemy with a brusque word, fire back at an unknown coworker with a witty line, think up the future of the world in one slogan, narcissistically boast of your success or articulate a weighty word about Bigfoot. The freedom of the written and sent-off word in a virtual space, which up until then was restricted by the all-seeing censor, but also the limited technology, created the illusion, that man had become markedly freer, strong, not afraid of anything and – and last but not least – not as lonely anymore.

Soon writing not only became a free-time activity, but a necessity. We had to devote more and more time to what looked like an innocent activity. It became hard to live for many people without writing anything. Having failed to write a word or sentence, something was lacking, there was an incomprehensible longing that overtook your mind.

No one is surprised anymore when a citizen with a miserably modest education, in the evening after returning from work, instead of kissing his loved one or falling into bed drunk, would immediately turn on his computer, and then type up something witty or particularly angry on a random topic. Having pressed "Enter," he would once again feel courageous and happy, having done meaningful work that day.

However happiness can't last forever, and freedom always has its limits.

With the proliferation of computer literacy, suddenly the burden of unexpected duties fell upon us as well. At the beginning, it was said with high hopes that it was all in the name of society's well-being. Supposedly by saving precious time, an attractive service was being offered. Soon after it became obligatory.

Without realizing what happened, even the most hardened of the illiterate – stubbornly refusing to recognize not only the letters, but numbers as well – one day became caught up in it unawares. Having come face-to-face with the unavoidability of life, soon they *in corpore* were already banging away on computer keyboards. Though they were angry, cursed to the heavens, everyone wrote zealously – at the beginning their first name, last name, year of birth, then sweating had already filled out confusing income tax declarations, dealt with family accounts, and sent personal codes and taxes to the state. In this way due to a literacy that had blossomed a few decades before, people became not only writers, but also "willing" accountants.

What's more, by stepping on the "needle" of writing, millions became employed at banks, tax inspectorates and other equally reputable institutions sans a salary. Not only did the clouds of illusion concerning the alleged freedom of writing slowly begin to spread in society, but also the illusions of privacy. From that point everyone, who had learned even a smidgen of computer script, became authorized to know more about one another than was wanted.

The skillfully chosen combination of numbers or tough words typed up on the internet once again began raising concern.

“Epithets” used in the wrong and at the wrong time, like in the times of the mechanical typewriter, can cause one to suffer immensely. When the need arises, one has to answer for them.

Earlier, a text typed up with a typewriter and hidden under the floor could be quickly eaten if a raid suddenly befell one. Now, as hard as you may try, there are no such possibilities anymore. Whether you want to admit it or not, foul-mouthed language, as if confirming Bulgakov’s thesis that manuscripts don’t burn, lingers on digital media. Even if what you wrote ten years ago, then having become horrified you throw it in the trash, with the help of some effort, you can recreate it, and having recreated it apply an article of the Civil Code, then try, and punish someone. Writing, reading and the mania of surfing that accompanies it, regardless of how you look at it, is still a risky undertaking: if they catch you with the evidence, you won’t escape.

Banging away on the computer keyboard, reading controversial texts on the internet, I think more and more often about that. I know that upon visiting, out of curiosity, a portal that is not tolerated, I will be immediately put on a black list. And for an email that I’ve written openly *only to myself*, what I think *about it* and *everything else* I think, I perhaps will even be arrested. In other words, farewell freedom.

Even now, as I am typing up this text, I am not sure whether along the way someone is inspecting it or not. Perhaps at this very moment an acquaintance by sight or another curious person is closely following, in their opinion, erroneous thoughts, is zealously registering what I erased, but after rethinking things I rewrote...

And despite this, though these troubling times are returning, I am also curious in finding out what my neighbor is tapping up. He just had a smoke on the balcony. I see through the window that with the sun having set, he sat himself down at the computer. I have no doubt that he, though perhaps without realizing it, is also a writer, an accountant, a surfer... as, by the way, all of his other internet contemporaries are.

Translated by JAYDE WILL

ABSTRACTS

KRISTINA BLOCKYTĖ-NAUJOKĖ

The Reformation in Lithuania and Its Impact on Lithuanian Culture

The Reformation broke out in the second decade of the sixteenth century in a number of European countries. Different historical experience as well as political and ethnic specificity, different relations between political structures, the power and weakness of forces seeking to modernize the Catholic Church, and social conditions, resulted in the different paths the Reformation took in various countries of Europe. The Reformation brought new cultural elements into Lithuania: the continuous process of book publishing and the spread of literacy, the entrance of the vernacular into the activities of the Church, and the teaching of belief related to literacy. Evangelic reformers were the first to initiate a Protestant university and to modernize the curricula in schools. Thus the article covers several issues: how the Reformation entered Lithuania, which trends entered Lithuanian society, and what was their impact on Lithuanian culture.

DOVILĖ ŠARKŪNAITĖ

Identity Formation in the Lithuanian Diaspora (II)

In this study, four Lithuanian emigrant newspapers from the USA were examined in order to discover the ways in which this particular form of news media shape the diasporic identities of the Lithuanian emigrants who live in the USA. 302 news articles from emigrant newspapers *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas* that were

released in 2014, 2015, and 2016 were analyzed by employing the method of thematic analysis in order to draw conclusions about the identities of Lithuanian-Americans who are the intended audience of the aforementioned newspapers. The findings reveal that the Lithuanian-Americans tend to maintain their sense of *Lithuanianess* by focusing on Lithuanian history and traditions as well as discussing Russia's threat to post-Soviet nations, such as Ukraine, rather than feeling kinship with the present-day Lithuania, which is viewed in a rather negative light due to the general political corruption and low level of economic stability that permeates the country. The emigrants' tendency to integrate symbolic elements of perceived *Lithuanianess*, such as admiration of Lithuanian folklore as well as resistance to Soviet influence, now represented by Russia's aggressive foreign policies, into their identities while maintaining a distance from the actual Lithuania signifies that this diasporic community has a unique hybrid identity that sets its members apart from both other North Americans, and Lithuanians who are currently living in Lithuania. These findings are significant because they provide new insights into the way Lithuanian diasporic communities deal with Lithuania's past trauma and present social maladies as well as construct their national identities in a multicultural environment.

ARNOLDAS GABRĖNAS

The Development of Regional Concepts in Wood Architecture in Lithuania

The article addresses the world regional architectural concepts, which have influenced the development of wood architectural design and determined its expression. Five distinct types of regionalism are identified and architectural examples related to them are discussed.

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Robertas Kanyas. *The gates of a city*, 2016

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